

CAMPAIGN DOCUMENTS.

FOR PRESIDENT,

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

HENRY WILSON.

—•—
COMPILED AND PUBLISHED BY

KIMBALL, RAYMOND & CO.

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JACKSON, MISS.:

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1872.

FOR PRESIDENT IN 1872,
ULYSSES S. GRANT.
 FOR VICE-PRESIDENT IN 1872,
HENRY WILSON.

FOR CONGRESS,

First District.....	Hon. R. W. FLOURNOY.
Second District.....	Hon. A. R. HOWE.
Third District.....	Hon. H. W. BARRY.
Fourth District.....	Hon. JASON NILES.
Fifth District.....	Hon. GEORGE C. McKEE.
Sixth District.....	Hon. JOHN R. LYNCH.

ELECTORS.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

FIRST DISTRICT,	W. F. SIMONTON.
SECOND DISTRICT,	JAMES HILL.
THIRD DISTRICT,	A. K. DAVIS.
FOURTH DISTRICT,	A. T. MORGAN.
FIFTH DISTRICT,	W. H. HARNEY.
SIXTH DISTRICT,	S. J. IRELAND.

FOR STATE AT LARGE.

H. C. CARTER, of Warren County.
 W. H. GIBBS, of Wilkinson County.

Central and Executive Committees.

GOV. R. C. POWERS, <i>ex-Chairman.</i>	G. W. WELLS, Holly Springs.
A. WARNER, <i>President.</i>	J. H. PILES, Sardis.
O. C. FRENCH, <i>Cor. Secretary.</i>	M. J. MANNING, Austin.
W. H. GIBBS, Woodville.	A. P. HUGGINS, Aberdeen.
G. W. WALTON, Vicksburg.	W. A. ALCORN, Charleston.
E. G. PEYTON, jr., Hazlehurst.	B. K. BRUCE, Pride's Point.
ALFRED HANDY, Canton.	ROBERT GLEED, Columbus.
N. G. GILL, Holly Springs.	W. H. PARKER, Winona.
FINIS H. LITTLE, Aberdeen.	W. W. CHISHOLM, DeKalbe.
GEO. G. SMITH, Jackson.	A. G. PACKER, Durant.
J. A. ROSS, Washington.	S. G. BEDWELL, Yazoo City.
GEN. E. J. CASTELLO, Natchez.	J. A. MOORE, Jackson.
	WM. HART, Mississippi City.

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THE decrease in the public debt of the United States from March 1, 1869 to the 1st of July, 1872, according to the official figures from the Assistant Treasurer's office in Washington, has been **\$333,976,916 39**; the decrease during June, 1872, was **\$2,031,035 32**; the decrease in monthly interest charge on the National debt is **\$1,866,757 25**; on the annual interest charge, **\$22,401,087**; leaving the present debt standing, at the date of the issuance of this statement, at **\$2,191,486,343 62**. This account was closed on the 29th of June last.

Greeley on Grant.

As to the Administration of General Grant, I recognize no one as a Republican who is not grateful for its judicious, energetic and successful efforts to procure the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, that keystone of our political arch, whereby the fruits of our great triumph over rebellion and slavery are assured and perpetuated.

* * * * *

I venture to suggest that General Grant will be far better qualified for that momentous trust in 1872 than he was in 1868.—[Horace Greeley's speech at the organization of the Republican General Committee, Jan. 5, 1871.

THE editor of the Holly Springs Reporter must be attempting to play the role of wag. In a third of a column of very thin "milk and water," in which he complains that "the negroes are for Grant," in the profundity of his political philosophy he comes to the erudite conclusion that "they are afraid to

touch, taste or handle anything recommended by their old masters." Says he: "The Jim Hill's and Jim Lynches will be found for Grant; the Booker Astons and Henry Houses for Greeley." Alas! poor Booker Aston and still poorer Henry House! We saw them the other day, as delegates to the Democratic Convention. They, with crazy old Amos Drane, and one or two others, were not only unwelcome to many members of the Convention itself, but even the laughing-stock of everybody else. They did cut such a sorry figure! Poor, deluded dupes, to be following up a parcel of old chronic office-seekers and political hucksters—ashamed of themselves because they knew that *their* crowd was ashamed of them! Unheralded, they came to Jackson, and they went away unlamented. Some people are so easily tickled with a straw!—[Pilot, July 13.

Greeley's Position in Regard to the Democrats.

From the Hartford Times (Democratic), June 26.

The following is an extract from a private letter to a gentleman in this State. Though it was never intended for publication, the gentleman to whom it was addressed has deemed it of sufficient interest and importance to justify its publication:

NEW YORK, June 11, 1872.

* * * I have no possible claim to Democratic support, and never made any. The Democrats will, of course, be governed by a consideration of their own interest. It is nowise proper or probable that they should be influenced in making their decision by any consideration personal to myself, and if they could be I do not desire it. Hence I have said nothing to any Democrat unless he first addressed me, and, even then, I have gone no further than to say that, if I should be elected, I would treat all those who supported me alike, not asking whether they had been in the past Republicans or Democrats.

* * * Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

"EATING cat-pie and calling it venison" is the way the Mobile Register, Democratic, defines the unsavory process of swallowing Greeley by the Democracy.

THE VOICE OF THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION.—Before our next issue the COMMANDS of the Baltimore Convention will have been heard by every Democrat throughout the land. We trust and believe that COMMAND will be for Democrats to vote the Cincinnati ticket.—[Clarion.]

Well, the "COMMAND" has come, and we suppose that a large majority of the Old Line, Secession Democracy of the State will obey the "COMMAND," and, in November, will go through the hypocritical mockery of casting their votes for Horace Greeley, the champion of the "irrepressible conflict" before the war, and the partner of Wm. M. Tweed, the notorious thief of Tammany, the inglorious Radical renegade. It is doubtful if little GRATZ, the confiscator, the disfranchiser and national centralizer, will make the ticket more palatable. But the inexorable "COMMAND" has gone forth, and Democrats will have to march to the music of Greeley and Brown. That there will be kicking in the traces and halting in the mire as they drag their weary steps with the heavy load, may be reasonably expected. That now and then one like ex-Governor Wise, of Virginia, more independent and self-willed than the rest, will throw off the harness and work in a team by himself may be looked for. Nevertheless, the "COMMAND" has come.—[Pilot, July 13.]

A MAN KNOWN BY THE COMPANY HE KEEPS.—The Oswego (N. Y.) Commercial Advertiser says: "Mat. Brennan, Sheriff of New York, whose stealings aggregate millions, is Greeley's active manager in that city.—Tweed, Connolly, Hall, Morrissey, Sweeney, the two Woods, Meany and Brennan! These are seven of his

Democratic familiars. To these must be added Callicot, the Government defrauder, who, less than a year since, closed a term in the Albany Penitentiary, but who now is editing a daily paper in Albany, deep in the Greeley interest. Among his Republican confidential advisers are Hank Smith, of the Savings Bank swindle notoriety, and John Cochrane, of whom the least said the better. O. S. Winans, who betrayed his party in the Legislature of 1871 for a bribe, and Mat. Bemus, of Chntauqua, are his warm supporters. The whole nation knows who are his friends at the South, including Jeff. Davis, Stephens, Toombs, etc.—It may be insisted by some innocent that Mr. Greeley is an honest man, notwithstanding his associates. But what honorable minded Republican can see anything in 'that crowd' that will induce him to join it."—[Pilot, July 6.]

JONAS H. TOWNSEND, a colored gentleman, educated at Waterville College, now the Principal of an academy at Waco, Texas, is elector at large in that State on the Grant and Wilson ticket. In a letter to a New York gentleman, he says that some of Mr. Greeley's new friends in that locality have already burned a number of school houses, scourged the teachers, and driven them out of the neighborhood because they teach "niggers to read and write who ought to make crops."—[Pilot, July 13.]

THE Worcester (Mass.) Spy says that if Mr. Greeley had honestly changed his views and gone over to the Democratic party in a frank, manly way, it might respect his conduct if it could not approve it; but he has, in reality, undergone no change whatever, save that produced by the lunacy of his ambition.

REMARKS the Cincinnati Gazette:—"Day by day the lines of the parties grow clearer and more distinct. Republicans close up solid for Grant—only Democrats support Greeley."

Democratic Opinion of Ku Klux.

Gentlemen who are finding fault with the vigor displayed by the Administration of President Grant in the execution of the laws enacted against Ku Kluxism, and kindred outrages, will do well to peruse the arguments of two of the most distinguished Democrats in the United States, Henry Stanberry, Andrew Johnson's Attorney General of the United States, and Reverdy Johnson, for years the Democratic leader in the United States Senate, and afterwards Minister to England, delivered by them on the occasion of their defense of the Ku Klux in South Carolina. Says Stanberry, addressing the jury: "Gentlemen, I do not justify that horrid outrage that was committed there, that night. IT MAKES MY BLOOD RUN COLD to listen to the relation of it; after they had got his gun to take him out from his family, and, without a moment's time to make his peace with God, to launch him into the other world; and, upon their return, to speak of it in the impious manner which has been detailed." Mr. Stanberry evidently does not believe in the inherent right of a Ku Klux to kill colored men.

And Reverdy Johnson said: "I HAVE LISTENED WITH UNMIXED HORROR to some of the testimony which has been brought before you. The outrages proved are SHOCKING TO HUMANITY; they admit of neither excuse or justification; they violate every obligation which law and nature impose upon men; they show that the parties engaged were brutes, insensible to the obligations of humanity and religion. The day will come, however, if it has not already arrived, when they will deeply lament it.—Even if justice shall not overtake them, there is one tribunal from which there is no escape. It is their own judgment. That tribunal which sits in the breast of every living man—that still, small voice that thrills through the heart—the soul of the mind, and as it speaks, gives happiness or torture—the voice of conscience—the voice of God. If it has

already spoken to them, in tones which have awakened them to the enormity of their conduct, I trust, in the mercy of Heaven, that that voice will speak before they shall be called above to account for the transactions of this world. That it will so speak as to make them penitent, and that trusting in the dispensation of Heaven, whose justice is dispensed with mercy, when they shall be brought before the bar of their Great Tribunal, there will be found in the fact of their penitence, or in their previous lives, some grounds upon which God may say —'PARDON.'

This was on the 18th of last December, less than seven months ago. It is good Democratic authority, from the distinguished men for the defense.

It might be inferred from the following letter from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle that H. G. had a cordial invitation to assist at the uproarious Bostin' jubilee:

CHAPPAQUA, June 29, 1872.

MY DEAR PATRICK:—Sorry I couldn't attend the jubilee. Fact is I can whistle only one tune first rate—"John Brown's Body Lies Mouldering," etc. Am now learning "In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand." I am on the programme for a solo at a Baltimore concert soon, and I'll give 'em a duet—whistle 'em both tunes at once. From the north-side pucker I'll give 'em "John Brown;" from tother pucker "Dixie." Of about 700 chorus-singers, 695 of 'em will join my south-side pucker in singing and dancing "Dixie," while t'other five will grunt "John Brown" 'tween the bars. O, that will be joyful when my friend Tweed's four hairs stand on end in rapture! I've written him a solo to sing called "Anything to beet, turnip, and root-a-mangle 'em." The concert to be repeated November 5th, and if the "noise and confusion will prevent my being heard," I'll whistle "Up Salt River," to a side-show. I have a musical instrument in New York (not an organ, but a Ried instrument nevertheless) that astonishes everybody; it plays soft and loud, up and down, fourteen tunes all at once, high or low, ad valorem. I would be delighted to hear the "Anvil Chorus." I've got an anvil, but there is no aperture nor mouth-piece to the horn of it. H. G.

Greeley and the Tammany Ring!

DOUGH-NUTS FOR DEMOCRATS!!

For the consolation of those hard-headed, uncompromising, straight-out, simon-pure Democrats in the State of Mississippi whose delicate stomachs are beginning to heave at the very thought of swallowing Greeley at the next election, we propose to drop the following little item of history, to show that the "farmer of Chappaqua" has, for more than a year, that we know of, had much more to do with the Democracy than most people ever dreamed. How long he has been hobnobbing with the Tammany Ring we know not, but that he was a PARTNER with the head thief of that corrupt organization, WILLIAM M. TWEED, as late as April 25, 1871, witness the following positive proof:

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, } ss.

We, Nathaniel Sands, Moses H. Grinnell, HORACE GREELEY, Samuel W. Barnard, William M. Tweed, Henry C. Holly, Henry Holdredge, Courtland Palmer, jr., and Albert S. Yeaton, all of the said city, county, and State, do hereby certify that we desire to form a company, pursuant to the provisions of an Act of the Legislature of the State of New York, passed February 17, 1848, entitled "An Act to authorize the formation of corporations for manufacturing, mining, mechanical, or chemical purposes," and of the several Acts of the said Legislature amending and extending the provisions of said Act. That the corporate name of the said company is to be "The Tobacco Manufacturers' Association." That the objects for which said company is to be formed are for manufacturing tobacco and cigars by machinery and otherwise, and for manufacturing machinery and utensils for the purpose of manufacturing tobacco and cigars, and for purchasing all the proper stock, tobacco, materials, utensils, and machinery, for the purpose of manufacturing tobacco, cigars, utensils, and machinery, and also for the further purpose

of selling the tobacco, cigars, utensils, and machinery so to be manufactured as aforesaid. That the amount of the capital stock of said company is to be one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. That the term of the existence of said company is to be fifty years. That the number of shares which said capital stock is to consist is to be seventeen hundred and fifty. That the number of the trustees who shall manage the concern of said company for the first year is nine, and the names of such trustees are Nathaniel Sands, Moses H. Grinnell, Horace Greeley, Samuel W. Barnard, William M. Tweed, Henry C. Holly, Henry Holdredge, Courtland Palmer, jr., and Albert S. Yeaton, and that the operations of said company are to be carried on in the city, county, and State of New York.

Dated New York, April 25, 1871.

	{	NATHANIEL SANDS,	[L.S.]
	{	MOSES H. GRINNELL,	[L.S.]
	{	HORACE GREELEY,	[L.S.]
Five cent	{	SAMUEL W. BARNARD,	[L.S.]
U. S.	{	WILLIAM M. TWEED,	[L.S.]
rev. stamp	{	HENRY C. HOLLY,	[L.S.]
	{	HENRY HOLDREDGE,	[L.S.]
	{	COURTLAND PALMER, JR.,	[L.S.]
	{	ALBERT S. YEATON.	[L.S.]

COUNTY AND CITY OF NEW YORK } ss.:

On this 25th day of April, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, before me personally appeared Nathaniel Sands, Moses H. Grinnell, Horace Greeley, Samuel W. Barnard, William M. Tweed, Henry C. Holly, Henry Holdredge, Courtland Palmer, jr., and Albert S. Yeaton, all to me known to be the same individuals described in and who signed the foregoing certificate, and they severally before me signed the said certificate, and severally acknowledged to me that they signed the same for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

WM. O. SHIPMAN,

Notary Public, New York county.
Indorsed. Filed May 23, 1871.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, } ss.

I, Charles E. Loew, Clerk of the said city and county, and Clerk of the Supreme Court of said State for said county, do certify that I have compared the annexed with the original certificate of incorporation of the Tobacco Manufacturers' Association, on file in my office, and that the

same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of such original.

In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my official seal this 18th day of April, 1872.

CHAS. E. LOEW, Clerk.

If that little scrap does not commend him to, and insure the support of Democrats, then the members of that defunct old party must be getting more particular in their declining days. THE GREAT THIEF OF TAMMANY AND HONEST HORACE GREELEY IN COPARTNERSHIP!

The country will now understand the strange silence that was observed by the New York Tribune at the time that the New York Times was unearthing the corruption of Tammany, last year! This silence was so stolid and persistent that the Times, fighting the millionaires alone, felt called upon to complain of the course of the Tribune in the conflict, and it will be remembered that the Tribune did not take part in the *expose* until the odor which arose from the mass of corruption began to stink in Democratic nostrils and until the whole newspaper world, Democratic, as well as Republican, were denouncing the thieves in unmeasured terms.

Tweed was Greeley's cigar partner, and of course Greeley, whether he was *particeps criminis* or not (and the world will be apt to think that he was) in his other schemes to defraud the tax-payers, would touch lightly upon the raw places of his business-brother—and the more our readers think of it the more likely it will appear that Greeley and the leaders of the Democracy in New York have had some sort of understanding for several years. It has not been a great while

since Greeley was a candidate in New York, in full expectation of the Democratic vote. Would it be surprising if this same Horace Greeley was now a candidate for the Presidency, put forward by and in the interest of the Tammany Ring?

Twelve months ago, Gov. Hoffman, of New York, was the prospective Democratic candidate for the Presidency. He was the only one in the party that was looked to. His blunder with the Orange procession and the exposure of the Tammany frauds, sent him to the rear and broke the backbone of the Democratic party. All hopes of the Democracy collapsed like a balloon pierced with a lance. And it came to pass, about this time, that certain Republicans, with Horace Greeley at their head, began to talk and write about reform. They inaugurated the *Liberal movement* that culminated, to the astonishment of nearly everybody, in the nomination of Horace Greeley at Cincinnati. Some of the newspapers said that Judge David Davis, who was already in the field as the nominee of the "Labor Reform" party, spent from fifty to seventy-five thousand dollars in the effort to secure the Cincinnati indorsement. Silly old fool! To suppose that a sum like that could successfully contend against the mountainous heap of Tammany! So, it is beginning to appear that Honest Horace Greeley is a better Democrat, after all, than many simple-minded persons had supposed. Mississippi Democrats can now come forward with a yell and do homage to the man whose peculiar fitness, as the Tammany candidate, marks him as their appropriate leader.

AMERICANS are in the majority at the principal Parisian hotels.

See How It Is.

Col. W. H. H. Tison, for a long time the U. S. Marshal of the Northern District of Mississippi—a popular Democrat of the olden time, whose friends of other days are urging him to become a candidate for Congress at the next election—in a column letter to the Tishomingo Herald, everlastingly goes for Uncle Horace Greeley. The following are the closing sentences of his letter:

Again, what right has Mr. Greeley or any Greeley Democrat to expect Democratic votes? If he should be nominated at Baltimore, it will demoralize and utterly ruin the Democratic party. A portion of the members of the party may be induced to vote for him, but the party can never, in unity, be brought to the support of such an undemocratic proceeding. If the Convention should take such a step, it will be one the party en masse cannot be expected to follow. No Democrat of course can be bound by any sort of consideration or implication, even in the remotest degree, by such action; for it will, if taken, be wholly unauthorized by the constitution of the party—contrary to any usage—wholly out of order, and will of itself be nothing but an open usurpation. The Convention is called to carry out the principles of the party—not to overthrow or annul them. If they see fit to travel out of their way and subvert their principles on that question, any Democrat will then have a perfect right to vote as he pleases. All this is perfectly true. The Baltimore Convention can by no means bind a Democrat to vote for any person outside of a member of the Democratic party, and if the Baltimore Convention indorses, or nominates Dr. Greeley, it will be a matter with each individual member of the Democratic party, as to voting for him.

I will say to you that I was a few years ago perfectly familiar with the Democracy of old Tishomingo, and always found them true to principles and faithful to the organization of the party; and do not believe at this trying hour that they will go after a life long-enemy in the person of Dr. Greeley. I am very respectfully,

W. H. H. TISON.

Greeley as a Know-Nothing.

We call upon the Rochester Democrat to retract its slanderous falsehood to the effect that Horace Greeley was formerly a Know-Nothing. We request the Democrat to inform its readers that Henry Wilson was the leader of Know-Nothingism in Massachusetts.—[Utica Observer.]

Says the Rochester paper thus attacked: "Go slow, good friends. If you can swallow all the rest of Greeley's record, you need not be troubled about this little morsel. Horace Greeley was no more nor less a Know-Nothing than Henry Wilson. Both sought to control a mania they could not subdue; and they succeeded. We are reminded of Mr. Greeley's course by a correspondent of the World. In 1858 the Tribune urged a fusion upon the same State and County officer, and said: 'We trust it may yet be found practicable in the Congressional districts.' Greeley attended a meeting at Kingston, New York, in August, 1858, and delivered a speech from the same stand with J. T. Headley. One of the resolutions adopted at that meeting urged the passage of a '*law excluding the foreign-born citizen from a vote in the State until he shall have resided in it as long as an American-born citizen exercising the same franchise,*' and Greeley, in his remarks, said 'he concurred generally and heartily in the propositions which they had adopted.' The report of the meeting will be found in the New York Express of the date of August 21, 1858. Inasmuch as the principal leaders of the Know-Nothing movement are now mainly in high position in the Democratic party; and inasmuch as Horace Greeley has now been on both sides of every other question which has divided the American

people, we are at a loss to understand the peculiar sensitiveness of the Observer. There must be something in the weather about these days. If the Observer will treat Henry Wilson as fairly as we do Horace Greeley, we will be content. And now will our friends take up some of the graver features of Greeley's record?"

"Gag-law" Triumphant.

THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION.

BALTIMORE, July 10.—To-day is the second of the Convention. The delegates generally were in their seats at ten o'clock.

Mr. Barr [Connecticut] announced that the Committee on Resolutions were ready to report. He came to the platform, and, at his request, Reading Clerk Perria read a report recommending the adoption of the resolutions already adopted by the Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati. [Cheers.]

In order that there should be no misapprehension as to these resolutions, Mr. Barr called for their reading in full to the Convention, which was done, each plank in the platform receiving applause. The one-term plank was especially well received. Three cheers were given at the close.

Mr. Barr "explained" that the resolutions were the Cincinnati platform exactly, nothing added, nothing excluded. This platform was adopted in committee by all the States except Delaware, Mississippi, Georgia and Oregon.

Mr. Bayard took the platform and said that while there was no disposition to carp at and oppose men because of their former political opinions, he hoped that the great Democratic organization would be allowed to have an independent expression of its own honest sentiments. [Cheers.] Why take cut-and-dried resolutions of another organization [applause]? why have opinions of other men forced down our throats as our expression? It is proposed that we shall go before the country for the first time without our own independent expression of principles. It is not just or wise to ask us to go into this campaign under the clothing of a minority. [Calls of "time," "time."]

Mr. Barksdale [Mississippi] asked if it

was admissible to take a separate vote on each resolution.

The Chair answered no, as the previous question had been ordered.

Mr. Barksdale—Then I ask a unanimous consent of the Convention to a division of the vote. [Cries of "no, no!"]

Mr. McRae [Tennessee] made an effort to obtain the floor, was finally recognized, and proceeded with an exciting protest against the cutting off of the debate.

Cries of "Sit down!" and "Call the roll!" The roll of States was called on the main question, the adoption of the platform.

Mississippi cast 7 for and 9 against the adoption of the Cincinnati platform. But the gag succeeded by a vote of 670 to 62, and the States and voices of Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island and West Virginia were not heeded in the matter.

Mr. Snowhook [Illinois] presented the name of Horace Greeley as the Democratic candidate for President. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

The roll was called on the Presidential nomination. Each vote for Greeley was received with cheers. The ballot resulted as follows: Greeley, 689; James A. Bayard, 15; J. S. Black, 21; Groesbeck, 7.

After some other business the 'Gag Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Gen. Grant's Silent Deeds—How the Southerners Returned from Brazil.

From the Indianapolis Journal, July 4.

In a speech delivered at Cleveland, Ohio, a few evenings since, Hon. R. C. Kirk, late Minister to the Argentine Republic, mentioned an act of kindness performed by President Grant toward certain ex-rebels, which is not generally known. After the war, a few hundred Southern men, feeling that they could not live under the United States Government, went to Brazil with their families. In a short time many of them became reduced to a condition of absolute starvation, and were eager to get back to the United States, but were unable to do so. In this situation President Grant ordered that all who wished to return should be transported on Government steamers free of expense, and nearly all of them thus found their way back.

A Word on "Military Despotism."

We commend the following table to those who believe in the silly twaddle retailed from the stump by the Democratic Liberalites, that our Government has become a military despotism, wherein the rights of citizens are trampled under foot. We are, to-day, the most benevolent, magnanimous, and charitable nation on the face of the earth. The American citizen who behaves himself, enjoys, to the fullest extent, personal liberty. There is no invasion of his rights by the Government. Our "liberal" friends confound liberty with license. Liberty is perfect freedom to do right. License is the unrestrained privilege to do wrong. No honest, law-abiding citizen complains of the rigors of the law. The complaint comes from the miserable cut-throats who think, under a free Government, they should have the right to pillage, and burn, and murder to their heart's content. Not satisfied with their murderous attempt to destroy the Union, they repay the magnanimity of the Government which kept their necks from the halter, by scourging and murdering the loyal men who stood true to the party that saved the Republic. Because the Government reached forth its strong arm and protected these persecuted loyalists, punished a few of these outlaws, and stopped their work of butchery, they and their friends send up the howl of "military despotism." The present Administration has been too lenient. It gave the States of the South a fair opportunity to protect their citizens. Instead of granting protection it saw the Southern States encouraging these brutal outrages, until it felt that longer forbearance would be a positive crime. The result of its intervention has had a good effect.

The Ku Klux bands have been broken up, the poor whites and blacks breathe freer; they realize that freedom and citizenship mean something more than the right to be whipped or shot; a feeling of security has taken the place of the reign of terror, and

the better classes of citizens, who honestly desire a return of peace and prosperity, feel some encouragement in their efforts to maintain law and order in their midst. To all who rebelled against the Government, who incurred the penalty of death, but who have been pardoned by a generous Administration, who have been the recipients of a magnanimity, such as the world never before witnessed, we commend the following exhibit. Let it be borne in mind that those who committed treason against the French Government were comparatively few in numbers, mostly confined to Paris:

	France.	United States.
Sentenced to death	73	None.
Hard labor for life	212	None.
Transportation, 1st degree	894	None.
Transportation, 2nd degree	2,900	None.
Detention	1,169	None.
Imprisonment with hard labor	60	None.
Imprisonment, 3 months and under	305	None.
Imprisonment, 3 months and upwards	1,373	None.
Imprisonment, periods exceeding one year	1,138	None.
Banishment	291	None.
Total	8,415	None.
Number of French loyalists murdered after the restoration of French authority	None.	
Number of American loyalists murdered after the restoration of Federal authority		4,570

Comment is unnecessary. We leave the civilized world to judge of the "despotism" of our Government under Republican rule.

THE Alta California fears that Mr. Greeley has set out on the ebb tide and that he will drift to sea, and from the midst of the ocean of political defeat, write another book, entitling it, "What I Know About Deep Waters."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS truly says of the first plank of the Cincinnati-Baltimore Democratic platform: "Democrats, your platform reads and sounds well! Horace Greeley makes a tolerably fair figure-head, but you must do work in accordance with both platform and figure-head, before honest men, knowing your past record, can put any confidence in you. While you prescribe colored people everywhere in your power, while you denounce the Republican party for shielding them from outrage, your platform and your nomination of the ambitious Horace Greeley will have all the appearance of the thinnest pretense and sham."

SPEAKING of the nomination of two renegade Republicans, to serve as cats-paws for the Democracy, in getting a few of the chestnuts out of the fire for them, the Corinth Ledger gives the following: "This was not a matter of mere bargain and sale, or a surrender of principle, or disorganization of the Democratic party; but it was absolutely necessary for the party to pursue the course that it did for the preservation of constitutional and representative government with us." "For preservation of constitutional and representative government"—for which Democrats care about as much as, in 1861, they cared for the United States under any sort of government whatever—substitute "the spoils of office and the defeat of Grant," and the reader will have the correct solution of the mystery. For no other great principle underlies the Cincinnati-Baltimore movement. It is purely and simply a cowardly and unmanly surrender of every principle for the sake of power and pelf. And it is to be defeated, after all.

A HORRIBLE charge is now laid at the door of the Democratic Convention, which, it is expected, will arouse a tury of opposition at its action. The stage carpenter at the Opera House where the Convention was held, and who arranged the scenery, was Spangler who was tried for the murder of Mr. Lincoln.—[New Orleans Times.

Spangler merely held Booth's horse, probably unwittingly, while the tragedian murdered the President. In his late action, in aiding the Baltimore Conventionalists, he participated in a dark crime, for he knew that he was murdering the Democratic party. But there is nothing strange that the accomplice of assassins should be found siding with Greeley. The thieves of Tammany, the murderers of Lincoln, the midnight conspirators, all join with the man who wanted the erring sisterhood of States dissolved and our beloved Union destroyed. "Birds of a feather flock together."

Startling Facts.

Since the close of the rebellion, not less than *twenty-three thousand persons*, black and white, have been scourged, banished or murdered by the Ku Klux Klans of the South. The victims of their horrible barbarity have been Republicans. Not a single Democrat has suffered. Loyalty to the United States Government brought persecution; disloyalty, exemption.

Since the enforcement of the Ku Klux acts by the present Administration, peace and security have reigned throughout those States infested by the Klans. The defeat of this Administration will be the renewal of these organizations and a repetition of past outrages. Is there a Republican in the land base enough to be a party to so great a wrong? Millions of loyal men and women South are depending on our party and its strong arm of justice for continued protection. The Government must protect them.

What is Sure to Follow.

Democratic Liberalites grow eloquent over the results which will follow the defeat of President Grant.—“The South will embrace the North, and peace and good-will reign everywhere.” By what means this “peace and good-will” are to be brought about in the South, may be judged by the means employed in the past. The Presidential election of 1868, in the State of Louisiana, affords a gleam of light on this subject. The Democrats wanted to carry the election. As they could not outvote the Republicans, they determined to kill them off.—How well they succeeded may be learned from the report of the committee appointed to investigate the affair. We quote:

The testimony shows that over 2,000 persons were killed, wounded, and otherwise injured in that State, within a few weeks prior to the Presidential election; that half of the State was overrun by violence; that midnight raids, secret murders, and open riots, kept the people in constant terror until the Republicans surrendered all claims, and then the election was carried by the Democrats.

It says of the riot at the Parish of St. Landry:

Here occurred one of the bloodiest riots on record, in which the Ku Klux killed and wounded over two hundred Republicans in two days. A pile of twenty-five bodies of the victims was found, half buried, in the woods. The Ku Klux captured the masses, marked them with badges of red flannel, enrolled them in clubs, marched them to the polls, and made them vote the Democratic ticket.

This is not fiction, but words of truth from an impartial report. This is “the peace and good-will” which would follow the defeat of President Grant; these are the “Liberal” rights which would be allowed the loyal citizen. The instigators and the actors of these horrible crimes are in favor of Horace Greeley. This one fact should open the eyes of the people to the full meaning of this desperate combination of “anything to beat Grant.” Defeat Grant, and the loyal people of the

South are once more at the mercy of the rebel blood-hounds, who only need his defeat to finish their work of blood. Defeat Grant, and universal gloom will settle over the South, and obscure forever the sunshine of liberty which is just beginning to light up its once desolate fields. Defeat Grant, and civilization is retarded at least a century.

“No Man, No Party, Can Enter into Political Alliance with Dishonor and Corruption and Not be Infected.”

From the Fayette (Miss.) Chronicle.

No sentiment was ever uttered that contained more truth and wisdom than the foregoing. Yet in the face of this the Democracy of the United States are earnestly solicited and besought to exercise their suffrages for a party and a man, whom to support would be to turn their backs upon every principle ever advocated by them.

They are asked to vote for a man who has been everything in its turn except a Democrat. A man who is seeking to be elevated to the highest position in the gift of the people by Democratic votes, WHEN ONE OF HIS LATEST UTTERANCES, PRIOR TO HIS NOMINATION AT CINCINNATI, WAS THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT GRANT RATHER THAN A DEMOCRAT SHOULD BE ELECTED. We are asked to vote for Greeley, because “he is honest,” when all his hue and cry for reform sinks into insignificance when placed in the scale with party success. A man is seeking to be elected to the position of Chief Magistrate of the United States by the votes of men who he wanted to return from the war to find their homes in ashes, their wives and children in rags and want.

We are asked to vote for Greeley in order to bring about reform, when he would rather corruption and rascality would stalk at noonday than to see one of the men whose support he seeks, elevated to the position he aspires to. A man asks you to thrust honors upon him when he was more clamorous than any to have laws passed depriving your people of liberty and casting them into dungeons without even the semblance of a trial. THINK OF THESE THINGS, SOUTHERN MEN, BEFORE YOU COMMIT YOURSELVES TO GREELEY.

Horace Greeley's Portrait.

A VIVID PICTURE BY THE HARTFORD “TIMES”—INTERESTING READING FOR DEMOCRATS.

The Hartford Times, the leading organ of the Connecticut Democracy, had this to say of Mr. Greeley July 3d, 1871:

HORACE GREELEY AND THE PRESIDENCY.

It seems now to be admitted on all hands that Mr. Greeley, backed by numerous friends, is determined to make an effort to secure the highest office in the gift of the American people. That he will fail even to secure a respectable nomination there can be no doubt! Able as he is as a writer of paragraphs, influential as he is in disseminating a certain class of ideas, he has no power as a leader in the political organization to which he belongs. He is a Radical, and yet he repudiates many of the essential ideas of the Radicals. His desire for universal amnesty runs directly counter to the temper and policy of his party. The great majority of those who control that party are determined to exclude the best men of the South from participating in public affairs just as long as possible. In this they gratify their resentments, and by this they hope to continue their ascendancy. They will not give up this policy at the bidding of Mr. Greeley or any other eccentric Republican unless forced to do so. Greeley has not the power to force the result. He is a clumsy and impolitic manager, and utterly without the means of bringing his own party to his support. He is what the first Napoleon called an idealogist—a man with a busy, teeming brain, but with an infirm, erratic and impracticable judgment!

Neither has he any firm foothold in the popular heart. He is the idol, not of the masses, but of a comparatively small class whom politicians ignore, except when they can use them. He is a theorist and not a man of great action. With all his experience, it is safe to say that he is the poorest judge of character of any prominent man in this country. He is forever being gulled and imposed upon as he has repeatedly shown by his Quixotic support of public and worthless characters of his own party. He has been alternately bamboozled and hooted at for the last fifteen years by the managers of that party. And he has shown himself destitute of

adequate power to defend himself, beyond now and then a vigorous editorial in the Tribune. Once, and once only, has he ever been able to revenge himself upon those who had betrayed him. That was by the defeat of Seward and Weed when Lincoln was first nominated.

To be sure Lincoln was not Greeley's first choice. He proposed Bates of Missouri, as the candidate, but his great object was to crush Seward and Weed, who for long years had ignored his claims to office. He therefore put his knife into them in a way which at once surprised them and avenged himself. But his practical force spent itself in the act of defeating them. He never had much influence in shaping the policy of Lincoln's Administration, and received none of the attention he desired and to which his party services entitled him. Though he had ejected Seward and Weed from the head of the table, he did not occupy a favorable seat himself, or receive even the broken victuals of the political feast.

He is in no better position now. Without patronage, without a compact, well-organized body of friends, with no popularity outside of a certain exceptional and eccentric class of people, with a record disfigured in the eyes of his radical associates by such passages as the advocacy of letting the South go in peace at the outbreak of secession, the Niagara mission, the bailing of Jeff. Davis, and his support of universal amnesty, his chances of obtaining the nomination are good for nothing. All he can do is to weaken the opposition to Grant, and thus secure a renomination of the latter!

BUT nevertheless we mean to conquer them—not merely to defeat, but to CONQUER, to SUBJUGATE them—and we shall do this the most mercifully the more speedily we do it. But when the rebellious traitors are overwhelmed in the field, and scattered like leaves before an angry wind, it must not be to return to peaceful and contented homes. They must find poverty at their firesides, and see privation in the anxious eyes of mothers and the rags of children. —[Editorial Article headed “No Halt Measures,” Tribune, May 1, 1861, page 4, column 4.

HORACE GREELEY is a vegetarian. Being asked what would restore a fading moustache to its original color, he briefly responded: “Diet.”

Little Gratz Brown.

Last week we dropped into the laps of sick Democrats who favor us with a perusal of our paper, a few little crumbs of comfort. A nice palatable morsel, in the shape of doughnuts, for those who still seem to doubt the fitness of Honest Horace Greeley for the leadership of the Democratic party. We showed how fully he was in affiliation with the mammoth thieving organization of the age, and produced the recorded proof that he was in copartnership with the vilest rogue unhung, and out of the penitentiary, Boss William M. Tweed, of the Tammany ring. And we have more to say on that subject this week. But in this article we propose to introduce little Gratz Brown to our readers, and see if *he* has not left "foot-prints on the sands of time" that will commend *him* somewhat to a considerable portion of the adulation that Democrats are endeavoring to pour upon the Cincinnati-Baltimore ticket. If the philosopher of Chappaqua is the confidential friend and representative of Seymour, Oakey Hall, Tweed and Co., he is not entitled to *all* the consideration.

And now, Democrats, as we lift the veil that hides the beauty of this Missouri Mokanna, do not shudder, do not shrink, but in obedience to the *orders* brought back from Baltimore by your master of the Clarion office, stand up to little Gratz! Of one thing you may be assured—you will find yourselves, after the November election, in a condition but little if any more humiliating than you did in 1869, when the self-same master and his political associates led you into the

service of Dent and Sinclair. Indeed you may be able to draw some consolation from the reflection that Greeley and Brown are not much more objectionable now than Dent and Sinclair were then. Besides, as you descend in the scale of political honesty and integrity, the shame and odium will gradually become more tolerable. Educated and trained, as your political stomachs are now being educated and trained, you will soon be able to swallow anything in the way of a renegade. But to little Gratz! Little Gratz was in the United States Senate once, and just at the time when it was apparent that the Southern flag must go to the dust, and when the statesmen of the North were turning their attention to the great question as to what should be done with the Southern States and their institutions, and what were the surest and fairest, easiest and best means of re-establishing the harmony of the government of the United States, little Gratz struck the administration of the Democracy, especially the Southern wing of it, in the following style, from his seat in the United States Senate. On the subject of the confiscation of lands he held the following language:

In this adaptation, however, four million laborers must be guaranteed not only the abstract title and name of freedmen, but its substance in the shape of MILITARY ORGANIZATION and the right of homesteads upon abandoned estates. Confiscation must do its work toward reorganization.

* * * Slavery in its artificial development at the South monopolized the land, and thus left no stand-point from which to challenge its existence. You must undo its work. This is necessary, because it is upon the sub-division of lands, the small freeholds, the multiplied homesteads, that the support of religion and education, the church and the school-house must rest. It

is idle, nay it is criminal, to halt in taking this step under the plea that it may work destitution to the few. You have already millions of the destitute to provide for, and this is your only present resource. Is not the landed property of the slaveholder already confiscated by refusal to pay any tax to the support of the war? Shall the plantations of the slave masters alone have immunity of exemption, when the home of every loyal workman is laid under contribution?

MILITARY ORGANIZATION! Sinful Democrats, read that and thank your stars that little Gratz did not have the say when the time came for you to enter upon the work of reconstruction! Read that, if you would not be dupes, and be astounded at the audacity of that leadership that presumes to drive you, like so many dumb cattle! "CONFISCATION AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION" might do for one morning's lesson in the history of little GRATZ, but while this remarkable speech is before us, we cannot resist the temptation to quote another paragraph or two.

Read under the light of the recent effluent sentences pronounced at Cincinnati and Baltimore about disfranchisement, generosity, amnesty, forgiveness and all that sort of sickening twaddle, the following extract from the same speech, will strike the ear of the nation, as coming from the lips of the most arrant demagogue that now breathes the breath of life, and yet Gratz Brown said it. Read:

THE FUTURE OF THIS REPUBLIC WILL NEVER BE PERMITTED TO REPOSE ON THE OATH OF THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY VIOLATED THE MOST SACRED COMPACTS. On the contrary, the ending must be a conquest, not a compromise. The policies of freedom must be ingrained into the new life of the heretofore enslaved sections by methods as deliberate as they are to be irresistible; with a warm sympathy, an unrelaxed vigor, and a decision that knows no faltering.

Office-hungry Democrats, what think ye of that! Little GRATZ has said it and as far as his instrumentality is concerned we verily believe the statement to be true!

A feature of the Cincinnati platform which seems to be prized more highly in this section than any other is the sly wink that is given to States Rights, under the modified guise of local government, as contradistinguished from Centralization. Democrats, and even Mr. Watson, the old Whig, who would not permit an allusion to the "time-honored principles of the Democratic party" to appear in Mr. Barksdale's resolutions, at the late State Convention, roll the State sovereignty idea as a toothsome, sweet thing, under their tongues. Hear little Gratz! He bursts out into the declaration that, "the second marked characteristic in the great progress that is swelling forward, overturning old modes of thought, conscripting constitutions and remodeling the functions of government, is an *enkindled nationality*." On this point here is a salient paragraph:

Call it, then, suicide or subordination, the implication is the same. Indeed, it is realized on every side that what was heretofore held up as a "State," with assumption of a coequal or antagonistic control, as such, is gone down in the mighty tread of this people marching on to deliverance. Commonwealths may exist, may be revised, may do functional work, may co-operate in subordinate orbits, but their so-called sovereignty is suicided. State sovereignty, the leash sought to be put on the Democracy of the nation; State sovereignty, the banner of the oligarchs in their war on freedom; State sovereignty, the archetype of disunion and disintegration, has become a myth and a fable, and in the stead of its many idols there shines forth the one splendor and power of a national sovereignty, preordained to success.

In the face of these high-wrought phrases how can the demagogue confront the upturned faces of a brow-beaten Democracy and expect the honest ones among them to vote for him for anything? Take the organization now opposed to the re-election of Grant, as a whole—the head and tail of the ticket, the organizers and the followers—and it is doubtful if ever, in the history of politics, a more shameless set of tricksters, hypocrites and dupes were ever found in the same combination.

The Lost Records of the Buell Court-Martial.

It is to be regretted, in the interests of fair play in politics, that in the closing hours of the late session of Congress the Military Committee of the House of Representatives were obliged to submit an incomplete, and therefore unsatisfactory, report of their hurried investigation into the disappearance of the so-called Buell records from the archives of the War Department. But every circumstance connected with the case imperatively demanded, in the name of simple and impartial justice, that a slanderous and untruthful story, affecting the integrity and honor of high officials of the Government, should be put to the blush the moment that candid inquiry showed it to have no better foundation than the malice and meanness of certain political malcontents smarting under the signal defeat of their latest attack upon the Administration. Had this report been delayed till another session, for the purpose of rendering it more complete, the covert purpose of the movers of the investigation would have been fully accomplished.

It is worthy of notice in this matter that while those who have had reason to dread the loss or misplacement of these Buell papers have entertained, until lately, no suspicion of their inability to produce them on call, there have been others, of presumably inferior knowledge of the subject, who turned out to be much better informed on that point than the responsible custodians of the records. The Secretary of War, for instance, when first requested—as part of the conspiracy, it would now seem—to furnish copies of the papers to a committee of Congress having no apparent use for them, only deemed it necessary to inquire of his subordinates as to the number and size of the document, and the time and clerical force it would divert from current duties to supply the copies, and these subordinates, in the very confidence of innocence, simply described the papers from memory—having seen them often—

without a thought that memory was all there was left of them. Hence, the Secretary was led, in an unwitting, but most provoking manner, to place himself for the time in a false position by pleading the voluminousness of the records as the reason for withholding the requested copies; his interlocutors knowing all the time—what he did not—that he could not have produced originals or copies, had he so desired. Pushing to the utmost their advantage—for so they regarded it at the time, probably on the base principle that an unfounded accusation, once made, is more effective than a dozen authentic contradictions—they put through the House a mandatory resolution for the transmission of the papers, and forced from the Department a confession—as unexpected to the makers as familiar to the plotters—that the records were not to be found. Then followed the investigating committee, by unanimous consent, of course, for such is the mixed condition of our national politics, that the burden of proof no longer rests on the accuser, but on the accused, and “silence gives consent” to the most absurd, extravagant, and unvouched criminations.

The satisfying part of the report of the Buell investigating committee is the closing promise of a further investigation next session; and it being clearly evident that all who could be expected to have any legitimate knowledge of the whereabouts of the vanished archives, know only that they have illegitimately disappeared. The committee will probably begin at the other end next time, and inquire how it was that those who might reasonably have been supposed to know the least about the Government records came into possession of such full and exclusive information. Is the Marquis de Chambrun ubiquitous; or is Andrew Johnson as garrulous as ever? The latter was, indeed, before the committee, but his examination did not partake of that solemn, deliberative character of which the uplifted right-hand is at once the sanction and the symbol. And it does not belie the

record of the late acting President to suggest that he is somewhat careless of speech and unsteady of recollection. By the ethical code, too, of his late associates and present political friends and allies, he is properly amenable to suspicion, for it is a well-known fact that, to the acting President of 1866-'69, nothing could be more distasteful than the existence in the Buell papers of such a record as was therein contained of the Tennessee military governor of 1862-'63. Then, too, should any theory tending to associate Mr. Johnson with the loss of these documents proceed so far as to touch the question of reluctance or scruple as to the gleanings of the Government archives, the fact instinctively is recalled to mind that the Executive Mansion was stripped of its official records in 1869, on the incoming of the present Administration, and that the inconvenience arising therefrom is still felt, now and again, by those entrusted with the reins of government.

Whether it be true or not that Mr. Johnson was the direct or indirect cause of the abstraction of records in which his own name figures, there is no reason to doubt that the gentleman, who, of all others, is most interested in their recovery, General Don Carlos Buell, believes fully that their abstraction is due entirely to the ex-President. He has so expressed himself, and has further declared that the good name and fame of President Grant, or of General Sherman, is nowise affected by anything that appears in the records of his trial. The President has repeatedly declared his own belief that Mr. Johnson has, more than any other man, to dread the examination of that record. Secretary Stanton did not trust Johnson, and one of his chief reasons was the questionable transactions which occurred while he was acting as military Governor of Tennessee.

It may be charged that these are mere speculations, but it was upon fewer “probabilities” that a more direct accusation concerning the records was leveled against the late and the present commanders of the army—the one just about to come before the peo-

ple a candidate for their renewed confidence and suffrages; the other absent from the country. It was essential to the devices of the opposition that they should be connected in the story of the lost records, for the purpose of keeping up the influence of the insidious and wily suggestion that these great soldiers, by having an indissoluble common interest in the past, may be expected to be found acting in company for the establishment of that military despotism which an incredulous Republic is implored to believe already threatens its existence. But so long as it be matter of history with the tens of thousands who served under and with them that the “tie that binds,” and has ever bound, these two men together, proceeds from mutual esteem and respect, and from the utter absence at any time of professional or personal jealousy, envy, or rivalry, the intelligent people of this country, grateful for the happy results of such a conjunction when their fortunes were staked on many a bloody field, will not be prone to burden their souls with groundless fears at the behest of desperate place-hunters. They are more likely to spend the time in computing the extra cost in blood and treasure of the envious strifes and jealous contentions of military ambition in the late war.—[Pilot, July 13.]

THE Galveston News, a Greeley organ, says: “The Jefferson Times is one of the oldest as well as ablest papers in the State, and has long been edited and controlled by R. W. Loughery, Esq., who deservedly ranks among our ablest writers. But we regret to say that he is very bitter against Mr. Greeley, as will be seen by the following extract. After speaking of Gen. Grant’s objectionable traits of character, which he calls by the mild name of ‘faults as a soldier,’ he then adds: ‘But we would trust him with all his faults, his sins of omission and commission, before we would this miserable, mercenary, dirty, white hat philosopher, who nominally edits the Tribune, writes essays, delivers lectures, and visits agricultural fairs for a few paltry dollars.’”

Southern Expectations from Greeley.

A correspondent of the Syracuse (N. Y.) Journal gives account of conversations held with members of the Southern Press Association during their recent excursion. One of them spoke of the hoped-for election of Greeley to the Presidency, and in answering what effect it would have as relates to the colored people, replied: "Elect Greeley and we will show you. We will take care of the niggers if you keep the army away. We will teach them their places. We do not want to restore them to slavery; but we want laws that will keep them in their places. Give us an Administration that will keep its hands off, and we will take care of the niggers. If we elect Greeley the first step to a restoration of our rights will be taken. We must re-establish the great doctrine of States rights." Another one said: "We don't care anything about Greeley, but we must divide the Republican party. It is our only chance of success. What will he amount to as President, with a Democratic Cabinet and a Democratic Party at his back, except to do our bidding? I tell you, my friend, we want him. We are fighting the old issue with the pen, and we must put the great General of the Pen in command. We propose first to put a stop to military dictation—we will have the army withdrawn from the South, and the people (whites) left to govern themselves. We will restore State Rights and the Constitution as it was. We were ready to live on bread and water all our lives to gain the cause we fought for in the war, and we are now ready to make any sacrifice to the same end

—swallow Greeley, Sumner or any other penitent thief that will serve our purpose. As old 'Squire Paddock said when I told him Lee had surrendered: 'We must go back into the Union, and get control of the Government and run it, till we are strong enough to fight them again.'"—[Pilot, July 27.

The Fifth District.

Hinds county is now in Congressional District No. 5 of the State, which District consists of the following twelve counties: Issaquena, Warren, Hinds, Rankin, Smith, Simpson, Jasper, Clarke, Wayne, Jones, Covington and Lawrence. The vote in the District for Governor in 1869, was as follows:

	DENT.	ALCOBN.
Issaquena.....	32	1342
Warren.....	1003	4641
Hinds.....	1415	3819
Rankin.....	1006	987
Smith.....	489	115
Simpson.....	389	376
Jasper.....	606	669
Clarke.....	705	1147
Wayne.....	228	397
Jones.....	179	101
Covington.....	320	207
Lawrence.....	665	967
Total.....	7,035	14,868

Relative strength of the two races:

	WHITES.	COLORED.
Issaquena.....	741	6,146
Warren.....	7,907	18,862
Hinds.....	9,829	20,659
Rankin.....	5,704	7,273
Smith.....	5,415	1,711
Simpson.....	3,569	2,149
Jasper.....	5,986	4,898
Clarke.....	4,073	3,432
Wayne.....	2,570	1,636
Jones.....	3,005	308
Covington.....	3,006	1,646
Lawrence.....	3,073	3,042
Total.....	55,483	71,763

SAY what may be said, the indorsement of Greeley at Baltimore will not unite the masses of the Democracy in support of him.—[Columbus Democrat.

Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne.

HE DECLINES TO EAT CROW—HIS REASONS FOR REFUSING, ETC.

From the Handsboro Democrat, July 20.

The following is a private letter from our old friend Col. Claiborne, to the editor of this paper. We deem it best to place it in type at once, to put an end to the numerous inquiries as to the position of the writer. COL. CLAI-BORNE HAS BEEN SO LONG REGARDED AS AN EXPONENT OF POPULAR SENTIMENT IN THIS STATE, and has been so much consulted on this coast, that it is right his opinions should be known from his own pen. We have read his letter with much regret. It will be received with regret by his friends, and especially by the Democratic press, with which he has been so long connected, throughout the State. But the National Democratic Convention having gone outside the party to find a candidate for the Presidency, leaves, we are bound to say, a wide margin for independent action. Col. C. has ever been a strict party disciplinarian, but in this case he certainly has the right of private judgment, and no man can justly censure him for following his own convictions. We hope we may soon come together again—hereafter as heretofore—in defense of the Constitution and the public liberty, of which he has ever been a tried and trusted champion:

BAY ST. LOUIS, Miss., July 15, '72.

Capt. P. K. Mayers:

MY DEAR SIR: After much painful reflection and many misgivings as to my duty, I have made up my mind that I cannot go for Greeley. It is the first time in my life that I have separated from my political friends, and no one can tell how

much pain it gives me. The great majority of the Democrats are going for Greeley, BUT I HAVE SAID SO MUCH AGAINST HIM, WRITTEN AGAINST HIM FOR FORTY YEARS, AND HAVE SO LITTLE FAITH IN HIM, THAT I CANNOT GO FOR HIM WITHOUT CONFESSING THAT MY WHOLE POLITICAL LIFE HAS BEEN A SHAM AND A LIE. He has been a Fourierite and a Communist—the father of a hundred "isms," social and political. His paper was so incendiary that, for years, no postmaster in the South would distribute the packages that were freely sent for gratuitous delivery. He has been and is to-day, a Protectionist, too ultra and inflexible ever to compromise. He defended the right of secession, denied the right of Federal coercion, and yet during the war he was our most remorseless enemy. WHAT GUARANTEES HAS HE GIVEN, WHAT CAN HE GIVE, SATISFACTORY TO THE SOUTH, OR TO THE COUNTRY? All our material interests and progress, and development depend more or less on free trade, and we know he regards it as the most damnable of heresies. I am not attacking Mr. Greeley. I regard him as an honest, but most impracticable politician—"everything by fits and nothing long," and consistent only in his opposition to those cardinal and fundamental principles of political economy which materially concern the South. If I am in error, may God and my friends forgive me.

I DON'T SEE HOW YOU OR ANY DEMOCRATIC EDITOR CAN ASSAIL ANY DEMOCRAT WHO CANNOT SEE HIS WAY CLEAR TO VOTE FOR GREELEY. You have all said so much against him! I must, therefore, bespeak your charity for myself and others, who still feel the force of your arguments against him. Our opinions are mainly based upon his record as published in your own journals.

We are separated for the present, but if you succeed in electing the distinguished journalist, SIX MONTHS THEREAFTER WE SHALL, DOUBTLESS, BE ACTING TOGETHER AGAINST HIS ADMINISTRATION.

Very truly, yours,

J. F. H. CLAIBORNE.

**Speech of Gerrit Smith to his
Neighbors in Peterboro, N. Y.,
June 22d, 1872.**

The Democratic Party is my dread. The Republican Party is my hope. What is this party of which I am so much afraid? I need not say that it is not the original Democratic Party—the party of my childhood and youth. That was a worthy party—a party for human rights and human equality. It was the reform party of its day. It favored universal suffrage and the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and many other beneficent changes. But this modern Democratic Party—this degenerate Democratic Party—is very unlike the original Democratic Party. It is utterly unworthy of the name it has so falsely, not to say so knavishly, assumed. It had, for many years before our accursed Rebellion, sympathized with and served the slave power of our land. Hence, when, a dozen years ago, that mighty power became so inturiated as to fall upon our nation with the purpose of breaking it up entirely and forever, it found the Democratic Party ready to help carry this malignant purpose into effect. Indeed, but for the well-known proslavery spirit of that party, the Rebellion would not have been. It was the slave power's reliance on that spirit and on the impliedly, if not in fact expressly, promised aid of tens of thousands of Northern Democratic troops, which supplied what that power lacked of encouragement and boldness to plunge into the Rebellion. When speaking of this degenerate Democratic party, I, of course, do not include in it the thousands of loyal men who, on the breaking out of the Rebellion, forsook it and espoused the cause of their country. All the way through the war, this infamous party continued in more or less active sympathy with the slave power—ever hostile to the emancipation of the slaves; and ever hating and despising the colored race. All the way through the war, it mourned over our successes and rejoiced in our defeats. All the way through the war, it disavored enlistments in our army, and opposed the drafting of men to fill up our wasting ranks. All the way through it, it did what it could to weaken our national credit both at home and abroad; and to reduce and cripple our means for carrying on the war. And since the war its conduct has been in keeping with its conduct during the war. Repu-

diation of our national debt, and impossibility that it could ever be paid, when not the cry upon its lips, were still the deep desire of its heart. Despairing of the literal re-enslavement of the negro, it went for heaping upon him as much of other injustice and cruelty as was possible. It refused him the right to vote and to be educated. To this day it persists in refusing him his full measure of civil rights and his equality before the law. Worst and most satanic of all, it opposes all effectual legislation for suppressing these Southern Associations, that whip and hang and shoot thousands of innocent blacks, and not a few innocent white men also, who dare stand up for justice to these innocent blacks. Let me here say that nothing surprises and alarms me more than the softened tone in which this hell-born Ku Kluxism is now spoken of in certain quarters where, until quite recently, it was denounced with the utmost vehemence. How great the change, at this point, in even the New York Tribune! Does it but reflect a change in its former eminent editor? How sad, it so! This and a few other newspapers, styling themselves "Liberal Republican" (alas, they are quite too liberal toward this superlative wickedness!) continued, until within a few months, to inveigh against Ku Kluxism as the most horrid of all the crimes of earth. But, now, these newspapers would have us believe that Ku Kluxism was only a little and short-lived affair, which has already passed away, leaving peace, harmony and love to supply its place. I admit, that there is, just now, a lull in the storm—but the storm is not yet ended. I admit that, just now the outbreaks of this matchless wickedness are less frequent, but there are still thousands upon thousands of men and women, who are in constant dread of their recurrence. Let President Grant, who so faithfully executes the laws against Ku Kluxism, withdraw his repressing hand for only a single week, and the flames of hell would again burst out there as furiously as ever, and the whip and halter and bullet be again as busy as ever. It is true that thirty-six persons, convicted of Ku Klux crimes, were sent a few days ago to the Albany Penitentiary, and that hundreds and more nearly thousands of others are now under indictment for such crimes; but the spirit of Ku Kluxism will not die out so long as the Democratic Party exists to sympathize with that spirit. Let us not be deceived by the representation that Ku

Kluxism is confined to the "low whites" of the South. Many of the influential Southern Democrats are involved in it. No small proof of this is that not a few of them fled the country as soon as President Grant undertook to enforce the laws against the murderous scoundrels. No wonder that he is unpopular with these scoundrels, and that they prefer for President some softer person than this iron and invincible soldier. Nevertheless, the dread he inspires is just what is needed a few years longer to restrain and subdue this worst element in the population of our country, if not indeed the worst in the whole world. Not only did I consent to have my name at the head of Jefferson Davis's bail bond, but, as you are aware, I felt so kindly toward the South as to be from the very first, in favor of universal amnesty. When, however, the reign of Ku Kluxism set in, I paused, and doubted whether that portion of our country, which breeds and cherishes such monsters, should receive any more unmerited favors. Heartily did I concur with the motion of our old neighbor, Senator Nye, that the candidates for amnesty be required to purge themselves by their oaths of all participation in Ku Kluxism.

Such my neighbors, as I have described it, is the Democratic Party. But what occasion had I for describing it? The occasion is the present rekindling of its zeal and renewing of its efforts to get the reins of Government once more into its own hands. But by all that is precious in justice and mercy the Republican Party must be kept in power; and by all that is abhorrent in oppression and cruelty and murder the Democratic Party must be kept out of power. It is said, however, that the Democratic Party has been kept out of power a dozen years, and that it is now time to forgive it and to let it try its hand at ruling again. No, it is not! When then will it be time? Never! Never!! What, not if it repent? It cannot repent. It has sinned too long and too deeply to be capable of repentance. It cannot rise up out of the bottomless depths of its political wickedness. As that generation of Israelites which rebelled against heaven, was shut out from the promised land, so must this generation of impenitent Democrats, of Rebellion-favoring Democrats, of negro-hating, negro-whipping, negro-hanging Democrats be forever shut out of power. Time enough will it be for the Democracy to come again into power, when the pres-

ent Democrats (the youngsters excepted) are all dead. Thankful should our Democrats be that the penalty of their crimes falls but upon themselves and not upon their children also. Thankful should they be that under our merciful Constitution there can be no Bill of Attainder—no disqualifying of children because of the crimes of their parents.

Sad day would it be for the negro if the impenitent, unchanged and unchangeable Democratic Party should come again into the ascendant! God forbid that it shall ever come! Ku Kluxism, now restrained and in process of extinction by the action of the righteous and merciful Republican Party, would then reappear to repeat its enormities. Whoever reads the newspapers cannot fail to see that the chief argument, which the Democratic Party relies on to rally opposition to the Republican Party, is the protection from Ku Kluxism that the Republican Party is affording to the negro.

But may not the Democratic Party be allowed to put up and vote for Republicans? Yes!—but Republicans should, as a general thing, pause long before they vote for them. But suppose that party puts up for President so pronounced and eminent a Republican as Horace Greeley—cannot Republicans consistently vote for him? Certainly not. For his election would as surely be the success of the Democratic Party as the election of President Grant will be the success of the Republican Party. The election of Mr. Greeley will not turn the Democratic Party into a Republican Party—but it will turn him into a Democrat—not I trust, into one of the worst type—but still into a Democrat. In anticipation of merely his nomination he talked differently about the Tariff from what he had been wont to do; and, instead of continuing to uphold the President's hands in his warfare against Ku Kluxism, he joined himself to those who would palsify them. He had now ten words against the "Carpet Baggers" where he had one against the Ku Klux. No, Mr. Greeley's election would not assimilate the Democratic Party to him, but him to it. So it has ever been in such cases—and how, with his kindly and obliging spirit, can he prove an exception? I do not say that Mr. Greeley will set out to be a Democrat; and I admit that he may be largely insensible of the progress of his change. Nevertheless, whether consciously or uncon-

sciously, he will be moulded, and this, too, at no very slow rate, into harmony with the general views and policies of this great Party, which, as seductively as flatteringly, places him at its head. But what if Mr. Greeley should, notwithstanding his candidacy and election, remain miraculously unchanged?—it does not follow that his election would not be the success of the Democratic Party. The President is not all the Government. Congress is far more nearly all of it; and Mr. Greeley's election would be quite likely to result in a Democratic Congress. Many of these seceding Republicans will sell their votes to Democratic candidates in exchange for Democratic votes for Mr. Greeley. Unless human nature shall change, the sympathy between these seceding Republicans and the Democratic Party will, all the land over, ripen into open coalitions. The nomination of Mr. Greeley by the Democratic Party—a nomination to be consummated by the Baltimore Convention—is, in effect, a scheme to draw off by this use of his name enough Republicans to turn the scale in favor of Democratic ascendancy. I have not spoken to disparage Mr. Greeley. I have no sympathy with the defamation and abuse of him. I am as indignant at his being called a "free lover" as at President Grant's being called a "drunkard." I know him well and esteem him highly. That he has risen by force of his very remarkable talents and many virtues, from poverty and obscurity to his present distinction reflects no small credit both on himself and our American free institutions. I do not blame him for his aspirations to the Presidency. He means to be, if elected, an honest as well as wise ruler. I only lament that he had not been content to look for his honors solely to the Republican Party. As the candidate for however high an office at the hands of the Republican Party, I would readily have voted for him. I only lament that he should have sought his honors by lending his name and influence to the Democratic Party, and by damaging and endangering that other Party, which he had served so long and so well. Right here let me answer the question—Where is the Democratic Party to be found? Is it to be found in the recent Cincinnati Convention, or in the approaching Baltimore Convention? It is to be found in both. It is to be found wherever war is made upon the Republican Party. To call

the handful of Republicans represented in the Cincinnati Convention the Republican Party is absurd. The hope of that Convention was in the Democratic Party. Its candidates are the candidates of the Democratic Party—and are to be beaten as such and not as candidates of the Republican Party. I need say no more of the Democratic Party except to add that patriotism and justice, the love of country and the love of God forbid our voting with it or for any of its candidates.

We now turn to the Republican Party. At the time it came into being (considerably less than twenty years ago) the Democratic Party was sunk into a dead conservatism and into the basest servant of the slave power. The Whig party became the basis of the Republican party, notwithstanding it bore quite too much resemblance to the Democratic Party. Happily, however the Whig Party allowed itself to be leavened by the handful of old uncompromising abolitionists. In this wise was the Republican Party constituted; and the condition of its continued existence and power is that it shall continue to be a Reform Party. Grandly did it begin its reformatory career. It fought for the life of the nation, and saved it; it fought against the guilty rebels of the South, and the more guilty rebels of the North, and conquered both; it fought against slavery and killed it; it fought for the rights of the black man and won them. And it did all this not only without the help of the Democratic Party, but in the face of its determined and unremitting opposition. Its work is not yet done. What is lacking in the civil rights of the black man, it must hasten to supply. I speak not here of social rights. They must take care of themselves. The laws have nothing to do with them. Many other reforms are urging themselves upon its adoption; and, unless it shall soon begin to espouse them, it will die, because of its failure to fulfill the condition of its existence—in other words, because of its failure to continue to be a Reform Party. Ere this the Republican Party should have abolished the franking privilege. Ere this it should have accorded the ballot to woman. The wide step in this direction, taken in the Philadelphia Convention, Convention should be followed up without delay. Ere this, too, the Republican party should have arrayed the Government against the dram-shops. For what is the

office of Government but to protect persons and property? and the sum total of all other perils to person and property falls short of such perils from the dram-shops. I ask not that the Government espouse the cause of temperance, and enact sumptuary laws—but I insist that it should be true to itself, and protect persons and property, whether in doing so it shall help or harm the cause of temperance. The hope of the country is in the continued ascendancy and continued reformatory spirit of the Republican Party—and it there be times when, on account of its present refusal to adopt some vital reform, we shall feel bound to withdraw from it, the withdrawal should ever be with the hope that it may be but temporary, and may result not in loss but in gain to the Party.

Another Presidential election is at hand. Whom shall we vote for? In the light of what we have said, we cannot vote for candidates of the Democratic Party, however worthy they may be. Grant and Wilson are my own choice—first, because they are candidates of the Republican Party and the upholders of its righteous principles; and, second, because they are wise and honest men and have especial claims to our votes. Wilson is eminently a friend of the laboring man and the black man. Aply and faithfully, and for many years has he fought their battles, and they will rejoice in this opportunity to vote for him. Admirably qualified is Mr. Wilson to take President Grant's place should it be made vacant by resignation or death.

Emphatically true is it that there are special reasons and of the weightiest nature for voting for President Grant. He saved our country in time of war. He blesses it in time of peace. After a long series of successes and defeats, and in which there were quite as many defeats as successes, and when our country was beginning to doubt of our ultimate success, Gen. Grant was summoned to the supreme command of our armies. His policy of persistence, of continuing to hew his way on the same line, though it should take all summer long to reach victory, was much censured by Gen. Cluseret and other distinguished military men. Nevertheless, it prevailed. He won the final battle. Gen. Lee surrendered, and our divided nation again became one. By the way, the charge of Gen. Grant's severity towards the South is very unjust. The easy terms on which he allowed Lee to surrender, prove the

kindness and generosity of his heart toward the South. I said that he serves us well in time of peace also. He preserves us in amity with all nations. He pursues a friendly and peaceful policy toward the poor, misguided Indian; and, though Ku Kluxism is still countenanced by the still pro-slavery and still negro-hating spirit of the Democratic Party, he is fast overcoming it, and bringing its crimes to an end. The vast debt which the slavery and Democracy-promoted war brought upon the nation is fast disappearing under Gen. Grant's Presidency, and this, too, while our taxes are rapidly diminishing.

But it is said that President Grant should retire at the end of his term, and give place to another. Common sense, however, argues that his having been a good President once is a strong reason why he should be President twice. Thus did common sense argue when it re-elected Washington, the first savior of his country. Thus did it argue when it re-elected Lincoln, the second savior of his country; and thus does it now argue when it is about to re-elect Grant, the third savior of his country.

It is said, too, that President Grant has made mistakes. In beautifully modest terms does he himself confess it, and hopes to learn from experience. All men make mistakes. Not even Presidents are exempted from the aphorism that "to err is human." Some of his appointments have turned out badly. So was it with a larger proportion of the appointments of part, if not, indeed, of all his predecessors. One thing more—all the efforts (and they have been as malignant as incessant) of General Grant's enemies to charge him with money-making motives, or with any other corrupt motives in his appointments, have signally failed. But he has given offices to his relatives. Yes, it is true that of the scores of thousands of offices in the gift of the Administration, some half dozen or a dozen have gone to his relatives. He has even allowed his old father to continue to be what a previous President made him, Postmaster of a little town in Kentucky. If President Grant has given offices to relatives simply because they were his relatives, he has done wrong. But if it were mainly because being his relatives he could judge better of their qualifications, then, surely, no great blame should attach to him in this matter.

Another charge against the President is

that during his Presidency he has accepted presents. The charge is untrue—though, in saying so I do not admit that there would necessarily have been moral wrong in his accepting them. It is true presents were made him, as well as other successful Generals, to express the gratitude and admiration of those who made them; and it is also true that to single him out for blame in the case proves that General Grant is a basely persecuted man. No other General is complained of for doing what he did; and in the case of no other General is it held to be other than entirely innocent and proper.

What, however, shall we do with Mr. Sumner's speech against President Grant? We cannot make light of it and toss it aside—for Mr. Sumner is, at once, both a great and good man. No one has spoken more frequently or more powerfully for his country, and especially for the colored race. He lives to-day in the true American heart; and many generations will pass away before his honored and beloved name shall be forgotten. How shall we account for it that such a man should dislike President Grant, whom we should all thank and love, and honor, and dislike him, too, more than any other man dislikes him? Some say he is impelled by revenge for not being put again on the Committee on Foreign Relations. This is not true—of, long before that he had revealed to myself, and doubtless to others also, his intense dislike of the President. May we not look for the origin (not the extent) of this intense dislike to the different tastes and habits of the two men? Mr. Sumner was born in affluence and bred in elegance. He was moulded in some of the best schools of America and Europe, and by intercourse with some of the most cultured minds in both, he became one of the most accomplished of orators and statesmen. President Grant, on the contrary, was a poor boy and a laboring man. It is true that for this Mr. Sumner would not despise, nor at all undervalue him. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the great intellectual power manifested by the President, Mr. Sumner would be one of the last men to see in him fitness for statesmanship or for the Presidency. Hence, Mr. Sumner, instead of interpreting the President in favorable lights and with a generous spirit, has been more disposed to follow his steps with criticism and censure. This has become such a habit with

him that now, at last, we see him, as in this bitter speech, hunting for occasions against the President where his candor and dignity should not have allowed him to hunt for them, and finding them where only his disordered vision could find them.

Mr. Sumner speaks of President Grant's insult to Frederick Douglass, and through him to the colored race. The insult exists but in Mr. Sumner's imagination. Certain it is, that Mr. Douglass is insensible of it—for he is still the uncomplaining and warm friend of the President. Mr. Sumner says the President, in inviting the San Domingo Commissioners to dine with him, forgot Mr. Douglass. But Mr. Douglass, though Mr. Sumner speaks of him as one of the Commissioners, was not one of them. Like General Sigel, he had served the Commission in the capacity of Assistant Secretary, and like him, he was not with the Commissioners (Senator Wade, Doctor Howe and President White,) when they called "informally" upon the President and were "informally" invited to dine with him.

I speak of but one other unjustifiable attempt on the part of Mr. Sumner to depreciate the President. He says that Mr. Stanton, our eminent War Secretary, exclaimed: "He (President Grant) cannot govern this country." Doubtless Mr. Stanton said this—for Mr. Sumner is a man of truth. But who was Mr. Stanton when he said it?—a dying man—"his hands," as Mr. Sumner says, "already clammy and cold." Very unjust was it in Mr. Sumner to repeat and lay stress upon the words—very unjust both to Mr. Stanton and to the President. Strange thoughts—thoughts contradictory to the tenor and habit of his whole life—do some times flit through the brain of a dying man. Emphatically so was it in the case of Mr. Stanton—for abundant is the evidence that when he was in health, and even down to his fatal sickness, he spoke of the President in terms of exalted praise. These words, which Mr. Sumner has so imprudently and unauthorizedly repeated, should be allowed to weigh nothing either against Mr. Stanton's consistency or President Grant's ability.

Let us, my neighbors, instead of disparaging President Grant, and dwelling on the few errors in his Administration, be thankful that he makes us so wise and safe a President. Very foolish is the man who, instead of enjoying the light and heat of

the sun, spends all his days in mousing after and manifying the spots upon it.

I close with saying that we must have Grant for our President, a few years longer. The Antislavery battle is not yet fought out—nor will it be, so long as a single shred of Ku Kluxism remains, nor so long as there are persons who are deprived, on account of their complexion, of so much as one civil right. Let it not be said that the negro, having gained most of his rights, is content to live without the remainder. The more nearly he gains them all, the more discontented and grieved he will be if any one of them is still withheld from him. Such is human nature.

"The prisoner sent to breathe fresh air,
And taste of liberty again,
Would mourn were he condemned to wear
One link of all his former chain."

We can trust the Republican Party, with Grant at its head, to finish this great work which it has begun. But we speak in the light of the past and unchanged character of the Democratic Party, when we say that if it come again into power, and with whatever person at its head, the black man will again be outraged—and, if possible, re-enslaved; the national debt be repudiated, or the Confederate debt, including the price of emancipated slaves, be assumed and put upon a par with it; and, in short, the half million of lives and five thousand million of dollars expended in putting down the rebellion and establishing the equal rights of all men will have been expended in vain.

Is there a black man either at the North or at the South, who is inclined to vote the Democratic ticket? He had better die than do it. He had better die than so wrong his race and so wrong us, whose lives have been lives of suffering and sacrifice for the redemption and welfare of his race. Will not William Lloyd Garrison and his fellow-laborers have lived in vain, if now, at the last, the black man for whom they have lived, shall turn against them and go over to their and the black man's enemy?

"A purely selfish interest," Mr. Greeley once remarked, "attaches the lewd, ruffianly, criminal and dangerous classes to the Democratic party." And now a purely selfish interest attaches Mr. Greeley to the lewd, ruffianly, criminal and dangerous classes. "Sic transit," etc., and it is more than probable that Horace will be horribly sick of his latest transit.

Horace White on Horace Greeley

As Horace White, of the Chicago Tribune, is now one of the principal supporters of Mr. Greeley for President, it may be interesting to recall Mr. White's opinion of his friend, as published in 1868:

Horace Greeley is not now, and never has been a man who ought to be trusted with an official position requiring practical wisdom, ordinary statesmanship, or firm, consistent action. For twenty-five years he has been a marplot in council, an unreliable commander in action, a misanthrope in victory, and a riotous disorganizer in defeat. He has always been fanatical in his demands for the extremest measures, and when the party has reached the eve of triumph, invariably thrust himself forward as a negotiator of terms of surrender to the enemy. His course during the war was but a repetition of his course in politics. In 1861, he was an open defender of secession; he changed to a vigorous champion of the war, and thereafter was forever recklessly making proposals for peace and as recklessly withdrawing them—making war in spite of Mars, and negotiating peace in spite of Minerva.

For twenty years he has been an uncompromising advocate for a square fight with the pro-slavery party, and when that kind of a fight was forced upon the Republican party 1860, he was here in Chicago, voting not for Lincoln, nor for Chase, but for old Edward Bates, of Missouri, one of the fossils of the slave party. He was then the associate and co-laborer of that other impracticable and unreliable squad—the Blair family. The country at this time wants no inspired harlequins in the national councils. Still less does it want men with statesmanship so microscopic that they can see nothing in public business but the mileage and per diem of their fellow-members. If Mr. Greeley is not satisfied with his position as a journalist—a position which ought to be equal in point of influence, power and dignity to that of six average Senators—and if the Republicans of New York want to do something for him, let them make him State Prison Inspector, or even Governor; anything that will not make the outside of the State responsible for his follies.

Horace Greeley on Ku-Klux and the Enforcement Act.

On the 12th of June, 1871, Mr. Greeley made a speech to some citizens of New York, who met in that city to welcome him home from his Southern trip. In that speech he thus replied to the question he said he was frequently asked, whether there were any Ku-Klux down South:

Yes, gentlemen, there are. They didn't come up to me and tell me they were Ku-Klux very often. [Laughter.] They didn't undertake to perform their delicate operations upon me. I should have had very much more respect for them if they had. [Great laughter.]

I am moved with profound disgust when I think of these men, covering themselves up with second-rate calico, masking their faces, arming themselves to the teeth, and riding around to the cabins of poor harmless negroes, dragging them from their beds, and whipping and maiming them until they are compelled to swear they will never again vote the Republican ticket. I hold that to be a very cowardly procedure as well as a very base one; and I hold it to be the duty of the Government of the Union to oppose with all its power and all its force every such execrable procedure as this. Do you tell me that those men are liable to the State laws for the assaults and batteries they have committed? I don't doubt it; but I say they are also in substance and purpose traitors to the Government, rebels against its authority, and the most cowardly, skulking rebels ever known to this or any other country. [Applause.]

I hold our Government bound, by its duty of protecting our citizens in their fundamental rights, to pass and enforce laws for the extirpation of the execrable Ku-Klux conspiracy, and, if it has not power to do it, then I say our Government is no Government, but a sham. I, therefore, on every proper occasion, advocated and justified the Ku-Klux Act. I hold it especially desirable for the South; and, if it does not prove strong enough to effect its purpose, I hope it will be made stronger and stronger. [Applause.]

Why, fellow-citizens, these very men that asked me if I saw any Ku-Klux—these very men have themselves read the

returns of the election in Louisiana, when that State, with 30,000 black majority on its registers, was made to vote for Seymour and Blair by more than 30,000 majority; counties which had 3,000 negro voters alone giving three, two, one, and in several instances no vote at all, for Grant and Colfax. Now, friends, you and they know perfectly well that this result was secured by terror and by violence; by telling those black men, "You shall vote for Seymour and Blair, the enemies of your fundamental rights, or you shall not vote at all, or you shall be killed." That was the way Louisiana was made Democratic in 1868; and that is the way that I trust she will never be made to vote so again. Therefore I uphold and justify the Ku-Klux law. Fellow-citizens, the Ku-Klux are so myth, although they shroud themselves in darkness. They are no flitting ghosts; they are a baneful reality. They have paralyzed the right of suffrage in many counties throughout the South, and have carried States that they ought not to have carried; but they are not the only enemies to Republican ascendancy in the South.

Gov. Wise on the Gratz Ticket.

RICHMOND, July 17.—Ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, in a letter declining an invitation to address a Grant and Wilson ratification meeting at Alexandria, says: "It is entirely out of the question for me to act with any political party at the present time and in the present attitude of affairs. This I have said: That I cannot accept or vote for so-called Liberal Republicans, they are so liberal, they are so loose as to have no principles and adopt worse, as will suit the birds of every feather met together at both Cincinnati and Baltimore. They have in strange confusion mingled white spirits and gray, so that the party are the worst of mongrels, and all things to all men. To you, I have a patriotic word to say: Excel the Liberal Republicans, be just and true Republicans to yourselves and to all men. The time has come for General Grant to let us have peace.

WILLIAM DEAN, of Newark, Delaware, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, has resigned his position, saying he cannot take that bitter pill, Greeley. "Next!"

Beecher on the Situation.

HIS OPINION OF THE THREE PROMINENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

From the Christian Union.

Now, then, people can take their choice of the three G's—Grant, Greeley, Groesbeck; the brave soldier, the skillful editor, the acute lawyer; the old Republican, the new Republican-Democrat, the old Democrat. As for ourselves, we stand by our colors—Grant and Wilson, and the old Republican party, which has been tried and proved in stormy days, when the whole nation leaned upon it and found it a sure support. It went through the fire and the flood to save our country. We do not believe that the common people of America are ready to throw away an old servant, and put in its place a party whose whole strength lies in the adhesion to it of the very men whom the Republican party has fought before, at Shiloh, at Vicksburg, at Gettysburg, and around Richmond. They tried to take Washington several times before. They could not do it by bullets, and we do not intend that they shall by ballots. This country is not prepared to pass the Government into the hands of that party which has for fifteen years done nothing but fight those laws and that policy which they hope soon to construe and administer. It is not even pretended that the rank and file of the Democratic party have been converted to those ideas for which the whole war was waged. They have changed their policy, but not their convictions. They will go to Washington as Liberal Republicans, but once there they will throw off the odious name, and stand forth out-and-out Democrat. The old questions are not settled. It is not likely that any party will attempt to overthrow the constitutional amendments. But a law may be made nugatory without abolishing it. The spirit of an Administration may neutralize a constitutional provision without attacking its letter.

If the Republican party is defeated it will be mainly by the concentration of Democratic votes, North and South. The Democratic element will preponderate to such an extent that it will be impossible to carry on the Government except by its political and moral influence. In six months there will not be the shadow of a doubt that the Democratic party has swallowed and digested all the erratic Republicans

that helped it, and it will stand forth, no new creation, born out of past struggles, with regenerated genius to lead on a new era, but from inevitable inward necessity it will be the old Democratic party. The voice may be Jacob's, but the hands will be Esau's. Now is the time to consider the *may be's*.

Facts for the People.

Since March 3, 1869, to March 3, 1872, there has been paid into the United States Treasury on account of internal revenue, the sum of \$479,982,636 81. There is still outstanding against Collectors whose terms of office have expired since June 30, 1869, the sum of \$452,398 80, or less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the amount actually paid into the Treasury. Of this amount still outstanding at least four-fifths will be paid eventually, either by the parties themselves or by their sureties, so that the ultimate loss to the Government during the period mentioned will not exceed one fiftieth of one per cent. of the amount collected.

This statement is not based on speculation, but on actual facts, as shown by the records of the Internal Revenue Bureau, and we can justly challenge the best conducted firm in the country to furnish an exhibit of their business transactions more satisfactory than this.

And yet, in face of these facts, which show the highest integrity in the collection of the revenue, the Administration is charged with corruption. Our opponents deal in charges, but are very careful to avoid the proof. To make an assertion is one thing, to prove it is quite another. We claim that the Administration is honest, and we accompany our claim by the strongest proof to sustain it. We ask our enemies to specify a single act of official corruption against President Grant. Thus far they have been unable to establish one.

More about Greeley and Tammany.

If anything more is needed to stamp the Cincinnati-Baltimore movement and the nomination of Greeley, as a corrupt bargain between the Tammany ring and that great renegade of the day, the positive proof will be found in the following which we copy from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle. We venture to predict that, if any Democrat or Republican with any sort of conscientious scruples, will read the article carefully, and then attempt, within the next three days thereafter, to pronounce the word *reform*, he will either choke to death or become so hoarse that he will bark like a dog until after the election. Read it, Democrats, and yell if you can, for HORACE AND GRATZ:

IMPORTANT POLITICAL HISTORY—THE BARGAIN OF HORATIO SEYMOUR AND HORACE GREELEY.

No words are necessary to show that the ambition of Horace Greeley is great beyond the restraining influence of principle and honor. His present position is proof conclusive of the fact. He is the candidate of a party which he opposed all his life, and he is in open opposition, directly and indirectly, to every principle he has ever espoused. He is also the candidate of men, claiming to be Republicans, who are struggling to ruin the Republican party because they cannot rule it. Thus far the people are well informed. How long Mr. Greeley has been an enemy to the party to which he professed to belong, is another question. How long he acted in secret to accomplish his own elevation at the expense of everything else, is a matter of considerable interest. That he did act in secret to this end is now very well known; and that his nomination at Cincinnati was not the accident it appeared, but the result of a deep-laid scheme has been suspected. Who are the schemers? What was the plot

and where did it begin? We copy this very important and interesting bit of political history from the Binghamton Republican, merely remarking that it bears the impress of truth:

We have come in possession of some facts which account in part, if not wholly, for the remarkable and hitherto inexplicable action of the Democratic leaders, in endeavoring to force Horace Greeley upon their party, as its candidate for the Presidency. In October of last year, months before the "Liberal" Republican Convention of Missouri began the Cincinnati movement, Mr. Greeley was in conference with a Democrat in this State whom we know, on the subject of the Presidency; that Democrat was hunting for a compromise or a dissatisfied Republican candidate whom the leaders of his party would indorse; and Mr. Greeley agreed to accept, if nominated. Mr. Greeley wrote a letter to this Democrat, in reply to one; and this led to the conference, at Mr. Greeley's invitation; at which meeting Mr. Greeley consented to become the candidate if the nomination were tendered him. We have seen Mr. Greeley's letter to which we have referred, in his own well-known hand-writing.

The Cincinnati Convention of so-called Republicans was hardly then thought of; but we have proof that we deem conclusive of the fact that Democratic collusion with some of the delegates of that Convention, particularly from this State, led directly to Mr. Greeley's nomination. A prominent Democrat of Central New York wrote to a prominent man, hitherto a Republican, one of Mr. Greeley's chief friends and advisers, in New York city, only a few days before the Cincinnati Convention met, on the subject of the proposed candidacy. That Democrat was in favor of Greeley's nomination; and believed that the Democratic party of the country could be brought to his support in certain contingencies. The reply to the letter was a reply that pleased and gratified him; it crowned the negotiation; and the result, an understanding of what the Democrats were prepared to undertake, was, as we have said, made known to the prominent men in the New York delegation at Cincinnati. The name of the leading Democrat we have mentioned is Horatio Seymour; and of the Republican friend of Greeley, Waldo Hutchins. That the negotiation was carried on, we have

The Catholics Refuse the Bait.

Mr. Greeley's private organ has been trying all it knows to cajole the Irish Catholics into voting for the Theatrical Woodchopper. It appears from an article in the Freeman's Journal of this week that the Honest Farmer cannot drop salt on the tails of the Catholics so easily as he supposed. The following is an extract:

We have seen New York crazy several times. But, truthfully, New York is not crazy just now. Were we to characterize the condition of Democrats in New York, it would be by the application of an expressive term incompatible with craziness of the intellect! We would charge it with political idiocy!

Why, they writhe, they contort themselves, and proclaim how nauseous Greeley is to them—and yet they suppose, many of them, that they must vote for him! They say, deplorably, that they know he is full of weaknesses, and that all his weaknesses lean and fall over to the vicious side; and yet they think they may have to vote for him! Some of them may vote for him. Nor can we be sure that the opportunity for self-degradation being presented to the people of the State of New York, they may not yet, by a majority, vote for Greeley. But the madness that will lead them to do so has not yet occurred.

A distinguished New England Democrat is reported to have said in elegant language: "I am trying to take Greeley. I have swallowed him three times, and kept my mouth shut—but, every time, he comes up through my nose!" That New Englander will probably succeed in keeping down Greeley, without "enthusiasm." At the South, some talk of taking him "as an emetic!" Emetics, taken in June, are of a very queer character if held till November.

Taken all for all, this is one of the most deplorable "break-downs" that the political history of the world, so far as truthfully written, has ever seen. If Catholic theology did not teach us that a "Republic," depending on free electors, was a legitimate form of government, and good, so long as the electors were fit to govern themselves, (see St. Thomas, *passim*.) we would think that God Almighty was making fun of Americans for thinking they could do without a king!

seen the sufficient and undeniable proof. We have been shown a letter from one of the well-known writers of the last named correspondence. Horace Greeley, Waldo Hutchins and Horatio Seymour are the "high contracting parties" to the great scandal of American politics. We state the fact of the correspondence on our proper responsibility; and if any of the persons we have named denies, we will give dates and details, and procure testimony, that they will not be in position to dispute. The statement not contained in the two letters, one of Mr. Greeley, which, by the way set aside Chase for Democratic use as "broken down" and the other, signed by one of the three mentioned, are given upon perfectly good authority. There is no longer reason to doubt that there has been a perfect understanding between Greeley and the Democrats for at least eight months past. It was after October last the tone of the Tribune became decidedly hostile to the Republican party. It was before the beginning of this year that the change was generally conceded. Readers of that paper, who have preserved files of it, will see that between October, 1871, and May, 1872, the Tribune was practically a Democratic journal, as it is to-day.

Now let Mr. Greeley, or anybody for him; or Mr. Hutchins, or Mr. Seymour, come forward. People generally have believed Mr. Greeley's nomination the result of a secret bargain. The Democrats believe it, for they trust their leaders; but Republicans who have regarded Mr. Greeley as a Republican, and who have given any confidence to Cincinnati, will be astounded to learn that he was in effect sold to the Democrats before Cincinnati; that he would undoubtedly have been made a candidate before the regular Democratic Convention, if there had been no Cincinnati; and that they are the victims of a bargain carried out by trickery; which will—it grows more and more likely—be consummated at Baltimore.

And which *has been* consummated at Baltimore [Editors PILOT.

One of our old-fashioned Democrats was quite indignant the other day when accused of being a Greeley man. "Do you think, d—n you," said the ancient ruralist, "that I would vote for a man that even the d—d niggers won't support? Not much." [Scioto Gazette.

Democratic Laws.

If a Democratic Administration should come into power we should have a revival of those infamous laws which many of the Southern States enacted soon after the close of the rebellion. The defeat of President Grant means the enslavement of the laboring classes of the South. To give a fair specimen of the Democratic laws which would be enforced against the freedmen if Greeley should be elected, we make a brief review of laws passed by the Legislative Assembly of Mississippi, in the fall of 1865. These laws would have been in force to-day had the Democrats been in power.

One provision was that these people, who were landless and homeless, should on the 1st day of January in each year, have a lawful home or employment, and written evidence of the fact in the shape of a license issued by the proper authorities. All contracts for labor with freedmen for a longer period than a month were required to be in writing. If the laborer quit the service before the time stipulated, he forfeited all his wages up to the time of leaving. Any person might arrest him and carry him back to his employer and compel the freedmen to pay him for his service a fee of five dollars, and ten cents a mile for the distance traveled. This when paid by the employer could be held as a set-off against the freedman's wages. Moreover, when he left this employer without just cause, a warrant could be sued out for his arrest, and it possessed the virtue of leaping county lines and traveling from county to county until the lost was found. When the employe was returned to his employer, all the expenses of his capture and return were in like manner deducted from his wages. It was to all intents and purposes a fugitive slave law. If any person gave to the fugitive food or raiment there was a penalty ranging from twenty-

five to two hundred dollars, and the law provided if the good Samaritan did not instantly pay the fine and costs he might be sentenced to two month's imprisonment. If any one enticed a freedman away with the view of giving him employment without the limits of the State, the fine might be \$500, with imprisonment if not immediately paid. There was a general provision that whenever a fine or forfeiture was imposed upon a freedman the Sheriff might hire him to any person who would pay the fine for the shortest time of service.

A law, entitled "the vagrant act," was passed at the same time. The second section (page 90, Act of 1865) provided that all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, of Mississippi, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, should be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof might be fined as high as fifty dollars, and imprisoned, at the discretion of the Court, not exceeding ten days. Another section provided in case the fine imposed was not paid in five days, the Sheriff should hire the freedman out until his wages paid fine and costs. If he could not be hired then he was to be dealt with as a pauper.

It was enacted that as white persons were compelled to support their paupers, so the freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, should support theirs. To effect this the boards of county police in each county were required to levy a poll-tax on each colored person, and as we read the law, of both sexes, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, which was to constitute a freedman's pauper fund, and be applied to the maintenance of the poor. This law provides that if any one, young or old, no matter what the excuse, should fail to pay the tax, it shall be deemed evidence of vagrancy, and the Sheriff is required to arrest him and hire him out, giving, of course, the preference to the employer.

Again, by another law it was made lawful for a freedman to charge a white person by affidavit with a crime committed on his person or property. But the penalty in case the accusation was not maintained, and to use the language of the law "was falsely and maliciously made," judgment was to be rendered against him for

all costs in the case, and a fine and imprisonment might be added—a fine of fifty dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail for twenty days. If the fine, costs, and jail fees were not promptly paid by the freedman, the Sheriff might sell him into slavery until from his wages he could redeem himself. We might multiply citations from the laws of that session. They were all adapted to that condition of ignorance, poverty, and helplessness of the blacks by which they could be again reduced substantially to slavery.

After a review of these laws we can fully understand why the old rebel element throughout the South is in favor of General Grant's defeat. His Administration has protected labor everywhere and made the enforcement of such laws as we have reviewed an impossibility. Every rebel in the nation would hail with joy the election of Horace Greeley. They know that his triumph restores them to power and gives them complete control over the freedmen of the South.

Greeley on Pensions.

From the St. Louis Globe, July 22.

The Binghampton Republican publishes the affidavits of S. Carpenter and Leland, relative to the correspondence of Horace Greeley and Horatio Seymour with Lewis Carmichael, relative to giving the nomination at Cincinnati and Baltimore to Mr. Greeley on condition that Greeley should make certain stipulations, including, too, a grant of pensions to rebel soldiers. The correspondence began last September and was continued until May. Mr. Carpenter swears that Carmichael has for many years been a Democrat, interested in County, State and National Conventions, which he frequently attended, and that he has for about a year past been engaged in seeking a Democratic candidate for the Presidency; that Carmichael was last fall in correspondence with Horace Greeley and Horatio Seymour on the question of making new issues, one of which was the payment of pensions to disabled rebel soldiers as well as to Union soldiers, and that deponent saw letters from Greeley and from Seymour on that question; that one of Greeley's letters, which deponent recognized by what he knows of Gree-

ley's handwriting, and by the Tribune's heading to this letter, being an answer to a letter of Carmichael, asking his views on the Confederate pension question, expressed the views of Mr. Greeley as favorable to the passage of a law providing that the general Government pay a pension to Southern disabled soldiers, although he (Greeley) doubted whether Congress would pass such a bill; that deponent read the letter carefully, and this was its true expression and meaning, and it was freely discussed between Carmichael and deponent; that this letter was, according to deponent's best recollection, dated in August, or early in September, 1871. Deponent saw a letter from Horatio Seymour on the same subject at about the same time. Mr. Seymour expressed himself in opposition to making the pension question an issue then.

THE Troy, New York, Press, (Dem.) is restive under the venomous utterances of Greeley concerning the Democracy, and cannot remain silent. It copies these charges made by the Democratic candidate for President against the mass of his supporters:

That all pugilists, gamblers and harlots are Democrats;

That Democrats fill all the haunts of debauchery;

That all Democrats are ignorant sots;

That they are blacklegs, burglars and keepers of dens of prostitution;

That they thrive upon the ignorance of the community;

That they all love rum and hate niggers, and that they are lewd, ruffianly and criminal.

Upon these charges it comments as follows:

Well, it must be confessed that these are pretty severe charges, but they remind us of a puzzle which appeared in the newspapers some time ago, in which a boy claimed an impossible relationship to a girl. The natural inquiry was how the case could be as stated by the boy. The answer was: They were not related—the BOY LIED.

Greeley, on the other hand, denounces Seymour as a "liar" whose "infamy is unspeakable," and all his indorsers as equally so. And they all lie together. Happy family!

Gen. Grant.

WHAT HE IS—HIS GREAT QUALITIES—HIS GENIUS—PRE-EMINENCE AMONG ALL GENERALS—HIS HEROIC DETERMINATION—SURENESS OF JUDGMENT, ETC., ETC.

Gen. Grant's history should teach us to discriminate better than we Americans are apt to do between glitter and solid work. Our proneness to run after demagogues and spouters may find a wholesome corrective in the study of such a character as his. The qualities by which great things are accomplished are here seen to have no necessary connection with showy and superficial accomplishments. When the mass of men look upon such a character they may learn a truer respect for themselves and each other; they are taught by it that high qualities and great abilities are consistent with the simplicity of taste, contempt for parade, and plainness of manners with which direct and earnest men have a strong natural sympathy. Ulysses Grant the tanner, Ulysses Grant the unsuccessful applicant for the post of City Surveyor of St. Louis, Ulysses Grant, the driver into the city of his two-horse team with a load of wood to sell, had within him every manly quality which will cause the name of Lieutenant-General Grant to live forever in history. His career is a lesson in practical Democracy; it is a quiet satire on the dandyism, the puppyism, and the shallow affectation of our fashionable exquisites as well as upon the swagger of our plausible, glib-tongued demagogues. Not by any means that great qualities are inconsistent with cultivated manners and fluent elocution; but that such superficial accomplishments are no measure of worth or ability.

Gen. Grant's last brilliant campaign sets the final seal upon his reputation. It stamps him as the superior of his able antagonist as well as of all the commanders that have served with or under him in the great campaigns of the last year. It is not necessary to sacrifice any part of their well-earned reputation to his. Sherman and Sheridan deserve all that has ever been said in their praise; but there has never been a time since Grant was made Lieutenant General, when anybody but Sherman, on our side, could have been classed with him. Since Sherman's bold march through Georgia, and his capture of Savannah and Charleston, there

have been many who, in their strong admiration of his great achievements, inclined to rank him as the greater General of the two. The judgment, we take it, is now reversed by the court of final appeal; not by dwarfing the reputation of Sherman, which suffers no just abatement, but by the expansion into grander proportions of that of Grant.

Grant stands pre-eminent among all the Generals who have served in this war in the completeness of his final results. He has owed nothing to accident; and, both in the West and the East, he has accomplished the most arduous things that were to be done. The great thing in the West, without which the rebel power could never have been broken in that vast region, was the reopening of the Mississippi; the great thing in the east, the taking of the rebel capital, Richmond, was the right leg of the rebellion, and the Mississippi River its left. Both were contested by the rebels with a full appreciation of their value. The resistance was, in both cases, powerful and obstinate enough to put the most heroic tenacity of the most indomitable mind to a proof sufficient to test its quality. Gen. Grant has exhibited the utmost strength of will of which the highest type of manhood is capable. The defenses of Vicksburg and the defenses of Richmond were both deemed impregnable, and were defended with a proportionable confidence and obstinacy; but they both yielded, at last, to Grant's matchless persistence and unequalled strategy. And, in both cases, he not only took the long-contested positions, but compelled the surrender of the whole force defending them. Nothing could be more clean and complete, even in imagination, than Gen. Grant's masterly execution. He did not merely, in each case, acquire a position which was the key of a wide theatre of operations; he did not merely beat or disable the opposing force; he left no fragment of it in existence except prisoners of war subject to his disposal.

If anybody is so obtuse or so wrong-headed as to see nothing great in Gen. Grant beyond his marvelous tenacity of will, let that doubter explain, if he can, how it happened that, since Grant rose to high command, this quality has always been exerted in conspicuous energy precisely at the point on which everything in his whole sphere of operations hinged. There has been no display of great quali-

ties on small occasions; no expenditure of herculean effort to accomplish objects not of the first magnitude. It is only a very clear-sighted and a very comprehensive mind that could always thus have laid the emphasis of an indomitable soul so precisely on the emphatic place. How, if he be not a General of the first order of intellect, as well as of the most heroic determination, does it happen that in assigning great and brilliant parts to his subordinate commanders, he has never, when the results of his strategy were fully unfolded, appeared in the picture except as the central figure? However it may seem during the progress of one of his great combined campaigns, it always turns out at last, when it reaches that completeness and finish in which he contrives to have his campaigns end, that we see him standing in the foreground, and that the grouping is always such that the glory of the other Generals instead of eclipsing his own gives it additional lustre. It is this sureness of judgment which sees precisely where lies the turning point; which sees precisely what are the objects that justify the utmost stretch of persistence; it is this ability to take in the whole field of view in just perspective and due subordination of parts, that is the mark of a superior mind. Gen. Grant has taken out of the hands of all critics the question whether it belongs to him. He has won his greatest triumph over the most skillful and accomplished General on the other side; over a General who foiled him long enough to prove his great mastery of the art of war; and the completeness of whose defeat is a testimony to Grant's genius such as a victory over any other General of Confederacy, or even an earlier victory over Lee himself could not have given. Apply to Gen. Grant what test you will; measure him by the magnitude of the obstacles he has surmounted, by the value of the positions he has gained, by the fame of the antagonist over whom he has triumphed, by the achievements of his most illustrious co-workers, by the sureness with which he directs his indomitable energy to the vital point which is the key of a vast field of operations, or by that supreme test of consummate ability, the absolute completeness of his results, and he vindicates his claim to stand next after Napoleon and Wellington, among the great soldiers of this country.

It may be thought that the above

article is quoted from some "Grant organ;" but it is in reality copied from Grant's most persistent slanderer, the New York World, of April 11, 1865. Truth would force itself out just then, for all mankind could see what this country owed to Gen. Grant, and it would have been useless for the World to have denied the credit due to the great commander. What was true on April 11, 1865, cannot be untrue in July, 1872.—[Pilot, July 6.]

Why the Democrats Should Indorse Greeley at Baltimore—Eight Reasons by a Democrat.

The following letter has been addressed to the Detroit Free Press:

As you will perceive from the tenor of this note that I intend to vote for Greeley, I think it due to the vindication of consistency as a citizen, my self-respect as a man, and my personal dignity as a gentleman, to state the reasons that prompt, explain, and justify my action. As Sempronius told the Roman Senate, "they are enough, and more than enough."

1. Upon the occasion of a slight difference of opinion between my party and H. G., he said I was a damned liar.
2. He said I was a horse-thief.
3. He said I was a rascal and perjured villain.
4. He said I was a slum.
5. He said I was a poisonous reptile.
6. He said I was a traitor.
7. He said my "affinities" were all bad, (not female.)
8. He said it would be the ruin of the country if my party ever got any power in it.

Mr. Editor, duty to my family will require me to leave a party of liars, horse-thieves, rascals, slums, traitors and "affinities." I advise you to do the same.

DEMOCRAT.

P. S.—He expressly stated that he would hang G. V. N. Lothrop, if he had the power, for the speeches he made at the Vallandigham meeting in this city in 1863.

THOS. SNELL of Bloomington, Ill., advertises his willingness to bet \$20,000 that Grant will be elected.

Classification of the Men Who Took Greeley Mash on the Half Shell at Baltimore.

From the N. Y. World.

The following were the more conspicuous of the delegates in the Baltimore Democratic Convention, classified according to their connection with the public service:

Senators—Bayard, Stockton, Casserly, Kelly, Davis of Oregon. **Ex-Senators**—Doolittle, Clingman, of North Carolina; Gwin, of California; Chestnut, of South Carolina; Coolbaugh, of Iowa. **Ex-Confederate Senators**—Caperton, of West Virginia; Watson, of Mississippi.

Representatives—Cox, Barnum, Randall, Potter, Cox, Sutherland, McKinney, Beck, Speer, Getz, Acker, Biggs, Williams, of New York; Kinsella, McHenry. **Ex-Representatives**—George W. Jones, of Tennessee (the "watch dog of the Treasury," 1843-59); Shorter, of Alabama; Whitely, of Delaware; A. R. Wright, of Georgia; Eastman, of New Hampshire; Haight, of New Jersey; Homer A. Nelson, John Kelly and John Fox, of New York; Mungen, of Ohio; Reagan, of Texas (ex-Confederate Postmaster General); Bocoock, of Virginia (ex-Confederate Speaker House of Representatives); Chilton A. White, Moore and Ball, of Ohio; Hardeman, of Georgia; Mallory, of Kentucky; Seales and Manning, of North Carolina; Dejarnette, of Virginia; Savage, of Tennessee; Scott, of California; Ingersoll, of Connecticut; Lamb, of Missouri; McRea, of Tennessee; McNeely, of Illinois; Boyer and Coffroth, of Pennsylvania.

Governor—Hoffman, of New York.

Ex-Governors—Downey, of California; Saulsbury, of Delaware; Randolph, of New Jersey; Magoffin, of Kentucky; Aiken, of South Carolina; Vance, of North Carolina; Neal S. Brown, of Tennessee; Henderson, of Texas; Wm. Smith, of Virginia; Adams, of South-Carolina.

Union Generals—Franklin, McClernand, Shields, Dickey, J. J. Phillips, A. D. Rice, Schleich. **Confederate Generals**—Gordon, Fitz Hugh Lee, Withers, Colquitt, Fagan, Bradley S. Johnson, Gilmore, Posey, Flournoy, Benning, J. T. Williams, Sharpe, Chalmers, Ashbel Smith.

Diplomatists—D. M. Barringer, ex-Minister to Spain; H. C. Murphy, ex-Minister to the Netherlands.

Ex-Cabinet Ministers—Montgomery

Blair, Postmaster General; Philip Francis Thomas, Secretary of the Treasury.

Judges—Abbott, of Massachusetts; Pratt, of New York; Payne, of Ohio; Ogden, of Louisiana; Walker, of Alabama; Shaw, of Illinois.

Ex-Mayors—McCoppin, of San Francisco; Fox, of Philadelphia; Banks, of Baltimore.

Wheel-horses of the Democracy—W. A. Wallace, of Pennsylvania; E. F. Pillsbury, of Maine; D. H. Armstrong, of Wisconsin; John G. Thompson, of Ohio; George W. McCook, of Ohio; L. G. Cassidy, of Pennsylvania; Augustus Schell, of New York; Bayless W. Hanna, of Indiana; Delos DeWolf, of New York; Harry Bingham, of New Hampshire; Jno. P. Irish, of Iowa; H. A. Richmond, of New York.

Editors—Green, Boston Post; Cassidy, Albany Argus; Hyde, St. Louis Republican; Burch, Nashville Union; Barr, Pittsburg Post; Burr, Hartford Times; Simons, Charleston Courier; Kinsella, Brooklyn Eagle; Miller, Omaha Herald; Galloway, Memphis Appeal; Cameron, Petersburg, Va., Index; Avery, Atlanta, Ga., Constitutionalist; Wright, Augusta, Ga., Chronicle and Sentinel; Englehart, Wilmington, N. C., Journal; Barksdale, Jackson, Miss., Clarion; Green, Cleveland Plaindealer; Blocher, Little Rock Gazette; Warren, Buffalo Courier; Purcell, Rochester Union; Ham, Dubuque Herald.

Other celebrities—Lieutenant Governor Beach, of New York; ex-Senator Abbott, of New Jersey; Thomas Jefferson Randolph, of Virginia; General George W. Cass, of Pennsylvania; Robert Ould, of Virginia; Cyrus H. McCormick, of Illinois; Charles Mason, of Iowa (ex-Commissioner of Patents); John Lee Carroll, of Maryland; John A. McMahon, of Ohio (Vallandigham's nephew); Lieutenant Governor Mayre, of Virginia; J. B. Baldwin, of Virginia.

THEY tell this story to-day of Dr. Henry, who is staying at the Grand Union:

The other day he was called on to attend Gratz Brown in New York, when Gratz facetiously and foolishly remarked:

"It is seldom, Doctor, that you are honored as to be called to attend a Vice President?"

"Oh, no," replied the Doctor, "I attended Vice President Blair in '68, but YOUR CASE IS A GOOD DEAL WORSE THAN HIS?"—"Eli Perkins" in N. Y. Commercial.

Comparing Notes.

The enemies of the present Administration are scattering broadcast over the land wholesale charges of corruption against President Grant and his subordinates in office. The Democratic press teems with slander, Democratic speakers reiterate the falsehoods, and every effort is made that partisan ingenuity can devise to poison the public mind against the Administration of President Grant. Fortunately for the Republican party, the character of the opposition is too well known by the people to make its charges effective. Every schoolboy knows the record of the Democratic party. The recent developments made in New York, where over \$40,000,000 were plundered from the city treasury by Democratic leaders, show the honest tendencies of the party that is now trying to cover its own rascalities by charging corruption on the party that was instrumental in cutting short its career of wholesale robbery.

Will our "liberal" friends and "illiberal" enemies make a note of the following statements?

The present Administration has lost a smaller per cent. of the public funds, through the dishonesty of officials appointed since March 4, 1869, than any previous Administration.

It has collected a larger per cent. of the public revenue at a smaller per cent. of cost than any Administration since the days of Jackson.

It has brought to punishment a larger per cent. of dishonest officials than any previous Administration.

It is the first Administration that has shown a desire to still further improve the civil service, and has given practical proof of its intention to introduce reform wherever needed by adopting a system which, in time, will bring into the service the very best men of the nation.

What more is needed? The Administration is honest, capable, economical. The most searching investigations have failed to fix a single act of corruption on the President or his chief officials. From the heads of departments to the humblest clerk the rule is official integrity, while dishonesty is the rare exception. If anyone is simple-minded enough to believe that the Democratic party can make the Government perfection they must be ignorant of the past record of that organization. If reforms are needed, some purer party than the one that now sits in judgment on our shortcomings must bring them about. As well might we try to gather figs from the poisonous upas tree as to try to obtain an honest administration of affairs from the Democratic party. The people know this as well as they knew it in 1860, 1864, 1868. They heard the same old charges of corruption raised then that they hear now. They returned their answer in overwhelming majorities in the past, as they will do in the future.

Idle Talk.

It is no unusual thing to hear colored citizens of Natchez hurrahing for Greeley, and the indications are that in November next it will be no unusual thing to see them voting that ticket. —[Natchez Democrat.

This is all idle talk. The fact that Horace Greeley is the honest white men's candidate is enough to say that the kinkey heads will vote against him. There is no confidence to be placed in any assertion they may make. We will guarantee that Greeley does not receive one hundred negro votes in the State, and people are wasting time when they attempt to control the apes; they are blockheaded fools, and always will be, and it seems that God specially created them to follow in the footsteps of the thieving Carpet Bagger. —[Brookhaven Citizen.

We republish the above, not for the purpose of commenting upon it, but merely to show how devoutly the Democrats desire harmony to exist between the white and colored residents of this State. It is the same all over the South. Once in a while an outspoken editor will let out the truth.

The Confederate Records.

FIRST INSTALMENT—KNIGHTS OF THE GOLD-EN CIRCLE—BURNING OF CITIES AND SHIPPING—OFFICIAL REPORT OF AGENTS VISITED BY GREELEY IN CANADA, ETC., ETC.

From the New York Times, July 25.

We publish below in full, the report of Jacob Thompson, the rebel agent in Canada during the year 1864. It will be readily seen by it why Mr. Greeley's organ does not desire its publication as a campaign document by the Republican Executive Committee. That Mr. Greeley is afraid of it, is to be seen from the following, which appeared in the Tribune yesterday morning:

So it seems that the rebel archives, purchased by the Government for \$75,000, are to be published as a campaign document by the Grant party. There has been already a great deal of history-writing at public expense, of which the most shining example is Mr. Badeau's use of War Department records and clerks in making his eminent work. But this rare and new publication is a new attempt "to fire the Northern heart" for the net sum of \$75,000. The slender pretext, that the purchase of the documents was made so that the treason of rebel claimants for damages from the Government might be exposed, disappears. It is intended to reopen the old sore again; we are to have the city-burning, well-poisoning, and the contagion-spreading business all retold, for fear people might forget there had been a war, and make up their minds to live in peace with their countrymen. Is this worth while? Must these dead-and-gone quarrels be revived everlastingly that demagogues may thrive?

No one who reads the document will doubt that it is "worth while" to make it public, and for these reasons:

1. It is the first conclusive direct evidence of the connivance of Democratic leaders with the rebel scheme of a Northern insurrection, showing, as it does, that they were furnished with large sums of money, which were used in furthering peace meetings, in purchasing arms, and in perfecting the concerted plan for violent resistance to the drafts.

2. It is the first conclusive, direct evidence of the responsibility of the rebel Government for the infernal plots to burn New York, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, and other Northern cities, showing, as it does, that money was paid to those engaged in this hellish business, and that some of them bore commissions in the rebel army.

3. It is conclusive, direct evidence, that the success of the Democratic ticket in 1864 was regarded by the rebel Government as equivalent to Confederate victories, and that to that success the peace conference sought by Horace Greeley was known by the rebel Government to contribute largely.

Finally, it shows that the rebel-Democratic efforts in aiding the rebel cause in the North took place at the same time, and probably in concert with Mr. Greeley's attempt to defeat Mr. Lincoln's election by proposing his withdrawal from the canvass. This he did in the following letter, addressed to the Governors of the loyal States:

NEW YORK, Sept. 2, 1864.

Hon. _____

YOUR EXCELLENCY—The undersigned have been requested by a body of influential Unionists to communicate with the loyal Governors, for the purpose of eliciting replies to the following queries:

1. In your judgment, is the election of Mr. Lincoln a probability?

2. In your own judgment, can your State be carried for Mr. Lincoln?

3. In your judgment, do the interests of the Union party, and so of the country, require the substitution of another candidate in place of Mr. Lincoln?

In making these queries we give no opinion of our own, and request yours only for the most private and confidential use.

Yours truly,

HORACE GREELEY,

Editor of the Tribune, (and two others.)

Is it any wonder that Mr. Greeley shrinks in terror from the publication of documents containing such revelations as this does?

The letter, as given below, is from a photographic copy of the original, which is indorsed with Benjamin's initials. It may, therefore be implicitly relied on:

[Rec'd Feb. 13, 1865, J. P. B.]

TORONTO, C. W., Dec. 3, 1864.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State:

SIR—Several times have I attempted to send you communications, but I have no assurance that any one of them has been received. I have relaxed no effort to carry out the objects the Government had in view in sending me here. I had hoped at different times to have accomplished more, but still I don't think my mission has been altogether fruitless. At all events, we have afforded the Northwestern States the amplest opportunity to throw off the galling dynasty at Washington, and openly to take ground in favor of States rights and civil liberty. This fact must satisfy the large class of discontents at home of the readiness and willingness of the Administration to avail itself of every proffered assistance in our great struggle for independence. On my arrival here I heard that there was such an organization as the order of the

"SONS OF LIBERTY" IN THE NORTHERN STATES,

And my first effort was to learn its strength, its principles and its objects, and, if possible, to put myself in communication with its leading spirits. This was effected without much difficulty or delay. I was received among them with cordiality, and the greatest confidence at once extended to me. The number of its members was large, but not so great as Mr. Holt, in his official report, represented it to be. Its objects were political. Its principles were that Government was based on the consent of the parties to it; that the States were the parties, and were sovereign; that there was no authority in the General Government to coerce a seceding State. The resolutions of 1798 and 1799 were set forth as presenting the true theory of the Government.

ITS ORGANIZATION WAS ESSENTIALLY MILITARY;

It had its commanders of divisions, of brigades, of regiments, of companies. In the month of June last, the universal feeling among its members, leaders and privates was that it was useless to hold a Presidential election; Lincoln had the power, and would certainly re-elect himself, and there was no hope but in force. The belief was entertained and freely expressed that by a bold, vigorous and concerted movement, the three great Northwestern States of Illinois, Indiana, and

Ohio could be seized and held. This being done, the States of Kentucky and Missouri could easily be lifted from their prostrate condition and placed on their feet, and this in sixty days would end the war. While everything was moving on smoothly to a supposed successful consummation, the first interruption in the calculation was the postponement of the meeting of the Democratic Convention from the 4th of July to the 29th of August; but preparations still went on, and in one of the States the 20th of July was fixed as the day for a movement. But, before the day arrived, a General Council of the Order from different States was called, and it was thought the movement on the 20th of July would be premature, and

THE 16TH OF AUGUST WAS FIXED UPON FOR A GENERAL UPRISING.

This postponement was insisted upon, on the ground that it was necessary to have a series of public meetings to prepare the public mind, and appointments for public peace meetings were made—one at Peoria, one at Springfield, and one at Chicago on the 16th. The first one was at Peoria, and, to make it a success, I agreed that so much money as was necessary would be furnished by me. It was held, and was a decided success. The vast multitudes who attended seemed to be swayed but by one leading idea—peace. The friends were encouraged and strengthened, and seemed anxious for the day when they would do something to hasten them to the great goal of peace. About this time that

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN OUR FRIENDS AND HORACE GREELEY MADE ITS APPEARANCE.

Lincoln's manifesto shocked the country. The belief, in some way, prevailed over the North that the South would agree to a reconstruction, and the politicians, especially the leading ones, conceived the idea that on such an issue Lincoln could be beaten at the ballot-box; at all events, they argued that the trial of the ballot-box should be made before a resort to force, always a DERNIER RESORT. The Springfield meeting came off, but it was apparent that the fire exhibited at Peoria had already diminished. The whole tone of the speakers was that the people must rely on the ballot-box for redress of grievances; the nerves of the leaders of the order began to relax. About this time a large lot of

ARMS WERE PURCHASED AND SENT TO INDIANAPOLIS,

Which was discovered and some of the leading men were charged with the design to arm the members of the order for treasonable purposes. Treachery showed itself at Louisville. Judge Bullitt and Dr. Kalfus were arrested and sent to Memphis. The day on which the great movement was to be made became known to Mr. McDonald, candidate for Governor of Indiana, and believing that it would mar his prospects for election unless prevented, he

THREATENED TO EXPOSE ALL THE PARTIES ENGAGED UNLESS THE PROJECT WAS ABANDONED.

Thus the day passed by and nothing was done. The Chicago Convention came, the crowd was immense, the feeling was unanimous for peace, a general impression prevailed that a reconstruction could be had and that it was necessary to so far ponder to the military feeling as to take Gen. McClellan to secure a certain success. This nomination followed as it was, by divers disclosures and arrests of persons, prominent members, totally demoralized the "Sons of Liberty." The feeling with the masses is as strong as ever—they are true, brave, and I believe willing and ready but they have no leaders. The vigilance of the Administration, its large detective force, the large bounties paid for treachery and the respectable men who have yielded to the temptation, added to the large military force stationed in those States, make organization and preparation almost an impossibility.

A LARGE SUM OF MONEY HAS BEEN EXPENDED IN FOSTERING AND FURTHERING THESE OPERATIONS,

And it now seems to have been to little profit. But in reviewing the past I do not see how it could have been avoided, nor has it been spent altogether in vain. The apprehensions of the enemy have caused him to bring back and keep from the field in front, at least 60,000 to watch and browbeat the people at home. In this view of the subject, the same amount of money has affected so much in no other quarter since the commencement of the war. In July last, Capt. Chas. H. Cole, of Gen. Forrest's command, made his escape from prison. He represented to me that he had been appointed a Lieutenant in our navy; I sent him around the lakes, with instruc-

tions to go as a lower deck passenger, to familiarize himself with all the channels, and different approaches to the several harbors, the strength of each place, the depositories of coal, and especially to learn all that he could about the war steamer Michigan, and devise some plan for her capture or destruction. This duty he performed very satisfactorily. He was then instructed to return and put himself in communication with the officers of the Michigan, and, feeling his way, to endeavor to purchase the boat from its officers. For a time, he thought he would succeed in this if he could give the guarantees of payment of the sums stipulated, but, by degrees, the question was dropped, and he asked permission to organize a force, board and take her. This was given, and Acting Master John Y. Beall was sent him to aid in the organization and in carrying out the enterprise. Their plan was well conceived, and held out the promise of success. It had been previously ascertained from escaped prisoners from Johnson's Island, that an organization existed among the prisoners on the island for the purpose of surprising the guard and capturing the island. The presence of the steamer Michigan, which carried fourteen guns, was the only obstacle. Secret communications were had by which they were advised that on the night of the 19th of September an attempt to seize the Michigan would be made. On that night Capt. Cole, who had previously established the friendliest relations with the officers of the steamer, was to have a wine-drinking with them on board, and at a given hour Acting Master Beall was to appear on a boat, to be obtained for that purpose, with a sufficient body of Confederate soldiers to board and take the steamer. Should they capture the steamer, a cannon-shot sent through the officers' quarters on Johnson's Island was to signify to the prisoners that the hour for their release had come. Should they take the island, boats were to be improvised and Sandusky was to be attacked; if taken, the prisoners were to be mounted, and make for Cleveland, the boats co-operating, and from Cleveland the prisoners were to make Wheeling, and thence to Virginia.

THE KEY TO THE WHOLE MOVEMENT WAS THE CAPTURE OF THE MICHIGAN.

On the evening of the 19th, by some treachery, Cole was arrested, and the messenger who was to meet Acting Master

Beall at Kelley's Island, did not reach him. Disappointed, but nothing daunted, Acting Master Beall, having possession of the Philo Parsons, passenger steamer from Detroit to Sandusky, went on his way toward Johnson's Island. Having landed at Middle Bas Island to secure a supply of wood, the steamer Island Queen, with a large number of passengers and thirty-two soldiers, came up alongside and lashed herself to the Parsons. An attack was at once resolved upon. The passengers and soldiers were soon made prisoner, and the boat delivered up to our men. The soldiers were regularly paroled, the passengers were left on the Island, having given their promise not to leave for twenty-four hours, and the boat was towed out into the lake and sunk. The Parsons then steered directly for the Bay of Sandusky. Here the men, from certain reasons not altogether satisfactory, but possibly fortunately, refused to make the attack on the Michigan. Beall returned, landed at Sandwich, C. W., and the men scattered through the country. Most of them have returned to the Confederate States. But a few days since Acting Master Bennet G. Burley was arrested, and the trial is now going on for his delivery under the Extradition Treaty. If we had Cole's, Beall's, or his own commission, I should not fear the result; as it is, they

WILL HAVE TO PROVE THAT THEY ACTED UNDER MY ORDER.

And that will in all probability secure his release, but it may lead to my expulsion from the Provinces—at least, I have it from a reliable source that this last proposition has been pressed upon the Canadian authorities, and they have considered it. Should the course of events take this direction, unadvised by you, I shall consider it my duty to remain where I am and abide the issue. I should prefer, if it be possible, to have your views on the subject. Capt. Cole is still a prisoner on Johnson's Island. In obedience to your suggestion, as far as it was practicable, soon after my arrival here I urged the people in the North to convert their paper money into gold and withdraw it from the market. I am satisfied this policy was adopted and carried into effect, to some extent, but how extensively I am unable to state. What effect it had on the gold market it is impossible to estimate, but certain it is, that gold continued to appreciate until it went to 200. The high

price may have tempted many to change their policy, because afterward gold fell in the market to 150. When it was about 180, and exportation of gold was so small that there appeared to be but little or no demand for it, Mr. John Porterfield, formerly a banker of Nashville, but now a resident of Montreal, was furnished with \$100,000, and instructed to proceed to New York to carry out a financial policy of his own conception, which consisted in the purchase of gold and exporting the same, selling it for sterling bills of exchange, and then again converting his exchange into gold. The process involved a certain loss, the cost of transshipment. He was instructed by Mr. Clay and myself to go on with his policy until he had expended \$25,000, with which he supposed he would ship directly \$5,000,000, and induce others to ship much more, and then, if the effect upon the gold market was not very perceptible, he was to desist and return to Canada and restore the money unexpended. By his last report he had caused the shipment of more than \$2,000,000 of gold at an expense of less than \$10,000; but it seems that a Mr. Lyons, who had been a former partner of Porterfield, was arrested by Gen. Butler, on the ground that he was exporting gold, and, although Mr. Lyons had no connection with Mr. Porterfield in this transaction, yet he thought it prudent to return to Canada, and, while he retains the unexpended balance of the \$25,000 to carry out his instructions, he has restored \$75,000. I must confess that the first shipment had a marked effect on the market. I am inclined to the opinion that his theory will work great damage and distrust to the Federal finances if vigorously followed up, and if no untoward circumstances should interfere with the operation. Soon after I reached Canada a Mr. Minor Major visited me and represented himself as an accredited agent from the Confederate States

TO DESTROY STEAMBOATS ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER,

And that his operations were suspended for want of means. I advanced him \$2,000 in Federal currency, and soon afterward several boats were burned at St. Louis, involving an immense loss of property to the enemy. He became suspected, as he represented to me, of being the author of this burning, and from that time both he and his men have been hiding, and consequently have done nothing.

MONEY HAS BEEN ADVANCED TO MR. CHURCHILL, OF CINCINNATI.

To organize a corps for the purpose of incendiary in that city. I consider him a true man, and, although as yet he has effected but little, I am in constant expectation of hearing of effective work in that quarter.

Previous to the arrival of Lieut. Col. Martin and Lieut. Headly, bringing an unsigned note from you, all the different places where our prisoners are confined—Camp Douglas, Rock Island, Camp Morton, Camp Chase, Elmira, had been thoroughly examined, and the conclusion was forced upon us that all efforts to release them, without an outside co-operation, would bring disaster upon the prisoners and result in no good. All projects of that sort were abandoned, except that at Camp Douglas, where Capt. Hines still believed he could effect their release. We yielded to his firmness, zeal and persistence, and his plans were plausible, but treachery defeated him before his well laid schemes were developed. Having nothing else on hand,

COL. MARTIN EXPRESSED A WISH TO ORGANIZE A CORPS TO BURN NEW YORK CITY.

He was allowed to do so, and a most daring attempt has been made to fire that city; but their reliance on the Greek fire has proved a misfortune; it cannot be depended on as an agent in such work. I have no faith whatever in it, and no attempt shall hereafter be made, under my general directions, with any such materials. I knew nothing whatever of the raid on St. Albans until after it transpired. Desiring to have a boat on whose Captain and crew reliance could be placed, and on board of which arms could be sent to convenient points for arming such vessels as could be seized for operations on the lakes, I aided Dr. James T. Bates, of Kentucky, an old steamboat Captain, in the purchase of the steamer Georgian. She had scarcely been transferred, when the story went abroad that she had been purchased and armed for the purpose of sinking the Michigan, releasing the prisoners on Johnson's Island, and destroying the shipping on the lakes and the sides on their margin. The wildest consternation prevailed in all the border cities. At Buffalo two tugs had cannon placed on board; four regiments of soldiers were sent there, two of them represented to have been drawn from the

Army of Virginia. Bells were rung at Detroit, and churches broken up on Sunday. The whole lake shore was a scene of wild excitement. Boats were sent out which boarded the Georgian, and found nothing contraband on board; but still the people were incredulous.

The bane and curse of carrying out anything in this country is the surveillance under which we act.

DETECTIVES, OR THOSE READY TO GIVE INFORMATION, STAND AT EVERY STREET CORNER.

Two or three cannot interchange ideas without a reporter. The Presidential election has so demoralized the leaders of the order of the "Sons of Liberty" that a new organization under new leaders has become an absolute necessity. This is now going forward with great vigor and success. The new order is styled the "Order of the Star." There is a general expectation that there will soon be a new draft, and the members swear resistance to another draft. It is purely military, wholly independent of politics and politicians. It is given out among the members that Stonewall Jackson is the founder of the order, and the name has its significance from the stars on the collars of Southern officers. There is no ground to doubt that the masses, to a large extent, of the North, are brave and true, and believe Lincoln a tyrant and usurper. During my stay in Canada a great amount of property has been destroyed by burning. The information brought me as to the perpetrators is so conflicting and contradictory, that I am satisfied that nothing can be known.—Should claims be presented at the War Office for payment for this kind of work, not one dollar should be advanced on any proof adduced until all the parties concerned may have an opportunity for making out and presenting proof. Several parties claim to have done the work at St. Louis, New Orleans, Louisville, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and at Cairo. Within the last few days, Dr. K. J. Stewart, of Virginia, has reached this place, and very mysteriously informs me that he has a plan for the execution of something which has received the sanction of the President. He is in want of money, and states to me that you gave him a draft on me for \$20,000 in gold, which has been lost on the way. He has sent back to Richmond for a renewal. He has rented a large house and moved his family into it. I cannot

doubt his word, but of course I do not feel authorized to advance him money without your authority or that of the President. I have, however, been constrained to advance him \$500, in gold, on his written statement that unless the money was in hand, the lives and liberties of high Confederate officers would be imperilled.

Owing to the health of Mr. Clay we separated at Halifax, and since then we have not lived together, though we have been in consulting distance. As the money was all in my name, which I supposed to be controlled by us jointly, and as he desired to have a sum placed in his hands, at all times subject to his personal control, I transferred to him \$93,614, for which I hold his receipts, and for which he promises to account to the proper authorities at home. Including the money turned over to Mr. Clay, all of which he has not as yet expended, the entire expenditures as yet on all accounts is about \$300,000. I still hold three drafts, for \$100,000 each, which have not been collected. Should you think it best for me to return, I would be glad to know in what way you think I had best return with the funds remaining on hand. I inferred from your

"PERSONAL" IN THE NEW YORK NEWS.

That it is your wish I should remain here for the present, and I shall obey your orders. Indeed, I have so many papers in my possession, which, in the hands of the enemy, would utterly ruin and destroy very many of the prominent men in the North, that a due sense of my obligation to them will force on me the extremest caution in my movements.

For the future, discarding all dependence on the organizations in the Northern States, our efforts, in my judgment, should be directed to inducing those who are conscripted in the North, and who utterly refuse to join the army to fight against the Confederate States, to make their way South to join our service. It is believed by many that at least a number sufficient to make up a division may be secured in this way for our service before Spring, especially if our army opens up a road to the Ohio. Some are now on their way to Corinth, which at present is the point of rendezvous. Also to operate on their railroads, and force the enemy to keep up a guard on all their roads, which will require a large standing army at home, and to burn wherever it is practicable, and thus

make the men of property feel their insecurity and tire them out with the war. The attempt on New York has produced a great panic which will not subside at their bidding. This letter, though long, does not, I am aware, report many things of minor importance which have occurred during my sojourn in Canada; but I shall omit them at present.

Very respectfully, your obt. serv't,
J. THOMPSON.

The Financial Policy of the Government Defined and Ably Defended.

In his speech at Greensboro, North Carolina, on Wednesday, Secretary Boutwell protested against the advice to clasp hands across the bloody chasm. The chasm must be filled up. Produced by injustice, let it be cemented with justice. It cannot be filled by the denial of the protection of native-born citizens of the United States in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. He counseled his hearers not to be seduced by the idea that Democrats are supporting a Republican for the Presidency, and said if their candidate could offer what he cannot offer, a consistent life in the past as a pledge of his policy in the future, even this would be without value in the presence of the fact that nearly all his supporters are from the Democratic party. In the nature of things, the bloody chasm cannot be filled until a fixed majority of the South accept the doctrine, not only that men are equal before the law, but that all men by right are equal before the law. If bitterness ever existed it has passed away. One act of justice only remains to be done. The country waits for the evidence that you heartily and cheerfully accord the full rights of citizens, under the Constitution of the United States, to all within your borders. Give this evidence and the bloody chasm is closed.

He said the financial policy of the Grant Administration was:

1. To secure the faithful collection of the public revenue.
2. Reduction of public expenditures.
3. To re-establish public credit and reduce the interest account.
4. To reduce taxation, and finally prepare the way for the resumption of specie payments at the earliest moment consistent with the prosperity of the country.

He attributed much of the fraud in revenues to the laxity of Johnson's Adminis-

tration and his indisposition to enforce the laws. In consequence of a conflict between a Democratic President and a Republican Senate, dishonest men were most successful in obtaining office, as they only could resort to such means as would make themselves favorable to both. Now, continued Mr. Boutwell, "if you contemplate electing Mr. Greeley to the Presidency, you must contemplate it in view of the fact that the Senate, whatever may be the present opinion of the country, will be Republican for the next two years, and with almost equal certainty for the next four years. You must contemplate therefore, a return of the state of things which existed during Johnson's Administration. You will secure the retention of dishonest men in office, and the appointment of dishonest men to office, by a process which does not admit of control. The Administration of General Grant has given to the country the benefit of a common purpose in all departments of the Government.—That common purpose was the collection of the revenue, and this result has been secured. It has been ascertained by careful comparison that if the average rates of taxation during the last three years of Johnson's Administration had been continued and extended over the first three years of Grant's, the receipts into the Treasury would have been greater than they were by \$288,800,000. So it appears that with the same facilities for revenue that were enjoyed by Johnson's Administration the total payments on the public debt during the first three years of Grant's would have amounted to \$600,000,000, and that the payments toward the public debt on June 30, 1873, would have reached the enormous sum of \$653,000,000. This shows at once the reduction of taxes that has been effected by Grant's Administration, and the immense losses by fraud and corruption under Johnson, due largely to division of sentiment and purpose between the Senate and the Executive."

Mr. Boutwell expressed his belief in the practicability of continuing the redemption of outstanding six per cent. bonds, and the issue of 5, 4½, and 4 per cents., and said it must be accepted as a truth for this country in its present condition, the resumption of specie payment will not be due directly to any measure of legislation; nor can it be forcibly maintained by any act of the Government. For three years Greeley, through the columns of the Tribune, has

advised the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the gold in the treasury and apply the proceeds to the payment of the public debt, thus saving the interest, and then to resume specie payment, or rather these two bits of advice have been frequently and interchangeably presented without at any time stating which, in his judgement, is entitled to precedence in order of events. But it can well be understood that the sale of gold in the treasury, whether for payment of the public debt or otherwise, would put it out of the power of the Government to resume specie payment; that the sale of gold in the treasury, forcing down the price unnaturally, would stimulate imports from other countries, increase the balance of trade against us, create an unnatural and excessive demand for coin, and ultimately advance the price of gold for the benefit of the speculators and gamblers, but to the great injury of the country. I do not hesitate to declare that this policy, which is the only policy in any department of the Government to which Greeley has adhered for even three years, would end in disasters such as the country has not witnessed since 1837; and if Greeley is pledged to anything, it is to the inauguration of this policy, if unhappily he should be placed at the head of affairs. The way to resume, is not to resume arbitrarily, and without regard to facts, but to place and keep the country in that line and condition of prosperity which shall enable it to meet all its obligations, and it is for this reason that the Administration has believed it to be wise to retain an amount of gold which should be sufficient when the appropriate moment arrived to enable the treasury to receive payment of our national liabilities in specie without going into the market to borrow, and without making any special effort for an undertaking which would certainly result disastrously if the Government were not strong enough to move free of all dependence on external aid.

THE Terre Haute Express suggests that "the St. Louis Democrat would find crowmos much better than wood cuts as illustrations of the present Democratic situation." To which the Democrat replies: "Not at all. We dislike the crow mo' than ever, since the Democracy have introduced it as an article of diet."

A Colored Man Marked for Murder for Holding United States Office—An Army of Two Privates Keep the Peace in Mississippi and Tennessee—Full Statement of the Facts.

The Postoffice Department recently received the following statement in relation to the troubles with a colored mail agent on the Mobile and Ohio railroad:

AFFIDAVIT OF THE MAIL AGENT.

The agent incloses the following affidavit:

Before the undersigned, Clerk of the Circuit Court in and for the county of Colfax, and State of Mississippi, appeared D. M. McCauley, who being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says, that he is a route agent, Postoffice Department; that while on duty as said route agent, running between West Point, Miss., and Columbus, Ky., persons came to affiant's mail car at Bethel, Rutherford, Moscow and Union City, Tennessee, on said route, and informed him, the said affiant, that he could not run on said route; that the next time he came through in the night they would kill him. Affiant further swears that the aforesaid persons, whose names are to him unknown, stated that no damned negro could perform the duties of route agent on said route; that affiant believes that his life is in danger, and unless protected the aforesaid persons would, on the first opportunity, murder him.

Sworn before me, Scott Sykes, Clerk, July 12, 1872. D. S. McCAULEY.

Special Agent Wm. H. Parker reports the facts as follows:

OFFICE SPECIAL AGENT P. O. DEP'T., COLUMBUS, MISS., July 15, 1872.

SIR: On the 13th inst. I received an affidavit from D. M. McCauley, recently appointed route agent of the Mobile and Ohio railroad between Columbus, Ky., and West Point, Miss., stating, etc. (The statements made in the affidavit.)

I investigated this case immediately upon receipt of McCauley's sworn statement, and found it to be true in every particular; and that a few nights after he had been threatened armed persons visited the mail car, and made inquiry concerning said McCauley, thinking, no doubt, that he was on said car, and not finding him, desired to know when he would make a

second trip. Being convinced of the fact that his life was in great danger, and that upon the first opportunity they would murder him, I applied for and obtained an escort of two soldiers from Capt. Rose, commanding post at Aberdeen, Miss., in order that they might accompany and protect said McCauley until I was able to submit the facts in the case to your consideration. The escort, you will perceive, was small, but such is the effect of the "blue coats" upon those midnight assassins that but few are necessary to make them fear and obey that for which they have no respect—the laws of the land.

Respectfully, W. H. PARKER.

The Department has approved the action of the special agent, and will take steps to secure the amplest protection to the Postoffice officials in that, as in all other sections of the country.

We copy from the Wash'g'on (D. C.) National Republican for the 31st ult.

Tammany nor the Rebels are to be Cheated.

The precise proof of Greeley's early bargaining with the Democrats was hardly deemed necessary by the Providence Journal. And it says: "For our own part, while conceding the relevancy and force of these disclosures, they do not add very great weight to the evidence which the conduct of Greeley, Blair and Hoffman presents as to the understanding between the New York leaders and the Southern rebels and Horace Greeley. It is as plain upon the face of it as anything can well be that, bitten by the insanity of insatiable ambition, Mr. Greeley has thrown himself into the hands, and is ready to be controlled by the men who in State and National politics have for the last ten years wrought such measureless, and what might have been such irremediable ruin."

Grant and Greeley.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A NEW ORLEANS DEMOCRAT AND A MISSISSIPPI PINEY-WOODS DEMOCRAT.

From the Sea Coast (Bay St. Louis) Republican.

NEW ORLEANS D.—Well, old friend, have you heard the news? We have nominated Greeley at Baltimore, d—n him, and must all fall into line and support him. See, I have brought you a white hat.

PINEY-WOODS D.—I will never wear the Greeley badge. The Baltimore Convention assumed to be the National DEMOCRATIC Convention. Its right to assemble, and its authority to act, were derived from the Democracy, and its mission was to pronounce the principles of the party, and to nominate a DEMOCRAT, pledged to those principles, as their candidate for the Presidency. It wholly failed to perform that duty. It adopted a platform made by Radicals. It nominated the chief of the Radicals for the Presidency. I attach no weight to its recommendation. In going outside the party for a candidate, it transgressed its power-of-attorney, and remitted to every Democrat the right of independent judgment.

N. O. D.—I can't deny that. But still, since he has been nominated, we must go in for the old cuss. Anybody to beat Grant.

P. W. D.—Under no circumstances will I vote for H. G. He has been, and is perhaps to-day, a socialist and a Fourierite—a fanatic in every theory he ever embraced. In political economy a protectionist, without reason or compromise. It is him that the farmer, the mechanic and the poor man may thank for the enormous tax they pay on everything they eat, or drink, or wear. Hating blood, despising chivalry of character, having no appreciation of heroism or courtesy, glorying in his own vulgarity—he would subordinate all these to his own contracted theory, and convert our Government into a huge corporation in the interest of bankers, manufacturers and money-lenders. This, in a few words, is the policy of Greeley, and has been thus expounded by him in books, editorials and lectures for thirty years.

N. O. D.—I can't deny it. But he balled Jeff. Davis.

P. W. D.—Yes, sir, and I give him credit for it, though the ball was unnecessary.

Bail to two millions of dollars was on hand for Mr. Davis.

Horace Greeley, more than any other man, superinduced the war. He preached up the "higher law" as paramount to the Constitution, and taught practically that robbery is no crime. He forced us to appeal to arms—declared that there was no power to coerce us to remain—and then, when we seceded, his cry was "war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt." The cruelty to our prisoners, the refusal to exchange, and the infamous designs on Richmond, through the agency of Dahlgren, he defended, if he did not concoct them.

N. O. D.—These accusations are terrible, but true. Yet he has been our friend since the war.

P. W. D.—He and Trumbull are the authors of the Ku Klux law, and he has said he would make it stronger and stronger, until the spirit of rebellion is crushed out. Crushed out! What is there left in the South to crush, but broken hearts? Once so beautiful and blessed, then down-trodden by the iron hoof of conquest—now to be doubly cursed by Greeleyism! Her heroes in bloody graves, her archives scattered, the old party that held together the mighty wreck, disbanded and broken up, and her arch-enemy demanding homage for all the evils he has inflicted upon us!

N. O. D.—This is terrible. But can you prove all this?

P. W. D.—Yes, sir, and more, by his speeches, his letters, and the files of his own journal. Every Democratic editor in the Union has made these charges against Greeley, and they cannot rebut them without falsifying their own records.

N. O. D.—What are we to do? They knew all this, when they nominated him.

P. W. D.—Unquestionably they knew it, but they went there to nominate him, and would not permit inquiry or debate. I am a Democrat of the Jackson school. My notions of party allegiance are strictly defined. But neither the Baltimore Convention nor the Mississippi Convention, nor any other authorized or unauthorized association of politicians have the right to barter your vote, or my vote, to an inexorable enemy, who dictates his own terms, and reduces to a suppliant position our once proud, and still powerful party.

If there was a historic prestige about his name, that would add grandeur and stability to the Republic; if he had won renown in the Senate, or fame on the field

of battle, there might be some plea for this departure from party usages. But they present us a man who is no statesman, whose social opinions run into Communism, whose political code is at once obsolete and pernicious, whose prejudices are proscriptive and inveterate, who is responsible for most of the calamities that oppress the South, who has done his best to provoke a conflict of races, and whose favorite theories are now conducting to the conflict between capital and labor.

N. O. D.—Enough, my friend. I am done with Greeley. You have told me what our Know-Nothing orators in the city, who now control the Democratic party, have studiously concealed. But what are we to do? Can we go for Grant?

P. W. D.—I will answer that question. But it is now three o'clock, and we are at the Crescent Hotel. Let us go in and dine with Capt. Armstrong. Whether you are for Grant or for Greeley, he will give you a dinner perfect in its appointments, admirably served, delicately compounded, and not to be equaled at any of the famed restaurants of your city. *Allons!*

AFTER DINNER.

N. O. D.—Well, since we are both agreed that we cannot vote for Greeley, what say you to Grant? I hear him called dishonest, incompetent, a mere military martinet, over-ambitious, devoted to the aggrandizement of his family, and governed by military rings. What say you?

P. W. D.—Gen. Grant is an honest man. His integrity cannot be successfully impeached. He is not a partisan nor a theorist, like Greeley. He is a man of moderate, or we may say, liberal opinions on all the great questions of the day. He is in no sense an extremist. Analyze every public document over his signature, since he became President, and you will be struck with their modest and conservative character. He has never been a politician. He was elected almost by acclamation, and on a platform that any party in this country might stand upon.

N. O. D.—But they say he is a mere soldier.

P. W. D.—He is a soldier, like Jackson and Taylor, and I am one of those who believe that the command of great armies, and the management of a gigantic war, make an appropriate education for the ruler of a great nation. I derive my faith from history, and could refer you to a

hundred illustrious examples, in ancient and modern times. There is no better field for studying men, no position that subjects one to more mental exertion and self-discipline, none that more demands equanimity, decision, courage, vigilance, and sound, discriminating judgment. And these qualities, indispensable to a great general, are precisely what are required in a chief magistrate.

N. O. D.—You make out a strong case. But they say he has oppressed the South.

P. W. D.—I am quite as sensitive as you can be, on this subject. I am a native of the South. My kindred and property are here. My nearest of blood perished in the war. But no man can justly charge the President with hostility to the South. When Gen. Lee found himself compelled to surrender, Gen. Grant's conduct was marked by peculiar delicacy, and he conceded liberal and honorable terms. Subsequently, when Lieutenant General, and when the feeling at the North and in official circles at Washington, was very bitter against the South, he was ordered to visit it and report upon its condition. His report rebutted the infamous misrepresentations afloat, and was, in fact, a most generous defense of our people.

At a later period, when Andrew Johnson, who then desired to recommend himself to Northern politicians, proposed to arrest Gen. Lee and other Confederate officers, the monstrous proposition was defeated by the interposition of Grant. But for him "our bravest and best" would have been brought before a military tribunal, and in all probability convicted.

N. O. D.—God bless him for that; but what of the Ku Klux arrests?

P. W. D.—Unlawful organizations, we all know, sprang up in certain quarters after the war, and their acts, often running into cruelty and bloodshed, provoked a great excitement against us. These organizations were feeble in numbers, but their proceedings affected us all, more or less. Every reflecting mind in the South saw and regretted the evil, and many of our leading men denounced all such associations. They kept back immigration and capital, alarmed the colored people, and threw them into the hands of strangers. Under these circumstances the Ku Klux law was passed. It was drawn up by Senator Trumbull, after consultation with Horace Greeley. Trumbull carried the bill through the Senate, and he, it

is well understood, will be Secretary of State, should Greeley be elected.

President Grant, as a sworn officer, was bound to execute the law. That in many cases great injustice has been done, and innocent parties arrested, there is no doubt. But this arises first from the law itself, (the work of Greeley and Trumbull), and no doubt in many cases from bad Marshals and Deputy Marshals, and others entrusted with the execution of the law. In every such case formal and attested complaints should be made to the President. He has made many changes of officers, and it is certain he would not tolerate injustice, if properly reported.

If re-elected, he will be in a position to do more than any man living, to restore to the stricken South, to heal its wounds, to appease sectional jealousies and to harmonize its races. His enforcement of the Ku Klux law prevented the adoption of more stringent measures towards the South. He knew very well, unless that law was enforced, that Sumner, Trumbull and Greeley would have insisted on converting the State governments of the South into military departments, with no law but the bayonet, and no tribunal but court martials. And thus we find the President executing a harsh law, to prevent a far greater evil! He, in fact, interfered in this way to protect us against an infuriated public sentiment, which too often controls the Senate, as it does the mob.

N. O. D.—You make out a strong case, and I have nothing more to say on that point. But what can you say about his foreign policy—San Domingo and the British treaty?

P. W. D.—Nothing has surprised me more than to find Democrats resisting the acquisition of San Domingo. Extension of territory has ever been the Democratic policy, in contradistinction to the contracted views of other parties. This policy was inaugurated by Mr. Jefferson in the acquisition of Louisiana, confessedly by a stretch of constitutional power. It was followed by the acquisition of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California—measures supported by the great body of the Democratic party against the united opposition of every other faction. "Cass, Cuba and Canada," were the watchwords on the Democratic banners in the South in a celebrated political campaign, and the Democratic party cannot blame the Presi-

dent for seeking the annexation of San Domingo, without condemning their own traditional policy.

As for the British treaty, we of the South should be slow to censure the President. A warrior who won his fame by the sword, and who could perpetuate his power by war, his Administration has been thoroughly pacific. Against a powerful pressure from friend and foe, he has averted a war, which, however it may have terminated, would have ruined the Southern States. Our only chance for rehabilitation is peace with England, and her consumption of Southern cotton. Yet Southern politicians arraign the President for not plunging into war.

N. O. D.—You have silenced me; but what can be said in defense of the "military rings" about the White House?

P. W. D.—I am not sure that I understand the precise meaning of the vulgar catch-word "military ring." If it means that the President has employed officers of the army to assist him in his executive duties, I can answer your question. As commander-in-chief of the army he has the right to detail any officer for special duty. He was himself, prior to his election, detailed by President Johnson to perform the duties of Secretary of War. Gen. Rawlins, Gen. Dent, Gen. Porter and Gen. Babcock have been on different occasions detailed by him for clerical and other duties near his person. These were all young men who had grown up under his eye, who had distinguished themselves by energy and ability, and it was quite natural and proper that he should prefer them. It is singular, too, that, like Grant, they were all men with Democratic proclivities. Gen. Washington took Hamilton and Knox from the army, and placed them near his person in the most confidential position. When Thomas Jefferson was elected President, he immediately appointed Capt. Meriwether Lewis, 1st Regt. U. S. Infantry, his Private Secretary. Before me lies Capt. Lewis' letter, (in manuscript, never published), dated Pittsburg, March 7, 1801, in which he says, "By accepting this appointment, I do not sacrifice my rank in the army."

Gen. Jackson went to the army for his Private Secretary—Lieut. A. J. Donaldson.

If it was wrong in Gen. Grant to appoint his biographer, Gen. Badeau, to a consulship, he only followed the example of the illustrious Jackson, who appointed

his biographer, John H. Eaton, Secretary of War and Minister to Spain!

I could follow this out with many parallel instances from President Washington down, if time permitted.

N. O. D.—You have said enough to satisfy me, and more than enough. But the charge of nepotism, I fancy, cannot be explained.

P. W. D.—You cover up a trifling charge under a hard name, to give it importance. There is nothing in the charge. The President, in the multitude of his appointments has conferred a few on his relatives, nearly all of them of secondary importance. For example, he appointed his venerable father, a pioneer of the West and a soldier of 1812, to a small post-office in Kentucky, when he might have given him a sinecure of \$30,000 per annum. He appointed a brother-in-law Collector of Customs at New Orleans, on the recommendation of influential friends, many of them members of the Democratic party. And in doing this, he followed the example of President Jefferson, who appointed his near relative, H. B. Trist, first Collector of Customs at New Orleans. General Jackson had no relatives of his own to appoint, but Mrs. Jackson had a host, and whenever one of them was worthy, he got an office, or a contract, or an agency, from the General and his Democratic successors in the Presidency. In the matter of appointments, he claimed to be independent of the public and of the Senate, and regarded any interference or remonstrance as an infringement of his prerogative. Many of his appointments were obnoxious to the people; for example, that of Gen. Coffey (Mrs. Jackson's nephew) to the land office in Alabama; that of Col. Martin (another nephew) to the land office at Choctumia, Miss.; and that of Col. Sam. Gwin to the land office at Clinton, Miss., then supposed the three best in his gift. Strong, persistent and violent remonstrances were made against these appointments by people of the States interested. The Senate took up the subject, with Clay, Webster and Calhoun all enlisted against President Jackson. In Mississippi our then distinguished Senator, George Poindexter, elected to be the champion of the Administration, declared open war, and such men as Johnston, the Yergers, Judges Scott, Clifton and others, abandoned the Jackson party, and united with the opposition. Yet the old hero weathered the storm, kept his relatives in office, and grew every day

in the confidence of the people. He exhibited the same persistence, when he appointed John H. Eaton Secretary of War, and saw his first Cabinet resign and become his enemies, sooner than part with his pro-ge.

How ridiculous it seems, after this, to charge General Grant with nepotism! Where he has appointed one relative to office, his most popular predecessors have appointed a score! And in every case Grant's appointees have been good men. The Collector at New Orleans is an honest and capable officer, and the Democrats of Kentucky, (where he came from,) all say so. Substantiate a charge of incompetence or malfeasance against any of his appointees, and the President will promptly remove them; but never, I trust, for the clamor of his enemies.

President Grant has doubtless erred, as all his predecessors have, in his appointments, but it is remarkable how many of his appointments, in these high party times, have been given to men of moderate opinions. The Secretary of State is one of the most conservative men in the Union. So with Gen. Rawlins, late Secretary of War, and his successor in office. So is Mr. Bancroft, minister to the German Empire, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Gen. Cushing, and others high in position. And he manifested for that large portion of the American people, North and South, who regarded the late Stephen A. Douglas as the champion and leader of the Democracy, by appointing his son Private Secretary—recognition at once delicate and significant.

Thus, one by one, we have considered the charges against the President, and what do they amount to?

N. O. D.—"Trifles light as air," bubbles that you have effectually exploded. Grant is grossly misrepresented and traduced and, from this day, I devote myself to his reelection. It is necessary for the peace and prosperity of the country, and particularly for the South.

I saw the other day a suggestion that I would probably be the best Democratic candidate to run against Gen. Grant for President. I thought that about the most absurd thing I ever read or heard of. If the Democratic party were called upon to decide between Grant and myself, I know that their regard for what they call principle would induce nine-tenths of them to vote against me. Why? I am a decided enemy of the party, even in its most respectable aspects.—[Horace Greeley.

An Ugly Bit of History.

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS ABOUT TREACHERY—MR. LINCOLN'S BETRAYAL.

From Roscoe Conkling's recent speech.

Mr. Greeley, early in Mr. Lincoln's Administration, became his enemy. This Mr. Lincoln knew, and was ever on his guard. This is noticeable in the Niagara peace affair. Mr. Greeley had been for secession when secession might have been avoided; he had been for battle when the time had not come; he had been in turn for war and peace when each was impossible; and early in 1864, when the rebellion was about to collapse, and when everything depended on keeping the North erect with united and undaunted front, Mr. Greeley fell into a swoon of despondency, and blamed our authorities for not trying to make peace.

From the beginning of the war Canada had been the refuge of the spies, detectives, and hangers-on of the rebellion. On the 5th of July, 1864, one W. Cornell Jewett, an irresponsible and half insane adventurer, wrote Mr. Greeley a letter, saying that George N. Sanders wanted to come to Niagara Falls and hold a private interview with those authorized to make peace. Mr. Greeley, the day after he received the letter, wrote to Mr. Lincoln. His letter shows him full of the subject, and completely persuaded that he had received a great and genuine revelation. He inclosed, ready made, his "plan of adjustment." He was going to close up the whole rebellion by paying \$400,000,000 to "loyal and secession alike" for slaves, and by several other things, closing his plan with these words: "It may save us from a Northern insurrection." In this letter he said: "A wide-spread conviction that the government and its prominent supporters are not anxious for peace, and do not improve proffered opportunities to achieve it, is doing harm now, and is morally certain, unless removed, to do far greater in the approaching elections." He also put in his letter exaggerated statements of the extremity to which the country had come, and appealed to Mr. Lincoln to enter into the negotiation.

Mr. Lincoln saw through the whole thing at a glance; he saw that Mr. Greeley had been gulled, and he saw that he must humor him or rouse his ire. Accordingly he wrote to him as follows: "If you find any

person, anywhere, professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis, in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and the abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you," etc. Mr. Greeley replied, caviling with the President's letter, saying that they would not show their credentials, etc., and using these words: "Green as I may be, I am not so verdant as to imagine anything of the sort."

Receiving no answer from the President, three days afterward, July 13, he wrote: "I have now information, on which I can rely, that two persons, duly commissioned and empowered to negotiate for peace, are at this moment not far from Niagara Falls," &c. In this letter he appeals to Mr. Lincoln "to act in the premises, and to act so promptly that a good influence may even yet be exerted in the North Carolina election next month."

Mr. Lincoln replied, "I am disappointed that you have not already reached here with those commissioners. If they would consent to come on being shown my letter to you on the 9th inst., show that and this to them, and if they will come on the terms stated in the former, bring them. I not only intend a severe effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made."

Mr. Greeley applied for "safe conduct" for four persons, and this being granted, he set sail on his mission, never suspecting he was the victim of a fraud, and not seeing how Mr. Lincoln regarded it.

LINCOLN BETRAYED.

Reaching Niagara, he instantly put himself into communication with Sanders, Thompson & Co., who at once informed him that they had no authority whatever to make peace, or to talk about it, but they were pleased that the United States had at last come forward proposing terms; and they graciously offered Mr. Greeley, if the President would protect them, to go through the United States down to Richmond and see what the rebels would do about it. Mr. Greeley, in place of denouncing the cheat and repelling the impertinence, and clearing the President's skirts by showing the two letters which he had been instructed to show, went into a correspondence with these brazen impostors. Learning what was going on, Mr. Lincoln dispatched a confidential messenger post haste with a document dated

July 18, 1864, signed by himself, and addressed "To whom it may concern." This document stated that authorized propositions of peace would be fairly met, provided "the integrity of the whole Union and the abandonment of slavery" was embraced. The messenger, by order of the President, hastened to Niagara Falls, and, taking Mr. Greeley with him, crossed the river, and delivered the paper in his presence to the rebel tricksters.

It contained what the President directed Mr. Greeley to show them in the first instance, yet it was the first notice given them of the President's requirements.

Taking advantage of this concealment by Mr. Greeley, Thompson & Co. pretended to be taken by surprise, and wrote Mr. Greeley a long letter, full of insolent and electioneering denunciations of Mr. Lincoln and the Government. They stated that Mr. Greeley made the first advance to them, which they say "was accepted by us as the evidence of an unexpected but most gratifying change in the policy of the President!" They further say that they had believed that the "conciliatory manifestation on the part of the President of the United States would be met by them (Jeff. Davis & Co.) in a temper of equal magnanimity!" They then denounce the President for changing his mind, and not doing what Mr. Greeley had been led to expect.

On receipt of this letter, in place of setting the President right, by telling them that from the beginning he had held throughout but one and the same position, Mr. Greeley left the President to rest under the imputation of bad faith.

Before taking his departure Mr. Greeley sent word to the rebel "Commissioners" that he "regrets the sad termination of the initiatory steps taken for peace, in consequence of the change made by the President," etc. No change had in truth been made by the President, and first and last, there was no room to charge bad faith or a change of mind, excepting the false position in which Mr. Greeley had placed the President by disobeying his instructions, and failing to exhibit his shrewd and guarded letter.

When Mr. Lincoln came to know what had been done, feeling indignant at the way his confidence had been abused, he wrote to Mr. Greeley for permission to publish the correspondence, omitting only such parts as carried an exaggerated idea

of our military political condition; this request Mr. Greeley refused, unless all parts of the letters were published. Upon this conduct of Mr. Greeley, Mr. Lincoln commented in these words: "I have concluded that it is better for me to submit for the time to the consequences of the false position in which I consider he (Greeley) has placed me, than to subject the country to the consequences of publishing those discouraging and injurious parts."

After Mr. Lincoln's death these facts and letters all came out. Mr. Lincoln had delivered them, in confidence to Mr. Raymond, who, in his Life of Lincoln, exposes Mr. Greeley with a severity from which I abstain.

But several things are undeniable. First, Mr. Greeley was gulled by a shallow swindle; second, he not only bit at the bait, but pressed the matter upon Lincoln, in a manner showing his intention to carp at him unless he yielded to his views; third, Lincoln punctured the fraud at a glance, and yet Greeley did not see it; fourth, Greeley bungled the whole affair at Niagara, or else purposely violated the instructions of the President; fifth, he tamely submitted to the most unblushing effrontery and imposition from the rebels; sixth, he expressly admitted and stated that Lincoln had been fickle or untruthful, when he knew he had not; and finally, when Lincoln sought to vindicate himself by making the truth public, Greeley stilled the truth by threatening, if it was told, to publish matters having no bearing on the case, but which would deeply wound the public interest.

Who can wonder that Mr. Stanton proposed the arrest of Mr. Greeley for holding unauthorized intercourse with the enemy?

THE Post publishes a new campaign song, the first line of which it prints as follows:

Old Greeley's coming, "hoho, hoho!"

The last two words are evidently misprinted. They should be "booho, booho!" —[Boston Journal.

COLONEL FORNEY writes from Louisiana: If the whole Democratic party and all the men with Governor Warmoth go together and rally their forces, Louisiana can still give from fifteen to twenty thousand for Grant.

Gratz Brown.

A SAD STORY OF THE "PET OF THE LIBERALS"—ONE OF HIS MOST INFLUENTIAL ORGANS CALLS ON HIM TO WITHDRAW.

The following is the story of the clerk of the New Haven House, as prepared for the New Haven Palladium:

Mr. Brown came to the New Haven House late Wednesday night from his class supper, and went to bed. What time he got up I do not know, but he went out. I suppose to the Yale Commencement exercises. When he came back from there, before he went to the alumni dinner, he went to his room and sent down for some brandy. I sent him up, before he went away, three drinks of brandy, for which I received pay. He came back after the dinner, and between that time and the time when he made his speech he sent down for three more glasses of brandy, and I am not sure but more. I know that I sold him six drinks of brandy, and I think that I sold him eight, and he paid me for them. When he came down to the office, before going down to the boat, to pay his bill, I saw that he was very drunk. He paid his bill, however, and then turning to the porter said: "What in— has this man done?" (Here followed a conversation with the porter, which was too vile and profane to put in print, but which the clerk can swear to.) A reporter then stepped up to him and asked him to look over his notes of the speech, and Brown replied: "I don't care a G—d d—n for any newspaper!" and other expressions of the same sort. He then started for the side door, where a hack was in waiting for him. He staggered as he went along, but finally went away alone. About fifteen minutes after, Gov. English came down stairs, and I said: "Governor, Mr. Brown was rather tight, wasn't he?" "Yes," replied the Governor, "somewhat set up." On being asked to state again what Mr. Brown's condition was, the reply was, "He was boozy drunk."

Upon the above evidence, the Springfield Republican, with commendable frankness says:

We gave currency, but no credence, some days ago, to the charge that Mr. B. Gratz Brown was drunk while in attendance upon the Yale Commencement at New Haven. The evidence of the

charge was loose and general, and our own information from various sources seemed to prove that it was altogether untrue, and that if Mr. Brown was intoxicated on this occasion, it was with himself and not with spirituous liquors. But there comes now more particular testimony, and though it is borne as yet by the unnamed clerk or barkeeper of a hotel and a journal very far from being of the best character for candor and truth, the charge is repeated with such particulars and has such possibilities in the well-known weakness of Mr. Brown's constitution, that we think the burden of proof is changed by this evidence to the defense. Mr. Brown's friends ought, therefore, without delay, meet this question, either by evidence of the untruthfulness of the charge, or a frank confession of his disgraceful conduct, and the acceptance of the just penalty of it, in withdrawing him from the high candidacy which he occupies before the American people.

Who Appoint the Thieves?

Out of the fifteen cases of defalcation in the customs revenue service, only two of the officials were appointed by President Grant. The following list will show where the moral responsibility rests:

	No. of Cases.	Amount Involved.
Appointed by Buchanan	1	\$ 5,156 31
Appointed by Lincoln	4	17,978 46
Appointed by Johnson	8	34,622 10
Appointed by Grant	2	17,371 75

If the Tribune could publish a few of these interesting facts it might do the people a favor. But as it has ceased to be an organ, and parted with its monkey, we can hardly expect the repetition of old times. The same proportion of roguery holds good with all the thieves that have been ferreted out during General Grant's term. More than three-fourths of the whole number were appointed by Andy Johnson. How very "liberal" it would be to have our Democratic friends tell the whole truth, and allow their constituents to know who it was that appointed the thieves.

WHAT COMPOSES THE GREELEY RING.—The following colossal combination engineered Greeley's nomination at Cincinnati and Baltimore, and will control him if elected:

The Tammany Ring.
The Brooklyn Ring.
The Southern Claims Ring.
The Land Grabbers Ring.
The Rebel Scrip Ring.
The Canal Ring.
The Ku Klux Ring.
The Whisky Ring.

These are no fanciful creations, but veritable rings of rascally robbers; whose nefarious doings have astonished the world with their brilliant audacity. And now they wish to place a tool in the Executive chair of the nation. That tool is Greeley.

The Know-Nothing Canard.

Horace Greeley being on the record as expressing himself in sympathy with resolutions containing a demand that foreigners be required to reside here twenty-one years before being permitted to vote, the opposition have found it necessary to make out Henry Wilson a proscriptive Know-Nothing. Just how much foundation there is for this last charge, those curious in such matters may ascertain by reading the following from the Boston Traveler, from Senator Wilson, repelling the libel and the libelers. It was addressed to the editor of the Madison (Wis.) State Journal:

NATICK, MASS., July 29.

DEAR SIR—The mail has just brought me your note and extracts, clipped from newspapers, purporting to be speeches made by me. In answer to your inquiries I have to say that they, and all thoughts and words of like character which have appeared in papers, are pure invention, wicked forgeries, absolute falsehoods. Never have I thought, spoken or written those words nor anything that the most ma-

lignant sophistry could torture into those words. I could not have done so, for they are abhorrent to every conviction of my judgment, every throb of my heart, every aspiration of my soul.

Born in extreme poverty, having endured the hard lot the sons of poverty are too often forced to endure, I came to manhood passionately devoted to the creed of human equality. All my life I have cherished the bright hope and held and avowed as living faith the doctrine that all men without distinction of race, color, or nationality, should have complete liberty and exact equality. My thoughts, my words, my pen, my votes have been consecrated for more than thirty-six years to human rights. In the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, in eight years service in her Legislature, in more than seventeen years service in the Senate of the United States, in thirteen hundred public addresses, in the press, in speeches and writings that would fill many volumes and make thousands of pages, I have iterated and reiterated the doctrine of equal rights for all conditions of men. Is it not, my dear sir, passing strange, that partisanship should so blind men to a sense of truth, justice and fair play, that they could forge and print abhorrent sentiments, sentiments insulting to God and man, and charge them upon one whose life has been given to the cause of equal rights at home, and whose profound sympathies were ever given to the friends of liberty of all races and nationalities abroad.

Yours truly, HENRY WILSON.

The brain, the heart, the soul of the present Democratic party is the rebel element at the South, with its Northern allies and sympathizers it is rebel at the core to-day. It would come into power with the hate, the chagrin, the wrath, the mortification of ten bitter years to impel and guide its steps. It would devote itself to taking off or reducing tax after tax until the Treasury was deprived of the means of paying interest on the National debt, and would hail the tidings of National bankruptcy with unalloyed gladness and unconcealed exultation. Whatever chastisement may be deserved by our National sins, we must hope that this disgrace and humiliation will be spared us.—(Horace Greeley, February, 1871.)

SUMNER.

A COLORED MAN SPEAKS—EHAUSTIVE
LETTER OF WM. WARING.

Mr. Sumner's Advice not Sound.

HIS STATEMENTS OF THE "ANTECE-
DENTS" AND "PRESENT POSITION"
OF THE TWO CANDIDATES NOT
FULL OR COMPLETE.

The Case Fairly Stated---Colored
Men Can't Vote for Greeley.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2, 1872.

Editor Republican:

As I belong to that class of persons whose votes Senator Sumner's letter of the 29th of July is intended to affect, I take it that I have a right to question the soundness of the advice which it contains. After a lengthy statement of the "antecedents" and the "present position of the two candidates for the Presidency," the letter reaches the conclusion that colored men ought to vote for Greeley next November instead of Grant, and if the statements in the letter, as it stands, were full and correct, the conclusion which it arrives at would be, perhaps, unavoidable; but because I regard the letter defective in these particulars I cannot accept its conclusion, and will endeavor to show from its tenor that my objections to it are well founded. The letter says that "Horace Greeley stood forth as a reformer and an abolitionist." It will be news to Horace Greeley himself to hear that he was an abolitionist in the sense in which that term was used in the old days of anti-slavery reform. He was known as an anti-slavery Whig, and always talked anti-slavery, but the quality of his abolitionism can be better described by adding a few facts to the chapter of antecedents contained in the letter, and which facts ought not to have been left out.

In 1844 he used his voice and his pen for Henry Clay, the slave-holding candidate of the pro-slavery Whig party for the Presidency, as against James G. Birney, the candidate of the Abolitionists. In 1848 he supported with voice and pen Zachary Taylor, the slave-holding candidate for the Presidency, as against Van Buren, who was the Free-Soil candidate.

In 1852 he again supported the pro-slavery candidate of the Whig party, who was mounted on a pro-slavery platform, as

against John P. Hale, who was the Free-Soil candidate for the Presidency.

It is only right and proper that the letter should have recognized the fact that Greeley hung to the old pro-slavery Whig party until it died and began to stink on his hands. "President Grant," the letter says, "enlisted as a pro-slavery Democrat, and at the election of James Buchanan fortified by his vote the pretensions of slavery, including the Dred Scott decision." It is certain that the Dred Scott decision was not rendered until after the election of James Buchanan, and therefore Grant could not have fortified it by his vote at the time named. But suppose this to be true, why not let us have the fact, also, that Greeley supported General Scott with all his might, and by his vote fortified the infamous fugitive-slave law of 1850, which Scott was pledged to execute if elected.

"I am against raking in the ashes of the past for coals of fire yet burning," but when the antecedents of the "two candidates" are being contrasted, justice requires that we should have all the facts in the case without reserve or coloring.

The letter tells that "Greeley earnestly desired that colored citizens should vote, and ably championed impartial suffrage, but President Grant was on the other side." This must refer to a time previous to the war, and, if so, the letter ought to have stated that Grant was then a Lieutenant in the army, hauling wood to the St. Louis market, or tanning hides at Galena, while Greeley was the editor of a political paper, and a prominent politician. These facts would have shown the utter absurdity of this part of the comparison. I have said that this must refer to a time previous to the war, for nobody, perhaps, will venture to trifle with the intelligence of even colored men by saying that Grant opposed negro suffrage, as a civil officer, when in the very first hour of his official life he pronounced himself unequivocally, in his inaugural address, in favor of the ratification of the Fifteenth amendment; and without his support as President of the United States, no sane man believes that that amendment would have been ratified to-day. It was ratified "by the hardest" as it was, and against the President's opposition its ratification would have been impossible.

The letter talks eloquently about Greeley's "large heart," "large understanding," "grasp of statesmanship," "magnanimous soul," etc., and toward the close it gives

the signing of Jeff. Davis' bail-bond as an evidence of his lovely disposition. But there are other facts bearing upon this part of the subject that ought not to have been omitted in the letter, and we will try to supply the deficiency. His heart was so large that he argued in favoring of letting the rebel States go in peace at the beginning of the war, the result of which would have been to establish a Southern Confederacy with slavery as its chief cornerstone, and to bind the black men in hopeless bondage. Another proof of his large heart is to be found in the bungling efforts he made in 1864 to bring about negotiations between President Lincoln and some rebel commissioners who at that time were in Canada laying plans to burn Northern cities and introduce disease into loyal towns and into the loyal army.

In the same year he tried to make a serious breach in the Republican party by opposing the renomination of President Lincoln, at a time when the unanimity of the loyal masses was of the last importance to colored people, whose liberties were suspended by a hair.

The "grasp of statesmanship" that he exhibited at this time called out the admiration of every rebel and negro-hater in the country. His "magnanimous soul" manifested itself about a year ago, after he had caught the Presidential fever, by sending a lying correspondent into the South, who represented the freedmen, through the columns of the Tribune, to be a lazy, worthless class, who worked just enough to keep from starving, and who, if left to themselves, would relapse into a state of barbarism; and while this Greeley correspondent defamed the poor, bruised, and wronged negro he amply explained how the ex-rebels were goaded to the perpetration of their hellish Ku Klux outrages. We are told in the letter that "few of these things appear in the President." But, in spite of the letter, some people, who are by no means fools, thought Grant had a LITTLE "understanding" during the war. President Lincoln evidently thought so, for he promoted him from one rank to another until he gave him chief command of all the armies of the Republic, and in doing this he but expressed the wish of the loyal people of the country.

Many a slave fleeing from his master, and gaining the Union lines, had reason to think that Grant's heart was pretty good, if not as large, as Greeley's. Buell and

McClellan, who are now stiff Greeley men, and other Generals, sent slaves back to their masters, but Grant, through the war, gained no such uneenviable notoriety as this.

That part of the letter which tells the "painful story" about Hayti, and shows up Grant's injustice to the negro, as illustrated by that "terrible transaction," needs some emendations. Frederick Douglass, who is a colored man, and who knows more about the wants of the people of Santo Domingo than does Senator Sumner, explicitly contradicts the opinions held by this gentleman on that subject, and declares that the annexation of that country to the United States would be in the interest of civilization and of the black race. This, of itself, is sufficient to make the scales even, at least so far as the charge of injustice to the black race is concerned. But this letter, while it tells the "painful story" of how Grant insulted black Hayti, fails to tell us that his object was to bring black Santo Domingo into the American Union, and to make her black inhabitants citizens of this great Republic. This, you will see, modifies the "painful" insult very materially.

Another fact ought to have found a place in the letter, which is this: "The usurper Baez" has been kept in power by the people of Santo Domingo ever since our ships were ordered away from that coast. This is a material fact in forming a correct opinion of this "terrible transaction." If Baez has been allowed to remain in power by the people of Santo Domingo then he represented the wishes of his people in seeking admittance to the American Union, and if Hayti dared to interfere with the choice of a people, who had maintained their independence in spite of that Government, then instead of insults Hayti deserved blows.

In another part of the letter Lincoln's respect for the negro race is contrasted with Grant's disrespect for it in the following language: "One of Lincoln's first acts was to put the black republic on an equality with other Powers; one of President Grant's first acts was to disgrace it." It is strange that this letter should contain such a historical blunder.

One of the first acts of Mr. Lincoln's administration was to reject, most emphatically, the offer of colored men to enlist in the Union army, and to curtly inform them that the war was a "white man's

war." Another of his "first acts" was to inaugurate a plan to colonize the colored people in South America, which scheme was actually entered upon by sending out one cargo. This is history.

It is no less history that one of Grant's first acts, as President, was to declare in favor of the fifteenth amendment. Nor is it any less history that Grant's very first act, with reference to Hayti, was to send a colored man as the Minister to that country clothed with all the dignity of a foreign representative of this great nation; an evidence of respect for the negro that Mr. Lincoln, good man that he was, never furnished. These bits of history, recorded so recently and bearing so directly on the question of Grant's respect for the negro, as illustrated by the "painful story," ought not to have been forgotten.

Another reason given in the letter why colored men should vote for Mr. Greeley, and not Grant, is that Frederick Douglass was not invited to dinner at the White House by the President. Mr. Douglass was not one of the Commissioners who went to Santo Domingo, but went along with the Commission in some subordinate capacity. Gen. Sigel went with the Commission in a subordinate capacity also, and he was not invited to the White House at the time named anymore than was Mr. Douglass; therefore, according to this letter, the whole white race was insulted because Gen. Sigel was not given a chance to eat a good dinner.

But Mr. Douglass' own explanation of this "insult" is more complete than any I can give, and I shall therefore use his own language, which is exactly as follows: "It is further obvious that color had nothing to do with the omission, because other gentlemen accompanying the expedition to Santo Domingo, equally with myself, though white failed to receive an invitation to dine at the White House. The only Commissioners provided for by the act of Congress were Messrs. B. F. Wade, A. D. White and S. G. Howe, with one secretary, Mr. Allan A. Burton. These gentlemen called in a body upon the President and were invited in an informal way to dine with him. I was not in company with the Commissioners when this call was made, and did not see the President until afterward. Had I been in company with the commissioners at the time of their visit, I have no question but that an invitation would have been extended to me as freely

as to any of the gentlemen of the Commission who were invited." The effort made in the letter to antagonize Grant with the civil rights bill is so decidedly thin as scarcely to be entitled to serious consideration.

Whose friends in the Senate voted for that measure? Were they Mr. Greeley's friends? Did Thurman and Blair and the rest of the Greeley Senators vote for it? Some of us remember that the men who voted for that measure in the Senate were men who now support Grant for the Presidency, with the exceptions only of Fenton and the author of this letter himself. Some of us have not forgotten that the bill which included amnesty and civil rights was defeated by two votes, one of them the vote of that unmitigated demagogue, Schurz, and the other the vote of the high priest of Greeley Democracy, Trumbull. Had these two men, whose lead Mr. Sumner is now following into the ranks of the Greeley Democracy, voted for that bill, it would have received the necessary two-thirds vote, and so have passed the Senate. I cannot believe that the distinguished author of the letter would intentionally garble the language used by President Grant in his note to the "civil rights" meeting held in this city last May; but he makes General Grant say that he is in favor "of the exercise of those rights to which every citizen should be justly entitled." Now, what Grant did say is in the following words precisely. "I beg to assure you, however, that I sympathize most cordially in any effort to secure for all our people, of whatever race, nativity, or color, the exercise of those rights to which every citizen should be entitled."

The difference between what Mr. Sumner's letter makes General Grant say to that meeting and what General Grant actually said is so striking that the most stupid intellect will discover it.

In view of these facts, the weakness of trying to gull even colored men into the support of the Greeley Democracy by insinuating that Grant opposed the Civil Rights Bill is apparent. Just how Mr. Sumner's new bedfellows, the bloody Ku Klux, will take that part of the letter which insinuates that Grant was not earnest in the suppression of their outrages on colored people remains to be seen. The Ku Klux of the South and the Copperheads of the North have cursed themselves

hoarse over Grant's interference with the midnight riders, who were engaged in whipping and killing loyal black and white men. But this part of the letter may be safely dismissed with the remark that the black victims of Ku Kluxism can never be made to understand how it will be to their advantage to vote against Grant, who so effectually enforced the Ku Klux law, and to vote for Wade Hampton, General Forrest and Horace Greeley. "Passing from antecedents," the letter "comes to the present position of the two candidates."

Some of the "statements" under this head are so remarkable that I am led to adopt the language of Captain O. S. B. Wall, one of the prominent colored men of this District, as expressed to me an evening or two ago. Said he: "I cannot realize that Charles Sumner ever wrote that letter. I read it as if I were in a dream." This division of the letter begins by assuring us that the "bob-tail" convention at Cincinnati was more Republican than the convention held at Philadelphia.

Why, Mr. Editor, we remember that there was not a single colored delegate in that recreant gathering at Cincinnati. We remember perfectly well that prominent among the leaders and controllers of that convention were Schurz and Trumbull, who defeated the Civil Rights Bill in the Senate, and who voted against the Ku Klux law, that brought peace and safety to so many poor, shivering firesides in the South.

It has not passed out of our minds that James M. Ashley, who insulted us by inviting only white men to Montana, was one of its chief fuglemen, and that deep in the unfathomable mystery of that sore-head meeting were those old political bummers, the Blair family, who have fought our enfranchisement inch by inch and at every step and turn that we have made.

On the other hand, Mr. Editor, we remember full well that at Philadelphia colored delegates were prominent in its deliberation; that the hotels of that city were thrown open to black and white, foreign and native-born alike, and that perfect equality reigned in the City of Brotherly Love. The time is too short for us to have forgotten who supported that convention, and the great names that gave it their influence. Henry Wilson was there, a name that colored men will not cease to revere, unless in some evil hour

he deserts us. Wendell Phillips and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, who fought the battles of the negro, away back in days, long before even the great name of Charles Sumner was known as an abolitionist, bade that convention a hearty "God speed." Gerrit Smith, that grand old champion of human rights, was there, and though weighted down with years, that are full of honor, he raised his trembling voice once more for God and liberty, and struck the same notes of freedom that he sounded in the vigor of his manhood, when it was worth a man's life to claim the negro for a "man and brother." All of these facts are of too recent origin to admit of our being fed with the miserable garbage that the Cincinnati gathering of soreheaded office-seekers was more Republican than the convention which met at Philadelphia.

The letter "comes to the supporters of the candidates," and says that "Republicans are flocking to the support of Greeley." As an evidence of the correctness of this statement, the letter ought to have given a sample of the "devoted," "consistent," "honest" Republicans who are "flocking" to Greeley's support. The names of Doolittle, Cowan, and Montgomery Blair would have served the purpose well, and to enlighten us still further as to the character of the "devoted" Republicans who are "flocking to Greeley's support," it ought to have mentioned the fact that forty-nine-fiftieths of the prominent Republicans who have turned Greeley Democrats, sought office for themselves or friends, and failed to get it; or were turned out of office by Grant, or had some friend turned out of office.

But the letter says the supporters of Grant belong to "military rings," are "drilled office-holders," and the "speeches praising him are by officeholders and members of rings." The writer of the letter must have forgotten the glorious past when he permitted himself to write this ungracious sentence. An overwhelming majority of the people of Massachusetts support Grant—the people who sent Charles Sumner to the United States Senate and kept him there, and so gave him an opportunity to make of himself what he has been. He now repays them by flinging this insult in their faces. Henry Wilson "praises" Grant, the man who stood by Charles Sumner like a hero when these same rebels and murderers with whom he has now allied himself, knocked him down

and nearly beat his brains out on the floor of the Senate. Old Ben. Wade, at whom no suspicion has ever pointed, "praises" Grant. Has the writer of the letter blotted from his memory the stormy days when old Ben. Wade stood shoulder to shoulder with him against the hosts of slavery in their uneven battles for freedom? Surely hatred of one man, and unbridled anger has done its perfect work when such an insult can be offered to the brave comrades who have stood with us in hours of peril and danger, even though we may have personal grievances never so well founded.

The letter proceeds to inform us that the Democratic party has joined the Liberal Republicans, and that the Liberal Republicans have not joined the Democrats. Right here we have a conflict of authority between this letter and Horace Greeley. Greeley said to the committee that informed him of his nomination by the negro-killers' Convention at Baltimore: "You, gentlemen, are none the less Democrats, and I am none the less a Republican because I am your nominee;" and until Greeley and his supporters settle the point among themselves as to whether the Baltimore dog is following the Cincinnati tail, or the reverse of this, I perhaps need not give myself any trouble about it. The letter says: "It is idle to say that the election of Horace Greeley and Gratz Brown, both unchangeable Republicans, will be the return of the Democratic party to power." Yet notwithstanding this confident assertion, there stands the naked fact that when this same Gratz Brown was elected Governor of Missouri by the demagogue Schurz and other Republican bolters, allied with the rebel Democracy just as Greeley and Sumner are now, that State became hopelessly Democratic, and sent Frank Blair, the most venomous of Democrats to the United States Senate.

After closing up the statement of the "present position of the two candidates," the letter proceeds with a lengthy exhortation to the colored people to vote the Greeley-Democratic ticket. It assures us that the Democratic party has made a peace offering, and it "regrets" that "the colored people, in organized masses, are resisting these friendly overtures," and in proof of the conversion of the Democracy we are furnished with the name of that prince of negro-haters, Tom Hendricks, of Indiana, who accepts at last the results of the war. Would it not have given point to the

advice to have added that this peace offering by the Ku Klux who met at Baltimore has been made since the "Grant party" pulled all the fangs out of their mouths, and they have no more power to hurt, except in a few localities, unless they are helped to power again by the sorehead Republicans? In the warmth of its exhortation the letter reminds us that "the present position of the colored citizen is perilous," and directly afterward it says: "But I see no early extrication except in the way proposed," which is, of course, to vote the Greeley ticket.

The letter is lamentably defective at this point. It ought to have added that we are in deadly peril in Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and among the Tammany thieves of New York, just where pure, honest, lovely Greeleyism reigns supreme. If I were to send my child to a public school in any town in these United States where Greeleyism reigns supreme, its brains would be knocked out. If I were to cross the Potomac river and turn my face toward the land of Greeleyism, I would be kicked out of first-class accommodations, and if I resisted a crowd of "devoted" "consistent" Greeley men would be ready to gnaw me to death. Perilous indeed is our position wherever Greeleyism reigns.

But on the other hand, noble old Massachusetts, where "Grantism," "military rings," "officeholders" reign, as this letter with such magnificent disdain styles the Republican party, I feel in no peril. Her highways are open to me, and her university doors swing back upon their hinges at my approach. In the agricultural regions of the northwest Greeleyism will be condemned by thundering majorities. "Grantism," "military rings" reign there. I live in that region; my family is there now; I feel that they are in no "peril" more than other people. I have no fears of their being kicked out of cars and hotels. The public schools of that country and its youthful colleges bid my little ones welcome to their treasures. Then please give me "the Grantism" and the "military rings" of New England and the Northwest. Mr. Sumner, if he chooses, can take for his part the "amiable" Greeleyism of Maryland, Kentucky, and the Tammany thieves.

The letter contains a great many assertions, couched in the most immoderate language, but their astonishing extrava-

gance is their own best refutation. A sample of them, however, may be found in that part of the exhortation which declares that Grant deserved impeachment more than did Andrew Johnson. Andrew Johnson connived at, if he did not actually procure, the horrible murder of black and white loyalists at Mobile, Memphis and New Orleans while President; but Gen. Grant has done worse than this! I repeat that the unbounded extravagance of such language is a better answer to it than any I can make, and it may be confidently left to the judgment of reasonable men without note or comment. But I have made this letter too long, and I will bring it to a close by briefly stating the "present position of the two candidates" as I see them. Grant is the regular nominee of the faithful old Republican party; Greeley is the nominee of a sorehead faction of the Republican party and of the rebel Democracy that met at Baltimore. Grant is supported by forty-nine-fiftieths of the old abolitionists and original Republicans in the country; Greeley is supported by forty-nine-fiftieths of all the old pro-slavery hacks in the country who gloried in killing a negro, without whose support he could not carry a single school district in the United States. Grant has the support of seven-eighths of the men who fought for the Union; Greeley has the support of nineteen-twentieths of those who fought in the rebel army. Grant has the support of forty-nine-fiftieths of all the men who have voted for negro suffrage in the North; Greeley has the support of nineteen-twentieths of those who fought it to the bitter end. Grant has the support of every Senator who voted for the Ku Klux bill and the Civil Rights bill except Fenton and Sumner; Greeley has the support of every Senator who voted against these measures, with one or two exceptions.

Grant has the support of nearly every missionary and school-teacher who went South among the freedmen; Greeley has the support of every low-browed villain who helped to hang negroes to lamp-posts in New York city.

In the rural districts of the North, where not one in a thousand is an office-holder, Grant will receive heavy majorities. In New York city, Greeley's home, a city that is in the hands of the Tammany thieves and cut-throats, the "amiable" Greeley will receive a thumping majority. Grant leads the party that put down the

rebellion, abolished slavery, and ratified the Fifteenth Amendment. Greeley leads the party that organized treason and fought for slavery; that organized the Ku Klux and murdered negroes because they had been made free. True, the letter says that these naughty things have all been put away; but Greeley says "they are none the less Democrats" now than before, and with these facts staring us in the face, will it be wise for us to put our trust in Horace Greeley? Nay, more, would it not be mean and cowardly to desert the great mass of those who stood by us in the hour of difficulty and follow the few who stood by us into the arms of those who have murdered us all the day long.

WM. WARING.

Compensation to the South for its Slaves.

In various ways comes the intelligence from the South that many of the Southern ex-slaveholders confidently anticipate obtaining from the General Government compensation for their slaves in case Greeley is elected to the Presidency. They recall his proposition to pay \$400,000,000 for them in July 1864, and ask, if he could make such a proposition then, what would prevent him from agreeing to it now? The Galveston (Texas) News, a Greeley organ, in a recent issue says:—"Though Mr. Greeley has been long and consistently the advocate of emancipation, yet, he always admitted the constitutional right of the South to her slave property, the protection of which constituted the most essential preliminary condition to the original formation of the Union. Everybody knows the Union never could have been formed but for this solemn guarantee of slave property in the great compact of union. Hence, Mr. Greeley has always advocated compensation for this property. He looked upon slavery as an evil and an insurmountable obstacle to the prosperity of the country, and he advocated the removal of that evil upon the same principle that private property is forcibly taken when required, in order to facilitate great public improvements, but for which due compensation is made to the owners."

The Saving to the Government by the Purchase of United States Bonds.

In connection with the enormous reduction of the public debt which has taken place under President Grant's Administration and Secretary Boutwell's management of the finances, there has been effected a very large saving of public money which deserves more than a passing notice. The face value of the total amount of bonds purchased up to the end of June, 1872, was \$265,755,450. These bonds were bought in open market at their currency value, the means of purchasing them being obtained for the most part by the sale of gold out of the Treasury. The bonds as measured in currency commanded a premium in the market, and so cost the Government in currency more than their face value; but the gold sold by the Treasury commanded a still higher premium than that on the bonds; so that the net result up to the date above mentioned was an average saving of 5 7-10 per cent. on all the bonds purchased, and the total amount saved being no less than \$15,147,303 24 in gold.

This result has been attained without compromising in any way the credit of the Government. The bonds purchased had yet many years to run before their payment could be legally demanded by the holders of them, and if they sold them to the Government at an earlier date for less than their par value it was purely a voluntary transaction on their part, involving no breach of contract either in letter or in spirit.

It has been urged by Democratic politicians that as the Government had the right to redeem these bonds at the end of five years from their respective

dates of issue (those purchased being Five-Twenties) they ought to have been called in and redeemed in greenbacks. This, however, would not in any proper sense have been a redemption of the bonds at all. It would merely have been the substitution of one form of obligation for another—the issue of a note called a “greenback,” promising to pay \$100 to take the place of another piece of paper called a “bond,” promising to pay a like amount. Besides the issue of so large an amount of currency as would have been required for the purpose would have produced a further depreciation in the medium of payment, and this depreciation would probably have been so great as to make the transaction little better than downright repudiation, destroying the credit of the Government for all time.

To say nothing of the national dishonor involved in it, such a course would have rendered the negotiation of any future loan impossible, except at a ruinous sacrifice, and thus in the end would have cost the country many times the amount saved by the paltry trick, besides completely deranging the circulating medium, producing a terrible financial crisis, and thereby prostrating the whole trade and industry of the country. This is what the Democratic critics of the Administration would have done could they have had their way, if we may believe their words. Yet it is worthy of note that their candidate for the Presidency has been an earnest advocate of the policy of paying the debt in hard cash, and if elected may, if his new allies allow him, put in practice the views he has advocated. His nomination, however, in this respect, is but another tribute to the virtues of the Republican party, and proves that even the Democracy at last perceive how completely its principles and policy commend themselves to the good sense and honest impulses of the masses of the American people. It is another striking argument to that people in support of what is certain—the election, by a majority of their votes, of GRANT and WILSON.

An Appeal to Colored Voters.

BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Aug. 9, 1872.

Colored Fellow-Citizens:

In view of the insidious and dangerous advice and counsel of Mr. Sumner, I think it is my duty to set forth a few urgent reasons why we, as a race and as fellow-citizens, all bound up in the same interest, cannot and should not vote for Greeley and Brown, but that to a man, we should cast our whole weight into the scale for Grant and Wilson.

First—We in the South have been liberated from slavery by the direct agency of the Republican party. Had Greeley been President instead of Lincoln, we would to-day have been in a worse bondage under the Slave Republic of the Southern Confederate States than ever before. Greeley advocated this policy and did his best to establish the Republic of which slavery was to be the chief corner-stone.

Second—Our first vote was cast as freedmen for Grant in 1868. Have we been disappointed in the result of his administration? Previous to that period you had no vote. Now we have equal rights (or almost equal rights) with the white race. We can accumulate property as they do; we have the law's protection over us as they have; our marital relations are respected; our wives and children are our own and not the property of others; we can testify in every court; we have the right if we have the power to have our brethren elected to the Senate and Congress of the country; we are a power that is felt; we hold the balance of power in America; no corrupt or vacillating man can be elected to the Presidential chair unless we consent to vote for him.

Third—All this has occurred since '65, and chiefly since we cast our votes for Grant in '68. Are we prepared to risk the abandonment of these great privileges and blessings, and vote for a man who believes that any State may dissolve from the Union when she sees fit, or pass such laws as may seem to her best? Are we prepared to vote for the nominees of the Democratic party, whose hearts never have changed toward us, who kept us in slavery as long as they had the power, and who if they had the power again would (to say the least of it) do their very utmost to restrict our liberties and oppress us as of old. Mr. Sumner may deceive himself; he can-

not deceive us; or, to use the language of the gentleman, Mr. James R. Doolittle, Chairman of the Convention which nominated Mr. Greeley, one of the objects of the nomination being the “overthrow of negro supremacy.”—And forsooth, what is this supremacy they so much wish to overthrow? It is simply the cancellation of those ordinary privileges and blessings, enumerated in clause second. We have no supremacy, and never expect to have, nor intend to try for.

Fourth—In conclusion: Be not deceived!! With Grant, our security is unquestionable; our happiness will be made lasting. With Greeley, we would enter upon a sea of trouble—an unknown and anxious future. Unscrupulous advisers would be his friends. Our old foes would surround him, as they even do now; and even if a few staunch friends should endeavor to stem the coming troubles, they would be swept away with the torrent, and the great work of the Republican party prove an abortion. It cannot be that we will send one vote out of our entire midst to help bring about such dire results, and I pray God that, when the time comes, every man of our race will be found true to the cause of human rights to all.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

How Is This?

The Chicago Evening Journal commends to the sober consideration of those German and Irish voters who are being “roped into” the Greeley meshes the following: “A New Yorker,” the Journal says, “now a well-known resident and merchant of this city, informs us that in 1856 he was a member of the first Know-nothing Council formed in the City of New York; that the question of securing a newspaper organ came up; that a committee was appointed on this subject, and that at a meeting of that Committee, at No. 68 East Broadway, over a drug-store, Horace Greeley was personally present, and submitted a proposition to make his Tribune the organ of the Know-nothing Party of New-York if they would pay him \$36,000. Our informant, who is as reliable a man as can be found in Chicago's business circles, stands ready to prove his statement should Horace have the hardihood to question it.”

An Answer to Sumner.

LETTER OF HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, OF MAINE—HE OVERHAULS SUMNER'S RECORD AND SHOWS HIS INCONSISTENCIES, ETC.

WASHINGTON, August 2.—The following letter was handed to Senator Sumner to-day:

AUGUSTA, MAINE, July 31, 1872.

To Hon. Charles Sumner, United States Senator:
DEAR SIR—Your letter, published in the papers of this morning, will create profound pain and regret among your former friends throughout New England. Your power to injure General Grant was exhausted in your remarkable speech in the Senate. Your power to injure yourself was not fully exercised until you announced

OPEN ALLIANCE

With Southern secessionists in their efforts to destroy the Republican party of the nation. I have but recently read with much interest the circumstantial and minute account given by you in the fourth volume of your works of the manner in which you were struck down in the Senate chamber in 1856 for defending the rights of the negro. The Democratic party throughout the South, and according to your own showing to some extent, in the North also,

APPROVED THAT ASSAULT

Upon you. Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, openly announced his approval of it in the Senate, and Jefferson Davis, four months after its occurrence, wrote a letter in fulsome eulogy of Brooks for having so nearly taken your life. It is safe to say that every man in the South who rejoiced over the attempt to murder you was afterward found in the rebel conspiracy to murder the nation. It is still safer to say that every one of them who survived is to-day your fellow-laborer in

SUPPORT OF HORACE GREELEY.

In 1856 it would indeed have been a rash prophet who predicted your fast alliance sixteen years after with Messrs. Toombs and Davis in their efforts to reinstate their own party in power. In all startling mutations of American politics, nothing so marvelous has ever occurred as the fellowship of Robert Toombs, Jefferson Davis and Charles Sumner in a joint effort to drive the Republican party from power, and hand over the Government to the practical control of those who so recently

SOUGHT TO DESTROY IT.

It is of no avail for you to take refuge behind your Republican record. Horace Greeley—conceding for the sake of argument, as I do not in fact believe, that Horace Greeley would remain firm in his Republican principles—would be powerless against the Congress that would come into power with him in the event of his election. We have had a recent and striking illustration in the case of Andrew Johnson of the inability of the President to enforce his policy, or even any measures, against the will of Congress. What more power would there be in Horace Greeley to enforce a Republican policy against a Democratic Congress than there was in

ANDREW JOHNSON

To enforce a Democratic policy against a Republican Congress? And, besides, Horace Greeley has already, in his letter of acceptance, taken ground practically against the Republican doctrine so often enforced by yourself of the duty of the National Government to secure the rights of every citizen in the protection of life, person and property. In Mr. Greeley's letter accepting the Cincinnati nomination he pleases every Ku Klux villain in the South by repeating the Democratic cant about local self-government, and inveighing in good rebel parlance against centralization, and finally declaring that there shall be no

FEDERAL SUBVERSION

Of the internal policy of the several States and municipalities, but that each shall be left free to enforce the rights and promote the well-being of its inhabitants, by such means as in their judgment its own people may prescribe. The meaning of all this, in plain English, is that, no matter how colored citizens of the South may be abused, wronged and oppressed, Congress shall not interfere for their protection, but leave them to the tender mercies of local self-governments, administered by white rebels. Do you, as a friend to the colored man, approve this position of Mr. Greeley? You cannot forget, Mr. Sumner, how often during the late session of Congress, you conferred with me in regard to the possibility of having your civil-rights bill passed by the House. It was introduced by your personal friend, Mr. Hooper, and nothing prevented its passage by the House except the

RANCOROUS AND FACTIOUS HOSTILITY

Of Democratic members. If I have correctly examined the Globe, Democratic

members, on seventeen different occasions, resisted the passage of the civil-rights bill by a parliamentary process known as filibustering. They would not even allow it to come to a vote. Two intelligent colored members from South Carolina, Elliott and Rainey, begged of the Democratic side of the House to merely allow the civil rights bill to be voted on, and they were answered with a denial so absolute that it amounted to a scornful jeer of the rights of colored men. And now you lend

YOUR VOICE AND INFLUENCE

To the re-election of these Democratic members who are co-operating with you in support of Mr. Greeley. Do you not know, Mr. Sumner, and will you not, as a candid man, acknowledge that with these men in power in Congress the rights of colored men are absolutely sacrificed, so far as those rights depend on Federal legislation? Still further, the rights of colored men in this country are secured, if secured at all, by the three great constitutional amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth. To give these amendments full scope and effect, legislation by Congress is imperatively required, as you have so often and so eloquently demonstrated; but the Democratic party is on record, in a most conspicuous manner, against any legislation on the subject. It was only in the month of February last that my colleague, Mr. Peters, offered a resolution in the House of Representatives affirming the validity of the

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

And of such reasonable legislation in Congress as may be necessary to make them. In their letter and spirit, most effectual. This resolution—very mild and guarded, as you will see—was adopted by one hundred and twenty-four yeas to fifty-eight nays. Only eight of the yeas were Democrats. All the nays were Democrats. The resolution of Mr. Peters was followed a week later, by one offered by Mr. Stevenson, of Ohio, as follows:

Resolved, That we recognize as valid and binding all existing laws passed by Congress for the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, and for the protection of citizens in their rights under the Constitution as amended.

On a vote upon this resolution, there were one hundred and seven yeas to sixty-five nays. All the yeas were Republicans, and they are now unanimous in support of

General Grant. All the nays were Democrats, who are now equally unanimous in support of Mr. Greeley. It is idle to affirm, as some Democrats did, in the resolution offered by

MR. BROOKS, OF NEW YORK,

That these amendments are valid parts of the Constitution. So long as the same men on the same day vote that the provisions of those amendments should not be enforced by Congressional legislation, the amendments are but sounding brass and tinkling cymbals to the colored man. Unless Congress makes them effective and practical—nay, more, if the rights of the colored man are to be left to the legislation of the Southern States without Congressional intervention, he would, under a Democratic administration, be deprived of the right of suffrage in less than two years, and he would be very lucky if he escaped some form of chattel, slavery or peonage; and in proof of this danger, I might quote volumes of wisdom and warning from the speeches of Charles Sumner. When, therefore, you point out to colored men that their rights will be safe in the hands of the Democratic party, you delude and mislead them. I do not say wilfully, but none the less really. A small

HANDFUL OF REPUBLICANS

Compared with the whole mass who unite with yourself and Mr. Greeley in going over to the Democratic party, cannot leaven that lump of political unsoundness, even if you preserve your own original principles in tact. The administration of Mr. Greeley, therefore, should he be elected, would be, in whole and in detail, a Democratic administration, and you would be compelled to go with the current or depart and turn back when too late to mend the evil you have done. Your argument that Horace Greeley does not become a Democrat by receiving Democratic votes, illustrating it by the analogy of

YOUR OWN ELECTION

To the Senate is hardly a pertinent point. It is not what Mr. Greeley will become personally, but what will be the complexion of the great legislative branch of the Government, with all its vast and controlling power? You know very well, Mr. Sumner, that if Mr. Greeley is elected President, Congress is handed over to the control of the party who have persistently denied the rights of the black man. What

course you will pursue toward the colored man is of very small consequence after you have transferred the power of the Government to his enemy.

The colored men of this country are not, as a class, enlightened, but they have wonderful instincts, and when they read your letter they will know that in a great crisis in their fate you deserted them.—Charles Sumner co-operating with Jefferson Davis, is not the Charles Sumner they have hitherto idolized, any more than Horace Greeley cheered to the echo in Tammany Hall is the same Horace Greeley whom Republicans have hitherto trusted.

BLACK MEN

Of this country will never be ungrateful for what you have done for the Union in the past; nor, in the bitterness of their hearts, will they ever forget that, heated and blinded by personal hatred of one man, you turned your back on the millions whom, in past years, you have stood as a shield and bulwark, in defense.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
[Signed] JAMES G. BLAINE.

Expenditures of the Government

REFUTATION OF DEMOCRATIC LIES.

Judge Richardson has written a letter in reply to a statement made that the expenditures of the Government under Grant have been greater than under Johnson. The official showing will silence the calumniators of the Administration. The letter is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, July 26, 1872 }

SIR—I am in receipt of your communication of the 15th instant, including a paragraph cut from a newspaper alleging that "the expenses of the Executive department, during the first two years of Grant's term, were \$18,709,472, against \$12,856,220 for the last two years of Johnson's Administration. Here is an increase of nearly six millions instead of a reduction. How much economy is there in that?" and asking to be informed if the statements therein made are correct. In reply I have to state that the expenses of the "Executive" for the fiscal years 1867 and

1868—the last two fiscal years of President Johnson's Administration—and for the fiscal years 1870 and 1871—the first two years of President Grant's Administration—are published respectively on pages 44, 47, 18, and 4 of Finance reports, 1867-'68 and 1870-'71, and there stated as follows, but were differently made up: Fiscal year 1867, \$9,603,101 60; fiscal year 1868, \$6,757,402 45; total, \$16,360,504 05. Fiscal year 1870, \$9,297,053 72; fiscal year 1871, \$9,412,418 23; total, \$18,709,471 95. Included in this amount of \$18,709,471 95 expenditures for the "Executive" are expenses incident to carrying into effect national loan, (issuing Treasury notes, fractional currency), etc., as follows: For fiscal year 1870, \$2,792,455 12; for fiscal year 1871, \$2,897,856 92; amounting in the aggregate to \$5,690,312 04.

There was also expended for the same purpose during the fiscal years 1867 and 1868 the sum of \$3,804,399 99, as follows: in 1867 \$1,786,568 56, and in 1868 \$2,017,822 43, which was NOT included in the expenditure of \$16,360,504 05 on account of the "Executive" for that period, but which appears in the finance report in separate items under the head of "Miscellaneous Expenditures."

As these expenditures for loans, notes and currency were no more a part of the Executive expenditures for 1870 and 1871 than they were for 1867 and 1868, they should either be added to 1867 and 1868 or deducted from 1870 and 1871, in order to arrive at a fair comparison between the two periods. Deducting them from the last named period, the expenditures on account of the "Executive" are as follows: Last two fiscal years of President Johnson's Administration, 1867 and 1868, \$16,360,504 05; first two fiscal years of President Grant's Administration, 1870 and 1871, \$13,019,159 91.

I may add that the increased expenditure during the last-named period on account of loans, notes and fractional currency was due to the reprinting of an entire new series of notes and currency to take the place of the old issue then in circulation, which had been called in for redemption in consequence of their worn-out and mutilated condition and the numerous well-executed counterfeits in circulation.

I am, very respectfully,

W. A. RICHARDSON,
Acting Secretary.

A Health to Gen. Grant.

AIR—"ARGYLE IS MY NAME."

For the Mississippi Pilot.

Ye friends of your Country, still true to her cause,
Who honor her landmarks, who cherish her laws,
Again, at my bidding, a bumper you'll drain,
Again, as I call ye, you'll join in the strain.
To our Country and Laws has the goblet been crown'd,
To the Army that saved us has the chorus gone round;
Now pour out the wine in a full flowing tide,
For a health to our leader who stood by our side.

A foe some had found him, in days that are past,
But a foe with whom bitterness never could last;
No poisoned or treacherous weapons had he,
Frank, manly, sincere, independent and free.
His honor unsullied, his courage still bright,
His head sometimes wrong, but his heart always right;

The Laws and the UNION forever his guide,
Oh, GRANT is our hero, our leader and pride.

When faction prevailed, and the hunger of place,
Deem'd nought that could aid it too vile or too base;

When restless encroachment, the more it had gain'd,
Still faster advanced to destroy what remained;
When the Charters and Laws, respected before
As the bulwarks of Freedom, were sacred no more;

Then, true to his name, tho' by calumny tried,
We found a staunch comrade who stood by our side.

Then speed the good cause, while here we may view

Our old and tried champion the conflict renew;
On his brow see the laurel and olive entwined,
The soldier, the statesman, and patriot combined.

Once more to the breach the UNION to save,
Come, rush to the rescue, the faithful and brave,
With the friends of fair Freedom all rang'd on our side,

Come march on to victory—on with the tide!

NATCHEZ, MISS., Aug. 15, 1872.

THE Boston Traveller, after praising Charles Sumner for about twenty years, has finally come to this conclusion: "We suspect that Mr. Sumner's love for the colored race has been but the love of himself, and the means only of his own glorification, which is preferred to all things, and that it is not safe to trust the truth in the company of such malignant hatred as marks his treatment of men."

The Baltimore Convention.

Here is what Alex. H. Stephens, the Vice President of the late Confederate States, says about it. We quote from the Atlanta Sun of August 8:

The action of the Baltimore Convention, by which it adopted Radical principles—not a whit less Radical in any respect whatever than the Grant Radical platform—and its nomination of a Radical candidate upon that Radical platform, who is, certainly, and always has been, more intensely Radical than Grant, is surely not Democratic. There is not a particle of Democracy in it; but it is a repudiation and abandonment of all those principles which Democrats have ever held dear—of all that constitutes Democracy. The Baltimore Convention did not adopt Democratic principles nor nominate Democratic candidates, and no Democrat is bound to support their action.

Suppose that Convention had nominated Grant on either the Cincinnati or the Philadelphia platform? No squirming gentlemen. Greeley is no more of a Democrat, and has no better a Democratic record than Grant. Greeley has an equally Radical platform and is certainly not only less a Radical, yet you support him. He says he is as much a Republican as he ever was. Baltimore could not make him a Democrat, and did not try. For the life of us, we cannot see why Democrats should support him, or how it can possibly be Democratic to do so. There is, in our judgment, nothing to gain, but everything to lose by pursuing such a course.

Doolittle.

HIS SHARE OF 50,000 BALES OF REBEL COTTON—AN INTERESTING REVELATION.

Special Dispatch to the Chicago Post.

NEW YORK, Aug. 15.—The Times has an affidavit of Thos. J. Conatty, formerly an Internal Revenue Inspector, giving letters which Conatty swears were addressed to him by Senator Doolittle in the latter part of 1864, in which an agreement was made to give Doolittle, at the latter's suggestion, one-fourth of the proceeds of sale of 50,000 bales of cotton, to be sold by Conatty after having been seized by the rebels, while Gen. Banks was in command at New Orleans. It is also claimed in these matters that Conatty's position was obtained by Doolittle for this purpose.

THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLT.

ANTI SELF-STULTIFICATION.

Hypocrisy and Bargaining De- nounced... A Kinging Protest.

The following circular address has been issued by the Democratic Executive Committee:

LOUISVILLE, Aug. 6, 1872.

DEARSIR—Will you be kind enough to place this circular in the hands of active Democrats in your county, who will at once commence an organization for the purpose of supporting the principles of our party as they will be proclaimed by the Convention at Louisville, September 3d. The utter abandonment of principles as evinced by the coalition between the spoils-men and place-hunters in their attempt to elevate Horace Greeley to the Presidency, is a sad evidence of the demoralization and corruption now existing in our midst; and based as that bargain is, upon fraud and hypocrisy, the utterances of one set of sentiments in the North and another in the South, IT MUST BE REPUDIATED AND SPURNED BY EVERY MAN WHO HAS A SPARK OF HONESTY IN HIS HEART.

There are hundreds of thousands who already proclaim their purpose of maintaining the Democratic organization at all hazards. The disintegration of the Radical party into two factions renders it self-evident that the Democratic masses can elect one of their own faith, instead of a life-long enemy like Greeley, who still loudly asserts that he has never abandoned his principles, and points proudly yet to his record!

AND SUCH A RECORD!!

Can Democrats who have boasted that they support "principles, not men," agree to falsify their past life by clasping hands with the worst men of the Radical party—Sumner, Schurz, Trumbull, Fenton, and the thousand other leaders who rally around Greeley, and would control his administration if his election can be secured? Who are the men that thus seek for

the highest honors and emoluments of this country, AND WHO HAVE OBTAINED THE SUPPORT OF THE TRADING POLITICIANS OF THE TAMMANY SCHOOL BY A PROMISE OF DIVIDING THE SPOILS? Without exception they are the bigots whose bitterness has been evinced for the past twenty years in defamation of their opponents. They are the men who have uttered the most unchristian, the most ferocious, the most villainous sentiments about and against the Southern people, (women and children as well as men) during the war, and who have done most to develop and pass that legislation since the war which true Democrats denounce as subversive of liberty and against the spirit of our institutions. They are men who have

RIVETED THE SOUTH IN ITS CHAINS, And burdened it with its increased debts, the proceeds of which have gone into the pockets of the select few who have fattened upon the misfortunes of the people and who turn to the new ring and the Tammany alliance in order still further to enrich and ennoble themselves.

WARMOTH,

Who has increased the debt of Louisiana \$45,000,000 in three years, whose fraudulent acts and villainous State legislation have been denounced in the Democratic papers from Maine to Texas, is the leader par excellence of the chivalry of the South! His influence at Cincinnati and the sixteen votes of his delegation insured the nomination of Greeley, and yet we are coolly informed that the people have done it with enthusiasm! Warmoth can control the registry in Louisiana, and can elect by fraud such candidates as he pleases; just as the Mayor of New York has the deciding vote in appointing all the return officers for Mr. Greeley, who cant if not checked, carry out the open assertion of 80,000 majority in November. And

AUGUSTUS SCHELL

And others have written urgent letters for the "good of the cause," that the Louisiana Democrats should work in harmony with Warmoth. And it is

boldly proposed to place him in the United States Senate as a reward for his infamy.

CAN IT BE THAT THE PEOPLE ARE SO DEGRADED AS THUS TO SANCTION A PREMIUM FOR THEIR OWN DISHONOR?

Is our body politic to be inoculated with the base poison of fraud?

Is this a better method of securing our liberties than the partisan use of those laws which were originated by the prominent leaders of Mr. Greeley's party, and placed among our statutes to be enforced by the bayonets of the present Administration?

SHALL WE SUFFER OUR LIBERTIES TO PERISH

Either by slow poison or by the sword; or, preferring rather to maintain them and to insure free expression of the popular will, shall we not make war against all parties who attempt to pervert the Constitution? Can the people of the South clasp hands with those men who have wronged them from the termination of the war? Can Northern men condone such offenses by placing them in power? In Texas—to reinstate Governor Pease, whose arbitrary course was so nobly rebuked and thwarted by the generous and statesmanlike acts of Hancock. In Arkansas—to indorse Senator Rice, who was the first to concoct and carry out those frauds by which a Radical Legislature was installed in power, and the infamous despotism which disgraces that State was brought into being? In Missouri—to load with honors Brown, who, in August, 1863, out-heroded Herod,

FOR DISFRANCHISEMENT AND PERSECUTION,

And recanted only when office was to be obtained and future plunder was in view? Blair, who came into the party to destroy it, and nobly has fulfilled his mission? Schurz, who, loud-est of all, "would sweep the South with the besom of destruction," and viewed the election of a Democrat as the worst calamity to befall the country only six months ago? McNeil, the butcher of unarmed prisoners? In Kentucky, to honor Burbridge, the

most detested of all its citizens? In Georgia, Brown, who (as an official during the war and since, under the corrupt administration of Bullock, which plundered the State of many millions) has been, and is accused of using his official station for private gain? In Alabama, Warner, who never neglected to carry out the most unrelenting crusades while the pay of his office rewarded his efforts. These and such men, whose antecedents are too well and too disgracefully known, are to be the Southern leaders in conjunction with these selected politicians, who a year ago denounced them as the most unscrupulous scoundrels! If the fraudulent bargains are faithfully executed by the selected chieftain of the clan, cannot the people truthfully say, *par nobile fratrum, latrones, ambo?* AND YET THEY DARE TO SAIL UNDER A FLAG UPON WHICH THEY EMBLAZON HONESTY!

In the North the leaders of this movement are known to be incited by jealousy, rage, and revenge, because of their failure to receive the dispensing of patronage from the Government. The entire coalition is a rope of sand, with no cohesive power but that of plunder in perspective. The people have always, and in all countries, placed the stamp of their condemnation upon similar bargains. They will do it again. The only precedent in history for the immediate selection of a deserter as a commander-in-chief is that of Coriolanus, and for the Democrats the comparison is unfortunate. Coriolanus

BETRAYED HIS ARMY AND SPARED ROME

When she was prostrate at his feet. So Mr. Greeley, with Sumner and other champions of negro social equality (reindorsed with emphasis since his nomination); truculent advisers of centralization and tyrannical oppression of their adversaries; uncompromising enemies of that constitution, which to them is a "league with hell and a covenant with death;" ready to do anything for power and place, will unscrupulously betray their own followers if necessary for their

own advancement, even in the hour of victory. Political parties are necessities for the welfare of a country, provided they advocate fixed doctrines and present them to the people for their decision. Our party is the party of the future. It will be fixed as a rock in its principles. Its honesty of purpose will attract the support of the masses, and its future will be crowned with success.

THE TWO RADICAL FACTIONS WHICH ARE NOW FIGHTING EACH OTHER

For the offices are actuated by considerations of individual aggrandizement. The leaders of each have vied in efforts to legislate for the black race alone, and to elevate them too suddenly into a controlling position, which education and time can only fit them for.

THE INTERESTS OF THE WHITE RACE,

That vast majority of our citizens, who gain their living by the honest sweat of the brow, have been wilfully neglected, and their just claims ignored. Demagogues have excited the passions of the ignorant, and politicians have secured their services without any return.

It should be the duty of our party to wisely legislate for the benefit of the laboring classes, educating, elevating and refuting the fanatical doctrines taught by professed friends, who yet are their worst enemies, and, by demonstrating that we are their firm friends and faithful in our professions, secure their powerful co-operation in the support of law and order, integrity in every sphere of society, a restoration of fraternal feeling between the people of all the States, and an unparalleled prosperity under the Constitution, truly interpreted and justly executed.

The committee recommends AN IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT IN EVERY COUNTY OF A COMMITTEE OF FIVE OR MORE, THE CHAIRMEN OF WHICH SHALL CONSTITUTE THE DISTRICT COMMITTEES. THAT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONVENTIONS SHALL BE ASSEMBLED ON OR BEFORE THE 25TH OF

AUGUST, AND SELECT TWO DELEGATES AND TWO ALTERNATES FROM EACH DISTRICT, AND THAT FULL DELEGATIONS FROM EACH STATE SHALL CERTAINLY BE PRESENT ON THE 3D OF SEPTEMBER. Correspondence from true Democrats is solicited from ever county.

For the Executive Committee.
BLANTON DUNCAN, Ch'n.

Can't Do It.

THE Oxford Falcon says: "We are frequently interrogated as to why we do not place the names of Greeley and Brown at the head of our editorial columns, for President of the United States, when all the other papers have done so. We answer emphatically to one and all that *they are not our candidates, and that we do not, cannot and will not indorse them, and that we shall only vote for Greeley as the least of the two very great evils from which we are forced to make a selection.* We are willing to denounce Grant and his Administration, because they deserve it, but we do not propose to belabor old Horace Greeley with fulsome praise with his black record staring us in the face, because he does not deserve it, and we would stultify ourselves if we did. If a Democratic nomination had been made, the names of the nominees would long since have been flying at our mast-head; but we do not intend to be dragged into the Radical ranks holding to Greeley's coat-tail, even though he should be indorsed by a dozen Baltimore Conventions. We trust this will satisfy our friends as to our position."

SINCE his nomination, Horace Greeley has become a confirmed fop. He wears a swallow-tailed coat, lined with white satin, with a sprig of mignonette pinned to the lappel; anoints his face with cold cream, and has started a brigandish moustache. It is reported that he secretly attends a dancing school, and wears boots three sizes smaller than usual.—[Missouri Democrat.

Why Frederick Douglass Opposes Greeley.

At the conclusion of a masterly speech which he made at Raleigh, North Carolina, on the 25th of July, Fred. Douglass made use of the following language concerning Greeley and Grant. We quote from the Raleigh correspondent of the New York Times:

My objection to Mr. Greeley is this, and it is an objection which his white supporters ought to think of equally as much as colored citizens: He is an uncertain man; he is an inconsistent man; one whom you do not know to-day and can give no guess what he will do to-morrow, what principles he will advocate, what measures he will propose. He is uncertain. I should like to vote for Mr. Greeley—want to vote for him, if I only knew which Greeley my vote might elect, but I cannot know any thing about it, whether Greeley the Abolitionist, which would not be objectionable to any good man. OR HORACE GREELEY, THE LEADER OF ALL THAT CLASS OF MEN WHO HAVE OPPOSED. AND OPPOSED BITTERLY, EVERY MEASURE LEADING TO PRESENT GLORIOUS FREEDOM UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES. Ask me to insult my mother, to spit in the face of my sister, to stamp on the grave of my father, but ASK ME NOT TO CAST A VOTE WHICH WILL IN ANY WAY CAST THE FAINTEST POSSIBLE SHADOW OF A DOUBT UPON THIS FREEDOM WHICH HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AT SUCH TERRIBLE COST. It is terrible! terrible! terrible! Now, after ten years of passion, of fire, wrath and fury, ten years of fierce sanguinary rebellion, what we want is peace—peace, security, quiet. How shall we have it? How can we have it, unless we have the firm, steady, quiet, unimpassioned, clear-headed, clear-sighted man at the helm of State. Such a man we have in Ulysses S. Grant, [tremendous applause:] a man who can say, with our martyred President, that he has "malice toward none and charity toward all." I know Ulysses S. Grant. It may seem to you a boast on my part that I, a negro—that I, with flat nose, distended nostrils—should be an acquaintance of the President of the United States. Yet I am. And let me tell you another thing:

I never was received by any gentleman in the United States with more kindness, more cordiality. I may say with more confidence—never felt more at home in the presence of any gentleman—than I have in the presence of Ulysses S. Grant. HE IS A GOOD MAN, A TRUE MAN AND A STEADY MAN. YOU KNOW WHAT HE IS TO-DAY, WHAT HE WAS YESTERDAY, AND WHAT HE WILL BE TO-MORROW. FOR HE DOES NOT TURN WITH EVERY WIND OF DOCTRINE, AND FOR THAT REASON WE WANT HIM. For that reason I am going for him, and for that every colored man and every white man in this glorious old North State should go for him, by going for the regular Republican ticket, without bolts, without splits, without erasures; by going for it unitedly and strong, and on the first of August you will assure the country and assure yourselves of steady improvement in our national affairs at points where they have been most troubled. But it is said you won't go back on your old friend Greeley. You won't desert, can't desert Horace Greeley. Our answer is, that Horace Greeley has deserted us; has deserted the party which has made the country what it is, and is making it what it ought to be. No, I am no deserter. When a man leaves you, it is your duty to stick to principle, instead of to the man.

The speaker closed with an emphatic declaration that the negroes desire no social, but only civil equality, and forcibly illustrated the difference between the two. The speech created a profound impression, especially upon the white portion of the large audience.

THE Inter-Ocean says: "Mr. Sumner boasted that his letter had made North Carolina sure against the Administration. He thought it would divide the colored vote in the middle. If it did, then the Republicans must have gained enormously in the white vote. If it didn't then the Republicans gained both in the white and the colored vote. Perhaps Mr. Sumner had better write another letter, telling us what he knows about his influence on the Southern elections."

A PURELY selfish interest attaches the lewd, ruffianly, criminal and dangerous classes to the Democratic party.—[H. G.

From Marshall County.

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss.,
Aug. 17, 1872.

To the Editors of the Pilot:

This has been a great day for the "great unwashed" of Marshall county. Shortly after the fair and peaceable Democratic victory in North Carolina, the "unterrified" had a big "hurrah boys" at the court house in this place. Col. E. W. Upshaw was the orator of the occasion, and in a long, masterly and *exhausting* speech, full of "all understanding," and replete with logic, wisdom and prophecy, reviewed the past, felicitated himself over the present, and cast the political horoscope of the future. The large audience (variously estimated at from twenty-seven to sixty-four, the latter being the number present at the beginning of the Colonel's eloquent speech, and the former the number remaining at its close) were very demonstrative and enthusiastic. The Colonel was followed in soul-stirring speeches by the brilliant Arthur Fant, and the talented Mason Harris, both worthy representatives of and ornaments to the bar of Mississippi. At the close of the speech of the latter gentleman, the meeting, after sending greeting to the "Old North State," pledged an equal or greater victory in Mississippi at the ensuing election, and taking up a collection of seventy-one cents to pay for the powder burnt on the occasion, adjourned to meet at the court house at 12 o'clock m., Aug. 17th.

Accordingly, the "Any-things-to-beat-Grant" met at the court house today, pursuant to adjournment—that is, the "irrepressible" Upshaw, Booker Ashton, (colored), and a gushing youth who works in the Independent South office, met; for the valiant Colonel, after ringing the court house bell until his shirt bosom was entirely open from the waistband up, and his pantaloons ditto from the waistband down, found it utterly impossible to entice another individual into the court room.

The yeomanry didn't rally worth a cent.

Several others did venture into the

court house yard, and some even cautiously entered the building, but that infernal Abbott telling them that Upshaw was up stairs, cocked and primed, and chock full of a speech, with his pockets full of old copies of the Independent South, a white hat on his head, pants tucked into his boots *a la* Greeley, and a red feather in his pocket, the last one of them incontinently fled. But Upshaw, feeling, as he afterwards confidentially told me, that the salvation of his party and his paper were both at stake, and that Nabers and Wells must be crushed though the heavens fall, proved himself what he so often boasts he is, "equal to any emergency." Mounting the rostrum with the grace and dignity for which he is so eminently distinguished, tenderly doffing his white hat and wiping the perspiration from his Websterian brow, he called the meeting to order and announced that, after great travail and exhaustive research, he had conceived and brought forth the following

EXPOSITION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

WHEREAS, The millenium has dawned, and the wolf is laying down with the lamb, and the lion is eating straw like an ox, and the Abolitionists and Secessionists march under the same flag, and the rebels and Radicals walk arm-in-arm, and the Free-traders and Protectionists are cheek-by-jowl, and the Irish and negroes eat out of the same dish, and Horace Greeley and Jeff. Davis sleep in the same bed, and Fenton and Forrest are HUN-KI-DO-RA, and the little girl is playing on the hole of the asp, and women vote and ride astride, and George Francis Train is going to free Ireland, and the days of Nabers, Gill, Wells, Abbott & Co., are numbered, and the Independent South is a bully paper and ought to be in every man's family and by every fireside, and there has not been a Ku Klux in the State since 1868, and everything is lovely and the goose hangs high; therefore,

Resolved, That inasmuch as the time has come for all men to eat dirt and turn somersaults, and no man thinks what he says nor believes what he thinks, we unanimously recognize the absolute equality of men, including negroes, women and Chinese; that we believe a mule's ears are as short as a horse's, and that a leopard

can change his spots, and the Ethiopian his skin, and that he is a man and brother, and have always favored his admission to the ballot-box, we now welcome him to the social circle, having something of an idea that all the world was born a monkey, that things are not what they used to be, that in the words of the great and good Horace "hands are stretched across the bloody chasm," or have been, or are going to be, or might, could, would or should be, that we are willing to stretch with anybody but Carpet-baggers, scalawags, the Holly Springs Reporter, and the d—d niggers, and that there is a great deal of upside-downwardness and down-side-upwardness and a bewildered mixed-upativeness generally.

Resolved, That being in great doubt whether the rebellion failed or succeeded, and not being certain whether Grant or Lee surrendered at Appomattox, and being of the opinion that the South was either right or wrong and that the North was either wrong or right, and that neither was either to hurt, we are unanimously in favor of letting by-gones be by-gones, of burying the stars and stripes in the same grave with the stars and bars, of mixing three parts of "Dixie" with one of "Yankee Doodle," and of marrying the Union eagle to the Rebel buzzard.

Resolved, That being a Liberal party we favor liberality in all things; in politics and in religion, in virtue and in temperance, giving perfect freedom to all, freedom to men and freedom to women, criticising no one's opinion and no one's actions, pardoning an occasional clean shirt and washed face; neither averring that there is a Heaven, nor yet denying that there is a hell; holding the Almighty in proper respect, at the same time not forgetting our old friend Satan; believing that nothing is up or down, but that everything is standing or sideways, and all things holding very fast with one hand but letting altogether go with the other.

Resolved, That the Constitution as it is is better than the Constitution as it was; that the Bible is all very well in its place, but the Book of Mormon is newer and the writings of Confucius older, and every man is master of his own conscience and conduct, and has a right to make a God to suit himself; that free whisky and universal ignorance, with free love and universal solvator, will make earth a paradise and Heaven a certainty; but that as you can't

sometimes, pretty often, once in a while, most always tell, nevertheless all things are turned round and the times are out of joint, every straight road is crooked and the world turns backward on its axis, men walk zig-zag and their brains are topsyturvy the world is all bewitched and the woman is the coming man.

Resolved, That inasmuch as Judas Iscariot, though once a wicked man, afterwards became an Apostle, and inasmuch as Benedict Arnold shed blood for American liberty, and inasmuch as Jeff. Davis was not nominated, we are heartily in favor of Horace Greeley, believing as we do, that Democracy is not dead, but sleepeth, and that all roads from Greeley go to Grant; that Greeley was an original Abolitionist and an aboriginal Secessionist; that the Abolitionists and Secessionists work to the same end, and their combination is only a renewal of past co-operation.

Resolved, That these resolutions be stereotyped at the "Independent South" office, and sent to all the Greeley Committees in the State, to be read and adopted at all Greeley meetings; and that any contumacious cusses failing to subscribe to said resolutions and also to the "Independent South" (terms four bits for the campaign), shall be read out of the party by the "Independent South," and as a further penalty shall, at their option, be "bucked and gagged," or made to read Upshaw's editorials for four successive weeks.

The above resolutions having been unanimously adopted, and Upshaw, having invoked a blessing, and returned thanks, the meeting adjourned amidst vociferous applause, "sober."

A LOOKER-ON IN VENICE.

A FEW years ago, when an attache of the Republican was then connected with the Tribune, Mr. Greeley, who had been in the city for some days, came into the Tribune bureau one morning, and looking over a number of cards that had been left for him, he drew out one with the remark, "Is he here? G—d—n him, he is always pitching into me because I am a protectionist. I believe he is paid by the Free-traders. He robbed our Government when he was in Paris." This same gentleman is now one of Mr. Greeley's most enthusiastic supporters, and is not unknown in Washington. He signs his correspondence D. P.—[National Republican.

The Nomination of Horace Greeley--What does it Mean?

It is not an unreasonable supposition to hold that the thinking and responsible men of our nation will seriously ask themselves, "What does this Greeley movement mean? Is it wise, safe, a reform?" A minority of the Republican party, very generally composed of disappointed persons, who, either by the people or the Administration were thrown out of office, and who, having made politics their profession, were unable to gain a livelihood in any other way, placed Horace Greeley first in nomination at Cincinnati. The call of the Convention pretended to be based upon tariff reform and civil service reform, yet the nominee of that party is the most persistent protectionist in our land, and the leading opponent of civil service reform, as the callers of that Convention understand it.

Since that time Horace Greeley has also been nominated by the Democratic party, and avowedly upon the ground that his indorsement was essential to success and the only remaining means to crush out the Republican party. It is self-evident, conceded by the Democrats and bolting Republicans alike, that the only reason why Greeley has been selected by either party is the hope of success.

ANYBODY TO BEAT GRANT.

Carl Schurz, when opening the Cincinnati Convention, proclaimed that the cry, "Anybody to beat Grant," was in itself an immorality; that it was the cry of demagogues and office-seekers rather than that of statesmen. He said: "Let our motto be, A better man to beat Grant." Now, since the nomination has been consummated, nearly, if not quite all, the movers of the Cincinnati Convention have declared that Horace Greeley, so far from being a better man than Grant, is even less acceptable to them personally. By this nomination and indorsement by the Democratic party of the man who for twenty years has denounced them individually, in the aggregate and in detail, and who has graphically described them as a band of scoundrels and thieves, united by the common bond of sympathy for public plunder, has introduced a new and demoralizing element into political discussions. By the nomination of Horace Greeley, Democrats, who even during the late Congress resisted, in a body all progressive measures, have proclaimed that all their

opposition to negro suffrage, civil rights, to reconstruction, has been without truth or principle, and they give promise that having been suddenly converted to a new departure and a better faith, they will hereafter oppose those things which, during their entire life, they have supported and advocated. That this is false and hypocritical, that these professions of conversion are simulated, is so evident that every one who does not shut his eyes must perceive it.

WHAT IS THOUGHT OF HIS FITNESS.

Horace Greeley himself is acknowledged to be peculiarly unfit for the Presidency. This testimony comes from every source. Jeermiah Black says: "While he may be the most available man, he is certainly the most unfit for the Presidency."

Horace White, of the Chicago Tribune, declared nearly a year ago that Greeley's unfitness for executive office was notorious.

Carl Schurz accepts him as a necessity. The Springfield Republican declares him weak and vain, approachable only to those who flatter him and easily gulled by hypocrites.

The Nation declares that his election would inaugurate a gigantic system of jobbery and corruption, and that Greeley is notoriously surrounded by the worst New York city politicians.

Stephens, of Georgia, says that he is a boiled crow, which may be swallow, but for which he has no hankering.

Other prominent men in the country have compared him to Ipecac, so that there never was a man nominated by any party against whose character and fitness there has been so unanimous a testimony.

But why are the clans rolled to his support? What is the mighty bond of union that leads so many men to the support of a notoriously unfit man, and for whom they confess they have no sympathy? In the first place there is the ordinary patronage of the Government, consisting of some fifty thousand appointments, and beyond are looming up and in preparation about five hundred million dollars' worth of cotton claims and claims for the destruction of property in the late war, North and South, which can only be secured by a change of Administration and of administrative influences.

WHAT SOUTHERN DEMOCRACY EXPECTS.

The rebels say, "If we shall only succeed in having our headquarters transferred to

the White House and the Executive Departments we will soon avenge our former defeats. The Yankee's heart is in his pockets, and we propose to cut a hole into them. These audacious scamps are paying off the National debt at the rate of a hundred million of dollars per year, and we intend to put a stop to that. These hundreds of millions of dollars they owe to us. The owe them to us for our slaves which they have stolen, and for our property that they have destroyed. If we can not secure a pension for the ex-rebel soldier directly, we shall indirectly. We intend to sell to them our old houses and tumble-down stables and wire fences and under-brush, which by courtesy we shall call timber, at rates so enormous that hereafter we shall be able to live in palaces and affluence. The Yankee North is rich; its riches are inexhaustible, and we intend to make the money fly; and since they would not let us go in peace, and have fastened us to the Union with bayonets, we intend to make them pay dearly for their whistle. As far as the weak old man in the White House is concerned, he must either do our bidding, or we shall worry him to death. If we cannot frighten him, we can kill him, and then we shall have B. Gratz Brown, a true Southerner born, one of us, and who will zealously take part in all our schemes. As to the Cincinnati side-show we shall pension some of the leaders with offices; others we will take into partnership, and those who are fools enough to be sincere in the reform we shall laugh to scorn and kick out into the cold. Did not the Greeley combination, after capturing the Cincinnati Convention, laugh at the minority and compel acquiescence, and in the same manner we shall manage these deluded fools after we are once in power. A hundred million of dollars of public money judiciously expended in advertising patronage and the purchase of men, though they call themselves Republicans, will be more powerful and irresistible than any grumbling of unorganized tax-payers. Besides we have the machinery hereafter to manufacture as many voters as we please, and if the Yankees shall ever get us out of power it will be because we cannot count. New York city may always be relied upon to secure that State, New Orleans for Louisiana, and very soon the same system under Federal auspices can be inaugurated in all large centers, so that

votes may be counted in superabundance. It is true some time or other the thieves may fall out among themselves, as it was the case in Tammany, but what of that? "After us the deluge." Eight years of power, or even four years, will make us all rich, and then a new dodge of reform or something else will answer for the future election."

OUR DUTY.

Let no man say this picture is over-drawn. It is the argument which we hear used in our bar-rooms, and which finds expression more or less covertly everywhere, and it constitutes the inducement which unites a heterogeneous mass for the overthrow of the Grant administration, which they hate as the exponent of Northern sentiment and Northern morality. The personal and official integrity of Secretary Boutwell is the wall that cannot be scaled, the fortress that cannot be captured by strategy, and therefore must be overthrown by a change of rulers. It is a duty that we owe to our country and ourselves that this issue shall be presented in its true colors, so that no reading man can have the excuse of not being aware of the great responsibility which is involved in the present campaign.

Mr. Sumner Explained.

If President Grant had yielded to the cabal that was early formed against his Cabinet, and made Mr. Sumner the successor of Mr. Fish, there would probably have been no Republican opposition to his Administration, for Trumbull was too cautious to lead off, and Schurz had not the position to do so. But having found Mr. Fish to be an accomplished diplomat, Gen. Grant refused to give way. Mr. Sumner, while he was respected by the Republicans in Congress, for his abilities and his services against slavery, had not the confidence of any considerable portion of the members of either House as a practical man. They all knew that while his mind was bold, decisive and remarkably direct, in its action, it was defective in the essential elements that go to make up administrative or executive success. No measure he ever introduced into Congress, of a public nature, has ever become a law. In that simple fact we have the sufficient reason why he would have been a shocking failure in the State Department, upon which he had set his gaze.

President Grant and the Colored People.

Frederick Douglass, the colored orator and writer, has again demonstrated his ability as a leader by his last letter, addressed "To the Colored People of the United States," wherein he takes issue with the followers of Mr. Greeley regarding their assertion that Gen. Grant is not a friend of the colored race.

Mr. Douglass, after stating that the Greeleyites "are declaring that the President is not a friend of the race," says, "I must declare that President Grant's course, from the beginning of the war to the present time, is without a word or deed to justify such an assertion."

General Grant, finding that his lines contained large numbers of colored men, women, and children, issued an order, November 11, 1862, on his own authority, and *before the Emancipation Proclamation*, providing for their safety and comfort, appointing an officer to look after their interests, set the able-bodied at work, and cared for and fed all, but especially the aged, infirm, and sick, and *ordering rations and clothing* issued to them.

Mr. Douglass fitly says: "Here was the full germ of the Freedman's Bureau apparent in the orders of General Grant before the emancipation proclamation, not as a theory, but a practical solution of the slavery question, and in the interest of the welfare of all concerned." If, he thinks, General Grant was not a friend of his race, could he find time in all the busy scenes about him to think out this great problem, which then was engaging close thought on the part of

those whose lives had been devoted to the accomplishment of abolishing slavery? He points with a hearty pride to the order of General Grant in the spring of 1863, after the Government had decided to organize colored troops, in which he says: "All commanders will exert themselves, * * * not only in organizing colored regiments and rendering them efficient, but also in removing prejudice against them;" and adds, "Was this opposing the organization of these troops?"

Referring to extracts from various letters and speeches of the President, he quotes from the message to Congress announcing the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, "I call the attention of the newly-enfranchised race to the importance of striving to make themselves worthy of this new privilege."

Mr. Douglass, making inquiries regarding Federal appointments, found that no record was kept of color, but he finds colored men in all departments of the civil service, from foreign ministers to messengers, according to intelligence and character of applicants.

He urges upon the attention of the colored people the firm enforcement of the Ku Klux law, which has done so much to bring peace and safety to the colored man in those localities where that dreaded organization held control. And stating that he had entered on a full examination of the record of General Grant as a friend to the colored race, says, "I closed the inquiry perfectly satisfied that with General Grant at the head of the country we are assured not only of our rights, but our privileges."

He states his personal relations with the President to be kindly and cordial,

and believes that few men can equal him in stating facts with greater clearness or fluency, and scents the idea advanced by his enemies, that, being a man of few words, he is also a man of few ideas.

He disposes of the story that General Grant did not ask him to dine with him on the return from San Domingo by explaining that only the members of the Commission provided for by resolution of Congress were invited, and he was not of the number, having gone to the island only as an invited guest. He closes with the following peroration, which we submit in full, as a worthy specimen of Mr. Douglass' eloquent and forcible style of writing:

Wherever else there may be room for doubt and uncertainty there is nothing of the kind with Ulysses S. Grant as our candidate.

U. S. Grant and Henry Wilson, the one from the West and the other from the East—the soldier and the Senator—are men in whom we may confide.

We can no more array ourselves against these candidates than we can resume our chains or insult our mothers.

We are allied to the Republican party by every honorable sentiment of the human soul.

To vote for Messrs. Greeley and Brown would justly invite to our heads the contempt and scorn of honest men.

We should not only brand ourselves as political knaves, but as political fools.

The key-note of the whole Greeley movement was sounded by James R. Doolittle, chairman of the Convention that nominated Mr. Greeley. He announced as one of the objects "the overthrow of negro supremacy." Can any negro be so blind as not to see the meaning of this?

Such is the record of the wise statesman for whom you cast your first ballot for President; and for no other than him can you trust your second. Rally then to his support with that resistless spirit in which you fought for your liberties, and with the same exultant hope in which you made General Grant your first President with your votes in 1868.

True words, honest words, from a man too great to be influenced by any

petty consideration, and who writes only after a long, careful inquiry.

Let those who believe the black man would be protected and educated, or that the strong arm of law would be interposed in his behalf in case the Democratic nominees should be elected, read carefully our brief synopses of Mr. Douglass' letter, and then ask themselves if it is probable that the men who inaugurated and carried on the rebellion would still permit the colored man to enjoy the greatest of all the fruits of our victory.

More Niggerism.

It is believed that James Lynch will declare for Greeley, in which event it is highly probable that he will be nominated for Congress against McKee.

The above is telegraphed from Jackson to the Vicksburg Herald. We protest against such an action. We are not in favor of picking up such vile and indecent characters as Lynch, and nominating him for Congress to accomplish anything. It's true he is as good as McKee! but he is no better, and why prefer him, a black, kinky-wool, immoral negro, to anyone. If the people of that District can't elect a white man of honest principles, why taster Jim Lynch on the people, just to gratify a spite; we have enough scamps in Congress now; we have seen enough negroes there, and if Lynch can't go for Greeley without the promise of a position let the old hypocrite go to Halifax. The negro business has got to cease or people will not go to the polls and those, and the papers who have come to the support of Greeley, will abandon him. They espouse the Greeley cause to rid the country of the negro and thieves' rule, and they will not associate with them in any new organization. If they want to come in and be working members of the party, all right, but never will we assist in placing them in power.—[Brookhaven Citizen.]

The above is good Democratic doctrine from a good Democratic exchange.

On October 15, 1867, Horace Greeley wrote thus: "To smoke is a Democratic virtue; to chew is that virtue intensified; to drink rum is that virtue in the superlative."

Equal Justice to All.

There are many men actively working for the election of Horace Greeley because they think his election would insure the payment of some doubtful claims which they hold against the Government. Some of these "liberal" claimants are not slow to assert to the present heads of Departments that claims rejected under this Administration will be paid under the Administration of Horace Greeley. That this is the reform which some of the Liberal managers hope to bring about we do not doubt. The expressions of their candidate in his private letter to a leading Democrat in the State of New York that he was in favor of paying pensions to rebel soldiers and their heirs, foreshadows this new departure that will follow the triumph of the liberal cause.

We believe the opposition to Grant is desperate enough to pledge itself to pay the losses incurred by the rebels during the war, the pensions of rebel soldiers, and the claims which have been justly disallowed by the Departments.

By these pledges it hopes to win the active support of those unprincipled men who have failed to plunder the Government under General Grant, and hope for better success under Horace Greeley. *There is no doubt that such pledges have been made.* Will they be redeemed?

What is the question to be answered in November next? *A vote for Greeley will be a vote in favor of the fulfillment of these pledges.* If there are honest citizens, who have had claims rejected by the Government, and who believe the defeat of Grant will bring about their payment, we would remind them that no executive officer can pay a claim without legal authority to justify it. If a claim is just, and there is any law to authorize its payment, it will be paid promptly, and no political influence can change the action of the Department having it in charge.

The charge raised by those who are ignorant of the manner in which

claims are disposed of, that "a Grant man can collect what a Greeley man cannot," is too silly to notice. Equal justice to all is the practice of the Departments, and any Administration that departs from this rule must violate the laws which govern it, and offer a premium on official rascality and fraud.

The claims which have been disallowed by the Government will be found in every instance to have been so disposed of because there was no law to justify their payment. They cannot be paid until Congress shall grant authority for their adjustment. If claims have been rejected, and the parties deem themselves aggrieved, they have, as a last resort, the Court of Claims, before which the legal points involved can be fully considered. An impartial review of the workings of the various Departments and their subordinate branches under President Grant will show that rare executive ability has been selected to watch over the interests of the Government and those of its creditors. Honesty, impartiality, and fidelity have been the characteristics of the leading officials under President Grant. To retain these men in power is to guard the Treasury of the nation from the army of thieves that is continually besieging its doors.

A SON OF JOHN BROWN, "whose zoul is marching on," having been interrogated by a Greeleyite as to his present political bias, writes like a true son of a brave father: "It is a matter of surprise to me that you could for a moment suppose that I am in favor of placing in power that party which every friend of liberty and equal rights has found it necessary to oppose with all his might these many years. If any other of my friends entertain such an opinion of me, please do me the favor to correct their mistake. I am still, as I have ever been, faithful to the Republican principles and to the only party in the United States which it seems to me fairly represents them—the party whose standard-bearers are Grant and Wilson."

Official Integrity.

We are indebted to Hon. F. E. Spinner, United States Treasurer, for the following table. It exhibits the total amount of money entries as they appear on the books of the Treasury of the United States at Washington, in each of the fiscal years, from 1861 to 1871, both inclusive, and for the fractional part of a year, from the 1st of July to the 9th of January last, both inclusive, added thereto, and the aggregate amount for the entire eleven and a half years, and the loss through the dishonesty of officials in the Treasurer's Office:

In the year 1861.....	\$ 231,458,546 07
1862.....	2,294,674,642 09
1863.....	4,945,434,289 56
1864.....	7,332,385,024 16
1865.....	9,117,855,012 58
1866.....	6,403,206,990 72
1867.....	5,930,467,941 90
1868.....	5,522,361,160 05
1869.....	3,034,012,044 15
1870.....	4,199,344,001 65
1871.....	4,343,636,809 82
Part year ending with January 9, 1872.....	1,748,898,820 09

Total transactions.....\$55,104,232,282 84
Loss in eleven and a half years.....55,057 45

Being less than one dollar on a million dollars of money transactions.

If any one believes that Horace Greeley, at the head of the Democratic party, could improve on the official integrity shown by the above exhibit, we recommend him to read the report of the Committee of Seventy who investigated the financial affairs of the city of New York. He will there get an idea of the honesty of the Democratic party, as shown through the action of its leaders. If these men could steal \$40,000,000 from a single city, what sum would satisfy them if they had control of the United States Treasury?

THE editor of the Bridgeport (Ct.) Farmer is mournful over the necessity of supporting Greeley, and says: "We perform to-day the most disagreeable and distasteful act of our whole life in placing at our mast-head the names of Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown as the candidates of the Democratic party for President and Vice President of the United States.

Cincinnati Colored Men Refuse to Take it—Sensible Resolutions.

In Cincinnati, on Thursday evening, a very large meeting of colored people was held at Greenwood Hall, to express their sentiments on Sumner's letter. Speeches were made by Peter H. Clarke and several others. The following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, Hon. Charles Sumner, who, for more than twenty years, has ably and eloquently advocated equal rights, and contributed largely toward the liberation and enfranchisement of the colored race, has published a letter in which he advises the colored voters of the country to support at the coming Presidential election Horace Greeley, the standard-bearer of the Democratic party; therefore,

Resolved by the colored people of Cincinnati, now in mass-meeting assembled, That, while we unhesitatingly acknowledge the valuable services rendered our race by Senator Sumner, and our indebtedness to him for those services, we cannot accept his advice to assist in placing in power the party which has ever been our enemy; which fought through four long bloody years to tear asunder this Union for the purpose of establishing an independent Confederacy with human slavery for its corner-stone.

Resolved, That we are enthusiastically in favor of the re-election of President Grant, the standard-bearer of the Republican party—the party which has always stood, and still continues to stand, by the rights of colored men.

Resolved, That the surest way to maintain law and order throughout the late rebellious States, and bring about reconciliation between the North and South, is by continuing the Republican party in power; and for the accomplishment of these ends we pledge ourselves to labor zealously for the election of Grant and Wilson.

Resolved, That if we were to refuse to sustain the Republican party in this its first national contest since the ballot has been put in our hands, we would not only prove ourselves ungrateful and unworthy of the rights we now enjoy, but would offer insult to the memory of 30,000 black soldiers who, with other thousands of white patriots, died that this country might live.

"Let us Have Peace."

In these times of bitter partisan hate, when sorehead politicians are denouncing President Grant as a blood-thirsty tyrant, seeking to overthrow the liberties of his country, it is refreshing to go back to the closing hours of the rebellion, when the nation hailed him as a deliverer, and read in his own honest words his desire for peace, at the very time the largest army of modern times, flushed with victory, waited his word of command.

Read the following letters to General Lee, and note how the patriot citizen rises above the victorious soldier. The tone of the letters breathe forth the spirit of the man, who fought battles to win peace, and who disbanded his armies the very moment it was secured:

FARMVILLE, April 7, 1865.

GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance, on the part of the army of Northern Virginia, in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as MY DUTY to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

U. S. GRANT, Lieut. General.
General R. E. Lee.

To this General Lee replied that he did not entertain the opinion expressed by Grant of the hopelessness of further resistance, but reciprocated the desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, asked the terms he would offer, on condition of the surrender of his army.

General Grant on the following day, April 8, sent the following note in reply:

FARMVILLE, April 8, 1865.

GENERAL: Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply I would say, that PEACE BEING MY GREAT DESIRE, there is but one condition I would insist upon—namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the

United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

U. S. GRANT, Lieut. General.
General R. E. Lee.

Not receiving an immediate answer, Grant continued the pursuit, enveloped Lee's army so that escape was impossible, and at noon of the 8th received the reply of General Lee. "To be frank," said Lee, "I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army; I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the army of Northern Virginia." He offered, however, to meet him on the picket lines of the two armies, to listen to and consider any proposals that would tend to the restoration of peace between the two sections. General Grant promptly replied:

APRIL 9, 1865.

GENERAL: Your note of yesterday is received. I HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO TREAT ON THE SUBJECT OF PEACE; the meeting proposed for 10 A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South LAYING DOWN THEIR ARMS they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled WITHOUT THE LOSS OF ANOTHER LIFE, I subscribe myself, etc.,

U. S. GRANT, Lieut. General.
R. E. Lee.

This letter was followed by a desperate effort on the part of Lee to break through the lines that surrounded him. It failed. The worn and shattered army of Lee had made its last charge, reached the last ditch, and was forced to surrender. General Grant acted throughout with characteristic modesty, and did nothing, by word or act, that was calculated to wound the sensitive feelings of the brave but mistaken general, who felt that longer resistance was impossible. To the day

of his death General Lee expressed his warm appreciation of Grant's magnanimity on this trying occasion. He at least, if living, would accord to Grant the simple meed of justice denied him by those who have reason to thank him for his great services to the Republic. Would it not be well for our "Liberal" friends to make a note of Grant's action at Appomattox, and prove by his letters to Lee that Grant is a tyrant, and an enemy to the peace and liberties of the nation?

A Democratic Journal on Sumner.

Apprehending that the Columbus Democrat, a leading paper on the prairies, does not have a very general circulation among the Republicans of Mississippi, and scarcely any at all at the North, we have taken the liberty of copying the following on the Greeley and Sumner business. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts will read and be astonished when he finds that one of the "soundly converted Democrats" does not believe a word he says, and would have his letter suppressed as a campaign document in Mississippi:

The most salient feature of Mr. Sumner's first letter is that portion wherein he bases his support of Mr. Greeley upon his, Mr. Greeley's, views respecting the civil rights of the negroes. This did not surprise us, nor does it now discompose us. We do not care what Mr. Greeley's opinions upon the question of civil rights, or as some call it, social equality, are. They may be extreme, as extreme, indeed, as Mr. Sumner's. Supposing them to be so, the fact does not alter the case at all with us. In the course we have adopted we are not to be understood as supporting Greeley as a man, but rather Greeley as the representative of the elements which have united for the purpose of effecting reform. We had no hand in nominating the man. But as he has come to us, without our sanction in the first place, but with the approval of these elements, so we take him. That he will prove a faithful representative we believe. He cannot prove otherwise without following the example of Johnson, and meeting Johnson's fate. HE WILL NOT DARE TO PLACE

HIMSELF IN ANTAGONISM TO THOSE WHO HAVE ELECTED HIM. And this is our hope. His constituency will be men as far removed from Sumner's views upon social equality as we are. So it matters not what Greeley, the man, may think or desire respecting the negro, we are sure of this, that Greeley, the representative of Cincinnati and Baltimore, will not dare to use his influence as President to further or advance such social equality doctrines as those which Mr. Sumner advocates. While we are upon this subject we may as well say that in our opinion, it is NOT WISE POLICY FOR THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH TO ATTEMPT TO USE SUMNER'S LETTER AS A CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT WITH THE NEGROES. SUCH A COURSE ON THEIR PART WILL BRING NO STRENGTH TO GREELEY. WHILE IT WILL MOST ASSUREDLY RESULT IN THE BITTER FRUITS OF HUMILIATION AND DISAPPOINTMENT. As we take it, this campaign is projected upon the high and elevated plane of patriotism. The conscience of the American people revolts against the personal government of Grant. It demands a restoration of peace, of order, of individual right and domestic security. But in the struggle for them it is not necessary that we should resort to means which involve a sacrifice of our dignity and self-respect.

SOUTHERNERS ARE "KNAVES." "LIARS," AND "PERJURERS."—Let the soldier understand he is enrolled to fight a parcel of knaves, all liable to indictment, trial, sentence and execution—men who have wickedly disturbed the peace of the world without provocation—men with whom no terms are to be made—Dick Turpins, who call themselves Generals, and Capt. Kidds, who call themselves commanders. A thief is a thief—a liar is a liar—a perjurer is a perjurer; and every Southern traitor, who is morally responsible, is all three together! Pray do not let us have any more talk about our "misguided Southern brethren?" There is one thing which Southern success cannot compass, and that is an oblivion, in history and tradition of the frauds, felonies and falsehoods with which the ignominious enterprise began. The traitors are outside the world's respect forever. Neither in its inception nor in its progress has the thing been respectable. There has been too much vulgar dishonesty, like that of gamblers, footpads and pickpockets, about it.—[Horace Greeley, Aug. 16, 1862.]

Letter from General Dix.

HE REFUSES TO SUPPORT GREELEY AND GIVES HIS REASONS.

Special Dispatch to the St. Louis Globe.

NEW YORK, August 3.—Gen. Dix, being called upon to address a Greeley meeting, sent the following reply, which is just published:

WEST HAMPTON, July 27.

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 3d inst., asking my aid to procure a speaker for a Greeley meeting at Hancock, was sent to me while I was in New England, and I have been unable until now to acknowledge its reception.

I do not understand on what ground you considered yourself authorized to address such a request to me. If you had been familiar with the course of my public life, and equally so with Mr. Greeley's, you could not have supposed me capable of advocating his election to the office of President of the United States, without imputing to me an utter abandonment of all political principle. I am opposed to Mr. Greeley.

First—Because I believe him to be as unstable as water, perpetually floundering amid the surges of opinion, and deficient in all the requisites essential to a firm, steady, consistent administration of the Government.

Second—Because he has usually been found among the most extreme on the great questions of political and social duty which have been brought under public discussion during the last quarter of a century.

Third—Because he has been the advocate, and in this instance persistently, of that most unjust, unequal commercial system which is destroying our mercantile and shipping interests, and heaping up enormous accumulations of wealth in the hands of the protected classes, to the oppress on and impoverishment of all others.

Fourth—Because his associations and intimate relations with the thieves and plunderers of the city of New York, justly warrant the apprehension that through his complicity or his facile disposition, the same system of fraud or corruption which has disgraced the municipal government of this city, may be carried to more infamous extremes in the administration of the Federal government.

Fifth—Because in the darkest hour of

our country's peril, when a traitorous combination had been formed to overthrow the Government, he openly counseled the cowardly policy of non-resistance and an acquiescence in separation whenever the cotton States should make up their minds to go.

The coalition which has been formed to promote his election is one of the most extraordinary in the history of parties, in respect both to the discordant elements it embraces and the surrender of principles it involves. The Cincinnati Convention, called to bring before the people important measures of reform, nominated Mr. Greeley, to the surprise of the whole country, knowing him, in regard to one of those measures, to be implacable, and nominated him, too, against the wishes and judgment of the chief promoters of the movement, who accepted him either with avowed or secretly-concealed disgust, which would be more creditable to their feelings if the act of acceptance were not utterly irreconcilable with their principles.

The Democratic Convention at Baltimore indorse and commend him to the support of their party, not as the exponent of any principle they have professed or any measures they have advocated, but as the known and bitter opponent of both—the man, who, perhaps, of all, has been the most malignant enemy of Democracy, impeaching its integrity, traducing its motives and villifying its character. The adoption of such a man as their candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the Union is the most conspicuous abandonment of political principles known to party contests. It remains to be seen whether the great body of the Democratic voters and the true friends of reform, can be made parties to this unscrupulous coalition between political leaders.

That General Grant has committed errors, his most sincere friends admit; but, if his errors had been four-fold more numerous, he would, in my opinion, be a much better Chief Magistrate than Greeley. He has, in that capacity, done much for which he deserves the thanks of the country. Above all, he has kept it at peace, notwithstanding the efforts of sensation journals and popularity-seeking politicians to provoke hostilities with Spain on the question of Cuba, and with Great Britain on the Alabama claims and fisheries. If, regardless of these things and his invaluable services during the late

civil war, they should set him aside for Greeley; if the latter, a mere erratic politician, untried in any important public trust, should be elected Chief Magistrate of the Union, a Union which would not exist had his counsel been followed; and if the man who, of all others, has done more to preserve it should be discarded for such a successor, so illy qualified and unscrupulously sustained, the example would be most deplorable in its influence upon high motives to political actions, and justify the most painful forebodings as to the future. I am, respectfully, yours

JOHN A. DIX.

To A. B. Cornell, Hancock, N. Y.

Frederick Douglass.

HON. ANDREW D. WHITE DENIES THAT DOUGLASS WAS ILL-TREATED BY THE SAN DOMINGO COMMISSION.

ALBANY, N. Y., August 9.—Andrew D. White, a member of the San Domingo Commission, on the 3d instant addressed a letter to Rev. J. W. Loguen, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he replies to the statements in the late letter of Senator Sumner concerning the ill-treatment of Fred. Douglass by that Commission. He says when the President attached two Secretaries to the Commission, selecting General Sigel as one and Fred. Douglass as the other, orders were given, which were known to proceed from the President, that Douglass should be treated as honorably and provided for as comfortably as the most favored persons in the expedition.

Douglass was given a room in the Admiral's cabin, adjoining those of the Commission, and was assigned a position at the table in the Admiral's dining room with the Commission, and was treated in all respects as well as the best. During the stay of the Commission at the San Dominican capital Douglass lived at their house, and sat at their table. After landing at Charleston this treatment continued. When they were embarked upon the Potomac steamer the Commissioners having seated themselves at the public table found that Douglass was not with them. On inquiry they learned that he had been refused admittance to the dining room on account of his color.

Having remonstrated against this in vain, the Commissioners and all immediately connected with them left the table.

On arriving in Washington, Douglass and Sigel left for their homes, their duties having ended. It was then that the Commission were invited to dine with the President, and had Douglass and Sigel been in the city, White has no doubt they would have been included in the invitation. Mr. White expresses great surprise that Mr. Sumner should have perverted the facts in the case so grossly.

The Case of Cadet Smith.

The following is the telegraphic correspondence between Secretary Belknap and Gen. Howard, with reference to the charges by Clark, against the President:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Aug. 1, 1872.

Gen. O. O. Howard, Santa Fe, New Mexico:

In a letter from David Clark to Sayles J. Bowen, dated July 22, 1872, published in yesterday's New York Tribune, he states that in December following Cadet Smith's trial you said to him as follows:

"In conversation with the Secretary of War he informed me that President Grant had called upon him prior to the appointment of the court martial and said:

"I suppose, Mr. Secretary, that you are about to appoint a court martial for the trial of the colored Cadet Smith, at West Point. I have received two or three letters from my son Fred., who informs me that the cadet is very objectionable there; that there are strong prejudices existing against him, etc. Now, as this trial is to come off, Mr. Secretary, I trust that you will so make up the court as to cause his removal."

Did you make that statement? Answer by telegraph. WM. W. BELKNAP,

Secretary of War.

Another telegram was sent forward August 3, calling for an immediate answer to the above. General Howard stamps the statement as false in the most explicit language. This is his response:

CAMP AT CAVE SPRINGS, A. T., Aug. 8,
VIA SANTA FE, Aug. 14

Hon. W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, Washington:

Your telegrams of August 1st and 3d this moment received. Mr. Clark is certainly mistaken, for I never had such a conversation with the Secretary of War, and could not have made so untrue a report.

O. O. HOWARD, Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

Poor Gratz—Imbecility.

From the Kansas City Journal of Commerce. We almost pity Gov. Brown. He is today the most conspicuous example of executive imbecility known to the State. A mere sophomore in statesmanship, he has made a notoriety by feats of political recklessness, without a single redeeming element of practical ability.

Securing a notoriety in the old pro-slavery time by mouthing extravagant sentences modeled after Kossuth, Mazzini and Red Republicanism, he was called an anti-slavery man, which he justified by supporting Buchanan for the Presidency.

In 1861-2, by "fine-writing" he impressed the impatient loyal sentiment of the State by his pretensions, and was elected to the Senate for four years.

Here he was distinguished by his utter worthlessness as a Senator. He quarreled with Lincoln, and for years refused to speak to him because he was not in favor of Brown's sanguinary measures.

He disappointed his sensible friends by opposing the abolition of slavery by constitutional amendment, insisting on the plan of so doing by act of Congress, which had it been adopted, might be repealed in the event of the election of himself and Greeley.

He disgusted sensible men by advocating the confiscation of the real estate in the South, and driving the Southern people into exile before our armies.

He excited the contempt of all by his wild and crazy fanaticism about the establishment of religion by the State.

And lastly he out-Heroded the most ultra of Radicals by his disfranchising theories, which could alone be satisfied by the expulsion of all "rebels and sympathisers" from Missouri.

So completely was he a failure that when his term as Senator expired, there was not a voice raised in his party for his return, and he was unanimously retired to private life.

Smarting under the failure he next became the tool of his kinsman Blair, and still professing Republicanism, by a pre-arranged and forced disruption of the Convention, became the ally of the Democracy and gave them the State.

To do this, however, he made the most positive pledges to Republicans that if elected his administration should be Republican. These he broke on the day of his inauguration—thenceforward becom-

ing the most supple tool of the Blair-Robins faction.

His next step was the betrayal of his associate Schurz, at Cincinnati; and the sale of the whole liberal movement for the Vice Presidency—and thus he closes, up to the present, the most shameless record of frothy insincerity ever made by any public man of his calibre.

We have shown his utter failure as a Senator. What has he done as a Governor? If writing foolishly stilted messages is what Missouri requires in her Executive, as a success, then has he succeeded. But that is all.

Filling the public ear with his "cordializing" stuff about "instaurations," and local self-government, he saw a masked mob take three citizens from a railway train and murder them.

He called out a military company of young men from their business, and quartered them at a hotel in a neighboring county, and went to Cincinnati to help his personal prospects for an office.

He next advised the Circuit Judge not to hold his Court, at which the mob could be indicted.

He then issued a reward for such as could be identified and arrested.

Men are by mobs tied up and whipped because they are of a political party opposed to Gov. Brown, and when appealed to for the protection of the "local government," he runs off to Yale college in Connecticut for an opportunity to "cordiate" on commencement day, leaving the victims of violence to seek redress from the national laws.

He preaches against "patronage," yet removes two school teachers because they act with the opposite political party, and declare their choice for President and Vice President to be other than Greeley and Brown.

He declines or fails to call the attention of the Legislature to a law he is sworn to carry out, for the purpose as his party declared of securing four members of Congress in direct violation of the spirit of district representation for the purpose of destroying that far the voice of the "local" constituency.

And when forced to face his neglect, he calls the Legislature together at an expense of \$40,000 to do what he admitted was his own duty under the law.

This is a brief, but faithful resume of the public life of Benjamin Gratz Brown, who

The President and the Bowen Slander.

The falsity of the charges made by ex-Mayor Bowen, of Washington, against the President have already been pretty thoroughly ventilated. We publish below, however, additional testimony from the National Republican, which absolutely and finally disposes of the slander:

The facts connected with the proposed sale of the property mentioned in Bowen's letter are simply these: Bowen purchased the property in November, 1868, for \$40,000 through Messrs. Kilbourn & Latta. The contract was for the purchase of house and grounds, exclusive of furniture, and was signed by Kilbourn & Latta, as agents for General Grant, and by Bowen himself. This contract was approved by the President, and Bowen paid \$1,000 as a deposit. Subsequently a purse was made up in New York to purchase the property for General Sherman, General Butterfield coming on here in January or February, 1869, to consummate the bargain. Bowen executed a deed of release, sent it to the President, and Messrs. Kilbourn & Latta returned to him the \$1,000 he had paid as an earnest. About a year afterward Kilbourn & Latta, as the agents of General Sherman, offered to sell Bowen the house, grounds and furniture at the old price, \$40,000—in short, the property for which \$65,000 had already been paid—but the proposal was rejected by Bowen.

All the spite Bowen has displayed has had its birth in disappointment. He labored most earnestly to obtain an office from the President, and had one been given him this letter of his, crowded with the basest calumny, would never have appeared in print. With this wonderful expose he seeks to propitiate the Greeley party, and having sneaked out of the Democratic party, and been kicked out of the Republican party, he sees a glimmering hope of resurrection by this his last trick. We can wish the Liberal movement no greater harm than it may depend upon such rascals as Bowen for strength and success.

In this relation we invite attention to the following letter from District Attorney William A. Cook, who, as is well known, was the familiar of Sayles J. Bowen at the time of the "transaction." It goes further than substantiating the above

by his own disregard of principle, the deception practiced on his friends, and the voice of the Democracy, is to-day Governor of Missouri.

A more conspicuous failure has not been on the stage in the history of our State. He has not a single requisite for practical administration. A blatant denouncer of official interference in politics, he has made his term and his position the medium of constantly assailing the management of national affairs, while neglecting his own. Denouncing the President for neglect of duty, he is seldom at Jefferson City himself. Defaming the President for irregularity, he can scarce at times make the sentences that slander him distinct. Denouncing proscription, he proscribes school teachers for differences of opinion. Inveighing against Ku Klux laws, he allows mobs to murder and whip citizens without, in some cases, ever listening to their complaints. Shouting nepotism, he puts his own household in office, without even qualifications. A mere manufactory of words, without other recommendation. Look at him.

Where Does Greeley's Strength Lie?

POINT WHEREVER YOU WILL TO AN ELECTION DISTRICT WHICH YOU WILL PRONOUNCE MORALLY ROTTEN—GIVEN UP IN GREAT PART TO DEBAUCHERY AND VICE; WHOSE VOTERS SUBSIST MAINLY BY KEEPING POLICY-HOUSES, GAMBLING-HOUSES, GROG-SHOPS, AND DARKER DENS OF INFAMY—AND THAT DISTRICT WILL BE FOUND GIVING A LARGE MAJORITY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.—[Greeley.]

Where is the Wood-chopper of Chapagua to obtain his votes if it be not in these same "rotten districts?" He is a Republican, he says. Do Republicans look to such sloughs as he here describes for their support? Not to our knowledge. Could Greeley blush, he would change to crimson when he reflects upon the character of the company he keeps as described by his own pen.

statement by declaring that when this trumped-up charge first appeared in the New York World, Bowen prepared a letter vindicating the President:

TO THE PUBLIC.

S. J. Bowen, in a letter published in the World of Saturday last, states that in a business transaction Gen. Grant cheated him out of \$25,000 with a coolness and deliberation that would do credit to any blackleg.

Familiar with the "transaction" referred to by Mr. Bowen, truth and justice require me to meet this vituperative statement by a brief narrative of facts:

1. General Grant was the owner of a house in this city, on I street, which Mr. Bowen agreed with Messrs. Kilbourn & Latta, real estate agents, to purchase, and paid to them \$1,000 on account of the purchase money.

2. Shortly afterward, the property was desired by friends of General Sherman for the purpose of presenting it to him. The President accordingly addressed a brief note to Mr. Bowen, who, after some delay, consented to "give up" his claim to it. This he did deliberately, without any consideration (except a return of the \$1,000 advanced by Mr. Bowen), and without any artifice or fraud on the part of the President, and the property was then purchased for General Sherman.

3. When Mr. Bowen consented to the suggestion of the President, I prepared a release of the property from Mr. Bowen to Gen. Sherman, so as to make the title perfect, and took it to the President and then to General Sherman. Mr. Bowen accompanied me, and when we left the War Department we rode together to the office of the Recorder of Deeds, where Mr. Bowen paid for recording the release.

4. The World some time afterward contained an article severely reflecting on the President in connection with the "transaction" alluded to in Mr. Bowen's letter. He promptly drew up a reply vindicating the President from the censure of the World, with the intention of publishing it. The publication was incidentally delayed until it was deemed unnecessary to publish it. It was in my possession until a few months ago, when he requested me to send it to him, and in company with Mr. Wm. E. Nott I left it at his residence. A copy of it may hereafter be found among my papers.

5. I might add other facts tending to show that Mr. Bowen's accusation against the President is entirely untrue, but the pressure of various engagements on my time will not permit me to do so. A letter from Mr. Nott accompanies this statement.

Wm. A. Cook.

WASHINGTON, D. C. July 29, 1872.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 23, 1872.

Col. Wm. A. Cook:

DEAR SIR—I remember very distinctly the vindication of President Grant by Mr. Bowen from the old charges of the World respecting the purchase by Mr. Bowen of Gen. Grant's residence on I street, and his subsequent relinquishment of the same when the friends of General Sherman wished to purchase it for that gentle-

man. It was in your office in pencil, in Mr. Bowen's handwriting. It was written, as I understood both from you and him, for publication, and I was with you some months ago when, at Mr. Bowen's request, you left it at his residence on K street.

Very respectfully,

Wm. E. NOTT.

Mr. Sumner at Home.

Special Dispatch to the New York Times.

BOSTON, Aug. 14.—Senator Sumner arrived here this morning and went to his old quarters at the Coolidge House. He has been accustomed on his arrival hereat the close of a season of labor at Washington to be received with many signs of respect and consideration, and the most prominent men of the State have hastened to congratulate him on his services, and honor him with compliments. To-day scarcely a soul of them all was there to meet him, and in stead of the distinguished gentlemen who have been wont to crowd his quarters only a beggarly crowd of Greeleyites were on hand. The sudden realization of this terrible change which has come over his relations with the people of Massachusetts and their leaders was too much for his spirits, and to-night he is prostrated and unable to receive any one at his apartments. It is the severest shock which he has ever experienced, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether he can bear up under it. He is not a man without a country, but it is only too apparent that he is a Senator without a constituency.

THE KEY TO THE TROUBLE.—The Philadelphia American says: "Mr. Sumner's latest fulmination against the Republican party and its candidates asserts that he was the friend of President Grant until the trouble occurred over the San Domingo question. This is a gross misrepresentation, and ought not to be suffered to pass unnoticed. He has been an enemy of the Administration from the start, and for a reason that is short and simple—he wanted to be Secretary of State, and did not get to be. Upon this disappointment was founded the whole superstructure of hatred and malignity he has since erected."

"POLITICS and Dry Goods" is the caption of an editorial article in the Chicago Tribune. This is not to be wondered at. Dry goods is an article of merchandise, and so is politics with the Liberals.—[Tolledo Blade.

MORE DEMOCRATIC-GREELEY SENTIMENT.

We republish the following, from the Brookhaven Citizen, to show what a chaste and gentlemanly editor they have in that town, and to put in a disclaimer as to his wholesale abuse of Republicans:

A MENAGERIE.—Our town has been overrun this week by thieving Carpet Baggers, apes, educate! monkeys, baboons, and Scalwags. The negro bar-room was the centre of attraction; here Perce and his followers met and wallowed in the filth of negroism, shake 'em cordially by the hand, arm them around the neck, etc. All the contemptible looking scabs of humanity were on hand, and were very loving to their monkey tribe; and all looking for office. Here we had the old corned pig, the half educated ape of a politician, the "highly" educated dandy-looking baboon, in fact it was a perfect show, such as we hope the Lord will never permit to exhibit here again. Any man that could read sign-board letters, could see villainy written by their Maker on the face of every white wuelp of the pack. The only thing that can be said of Perce, is that he had about half of his rascally face covered with a pair of bull's-eyed spectacles.

We are positive that if anything will cause good Republicans to incontinently desert their party and work with the Democratic advocates of Greeley and Brown, article similar to the above, printed in Democratic newspapers, will. Let us have more of it, brother Magee.

GARRULOUS GREELEY'S BOLT.

There has recently been some talk in the Mississippi newspapers as to the exact identity of the illustrious man who first advocated the new departure business in this State, and up to the present day the matter has not been definitely decided. The honor—if there be honor in a dishonorable de-

sertion of principle for pelf—is taken entirely outside of our local politicians, as far as its National application is concerned, by the following: "The Chicago Tribune," says the Inter-Ocean, "declares that 'it was only when there no longer existed the least hope that the Administration would exclude from the public service every man guilty of misconduct, that the appeal was made to the people to meet at Cincinnati.' This is the Tribune's statement of the inception of the plot to defeat and disrupt the Republican party. Hear what Mr. Greeley, its candidate for the Presidency, says on this point:

From the New York Tribune, November 11, and November 30, 1870.

The Missouri Bolt was arranged in Washington last winter (i. e. 1869), and then proclaimed in the Free-Trade organs. The game was to get a minority of the Republicans to unite with all the Democrats and revolutionize the State.

* * * THEIR GAME IN MISSOURI FORESHADOWS THAT WHICH THEY MEAN TO PLAY IN OUR NEXT ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

"Wm. M. Grosvenor was the engineer of the Missouri Bolt, was the engineer of the Cincinnati Convention, the author of the call upon which it came together, and organized the Convention that nominated Mr. Greeley. The Missouri bolt and the Cincinnati bolt had the same paternity. We prefer to believe Mr. Greeley on this point to the Chicago Tribune." So the Mississippi aspirants for fame—or infamy—must stand back for Greeley and Brown and the Missouri bolter, Grosvenor. They are the champion bolters.

MR. GREELEY SAYS: "I am a Republican still." Andy Johnson used to say to those who rebuked him for his treachery: "I am as good a Republican as you are." History constantly repeats itself.

THE CONTRAST.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE—REPUBLICAN ECONOMY AND DEMOCRATIC EXTRAVAGANCE AND CORRUPTION CONTRASTED—THREE YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS OF REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS—REDUCTION OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

Amount of reduction of the Public Debt, during the three years and four months from March 1, 1869, to July 1, 1872.

Reduction of principal.....	\$353,043,365 36
Reduction of principal and accrued interest.....	346,100,907 72
Reduction of principal and accrued interest, less cash in Treasury.....	333,976,916 39

SAVING OF INTEREST.

The monthly charge for interest on the public debt on the 1st of March, 1869, was ten and a half millions of dollars (\$10,532,462 50.) On the 1st of July, 1872, it was eight and two-thirds millions of dollars (\$8,665,705 25.) The reduction in the monthly charge for interest is shown by the following table:

Monthly charge for interest on public debt:	
March 1, 1869.....	\$10,532,462 50
July 1, 1872.....	8,665,705 25

Reduction in monthly interest charge.....	1,866,757 25
Reduction in annual interest charge.....	37,335,145 00
Showing a permanent reduction of annual interest exceeding thirty-seven and one-third millions of dollars.	

This annual saving of thirty-seven and one third millions of dollars in the payment of interest would, alone, if invested in a sinking fund, interest of money reinvested semi-annually at the rate of five per cent. per annum, cancel the now outstanding principal of the public debt, \$2,253,251,328 78, in 28.159 years.

This reduction of the public debt, and consequent saving of annual interest, was, by careful and economic administration, effected under revenues which had been reduced as follows:

REDUCTION OF TAXES.

By act of July 13, 1866.....	\$65,000,000 00
By act of March 2, 1867.....	40,000,000 00
By act of February 3, 1868.....	23,000,000 00
By acts of March 31 & July 20, 1868.....	45,000,000 00

Total.....173,000,000 00

And the further reduction by act of July 13, 1870 of internal taxes to the amount annually of.....	\$55,212,000 00
And of customs duties.....	23,636,827 33
And the further reduction of internal taxes by act of June 6, '72.....	20,651,000 00
And of customs duties by acts of May 1 and June 6, 1872.....	31,172,761 38

Total reduction since 1866.....300,072,588 71

DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT.

Two and a half years in the city of New York—The Democracy having full sway.

INCREASE OF THE CITY DEBT.

According to the official report of Rich. B. Connolly, former Comptroller of the city and county of New York, for the year ending 31st of December, 1868. the funded and bonded debt of the city on the date upon which Mayor Hall, entered upon his duties as Mayor, amounted to, \$34,746,030 00 And the funded and bonded debt of the county, as evidenced by the same official report amounted to.....15,882,800 80

Making together a total of.....50,628,830 80 The following statement from the recent message of Mayor Hall exhibits the amount of the debt of the city and county of New York at the present time.

The following table from the Comptroller's books shows how the city and county debt stood at the commencement of the year, and how and why it has been varied up to July 1, instant:

City debt: June 30, 1872.	
Sinking fund.....	\$23,513,163 00
Payable from taxation.....	33,163,592 00
Temporary debt.....	16,262,872 00
Revenue bonds.....	14,746,497 00
County debt:	
Payable from taxation.....	29,379,500 00
Revenue bonds.....	5,022,300 00

Total.....127,087,425 00
Less sinking fund.....21,231,950 00

Total.....105,855,475 00
Showing an increase in the public debt of said city and county in three and one half years, of...55,226,644 80

In addition to this increase of the debt there was received into the city and county treasury from taxes levied and raised, as follows:

In the year 1869.....	\$21,309,536 34
In the year 1870.....	23,569,127 71
Estimated for 1871.....	23,000,000 00

It is estimated that there has also been paid into the city and county treasury during the same period proceeds of assessments collected, and on account of the general fund somewhat more than.....20,000,000 00

Adding these sums to the increase of indebtedness makes a grand total of.....143,105,308 25

This sum, \$143,105,308 25, is undoubtedly considerably below the amount actually paid into the city and county treasuries during the three and a half years under consideration, but desiring to err, if at all, in favor of our opponents, we deduct from the amount the sum of seven millions, which Mayor Hall declares to be in the treasury, leaving as the expenses of local government of the city and county for the two and a half years under consideration, the

enormous sum of \$136,105,308 25, being an average annual expenditure of \$38,887,230 93, and a per capita annually of \$38.38.

Applying this ratio of expenditure to the nation and estimating the population at 40,000,000, and the national expenditures for one year would exceed \$1,550,000,000, equal to the highest expenditure in any one year of the war, and the same rate of expenditure for one and a half years would exceed the whole amount of the national debt.

Is Grant Intemperate?

From the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle.

I have read with pain and mortification the extract published in the Union of Thursday last in regard to the habits of General Grant in relation to the use of strong drinks, &c., &c. Henry Wilson settles the matter so far as his knowledge goes, and the affair is left there. I wish to make a statement of what I know about the matter.

For over a year, from April, 1862, to April 1863, I saw a great deal of Gen. Grant. I found him at Pittsburg Landing the day after the battle, and from that time on, for over a year, was in his quarters as much, perhaps, as any one not on his staff. At all times of day and night, and on public and private occasions, the General was frequently at the headquarters of Major General McPherson (on whose staff I was serving), and although liquors were always on the table, yet I never saw General Grant partake of liquors—have seen him drink light wines: I noticed closely as I was the only officer on Gen. McPherson's staff that did not drink liquors, and I say to the credit of General Grant that he was always sober. I will relate one circumstance that came under my observation that will be sufficient to convince any man that Gen. Grant has been slandered. On the 21st day of February, 1863, General Grant left Memphis for the capture of Vicksburg. On the boat were the General and his staff, McPherson with his, Logan and others, and on the 22d, Washington's birthday, a celebration was inaugurated and a good time had by all. Liquors, wines, &c., were on the table in great abundance. With two exceptions, all drank and a merry time was had. Gen. Grant sat at the head of the table and seemed to enjoy the speeches, toasts, &c., but he did not drink a drop of either liquors or wine. This I know, for I was sitting within a very few feet of him all the time. I have heard the stories repeat-

ed several times of his intemperance, but have yet to find any reliable man to say he knows they were true.

JOHN G. KLINCK.

Late Chief Quartermaster Seventeenth Army Corps.

ROCHESTER, Aug. 24, 1872.

One of the editors of PILOT was present at Memphis, on the 4th of July, 1862, when the army celebrated the first anniversary of American Independence in the Confederate States, so-called, and there was a grand dinner, with wine, cigars, and after-dinner toasts, in which the Naval officers, the Army officers, and the Bohemian corps participated. Among the latter were Chas. A. Dana, now the avowed and bitter enemy of the President, who on that occasion, made a very fulsome and flattering speech to Gen. Grant, who occupied the head of the table; A. D. Richardson, Junius Browne, Thos. W. Knox, Frank Visittely, artist for the London Illustrated News, and several western and eastern correspondents, more or less known to fame. Wine flowed like water. Spirituous liquors were in demand. But Grant drank nothing stronger than coffee. The writer noticed this the more particularly from the fact that he, himself, refused anything more fiery than champagne and water, and from the reason that rumors had reached him that Grant was unreliable because he drank too hard. On several occasions, Grant was importuned to drink in his presence, but he invariably refused. He did not then act or look like a drunkard, and we do not believe that he was.

The Springfield Republican insists that Grant Brown shall be dropped. That would be taking all the spirit out of the ticket.--[Toledo Blade.

That "Plan of Adjustment."

FULL TEXT OF HORACE GREELEY'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN INCLOSING HIS PLAN OF ADJUSTMENT.

NEW YORK, July 7, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR—I venture to inclose you a letter and a telegraphic dispatch that I received yesterday from our irrepressible friend, Colorado Jewett, at Niagara Falls. I think they deserve attention. Of course I do not endorse Jewett's positive averment that his friends at the falls have "full powers" from J. D., though I do not doubt that he thinks they have. I let that statement stand, as simply evidencing the anxiety of the Confederates everywhere for peace. So much is beyond doubt.

And, therefore, I venture to remind you that our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country also longs for peace—shudders at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, of further wholesale devastations, and of new rivers of human blood; and a widespread conviction that the Government and its prominent supporters are not anxious for peace, and do not improve proffered opportunities to achieve it, is doing great harm now, and is morally certain, unless removed, to do far greater in the approaching elections.

It is not enough that we desire a true and lasting peace; we ought to demonstrate and establish the truth beyond cavil.

The fact that A. H. Stephens was not permitted a year ago to visit and confer with the authorities at Washington has done harm, which the tone of the National Convention at Baltimore is not calculated to counteract.

I entreat you, in your own time and manner, to submit overtures for pacification to the Southern insurgents, which the impartial must pronounce frank and generous. If only with a view to the momentous election soon to occur in North Carolina, and of the draft to be enforced in the free States. This should be done at once. I would give the safe conduct required by the rebel envoys at Niagara upon their parole to avoid observation, and to refrain from all communication with their sympathizers in the loyal States; but you may see reasons for declining it. But whether through them or otherwise, do not, I entreat you, fail to make the Southern people comprehend that you, and all of us are anxious for peace, and prepared to grant

liberal terms. I venture to suggest the following

PLAN OF ADJUSTMENT.

1. The Union is restored and declared perpetual.
2. Slavery is utterly and forever abolished throughout the same.
3. A complete amnesty for all political offenses, with the restoration of all the inhabitants of each State to the privileges of citizens of the United States.
4. The Union to pay four hundred million dollars in five per cent. United States stock to the late slave States, loyal and secession alike, to be apportioned pro rata, according to their slave population respectively, by the census of 1860. In compensation for the losses of their loyal citizens by the abolition of slavery. Each State to be entitled to its quota upon the ratification by its Legislature of this adjustment. The bonds to be at the absolute disposal of the Legislature aforesaid.
5. The slave States to be entitled henceforth to representation in the House on the basis of their total, instead of their Federal population, the whole being now free.
6. A national Convention to be assembled so soon as may be, to ratify this adjustment, and make such changes in the Constitution as may be deemed advisable.

Mr. President, I fear you do not realize how intently the people desire any peace consistent with the national integrity and honor, and how joyously they would hail its achievement and bless its authors. With the United States stocks worth but 40 cents in gold per dollar, and drafting about to commence on the third million of Union soldiers, can this be wondered at?

I do not say that a just peace is now attainable, though I believe it to be so. But I do say that a frank offer by you to the insurgents of terms which the impartial say ought to be accepted, will, at the worst prove an immense and sorely needed advantage to the national cause. It may save us from a Northern insurrection.

Yours truly, HORACE GREELEY.
Hon. A. LINCOLN, President, Washington.

P. S. Even though it should be deemed inadvisable to make an offer of terms to the rebels, I insist that in any possible case, it is desirable that any offer they may be disposed to make should be received, and either accepted or rejected. I beg you to invite those now at Niagara to exhibit their credentials, and submit their ultimatum.
H. G.

AN INCAPABLE.

When the rebellion-traitors are overwhelmed in the field, and are scattered like leaves before an angry wind, it must not be to return to peaceful and contented homes. They must find POVERTY at their firesides, and see PRIVATION in the anxious eyes of mothers and the rags of children.—[Horace Greeley.

If the Meridian Gazette or any other paper that objects to the words that stand at the head of our paper, will furnish the PROOF that Greeley did not write them, we will say so. We copied them from Harper, and he is a neighbor of Greeley, and is responsible for what he publishes. He has not retracted the imputed authorship. But if Greeley did not write them, they appeared as editorial in the Tribune, and could not have escaped his notice. No irresponsible man is allowed to write editorials for a first-class paper, like the New York Tribune. What appears in the editorial columns, is with the sanction and approbation of the editor. If editorials appear there, and no disclaimer follows, they are held to express the sentiments of the editor. FACIT PER ALIUM, FACIT PER SE. It is a wretched quibble to say another man wrote them. It is enough to say they appeared in the editorial columns, and Greeley never disclaimed them until now, when he finds the whole country shuddering at his cold-blooded malignity. "Desolate homes, rags for rebel children, hunger and famine for rebel wives!" God Almighty avert the curse, and forgive the man who uttered it!—[Sea Coast Republican.

Another thing: Although the Democrats, with their candidate for the Presidency, have recently taken to denying that Horace Greeley is or ever was the editor of the New York Tribune, we contend that he is, and for years has been, the controlling mind in that great newspaper. Now, a great amount of Greeley's reputation has been built upon his peculiar ability as such editor of the Tribune. If elected he will be called the Editor-President. If he is not a capable editorial manager, this tower of strength tumbles ignobly to earth. And if the Democratic quibble, that he permitted an

irresponsible scribbler to commit him and his paper to language and to a course exactly contrary to the known words and plain direction of that paper, be true, then it is easy to show that, as an editor, as in everything else, Greeley is an imbecile and a premeditated fraud. That the language attributed to him *did* appear in the Tribune, editorially, and that, until now, it has never been repudiated, are incontrovertible truths. If Greeley cannot govern the Tribune establishment, how will he succeed with the United States?

THE GREELEY-DEMOCRACY.

"That Mr. Greeley's administration, should he be elected, would be substantially Democratic, no sane man doubts. His Democratic supporters affirm it; and he admitted it in his speech wherein he said that he should 'recognize' those who contribute to his election, the overwhelming preponderance of whom are Democrats. In a speech at Watertown, Wisconsin, Hon. Moses M. Strong said that if Mr. Greeley should be elected the Democrats would be strong enough then to get along without their liberal allies; and it cannot be doubted that they would be speedily overridden." So says the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle. And so say all who know Mr. Greeley. Now comes in the chance of those few excellent and honorable gentlemen in this State, who have over and again protested that there was no Democracy in the Liberal cause, to repudiate the new love and go back to the old. Those who have said: "If we thought that there was the least tinge of the ancient Democracy in our movement we would drop it," can now prove themselves consistent Republicans and just quietly array themselves by the side of those with whom they have formerly fought long and well. Will they do it?

John F. Farnsworth—A Liberal Fal-lifier.

From the Washington National Republican.

About the 18th of the present month John F. Farnsworth, Congressman from Illinois, made a speech at St. Charles, Illinois, in favor of Mr. Greeley against Gen. Grant, upon which the New York Tribune, in its issue of August 20th, commented as follows:

We think it will be difficult to prove that Gen. Farnsworth is either a Secessionist or a slaveholder, or a forger, or a Hindu, or any other of the dreadful things which the liveried journals call a man when he announces his intention to vote for Mr. Greeley.

We propose to show that General Farnsworth comes within one of the above categories, that of "forger" and falsifier. We shall do so out of Farnsworth's own mouth.

The Tribune, on the same date in which it printed the above editorial, published the following extract from Mr. Farnsworth's St. Charles speech:

"The President sent in his annual message to Congress, to which I desire to call your attention. Being on the Committee on Reconstruction, and finding a passage in the message, which I will read to you, and which I do not understand, I took it to the President, as you will see. This is the passage. Speaking of Georgia he says:

"Under these circumstances I would submit to you (that is Congress) whether it would not be wise without delay to enact a law authorizing the Governor of Georgia (that is Bullock) to swear the members originally elected to the Legislature, requiring each member to take the oath prescribed by the reconstruction act, and none to be admitted under the third clause of the Constitution."

Upon this Farnsworth, continuing his speech, commented as follows:

Well, as the reconstruction act had never presented an oath to be administered to members of the State Legislature, I was at a loss to conceive what the President meant. For you would think it would be strange if Congress provided the peculiar oath should be given to the members of the Illinois Legislature; it would be stepping outside of its business. Congress has provided this test oath for the officers of the United States Government. I supposed that the President had been imposed upon; I went up to him and said to him: "I find a passage in your message which I do not quite understand, and will you be good enough to explain what you mean by it," and I read to him the passage I have just read to you. The President took his cigar out of his mouth, [laughter,] after a deliberate whiff or two, and looking over answered me thus: "Well, I really cannot say what that does mean. Morton put that in." [Cheers and laughter.]

Now, we have given Gen. Farnsworth the benefit of a quotation of the material points in his speech—the speech and the points which the Tribune rolls as so many sweet morsels under its tongue. But what will be thought of this model reformer, Farnsworth, when it is shown that Gen. Grant sent no such message to Congress; that no such extract as that which Farnsworth, quoted to be found in any message; that Farnsworth, as we believe, falsely and maliciously garbled the message to subserve a partisan purpose? Exactly what the President did say is as follows, and will be found on page 4 of the "Congressional Globe," second session of the Forty-first Congress:

Under these circumstances I would submit to you whether it would not be wise without delay to enact a law authorizing the Governor of Georgia to convene the members originally elected to the Legislature, requiring each member to take the oath prescribed by the reconstruction acts; and none are to be admitted who are ineligible under the third clause of the fourteenth amendment.

It will be perceived that in the above extract Farnsworth deliberately falsifies the President's message. The President wrote "convene" the members of the Legislature. Farnsworth said in his speech "swear" the members of the Legislature, which makes all the difference in the world. It is entirely unnecessary to pursue the record further. Farnsworth, out of his own mouth, stands convicted of deliberately altering and falsifying a message of the President of the United States. We leave him to get, the best way he can, his neck out of the vice in which he has placed it.

Now, in answer to the charge that "Morton put that in," we have this to say: Upon the highest official authority we hereby deny that Mr. Morton, or any one else, inserted that passage; and we also hereby assert, upon the same authority, that no member of the Cabinet, no Senator, no Representative, no private secretary, no clerk in the Executive Mansion, ever saw or heard of any portion of any one of the President's messages until it was ready to be transmitted to Congress.

THE last political bon mot is this: "You will vote for Greeley, of course," said a white "Liberal" to Mr. Mitchell, who was sergeant in a colored regiment, and lost a leg in the war. "My stump will have to grow first," was the retort of the crippled sergeant.—[St. Louis Globe.]

President Grant's Administration.

By George W. Curtis.

What is the record of this Administration? Taking the first great point which any Government is bound to observe, has the Republican party guarded the equal rights of the citizen? It is the very glory of the Administration that it has done so. It found four million slaves. It has made them men and women; it has united them in holy marriage; and they sit with us in our legislative halls. Doolittle and others talk of negro supremacy upheld by the bayonet. The negro has his vote; that is all his supremacy. How is it upheld by the bayonet? When it was found that that there was an organized terrorism at the South to trample the black man under foot, the Government simply kept its word. Frederick Douglass, who has known what slavery was and what it has been to this race, heard those words of Doolittle, and cried with trumpet tongue to his fellows. "To the negro the Republican party is the deck; all else is the sea. Stand loyal to Grant." Amen, amen, cried North Carolina, in the first furious onset of the campaign, standing steadfastly Republican. After referring to the financial record, Mr. Curtis, in reply to the remark often made that Gen. Grant did not pay the debt, said that in the same sense he did not put down the rebellion, but General Grant was its head. The prosperity of the country is owing to the confidence and trust of the people in the solidity of the Government. Mr. Curtis continued:

It is not a great many years ago since a Lieutenant of the United States Army was stationed on the extreme frontier of Oregon. He had an observing mind—he had a thoughtful mind, and this he observed: Among "King George's men" the Indian was treated in a different way from the treatment he received from the "Boston men." It one of King George's men went away for a day among the Indians, he went unarmed and safely returned. If one of the "Boston men" went among the Indians, he never returned, or, if he did, it was with "no hair on the place where the hair ought to grow." The difference was, King George's men treated the Indians honestly; the Boston cheated him. The Lieutenant is now the President of the United States, and his Indian policy is the result of his personal observation upon the frontier. Treat the Indian as a man; is

the policy of the United States. Nearly 300,000 Indians are cared for by the Government. The Indian expenses have been increased to seven millions. Gen. Walker tells why. It is because the Indians have been driven more and more from their hunting grounds. Therefore they raise their hands against the white race. But steadily the policy of the Government is having its effect.

GREELEY OPPOSED EMANCIPATION.

The Detroit (Michigan) Daily Post makes the remarkable statement—and one that we do not remember to have seen anywhere else save that during the war of the rebellion. Under date of August 19, 1862, Horace Greeley wrote a letter to President Lincoln, entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," which Mr. Greeley himself describes on page 249, second volume of Greeley's "American Conflict," as exhorting Mr. Lincoln *not to proclaim all the slaves in our country free*; in other words, trying to persuade Mr. Lincoln *not to issue his immortal emancipation proclamation*; but, on the contrary, to content himself with *freeing such bodies of slaves here and there as could be reached and held by our armies*, under the confiscation act, *leaving the rest to their fate*. "This letter," says Frederick Douglass in his New National Era, "remains in history as the indisputable proof that Horace Greeley *opposed the emancipation proclamation*. And this letter, too, contained so many false representations and misstatements, and so much covert slander of Mr. Lincoln that it drew from the President that remarkably sad, but still firm, reply in which he declared that his paramount object was to save the Union, and that he did what he did, and forebore to do what he forebore, because he wished thereby to save the Union. When colored voters are told that Horace Greeley has always been their staunch friend, as Mr. Sumner tells them in his letter advising them to follow him into the Democratic camp by supporting the Tammany candidate, they remember this most remarkable and important fact!"

A GREELEYITE'S FLAG.

The Weekly Caucasian, published at Lexington, Mo., by Pat. Donan, the man to whom Greeley first betrayed his intended treachery, by advising him how to defeat the Republican party, flies the names of Greeley and Brown at its mast-head, and hurls its shafts at the Grant Administration with border-ruffian violence. Immediately over the names of its candidates it prints the creed it believes in, appropriately displayed in capitals and fancy type. To what a depth of degradation has the name of Horace Greeley fallen when we find it coupled with such declarations as these:

STATE SOVEREIGNTY!
WHITE SUPREMACY!

AND
REPUDIATION!

THIS IS LIBERTY!

OUR MOITO:

NEVER DESPAIR OF THE REPUBLIC!

OUR PLATFORM:

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1860. AND
THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES!

OUR DOCTRINES:

THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT.
MADE BY WHITE MEN. FOR WHITE MEN,
AND THEIR POSTERITY FOREVER!

DOWN WITH THE FIFTEENTH BE-
DAMNEDMENT!

TOTAL REPUDIATION OF THE MONSTROUS
YANKEE WAR DEBT!—That Accursed,
Unconstitutional Burden, accumulated
by an Unconstitutional Mob, styling
itself a Congress, in the prosecution of
an Unconstitutional Crusade, for the
Accomplishment of an Unconstitutional
and Horrid Purpose!

DOWN WITH BOND-HOLDERS AND
TAXATION!

Subordination of the Military to the Civil
Authorities!

DOWN WITH THE SATRAPS!
Equal Taxation and the Rightful Repre-
sentation of all the States, or

ANOTHER REBELLION!
Revolution must be met by Counter Rev-

lution!—Force by Force!—Violence by
Violence!—And Usurpation should be
Overthrown. It needs be, by the Bygone!

DOWN WITH TEST OATHS AND REG-
ISTRATIONS!

VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE!

Look on This Picture.

Fellow-citizens, the deposed and partially exiled Tammany ring has stolen about \$3,000,000 from the city of New York. That was a most gigantic robbery, and hurled its contrivers and abettors from power and splendor to impotency and infamy; but the thieving Carpet Beggars have stolen at least three times that amount—stolen it from people already impoverished and needy—and they still flaunt their prosperous villainy in the highest places of the land, and are addressed as "honorable" and "excellency."—[Horace Greeley's Portland speech.]

NOW ON THIS.

Warmoth, who has increased the debt of Louisiana forty-five millions of dollars in three years, whose fraudulent acts and villainous State legislation have been denounced in Democratic papers from Maine to Texas, is the leader PAR EXCELLENCE of the chivalry of the South. His influence at Cincinnati, and the sixteen votes of his delegation, insured the nomination of Greeley, and yet we are coolly informed that the people have done it with enthusiasm.

WARMOTH

Can control the registry in Louisiana, and can elect, by fraud, such candidates as he pleases, just as the Mayor of New York has the deciding vote in appointing all the return officers for Mr. Greeley, and who can, if not checked, carry out the open assertion of eighty thousand majority in November, and Augustus Schell and others have written urgent letters for the "good of the cause," that Louisiana Democrats should work in harmony with Warmoth, and it is boldly proposed to place him in the United States Senate as a reward for his infamy. Can it be that the people are so degraded as thus to sanction a premium for their own dishonor?—[Blanton Duncanson's Address to Democrats.]

Huzzah for Greeley! 'Rah for War-
moth.

The Charges Against the Admin- istration.

From Gen. Logan's Speech at Cairo.

Now, without noticing that further, I desire to call the attention of this audience to the kind of issues presented to us by the Liberal Republicans or Democrats, or both together; for they seem to have swallowed one another, and which swallowed the other is a question for them to decide. They come forward before the country and ask you to place them in power. And the reasons they give to the country are, that the Republican party is corrupt, and that President Grant is a corrupt man; that his administration is a corrupt administration.

Now, my countrymen, if you will give me your patient attention, I propose to answer these charges, one by one, and I make this statement to begin with, and I defy contradiction: I state the fact to be true that the administration of Gen. Grant has been on a more economical basis than any administration since the Government was organized, except three. I state the fact here that it costs the people less per capita to-day than the administration of George Washington; and it costs the people less per capita than any Democratic administration since the Government commenced. I make the further statement, that there has been less money abstracted from the Treasury by the officers of Grant's administration than by the officers of any other administration since the Government began.

I say further, that he has collected the revenues of this country cleaner and closer than any other administration; and he has punished more men for violation of law than any other President that ever sat on the Presidential chair. And yet the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats say his administration is corrupt. Now, if there is a Democrat in this house to-night, I want him to point his finger to one single corrupt act of Grant's administration. When I say point his finger to some act, I don't mean to the charge, but I mean to a case where there are facts to warrant the charge.

There has been a great conspiracy organized against Gen. Grant in the Congress of the United States—such an one as has no precedent, except in the conspiracy against Andrew Jackson, led by Calhoun. If you will read the history of

Jackson's administration, and compare it with Grant's to-day, you will find that the same programme is attempted to be carried out by these conspirators against Grant that was attempted to be carried out against Jackson. Calhoun issued his pronunciamento against Jackson, and his Cabinet dissolved, the leading papers deserted him, and the leaders—not of the people's kind of leaders, but those self-styled leaders—abandoned Jackson and made war against him. They made war through the press; they made war from the stump; they denounced him in every possible way that a man can be denounced. But the people of the United States saw and felt this conspiracy, and in spite of the boasting leaders they rose in their might and said, Gen. Jackson, you have been a good President four years, we will make you President for eight; and they did. [Applause.]

At Bangor, Maine, recently, Frederick Douglass made a remarkable speech. We give his opinion of President Grant: "I can say of President Grant this, that I know of no great public man in this country, and I have come in contact with the highest men, perhaps, to a greater extent than any other colored man in the United States, in whose presence I feel more at home and ease than that of the calm, steady, modest and unassuming man who now sits in the Presidential chair." [Applause.] "I want General Grant to be President four years longer, because he is accessible to the poor man, the rich, the white or the black—to all, without regard to color or race, religion or nationality." [Applause.] "He is a good man. If I ever met a good, honest, true man, it is in the person of Ulysses S. Grant." [Applause.] "He respects the rights of the black race, especially so because their rights are menaced. He does not love the black man any more than ordinary men do; but he has a keen sense of justice, a keen feeling of fatherly protection and care. He is a man of but few words, but those few tell me that under his wing, more than under the wing of Horace Greeley, or any other candidate that the Democrats will support, will the colored man be safe."

HOSEA BIGELOW on Greeleyism:
"A merciful Providence fashioned us hollow.
On purpose that we might our principles swal-
low."

FEDERAL TAXATION---AND GROUNDLESS CHARGES.

On this subject we make the following extracts from the speech of HON. GEO. C. MCKEE, at Byram, Miss., delivered on the 31st of August, 1872, at a Republican meeting. We have seen the official figures from the Departments at Washington, and are prepared to vouch for the truth of Mr. McKee's statements:

Another of the groundless charges of the Democracy is that the "poor people of the South are groaning beneath the weight of Federal taxation;" that the Republican majority in Congress and in the North is "taxing the Southern people in a most tyrannical manner." Now let us see whether this is true or not. Let us see how much money is every year taken out of the State by the United States. I bring you the official documents. I do not come here with mere assertions. I bring facts and figures which no man can dispute, or deny or gainsay. Here they are. In this letter of June 12, 1872, the Secretary of the Treasury informs me that the Internal Revenue received from Mississippi last year (1871) was \$238,257.43, and the Marine Hospital tax at Vicksburg and Natchez was \$1,107.14; total amount \$239,364.57. The Secretary adds: "This represents the total amount of revenue derived by the United States from the State of Mississippi, for the fiscal year."

Now let us see how much money the United States pays into the State every year. Then by striking a balance, we can easily find out how much money is annually lost to the State.

By this letter from the Department of the Interior, of date June 11, 1872, I am informed that the Pension Agency has paid in this State this last year, as pensions to soldiers in the various wars, from the Creek war and the war of 1812, down to the rebellion, the sum of \$64,710.34. This is the sum paid every year to the people of this State from this Department alone.

Let us take another department. This letter dated June 26th, 1872, from the Secretary of War, informs me that the amount disbursed in the State of Mississippi, by his Department, under direction of Freedmen's Bureau, for bounties (not pensions), to soldiers and for school houses was

\$272,500.00; and he adds: "And this sum is about the average expenditure for those purposes in Mississippi during the past four years."

Let us take still another Department. This letter from the Post Office Department, of date July 22d, 1872, shows that last year the Post Office Department received from the State of Mississippi, \$142,802.00; and expended in the State \$265,269.06; excess of expenditures over receipts, \$122,467.06.

Now let us strike the balance. We find that the United States Government pays every year into the State, the following sums:

Interior Department—Pensions for wars of 1812, 1846, & 1861.	\$ 64,710.34
War Department—Bounties and school houses.	272,500.00
Post Office Department—Excess of expenditures over receipts.	122,467.06
Total amount annually paid into the State.	\$459,677.40
Receipts by United States from Internal Revenue, and all other sources.	239,364.57

Balance (loss to the U. S.) . . . \$220,312.83

Thus, our "poor, tax-ridden people" receive from the United States Government, every year, the sum of \$220,312.83 more than they pay. And this is not in State warrants or county warrants, or jury certificates; it is a direct influx of cash; a vast treasure flowing into the State every day and every week. These are official facts; the Democracy cannot get over them or under them, or behind them.—"Figures won't lie." They prove, beyond doubt, the blessings of the Government. Instead of taking away from the poorer States, it gives to them at the expense of those richer States, which can afford it.

There are other facts which, as I have not the official figures, I will barely mention. The cost of collecting the United States Internal Revenue in Mississippi is considerable. Whatever it is, that sum should be added to the amount annually expended in this State by the United States. The Democratic papers charge that it costs within \$20,000 of the amount collected. If they are correct, then \$200,000.00 more should be added to the amount of Mississippi's gains.

I have not the figures showing the amounts paid out in this State by the

United States, for the cost of the United States Courts, nor the salaries of United States officers, or the many other Federal expenditures. I know that the Federal Government has expended a half million dollars or more, in the last three years, in fitting up the National Cemetery at Vicksburg alone.

One thing is certain; add these amounts which are true, although I have not the exact figures, to the \$220,312.84, which I have proven exactly, and it will show that Mississippi is the gainer every year of over half a million dollars.

This is the present condition of Federal taxation, under Republican administration. Horace Greeley has put himself on the record in favor of a gigantic increase of taxation, by declaring that we should pay our immense National debt in a few years; that we must "not transmit the burden of this vast debt to future generations." If Greeley is elected, and carries out his declared policy, then indeed will we groan beneath the burden of Federal taxation. Tax-payers of Mississippi, take heed what you do!

"H. G." as a Civil Service Reformer.

From the Inter-Ocean.

Everybody who knows Mr. Greeley knows that all his new fervor for civil service reform, is feigned for the purposes of the campaign. If H. G. had as many honest hairs in his head as he has written letters to Presidents and department officers urging appointments on purely political grounds, he would be the most hirsute patriarch south of the Niagara frontier. Here is a specimen of the letters which the great "reform" candidate has been sending since Grant became President:

NEW YORK TRIBUNE,
NEW YORK, March 10, 1869.

DEAR SIR: The bearer is my neighbor and friend, the Supervisor of the township in which I reside. I know him to be capable, honest and deserving. He is a candidate for Assessor in our Tenth (Westchester) District in place of Abram P. Hyatt, who is a *Seymour Democrat*, and ought on no account to be retained. I commend Mr. Francis M. Carpenter to you as every way worthy to be Hyatt's successor.

Yours,
HORACE GREELEY.

HON. C. Delano, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, present.

Greeley pretended, in his letter to the Cincinnati Cabal, that he was fierce for a reform which should abolish political dis-

tinctions in the conferring of Federal appointments; but his letter to a Hartford Democrat, and his speech at Portland, show that his real policy and intention is the same now that it was when he demanded of the Revenue Commissioner to turn out a man from an Assessorship in order to make room for "my friend"—with this important exception; that he was then for turning out Democrats because they were Democrats, and is now for turning out Republicans because they are Republicans.

"Hope of a Heart-beat from Under the Ribs of death."

The Alta California, referring to the piebald movement, says: "In the hope of winning a victory from their antagonists—like the hope of a heart-beat from under the ribs of death"—the Democratic party came to the conclusion that they had better ignore all their previously announced and paraded theories, their finely wrought and written platforms, their long-time and tried leaders, and breaking into their enemies, preserves, bear thence what they thought would be esteemed the choicest production thereof. They did so. They ignored completely all allusion to their party ever having had an existence. They even adopted the platform of those who for many years had been diametrically opposed to them, swallowed it with their eyes shut, as sick men do when they take jalap, and as poor billious wretches do when they gulp down an emetic, and thought they could postpone the retching until after the election; but they cannot."

The Greeley Fan.

The inventor of the "Greeley fan" has lost money on his queer invention. He says the people want Greeley's face on the fans to look as it did on the reception of the election news from North Carolina. To do this (the man says) would require more material than he can afford to give for the price, (25 cents.) besides, a fan a yard long would be both inconvenient and in bad taste.

WHEN Ashley was appointed Governor of Montana, the President was told he had appointed a knave, and soon the fact was painfully demonstrated. His removal became a necessity, and the fellow now makes war on Grant.—[Albany Evening Journal.

"WITH the expression of my desire to see the speedy healing of all bitterness of feeling between sections, parties or races of citizens, and the time when the title of citizen carries with it all the protection and privileges to the humblest that it does to the most exalted, I subscribe myself, very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT."

TAXES IN MISSISSIPPI.

The following are some pertinent facts and figures extracted from a speech recently made in this District by Gen. Geo. C. McKee:

Let us compare our taxation with other States. By comparison only, one can arrive at true results; by comparison we judge nearly everything—riches and poverty, happiness and misery, good land, bad land, high taxes and low taxes. A man in Mississippi may be rich with \$50,000, while among the merchant-princes of New York City he would be poor indeed. A man in Jackson may be the leading business man of the town, while the same amount of business done in New Orleans would entitle him perhaps only to a fifth rate or tenth rate position there. Let us examine this question of taxes, not with high-sounding declamation about "tyrannous taxation," etc.; rather let us examine it with unprejudiced common sense. Give us practice, not theory. Examine your pocket-books and your taxes at the same time, and it will be worth all the speeches that demagogues may utter. Here is the experience of my own pocket-book. I have here the Tax Collector's receipts for money which I have paid. I bring forward my own case because I know then exactly what I am talking about, and have the proofs here in my hands, showing that I have paid these taxes just as I state:

TAXES IN FIVE COUNTIES IN MISSISSIPPI, IN 1871, OF THE FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.	
Warren county, on 640 acres, rate of taxation per \$100 of value.....	\$1 75
Hinds county, on 840 acres, rate of taxation per \$100 of value.....	1 60
Madison county, on 800 acres, rate of taxation per \$100 of value.....	2 16
Jones county, on 1,980 acres, rate of taxation per \$100 of value.....	1 28
Rankin county, on —, rate of taxation per \$100 of value.....	1 54

Now let us compare these taxes with taxes which I have paid in five counties in Illinois for 1870:

TAXES IN FIVE COUNTIES, IN ILLINOIS, FOR 1870.	
Pulaski county, on 480 acres, per cent. on \$100.....	\$5 75
Clinton county, on 30 acres, per cent. on \$100.....	4 45
Washington county, on 10 acres, per cent. on \$100.....	4 25
Marion county, on town lots, per cent. on \$100.....	3 06
Alexander county, on town lots, per cent. on \$100.....	4 60

The taxation should be increased by adding to the town lots in Marion county, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. city tax, making total \$3 56; add city tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Alexander county, total, \$6 10. In 1869 my taxes in Illinois were still higher than in 1870. Talk of heavy taxation in Mississippi! Then what do you say to Illinois taxation? These are no selected figures. They are just exactly the figures I paid last year, except in Alexander county, Illinois, where the taxation (over six per cent.), was so heavy that the property was sold to avoid further taxes. The figures I give are the taxes paid in 1869 on the lot valued by the State at \$350 and taxed as follows: State tax, \$4 55; county tax, \$2 80; pauper tax, \$1 75; special tax, \$3 50; district school tax, \$3 50; total, \$16 10. Then comes a tax of the city of Cairo of \$7 50, and so this poor little lot, No. 3, block 50, is taxed over six per cent. per annum, and it is a vacant lot at that. Here I hold in my hand the receipts for the taxes I have enumerated in Mississippi and Illinois, with the exception of Rankin county. I pay no taxes there, but as it is a central county in this Congressional District, and an average county, I take the taxes from the State Auditor's office, in order to make up the list and compare five Mississippi counties with five Illinois counties. The result of the comparison any one can see as plainly as my pocket has felt. Taxes are two and three times heavier in Illinois than in Mississippi. This fact no one can dispute. Here are the figures and the tax receipts. A practical test like this is worth all the frothy declamations of empty-headed demagogues who never had a practical idea in their lives. And to make the comparison of taxes complete, please remember that here we pay our taxes in warrants at about seventy-five cents on

the dollar, while in Illinois I paid in greenbacks. They have no State warrants there.

The Northern States have always paid heavier taxes than the Southern States. To prove this I submit no theoretical argument; I submit a practical tax receipt. Here is a receipt for a city lot in Centralia, Illinois, which I have owned from boyhood. It is unimproved and vacant. This receipt shows that in 1861, before the debt and expenses of the war, I paid as yearly taxes $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on its value. No such tax as this was heard of in the Southern States* at that time.

Two other arguments and I will close; and my argument shall still be the invincible logic of figures and facts, from which you are forced to draw the same deductions which I do.

The State tax (1870) in Mississippi on the \$100 was 5 mills, in Illinois $6\frac{1}{2}$ mills, in Kansas $8\frac{3}{4}$ mills, Minnesota 5 mills, Missouri 5 mills, New York $7\frac{1}{4}$ mills, Nebraska 6 mills. Thus you see, in a scattering list of Northern States, from New York to Nebraska, Mississippi has as low taxation as any, and is far below the average. Finally, let us take a broader range of inquiry, and we will find that the taxes levied in the Southern States are lighter than they are in the Northern States. We have to repair the waste and destruction of the kind, yet taxes are lighter here than there. The reason of this is that, during the war, each Northern State created a vast war debt paying bounty to soldiers, etc., in order to avoid a draft; this debt they are now paying off by taxation. The war debts created by the Southern States during the war were obliterated and extinguished by the reconstruction enactment, at the same time with the Confederate debt. Another reason for the high rate of Northern taxation is that they expend far more money than we do on internal improvements; and it is a paying investment to the taxpayer. The total taxes levied in the eleven Southern States for 1870 was

State.....	\$12,813,615
County.....	14,298,630
Town and City.....	5,115,294

Total..... \$32,227,539
Assessed valuation of property..... \$2,026,440,971

Rate of taxation 1 57-100 per cent. And remember that the exorbitant taxes of

South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida and North Carolina are here included.

The following taxes were assessed, in 1870, in the following named States:

STATES	STATE TAX	COUNTY TAX	TOWN, CITY & C.	TOTAL	ASSESSED VALUATION	PERC. OF TAX. ON \$100
Illinois.....	3,620,681	5,242,187	12,062,100	21,825,008	482,899,575	\$4 50
Indiana.....	2,945,078	4,654,406	3,193,577	10,791,121	663,455,044	1 62
Iowa.....	832,918	3,052,931	3,169,765	9,055,614	3,251,5418	2 99
Massachusetts.....	7,408,962	683,500	16,800,438	24,922,900	1,501,983,112	1 90
Michigan.....	306,352	1,565,163	3,451,442	5,412,957	272,342,017	2 40
New York.....	8,720,156	15,102,761	24,727,391	48,550,308	1,967,001,185	2 40
Ohio.....	4,727,318	6,501,941	12,297,389	23,526,548	1,167,731,697	2 01
Pennsylvania.....	5,800,172	4,263,898	14,467,527	24,531,597	1,313,236,042	1 88
Missouri.....				13,900,408	556,129,660	2 50

It will, then, be seen that every one of these nine great States exceed in rate of taxation the taxation levied upon the Southern States, and some of them more than double the rate of Southern taxation. Presenting these facts and figures as an offset to empty Democratic talk without facts and figures, I leave the question.

AND now who bears false witness? Mr. Sumner says the President is a villain; Gov. Washburne, who knows him intimately, says he is a patriotic gentleman. Mr. Sumner says he is worse than any President the Republic has known; Henry Wilson says no man ever held office in the land more desirous of serving his country well. Mr. Sumner charges Grant with absolute crime; Mr. Hoar, formerly of his Cabinet, says he is a simple, clear-headed, practical, modest man, ever asking what will be the best for the country. Mr. Sumner says he deserves impeachment; Mr. Secretary Boutwell says no more honest citizen and high minded man lives in the Republic. Mr. Sumner says he is wholly unworthy of confidence; Mr. Dawes says he is eminently deserving a re-election. These are the opinions of Massachusetts citizens of some note, any one of whom is the peer of Sumner in character, in truthfulness, in honor.

A Pretty Tale Badly Spoiled.

THE TRUTH ABOUT GREELEY SIGNING JEFFERSON DAVIS' BAIL BOND, AND HOW MUCH HE WAS PROMPTED TO DO SO BY MRS. DAVIS' APPEAL—THE MACON TELEGRAPH TO DRY UP ITS TEARS AND WIPE ITS WEEPING EYES—GREELEY'S HONOR AND KINDNESS OF HEART ILLUSTRATED.

Editors Daily Atlanta Sun:

Much of the sentimental has been indulged in by the Greeleyites, because honest(?) old Horace signed Mr. Davis' bond—and I remember reading in the Macon Telegraph an article about "Mrs. Davis and Mr. Greeley—A Truthful Scrap of History," which said paper discoursed on as follows:

The accompanying communication comes from a source of the most unquestionable authenticity, and reflects honor upon the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention. No true Southron can peruse it with unmoistened eye—and the rebuke of Mr. Voorhees is most withering and complete.

That communication stated that Mrs. Davis, at the instance of Charles O'Connor, went to see Greeley to get him as the representative man of the Republican party, to sign Mr. Davis' bond; and the following conversation is reported to have taken place—which must have been very carefully preserved, to be so completely given as it is in the communication, and we suppose that a short-hand reporter of Mr. Greeley's made a note of it at the time—but we proceed to quote. She said to him:

Mr. Greeley, my husband is confined in a case-mate at Fortress Monroe. He has been there for many long, weary months. He is a feeble old man, and he is gradually sinking under his rigorous imprisonment. He will die if he remains there much longer. I came here to consult Mr. O'Connor as to the means of getting him released. He has told me that there is but one way to do it, and that is to get the representative man of the Republican party to sign his bond, and says that you are that man. He has advised me to apply to you. He says that you have a kind heart, and that you will do it if you believe it to be right. My husband is dying, Mr. Greeley; may I hope that you will favorably consider my application?

Mrs. Davis' conversation, or rather appeal, to Mr. Greeley, was certainly well taken care of, as before observed. To cut the matter short, Mr. Greeley told Mrs. Davis that he would sign the bond, and did so in spite of his friends begging him not

to do so; and what was more, he lost thirty thousand dollars and a seat in the United States Senate.

Now, it would have been well for that "truthful scrap of history," if Horace Greeley had not written his "Recollections of a Busy Life," (the volume before me, published in 1869;) for in that book honest old Horace makes his statement of how it happened that he signed Mr. Davis' bond. I quote from it—page 414, as follows:

Mr. George Shea, the Attorney of Record for the defense in the case of the United States vs. Jefferson Davis, indicted for treason, is the son of an old friend, and I have known and liked him from infancy.

After it had become evident that his client had no immediate prospect of trial, if any prospect at all, Mr. Shea became anxious that said client be liberated on bail. Consulting me as to the feasibility of procuring some names to be offered as bondsmen, of persons who had conspicuously opposed the rebellion and all the grave errors which incited it; I suggested two eminent Unionists who, I presumed, would cheerfully consent to stand as security that the accused would run not away to avoid the trial he had long but unsuccessfully invoked. I added after reflection, "If my name should be found necessary you may use that." He thanked me and said he should proffer it only in case the others abundantly at his command would not answer without it. Months passed before I was apprised by a telegram from Washington that my name was needed; when I went down and proffered it. And when at length the prisoner was brought before the United States District Court at Richmond, I was there by invitation and signed the bond in due form.

From Greeley himself we thus have it that his friendship for Mr. Shea was the motive that induced him to sign the bond. I am sorry thus to dry up those weeping eyes of the Macon Telegraph. It spoils a most pathetic tale; but I can't help it.

To show that Mr. Greeley felt no friendship for Mr. Davis, but really desired him dealt harshly with—to show that his Radical heart has in it the same old valid hatred, and that he is without honor, and is governed by meanness, we quote from the same book, page 416, as follows: "When the impeachment of President Johnson was fully resolved on, and there was, for some weeks, a fair prospect that Mr. Wade would soon be President, with a Cabinet of like Radical faith, I suggested to some of the prospective President's next friends that I had Jefferson Davis still on my hands, and that if he were considered a handy thing to have in the house I might turn him over to the new Administration for trial at an hour's notice. The sugges-

tion evoked no enthusiasm, and I was not encouraged to press it."

There we have the true motive that governed the old arch fiend of Radicalism—with Johnson, who had then in his tergiversations, linked himself with the Democratic party. Sharp old chap, that. He did not want Mr. Davis to go to trial while he believed that he would be acquitted; but so soon as bloodthirsty Ben. Wade was likely to get the reins of power in his hands, and get his fiendish grip on Mr. Davis, Greeley, like a serpent, slides forward and suggests, of his own accord, the trial of Mr. Davis; and his suggestions met with no encouragement, because old Ben. Wade failed to secure Johnson's position.

And in the face of all this, some Southern men—and men of honor—are so blind-d as to follow that old apostle of Radical iniquity into his den of dishonor and infamy, where too late, they will find themselves betrayed and destroyed, and their fair fame tarnished forever.

STONE MOUNTAIN.

Lincoln's Rebuke of Greeley.

From the Washington Chronicle.

On the 22nd of August, 1862, Abraham Lincoln was moved to write that remarkable letter to Horace Greeley, which will stand as a model of perspicuity and patriotic resolve for the admiration of coming generations. Greeley was petulantly finding fault and dictating to the President his duty. Impatient that so little attention had been paid to his ranting, he finally addressed a communication to the President through the columns of the Tribune. It was insolent and presumptuous in the last degree, for it seemed to be written on the presumption that the President did not know his duty, or if he knew it had not the nerve to perform it. Mr. Lincoln replied to it at once. In his admirable letter he gave Mr. Greeley to understand that his false statements and assumptions were permitted to pass unheeded. His false inferences should not be dignified by controversy.

The "impatient and dictatorial tone" was simply tolerated because of a belief that it was the result of an infirmity of temper, not a badness of heart. The greatness of Lincoln shone out in the frank avowal of a high purpose to perform his sworn duty, which was to defend and save the Union at all hazards. He was chosen

President of the United States with a full knowledge on the part of the people of all sections that he believed slavery prejudicial to the perpetuity of the Union and the maintenance of liberty. But his great trust and his sworn duty was to preserve the Constitution inviolate, execute the laws as he found them, and save the Union. Therefore his personal desires could not be permitted to sway his actions or to control his plans. The rebuke was withering, and effectually silenced the clamorous marplot of the Tribune. The Chicago Times has done good service in recalling this letter to mind:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 22, 1862. }

Hon. H. Greeley:

DEAR SIR—I have just read yours of the 19th instant, addressed to myself through the New York Tribune.

If there be in it any statement or assumption of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them.

If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them.

If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I seem to be pursuing, as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution.

The sooner the National authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be to the Union as it was.

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.

My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that.

What I do about slavery and the negro race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours, A. LINCOLN.

Now, boys, "To Grant for President, And God defend the right!"

—[New York Tribune, Sept. 2, 1862.]

REASONABLE ADVICE.

The New York Tribune has just published its usual list of directions for the campaign, covering the old grounds of local organization, a thorough canvass, the distribution of documents, etc. The Missouri Democrat thinks that, in view of its new position, the Tribune has omitted some very important and essential instructions, and it therefore offers the following:

1. Don't drink too much rum just now. It is very well known that all Democrats love rum above everything else, but the hot weather co-operating with the delirium tremens may reduce the vote unless precautions of sobriety be taken at once.

2. Don't kill any niggers. The Democratic party hates niggers, but the present is a bad time to kill them. Postpone your intentions for the present for the good of the cause. There will be plenty of time to kill niggers and plenty of niggers to kill after we have won our glorious triumph in November.

3. Close your rat-pits for the present. You cannot give the necessary attention to politics if you devote a great part of your time to killing rats. It is a very healthful and inspiring exercise, but just at present it would be more profitable to you and to me to kill off the Grant party. By the exercise of a little self-denial you will be able to close the rat-pits, and devote your entire energies to the success of the ticket.

4. Do not commit any unnecessary burglaries, murders or robberies. Although the laws are not very stringently administered, there is danger of an occasional conviction, and a consequent impairment of your strength in November. It would be well to appoint restraining committees in all the wards of New York city, whose duty it shall be to protect you against temptations.

5. Do not burn any orphan asylums or school-houses. There is a prejudice in this country against arson, which we cannot hope to extirpate before November, and it would be unwise to excite it at the present time. There will be abundant opportunity to burn every orphan asylum in the country after the election of Greeley and Brown.

Fading Away.**DECADENCE OF THE GREELEY MOVEMENT—
A FATAL REACTION.**

From the New York Nation.

There is no question that "the Greeley movement" is just now flagging. This is acknowledged on all hands. Of course the reasons assigned for it vary. The World says there is "a lull in the canvass;" while other prominent Democrats say there is "a pause" caused by the preparations for the Louisville Convention, there being much curiosity and some anxiety to see what will come of that undertaking. Nobody, of course, supposes that its candidate will stand any chance of election, but he might draw too heavily on the Greeley vote. If, for instance, Charles O'Connor were nominated, it would play sad havoc with the majority with which Mr. Greeley expects "to leave the city in November." The fact seems to be that Greeley is not a candidate to bear examination. The criticism of the canvass tells on him as it probably never told on any candidate before. One of his prominent supporters remarked in our hearing after the nomination at Cincinnati, that "it would either prove an avalanche or a fizzle," and the more ardent Greeley men expected it to prove an "avalanche," or, in other words, expected to carry him into the White House by hurrahing and repeating catch-words. This expectation has been completely disappointed, and although the movement has as yet by no means turned out a "fizzle," discussion tells on it daily. The result of the North Carolina election has scared the doubting, and there has been a total stoppage of "accessions." Moreover, Grant's silence compared to Greeley's noise—for in the popular eye the latter, his retirement to the contrary notwithstanding, is still the true editor of the Tribune—begins to tell powerfully in Grant's favor, and even to excite a kind of enthusiasm about him which is stimulated by the personal attacks on him. A man who, in the midst of the insensate howling about his spending a couple of months at the seaside, goes calmly to the Thousand Islands on a "jaunt," and lets his enemies rave away, shows a quality by which the hearts of most people are more or less stirred. "By Time!" says Hosea Bigelow, "I do like a man that ain't afeard."