Stevens Bedford Speech — Stevens Bedford Speech

Stevens on Reform

THE SENTINEL.

W. E. PELL, } Editors.
SEATON GALES.

Saturday Evening, Sept. 15, 1866.

FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, AS IT IS, AND THE UNION AS IT WAS.
NO FURTHER AMENDMENTS.

FOR GOVERNOR,
JONATHAN WORTH,
OF RANDOLPH.

County Meeting.

We are requested to suggest that a meeting of the conservative citizens of Wake, who support the policy of President Johnson, and are favorable to the re-election of Gov. Worth, be held at the Court House, in this city, on Saturday, the 22nd. inst., for the purpose of nominating candidates to represent this County in the next Legislature, and of consulting together upon the condition of the country.

It is very desirable that the conservatives in each Captain's district take steps to be represented upon the occasion.

The Radical Programme.

We have recently re-published the Howard Amendment adopted by the Radical Congress, and which will be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States for adoption. We have also given to our readers the gist of the proceedings of the late "Southern Loyalist" Convention at Philadelphia and its platform, and to-day publish the material portions of the speech made by Mr. Thaddeus Stevens recently at Bedford, Pa.

We occupy much space and shall do so, with the platform and positions of the Radicals in their several phases, in order that the people of North Carolina may fully understand what they propose to do with the States and people of the South. We have no wish or intention to mislead public opinion in the slightest degree. We regard the Howard amendment as embodying the views of the most moderate of the Radical party. It may be regarded as the present position, in the main, of the Northern and border State delegates in the late so-called "Southern Loyalist" Convention. All the delegates in that Convention may be set down as advocates or friends of universal negro suffrage, but the Northern and border State delegates were opposed to its insertion in the platform, for the reason that even the Northern and Middle States were not supposed to be ready to swallow it yet. Many of the Southern delegates in that Convention were urgent to make it a plank in their platform.

Thad. Stevens and Brownlow are the true types of the Radical party, and in their speeches boldly declare their designs and purposes. No half-way ground will satisfy them or the great body of their sympathizers and advocates. The adoption of the Howard amendment will remove some barriers in the Constitution to the full programme. What then will hinder its execution?

The speech of Mr. Stevens fully developes his plan, and the following extract from Brownlow's speech, at the Cooper Institute in New York, recently, sets forth his designs and those of the men who endorse him:

"We want the loyal negro to vote and disloyal traitors and white rebels not to vote. I would sooner have the vote, were I a candidate for office to-morrow, of a loyal negro than a mean, pitiful, disloyal white man. I would sooner associate with a loyal negro than a disloyal rebel. I would sooner take my chances with a loyal negro after death than a disloyal white man. (Laughter and cheers.) But I am sorry to say to you, gentlemen, that you do not fully and thoroughly understand the tone and temper of the people of the South. The "Old Scratch" himself is in the whole of them yet. (Loud laughter.) They are unrepentant, unchanged, rebellious, wicked and revolutionary to the core, and it is their purpose to bring on another rebellion. It is their purpose either to restore by proclamation the institution of slavery, or to have pay for their emancipated negroes. They trust to have the President on their side, and I concede the fact. He has gone clear over to them, soul, breeches and body. He is on the side of the rebellion. He sustains the same relation now to the rebellion that Jeff. Davis did in former days. He is the living head of the whole concern, and, if by their wickedness and rebellious spirit they force another war upon the country, which I think they will do, and which they are determined to do, and you, the loyal North, come to send another army upon us, to invade our country and to subdue the rebellion, I beg of you, as I remarked last night in Trenton, that you come in three great divisions.—First, with heavy revolvers and small arms, to do the killing. (Loud shouts, and a voice, "We're ready.")

A voice: "Yes, we will do it. *Hear, hear, hear.*"

Mr. Brownlow: And may the Lord *hear* and answer your prayer. (Loud laughter and applause.) The second great division should come armed and equipped with torches and turpentine to do the burning. (Aye, aye.) And the third and last great division, winding it up, shall come with square, compass and chain, and lay off the lands into small parcels, and sell them out to defray the expenses of the war to men who will respect the old flag."

Will North Carolinians support any man, or set of men, who endorse the Howard amendment,—the *present* practical point at issue, and the stepping-stone to the evils and horrors with which we are menaced? *Never!*

Hon. W. T. Dortch.—We are pleased to learn, from the Wilmington *Journal*, that this gentleman, who was one of the Confederate States Senators from North Carolina, has received his pardon at the hands of the President. The *Journal* very justly remarks:

"There yet remain a few more distinguished citizens of this State who are unpardoned. We hope that President Johnson will soon extend to them the same manifestation of approval and endorsement, he has already so generously granted to many of our people. We know that the services and loyalty of which author has been made aware by the good results already accomplished. One young (no doubt and faithful) in the high to discharge to U. S. obligations as citizens, and we believe the President and the Conservatives of the North fully appreciate this fact."

The Game.

The Convention called by Mr. Holden, to meet in this city, on the 20th. inst., will have a difficult task to reconcile the conflicting views of the odds and ends which make up the Radical faction in this State. They will be greatly troubled to find a *name* for the faction. The Newbern *Times* sees the trouble, and would gladly help them out of the difficulty. The *Standard* would do the same, but the Radicals from the upper counties will give the whole animal or nothing. The *Tourgee-ites* will not be content with anything short of throwing President Johnson overboard entirely and adopting negro suffrage in their platform.

The *Times* styles the National Union men, the endorsers of the first Philadelphia Convention, the *Johnson-Worth* men, and would be glad to have it understood that the Radicals in that region are *Johnson-Union* men. It is no go, Mr. *Times*. The ridiculousness of the claim is too apparent to every reader of the *Times*, when its columns are graced every day or two with the Radical whimperings of its correspondent "Union," whose speech betrayeth him as a disappointed mal-content, and when it rejoices over the Radical victory in Maine!

You cannot play that game, gentlemen. You are either for Thad. Stevens or President Johnson. You must either endorse the National Union Convention, approved and endorsed by President Johnson and Gov. Worth, or you must embrace the "Southern Loyalists" Convention, endorsed by Thad. Stevens and Brownlow.—There is no middle ground between them.

The Condition of Our People.

The resolutions of the magistrates of Union County, which we published a day or two since, are enough to make every heart sad, and to elicit the strongest sympathy for our suffering people. The crops in that County have been literally burned up. We have heard of no other County as badly used up as that has been, but many others are severely injured. We begin to hope that the condition of the State, in regard to food, is not as bad as we feared at one time, yet it is bad enough to call forth the sympathies of all our people in behalf of the suffering.

The appeal of the people in those Counties where the crops have been cut off should be made, first, to the benevolent and able in their own Counties and those adjacent to them, and then to the Legislature of the State, by petition setting forth established and undoubted facts. Gov. Worth may be relied upon to execute promptly any duty imposed by the Legislature. His heart is in the right place, and his warmest sympathies are with our whole people, and they may be sure he will do what he can for them. Arrangements should be made, at an early day, for the purchase of corn and meat, this winter, both in and out of the State, where they can be purchased at the lowest rates. Agents should be dispatched to Indiana and Illinois to effect purchases on the best terms. One agent would answer for our whole State.

The Maine Election.

The New York *World*, one of the most reliable and sagacious journals in the country, sees no cause for discouragement in the result of the recent elections in New England. It says:

"We entertain no apprehension that the great bulk of middle States will follow the example of Maine and Vermont. The chief reason why hatred to the South is so easily stirred up in those States is found in the fact that they are so remote from the Southern people, that they regard them with the same kind of irrational hostility that nations used to feel towards each other before the modern facilities of communication and intercourse existed. In Maine and Vermont not one man in ten thousand ever sees a Southerner in the whole course of his life. Away on the Canada frontier, where what is done in the South has less effect on their prosperity than on any other part of the country, it might be supposed that the people of Maine and Vermont would be more ready to concede the right of self-government to those on the Gulf and the Rio Grande, than the people of New York or Illinois, who by their large commerce and intercourse are directly affected by all that touches the prosperity of the South. But distance does not operate in that manner. It tends to convert into natural enemies those who know nothing of each other. It is the same illiberal feeling of blind hostility that existed between England and France when "a narrow frith interposed made enemies of nations;" but which has happily given way before the benign influences of increased commercial and social intercourse. The same reasons explain why New York, and especially that part of its citizens who are conversant with the South and have the greatest stake in its welfare, desire to treat that section with kindness and magnanimity, while Maine and Vermont are so easily excited to look askance on the Southern people, and think they do God service by trying to deprive them of self-government."

Consistency!

Mr. Holden lives in a glass house, but he is oblivious when he throws stones. He censures Gov. Worth for appointing Hon. Josiah Turner, jr., a director on the North Carolina Railroad, he being unpardoned and "an alien." If this was wrong in Gov. Worth, was it not equally wrong in Provisional Gov. Holden?—Mr. Holden appointed Jonathan Worth Public Treasurer before he was pardoned. Mr. Holden also appointed Messrs. J. M. Leach, Nath. Boyden, Wm. Murphy, P. K. Dickinson and B. F. Moore, Directors, before they had received their pardons—all good men for directors, but yet before they were pardoned. Mr. Holden appointed T. R. Caldwell his aid and counsellor before he was pardoned. He also appointed a number of Directors on the Railroads, who did not own a dollar's worth of stock in the Roads. "Physician, heal thyself." How ridiculous does Mr. Holden make himself by such charges upon Gov. Worth!

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS FOR GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.—It is reported in Milledgeville, Ga., that a committee waited upon Hon. A. H. Stephens, urging upon him to become a candidate for Governor of Georgia when the State is admitted to her former position in the Union. His friends think that he will accept the nomination and use his influence in settling the political disputes now distracting the State.

A concert in Houston, Texas, for Gen. A. S. Johnston's family, yielded $800.

THE RADICAL PROGRAMME.

Speech of Thaddeus Stevens, Delivered at Bedford, Pa., Sept. 4, 1866.

[Reported for the N. Y. Tribune.]

After alluding briefly to the distracted condition of the country at the termination of hostilities, and recapitulating some of the difficulties which surrounded Congress in its legislation at the last session,—principal among which were "the unexpected apostacy" of the President and the "inflexibility, impudence and vacillations shown by Cabinet ministers,"—Mr. Stevens said:

"When the war ended, the work of reconstruction would have been easy had all the departments of Government confined themselves to their legitimate spheres. The rebels were submissive, and asked only to be allowed to forfeited lives. Having lost all by treason, the fortunes of war; having destroyed the State Governments under the Constitution, voluntarily severed their connection with the United States, and thereby lost all claims to protection under the Constitution; having declared themselves alien enemies, and in character having waged a war of savages against the Union; having [illegible] half a million of our citizens, and [illegible] their conquered territories to the [illegible] to be governed by such laws as they chose to impose; to surrender their estates to reimburse the expenses and damages of the war; to undergo such further fines and imprisonments as their great crimes deserved. The harmonious action of the Government would have [illegible] these, so far as policy and justice required, and by this time the several States would have been in the Union, with Constitutions perfectly free. A portion of the property of the great criminals would have been applied to pay our national debt, to pension our soldiers and pay the damages suffered by loyal men. Some of them would no doubt have been in the penitentiary for a term of years. A few, and the law, would have suffered the extreme penalty of the law, for our law is a mild one and mildly administered. The blood of half a million of our citizens would hardly have been washed out, but peace and returning good-will would soon spread over the whole land. But the conduct and folly of a few weak and designing men have reversed this whole picture.

All the powers of our Government are lodged in three departments, whose duties are wholly distinct from each other; neither can encroach upon the other without disturbing the harmony of their workings and endangering the liberty of the country. The Constitution says: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." The President is the executive, but has no legislative or judicial powers. The judiciary must adjudge all controversies and legal questions which arise; that is their whole duty.

By the Constitution the power to create and admit new States and to guarantee republican forms of government belongs to Congress alone. Neither the President nor the Supreme Court can do either, or any part thereof. So are the decisions. No well-informed man denies it, no honest man denies it.

Here it follows that to Congress alone belongs, not only the right, but the duty to rebuild the States; to give them Republican governments, and to admit them into the Union if they should be judged fit, to secure the privileges which they renounced and sought to destroy. The President, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, had a right, after the conquest, to appoint military Governors and hold them in military subjection until the law-making power had an opportunity to act. Instead of calling Congress together or awaiting their regular session, he usurped all the duties of the law-making power and proceeded to give constitutional and civil governments to the conquered States, directing in the most arbitrary manner the terms of their organic laws, and controlling the actions of their bogus conventions. Notwithstanding the change in the number of free citizens, produced by the war and the acts of Congress, he confined the rights of citizenship to the Rebels, excluding all the new made loyal citizens. He distinctly informed the Rebels that they had lost all the rights of citizens of the United States; but when they had adopted a convention his governments, he declared them admitted into the Union, and directed Congress to admit their representatives, expressly declaring that Congress had nothing to do, but that each House separately was simply to judge of the regularity of the elections and qualifications of the members who presented themselves. He said that he had admitted the States. He had declared their relations to the Union restored. He had guaranteed republican forms of government to the disorganized States. Of their status, of their right to representation, Congress had nothing to say. What it is remembered that all these acts are merely legislative; that the constitution places all legislation in Congress; that the President forms no part of the legislative power, it must be admitted that these acts were the most high handed usurpations that lawless ambition could exercise. If submitted to by Congress this government would no longer be a republic subject to the will of the people but a despotism in which one tyrant would rule over a nation of slaves. A Congress elected by the people to resist armed traitors were not disposed to cower before the usurped sceptre of a single apostate. I say a single apostate; for the scurvy, mercenary, apostate Republicans who have since joined him are so few and despicable that they need not be included in any enumeration of political forces.

Congress met and calmly proceeded to reconstruct the Government. It proposed amendments to the Constitution, not only abolishing slavery, but placing all men on a perfect equality before the law. Every human being is declared to have equal civil rights, and Congress is invested with power to enforce a remedy. This does not touch social or political rights.—They are left to the mature action of the people of the States, and ultimately of Congress; the proposed amendment now pending changes the basis of representation in Congress so that the vote of a white man in the North will be equal to a vote of a white man in the South, now a white man's vote in the Rebel States counts nearly as much as two white men's votes in the free States. This amendment meets with the violent opposition of the President.

Congress passed a Civil Rights bill to protect the rights of all—the President vetoed it; Congress passed the Freedmen's Bureau bill—the President vetoed it. He preferred to let the freedmen and refugees starve, and remain exposed to mobbing and murder. Congress passed a law to admit Colorado—he vetoed it because it would give two more Senators opposed to his "policy." Congress passed an act to admit Tennessee—he disapproved of it and sent a message with his objections, but kept the bill and signed it (or some substitute not unlike it) when it admitted his son-in-law as Senator.

Congress passed a law liberally increasing the pensions of the wounded soldiers; the increase was not all I desired. I tried to make the last pension $12 instead of $8 per month. The committee thought they had done all they could afford; but I doubt not it will prevail at the next session. No [illegible] man can support his family on $8 a month. Congress passed a law to extend bounties. Not such a law as I approved, because it was partial. But it was [illegible] and so far good. It would have been better had it not been for the administration. Early in the session a bill was reported [illegible] bounties. The Secretary of the Treasury wrote a letter to the Senate saying that it would take from the Treasury $260,000,000 of $300,000,000. The Provost-Marshal General Fry wrote a still more frightful letter saying that it would cost $680,000,000.—The Commissioner of Internal Revenue declared it would destroy the public credit. Hence the bill was deferred from meeting what I believe is a just arrangement of the bounty with some justice was done, and complete justice will be done to our gallant soldiers when this Administration shall be removed. It now sits like an incubus on the breast of the nation. As a further enumeration of the acts of Congress, I would refer you to a speech of the Hon. Schuyler Colfax lately given to his constituents. No sounder patriot than Mr. Colfax exists. And I will take this occasion to say that as speaker I believe no man ever presided over a deliberative [illegible]

[illegible] Congress I will try to be impartial. I will not ask you to bestow unmingled [illegible] on all the measures of Congress. But [illegible] measures we deserve the censure of the people. Which it was impossible, obstructed, as we were, by the President and the Copperheads, to make this a Republic of "liberty and equality," we might have approached it more nearly than we did. We might have treated the Rebel States as what they are, in fact, conquered provinces, and, through enabling acts, we could have fixed the qualifications of voters so that every loyal man could participate in the formation of their organic laws. We should then, with entire certainty, have secured the Government to loyal Union men, have formed in every one of those States constitutions giving equal privileges to all, and which would have curbed the rising spirit of rebellion which is now rampant in every one of those States. For I assure you, from irrefutable evidence, that traitors are now triumphant in every Confederate State. No Republican doubts the power of Congress to do what I have stated. No sound constitutional lawyer believes any one of the organizations now existing in those States to be legitimate governments. Formed by the decree of a military conqueror, without consulting the people, they can be tolerated only as temporary arrangements, until the law-making power provides them permanent laws and forms of government. They are so considered by the Rebels themselves. Chief Justice Ruffin, of North Carolina, one of the ablest and fairest of Secessionists, has lately given the following opinion. The Chief Justice says:

"I consider that this is no Constitution, because your Convention was not a legitimate Convention, and had no power to make a Constitution for us, or to alter that which we had and have; and that it cannot be made a Constitution, even by popular sanction. If these positions be correct, it ought to be rejected by the people as the safest, simplest and most efficient method of settling the points at rest, and avoiding many perplexing and dangerous questions before the judiciary. I object to the organization of your body as a Convention, because it was called without the consent of the people of North Carolina by the President of the United States, or under his orders—an act of clear and dangerous usurpation, which could not give the body any authority to bind the State or its inhabitants. If it be said the President or his agent, the Governor of a Province, did not call or authorize the Convention, but the delegates were assembled, I deny it directly and positively. Mr. Johnson required a Convention to perform certain specific acts; to annul the ordinance of Secession and tender a return to the Union, or claim its continued existence under the Constitution of the United States; to emancipate slaves and ordain that Slavery shall never hereafter exist in this State, and to repudiate the State war debt. All these were done, the two first promptly and in satisfactory terms, and the third at the last moment, under subjection and in conformity to orders after having once refused to adopt the measure. All was done he say, that was required, and Mr. Johnson proclaimed that he had got all he wanted; that we were back as a State and might choose our representatives in Congress. This was in conformity to our rights as a State, and in no law regulating elections. Was there anything more for that convention to do? Were they chosen for any other purpose, even by those who were allowed to vote for members? How dare they, then, go on to frame a Constitution, a law for all time, which is to be binding on those who elected them for the ends, and also on that large portion of the patriots and heroes—"unpardoned Rebels"—who were not allowed to vote at all? The pretension is without ground or precedent, until the present time of Radical assumption of power in a dominant military or numerical majority, without respect for rights or the Constitution. As far as they safely can, and wherever they can, the people ought to resist that pretension. This they can peacefully do, when called on and allowed to vote; and I trust they will do so on this occasion without commotion, in support of the great principle of human liberty—that a people have the right to make their own Constitution, and not be made subject to one imposed on them by force or fraud, by an extraneous power, or by a fraction of their fellow citizens."

The Chief Justice is right. Not a Rebel State has this day a lawful government. They are merely territories conquered by our arms from the "Confederate States of America." Why then did not Congress give them either territorial governments or enabling governments or enabling acts so that they could form State governments, and come into the Union with constitutions securing equal and impartial rights to every human being within their limits? Early in the session I introduced a bill to give them enabling acts on the true principles of republican government. It met with but little countenance. The republican mind had not examined, and was not ready to accept so radical a proposition. And so the session was spent in inaction. You may find my proposition together with the reasons for it in the last number of *The Globe*; I wish it might be copied into your excellent paper so that you may judge of it. I trust you will examine it well, so that you can inform us of its propriety. I shall renew it next session.

In my opinion, Congress was derelict in another particular. I have always held that while but few of the belligerents should suffer the extreme penalty of the law, yet that a sufficient fund should be levied out of their property to pay the expenses and damages of the war. Congress in July, 1862, declared all their property forfeited, and directed the President to seize it for the benefit of the United States; more than ten billions of property thus became vested in the United States. Proceedings against more than two billions of property, including the abandoned estates, had been instituted and were in progress. The President has restored to the owners nearly the whole of it. Thus has he illegally given away half enough to pay the National debt. He has enriched traitors at the expense of loyal men. And yet Congress, bold as it was, had not the courage to reverse these proceedings and compel the Executive to do his duty. I trust that our constituents will give us more courage, so that in the next session we may compel the President to do his duty and execute the laws.—There are measures which I frankly confess are obviously duplicate. But our crowning sin was the admission of your representatives and the right of suffrage in the Rebel States to the freedmen who had fought our battles. We have left them the victims of the Rebels who every day shoot them down in cold blood. At Memphis, 48 were murdered under the direction of the municipal authorities, and not a man possessed. Behold the awful slaughter of white men and black—of a Convention of highly respectable men, peacably assembled in Convention at New Orleans, which Gen. Sheridan pronounces more horrible than the massacre of Fort Pillow. Even the clergyman who opened the proceedings with prayer was cruelly murdered. All this was done under the sanction of Johnson and his office-holders. It is the legitimate consequence of his "policy."

I admit Congress became demagogical in the last hot days, when all manhood was melted out of everybody. They did some things to seduce the Fenians into our ranks. The measures were right, and so I voted for them. I will speak plainly on this subject.

The most effective argument (if argument it can be called) which will be hurled by our opponents is the effort made by the Republicans to give equal rights to every human being, even to the African. We shall hear repeated, ten thousand times, the cry, "Negro Equality!" The Radicals would thrust the negro into your parlors, your bedrooms, and the bosoms of your wives and daughters. They would even make your reluctant daughters marry black men. And then they will send up the grand chorus from every foul throat, "nigger," "nigger," "nigger!" "Down with the nigger party, we are for the white man's party." These unanswerable arguments will ring in every low bar room, and be printed in every blackguard sheet throughout a land whose fundamental maxim is "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL." Political preachers of this class consist of two or three different classes. The unprincipled brawling demagogue, possessed of some cunning but no conscience. Among those who have an unequal mixture of rogue and dupe are the low, ignorant, illiterate natives, as well as foreigners, who dwell about the purlieus of our towns and cities, and live by pilfering and "odd jobs."

The Protestant will listen to a devout sermon from the text "Of one blood made he all the nations of the earth," and go forth to the next political meeting to shout "down with the negro!" The Catholic will listen annually to the reading from the altar of the Pope's Bull denouncing slavery, and go forth to support the slavery party, and shout "Down with the negro."

What a shame that the countrymen of the Declaration of Independence; what a shame that the countrymen of the immortal O'Connell should ever cast a vote on the side of human bondage!

[Here follows a disgusting tirade of invective and abuse of the President.]

The President and his squad (it does not deserve the name of party) contend that the war made no changes in the condition of our institutions, under the Constitution. That the rights and liabilities of all our former citizens, Rebel as well as loyal, remain unchanged. This exhibits a most deplorable ignorance or culpable treachery. No great war between acknowledged belligerents ever left the condition and rights of the parties after the same as before, unless it were so stipulated by the treaty of peace. The war leaves them without compacts, without rights except the rights of war. When it is ended new treaties are to be made; or if one party submits the conqueror prescribes the future relative condition of the parties without regard to their relative condition before the war. The vanquished have no rights except what the conqueror grants. This is much more so, when one of the belligerents was composed of Rebels. You are aware that a convention of traitors was lately held in Philadelphia. Most of them had actually borne arms against the United States, and helped murder half a million of our citizens. A few sympathizers from the North, who ought to have been South, met with them. They extinguished the Democratic party and blotted its name from the vocabulary of parties. No Democratic party can henceforth exist.

They laid down an elaborate party creed or platform of principles for this conglomerate mass. Being traitors, they of course adopted the President's views.

Here is their fundamental article to which all the others conform. Mr. Raymond's address says:

"The Constitution of the United States is to-day precisely what it was before the war, the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. And to-day also as before the war all powers not conferred by the Constitution on the General Government nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the several States or the people thereof.

"The United States acquired no new power; no rights either territorial or of civil authority which it did not possess before the war broke out."

This strange, wild and wicked doctrine was unanimously adopted by the conclave. What! Six millions of Rebels who had renounced the Constitution, who had murdered five hundred thousand of our citizens, who had loaded the nation with debt and drenched it with blood, when conquered, had forfeited no right; had lost no jurisdiction or civil authority; and these conquerors had acquired none, because there was a Constitution which, while they obeyed, protected them, but which they had discarded and torn to pieces by war! Was there ever before a human brain frenzied enough to engender such folly; or a human front brazen enough to utter it? No principle in national law is clearer than that when belligerents inaugurate a war which is acknowledged to be a public war, all the former obligations, treaties and compacts between the parties become null and void; and after the war are to be renewed or repudiated as the parties agree, or as the conqueror decrees. If either party is utterly subdued his life, liberty and property are at the disposal of the victor. Why does not the Emperor of Austria say to the King of Prussia, "I lay down my arms, and all things will remain as before the war."—The Prussian would answer, "you are as big a fool as the President of America or the traitor's league." No, Sir. The war has changed everything—old treaties and leagues have ceased.—Venetia is no longer yours; Hanover and the Duchies are mine; and beside, you must pay the expenses of the war, $45,000,000. Who denies that this is the law of nations except the advocates of treason, who deny our right to make them pay the expenses of the war? They cry out against confiscation for crime, as if it were inhuman. God willing, I shall try it again, and see if they do not pay part of the cost and damages of the war before they help to make our laws. The constitution unchanged! Then slavery exists; then all the provisions with regard to the rendition of fugitives from labor remain—then every traitor has a right to sit down in Congress, as the representative of three fifths of all the slaves beside the whites. We can easily forgive the amiable and facile author of the declaration as he is no lawyer; is totally ignorant of the law of nations or the laws of war; but what shall we say of those able jurists who sat by and acquiesced; unless we put it upon the same ground that one of the ablest and best of them did when he advised to take a false oath to get a vote and then to break it.

But, fellow citizens, I am occupying too much ground.

As I said before, the great issue to be met at this election is the question of negro suffrage. I shall not deny, but admit, that a fundamental principle of the Republican creed is that every being possessing an immortal soul is equal before the law. They are not and cannot be equal in strength, height, beauty, intellectual and moral culture, or social acquirements; these are accidents which must govern their condition according to circumstances. But in this Republic, the same laws must and shall apply to every mortal, American, Indian, African, German or Turk. It is written by the finger of the ALMIGHTY LAW-GIVER, "Ye shall have one manner of laws, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country; for I am the Lord your God."

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS.

SAMUEL W. COLLINS & CO'S AXES, &c.

10 doz. Saml. W. Collins & Co's. Cast Steel Axes, Extra heavy.
10 " " " " " " Medium.
5 " " " " " " Turpentine.
10 " Va. Penitentiary Axes.
25 " Saml. W. Collins & Co's. 1 Horse Cast Steel Plows.
5 " " " " Two Horse.
Arriving at
B. P. WILLIAMSON & CO.
Sept 15-tf

CORN, CORN, CORN.

500 Bags, 1200 Bushels, prime White Corn. Arriving this day
B. P. WILLIAMSON & CO'S.
sept 15-tf

BACON, BACON, BACON.

2000 lbs. Choice S. C. Smoked Bacon,
2000 lbs. Prime " " " Shoulders,
1000 lbs. Choice " " " Hams,
500 lbs. Southampton Va., Hams,
500 lbs. " " pure Leaf Lard, in Kegs.
The above articles were specially selected for family use, and are warranted to give satisfaction.
B. P. WILLIAMSON & CO.
sept 15-tf

BAGGING, ROPE, & TWINE.

15 Bales Gunny Bagging,
2000 Yards Dundee,
100 Coils Baling Rope,
250 lbs. Baling Twine,
In store.
B. P. WILLIAMSON & CO.
sept 15-tf

BUCKETS, BROOMS, PAPER AND MATCHES.

50 doz. Painted Buckets,
10 doz. Brooms,
10 Reams Wrapping Paper,
50 Gross Parlor Matches.
Arriving to day
B. P. WILLIAMSON & CO.
sept 15-tf

CHOICE BRANDS OF FLOUR.

10 Barrels "Patapsco" Family Flour,
10 Half Bbls. " " "
10 " " " " "
10 Barrels "Chesapeake" " "
15 " " Orange Co. " "
10 Sacks N. C. "Gill Shot" Family Flour.
60 Bbls. Super Flour, different Brands.
All fresh and arriving.
B. P. WILLIAMSON & CO.
sept 15-tf

JORDAN & CARR,
Successors to Geo. R. Jones & Co.,
WHOLESALE & RETAIL DRUGGISTS.
125 Sycamore St.,
PETERSBURG, Va.,
DEAL IN
Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oils, Varnishes, Window Glass, Dye-Stuffs, Perfumery, Spices &c.
As they purchase their goods in person, or through their Agents residing at the North, exclusively for Cash and from first hands only, they can offer inducements equal to any *Jobbing House, North or South*. Merchants, Physicians, and others are earnestly invited to examine their Stock.
WALTER R. JORDAN, JOSEPH CARR.
sept 15-3m

1866. FALL TRADE 1866.

M'ILWAINE & CO.,
WHOLESALE DEALERS IN STAPLE & FANCY DRY GOODS.
No. 19 Sycamore Street,
Petersburg, Virginia,
TAKE PLEASURE IN INFORMING THEIR friends and the trade generally that the steady increase of their business has rendered it necessary for them to add two rooms to their Dry Goods Department, together with a large and convenient entrance from Tabb street, which arrangement gives them a most spacious salesroom, well lighted, and enables them by this increased accommodation to add largely to their Fall Supply.
They beg leave to invite particular attention to their extensive assortment of
Ready-Made Clothing,
made to order under the supervision of Mr. A. S. SHAFER, whose long experience in this department of business, in this city, has made him familiar with the wants of Merchants in Virginia and North Carolina. Anticipating a heavy Trade this Fall, their stock will be found unusually large, embracing a general assortment of
American and Foreign
STAPLE AND FANCY DRY GOODS,
together with a full line of
NOTIONS,
which having been purchased for cash, they have no hesitation in saying to the Trade, that they are prepared to offer such inducements as will insure satisfaction.
Capt. EDWARD GRAHAM and Mr. JOHN McKENZIE have charge of this Department, and will be pleased to exhibit our stock to buyers visiting this market.
McILWAINE & CO.
sept 15-3m

TRANSFER OF STOCK.

THE undersigned, executor of William B. Wise, deceased, late of the County of Hertford, N. C. gives notice that he will apply to the Circuit Court of the Corporation of Norfolk City, Va., at the term held next after the expiration of two months from the last publication of this notice, as required by law, for an order directing the transfer to him of the stock in said corporation, belonging to his testator and standing in his name at his death.
W. N. H. SMITH,
Ex'r of W. B. Wise,
Murfreesboro, N. C. Sep. 13-w3m

Important to Wheat Growers.

JUST received another supply of Baugh' Raw Bone Phosphate of Lime, in time for Wheat.
ALSO, Allen and Needles well known Fertilizer. All we ask to secure their general use is a trial.
Price of Baugh's—$56 for 2000 lb., and expenses.
Allen and Needles' $50.
Apply also for the purchase of Nitrate Peruvian Guano, on the best terms
JAMES M. TOWLES,
Sept 13-tf Agent.

Cranberry Rolled Oats in every description just received.
PULLIAM, JONES & CO.
sept 13-tf

Hilbert's celebrated Ale and Jones London Porter just received.
PULLIAM, JONES & CO.
sept 13-tf