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ELDER HARKNESS, & BINGHAM.

Nut for the Governor to Crack.

An act was approved on the 4th of May, 1861, which directed that the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, which had been borrowed from the Branch at Indianapolis of the State Bank of Indiana, by the Governor, Auditor, Treasurer and Secretary of State, "*upon their own private credit and responsibility,*" "to be expended for and in behalf of the State, in paying the expenses incurred in raising and sustaining troops in compliance with the requisition of the President," should be assumed by the Governor and paid out of the contingent fund of the Governor, appropriated by that General Assembly for the purpose of defraying the expenses of responding to the proclamation of the President of the United States for troops. An act was passed and approved May 6, 1861, appropriating the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expense of preparing to respond to the call of the President of the United States for troops.

It appears, from the act of May 4, 1861, that the parties named did not exactly borrow the twenty five thousand dollars "upon their own private credit and responsibility." "The Governor and other officers of State aforesaid, gave their promissory note for said sum of money, dated April 17, 1861, payable on demand to the order of C. L. STEVENSON, Cashier of said Branch Bank, with interest, and to *secure the payment* of said note, the said Auditor of State deposited in said Branch Bank five per cent. bonds of the State of Indiana, to the amount of "thirty thousand dollars." So it appears that the bank aforesaid did not loan the money on the private credit and responsibility of the Governor and other officers of State, but upon the security of thirty thousand dollars of the five per cent. bonds of the State of Indiana.

There is another point in reference to this loan of twenty five thousand dollars. The act assuming its payment by the State provided that the sum should be paid out of the Contingent Fund of the Governor appropriated by that General Assembly. One hundred thousand dollars were appropriated for a Contingent Fund for the Governor "to defray the expenses of preparing to respond to the call of the President of the United States for troops." The report of the Governor showing his disbursements of that fund does not state that this twenty-five thousand dollars was paid as directed by the General Assembly out of that fund. How was it paid, and what has become of the thirty thousand dollars of the five per cent. Bonds of the State?

From the New York Express, May 9.

Chancholy Results of an Arbitrary Arrest—One of the Accused Parties Loses his Reason.

A brief paragraph appeared in the Express of yesterday, headed "Cheering for Jeff. Davis," in which it was stated that Alexander Hutchings, a hotchman, and Henry Herner, had been arrested for cheering for Jeff. Davis in a public bar room and restaurant. Further particulars in regard to the case have since transpired, and as from the results illness of one of the accused parties, fatal results may attend the arrest, we deem it proper to lay all the facts before the public.

It appears that three parties named Alexander Hutchings, Henry Kerner and John March, were at a drinking saloon and eating-house down town, and that a wager was laid by one of the parties that he could drink the contents of a quart bottle of champagne at a draught. The champagne was opened and poured into a pitcher. The party who had made the wager, upon taking up the pitcher, exclaimed, "If this was Jeff. Davis himself, I could take it at a draught," and swallowed the champagne and won the bet. Mr. Hutchings and his companions applauded the drinker for his success in gaining the wager. Two parties named Charles A. Meigs and James W. Warren, catching the words "Jeff Davis," and hearing the applause almost immediately afterward, concluded the parties were uttering treasonable and disloyal sentiments, and hurried off to inform the police. The trio were taken to the police court, and from thence before Major General Wool, who, on the affidavit of Meigs and Warren, gave the orders for the parties to be sent at once to Fort Lafayette. They were locked up over night, and in the morning taken to the office of U. S. Marshal Murray, preparatory to going down the bay in custody of one of the Marshal's officers. Fortunately, friends appeared in time, counter affidavits were made—the accusers themselves upon being examined, were not quite sure of the words stated—and the parties were paroled until papers could be had from the War Department. The indignities to which these gentlemen were subjected, could easily have been borne by them, but more serious results are likely to follow. Mr. Hutchings now lies in his house, a nearly hopeless lunatic. During the whole of last night he was wildly delirious, talking incessantly of the prison bars, and having horrid visions of dungeons and racks that would make him scream out in agony. He is attended by the best physicians and may recover. The probabilities are, however, that he will entirely lose his reason. So that a trifling word, imperfectly understood by his accusers, and not uttered by himself, this young man may be the inmate of a lunatic asylum for a long time, while his accusers go unmolested, and all possessed of the power to make other indiscreet affidavits and subject others of their fellows to the terrible experiences that have fallen upon Mr. Hutchings.

☞ The illegal arrest of Mr. Vallandigham by order of General Burnside, at Cincinnati, is bearing such fruit as might be expected from it. Apparently admiring his example, a mob at Keokuk, Iowa, have kidnapped Mr. Henry Clay Dean, hold him, and announce their purpose to send him to the military authorities at St. Louis, Missouri, for trial! What next, in the name of common reason?

Views of a Southerner.

To the Editors of the Richmond Enquirer—

GENTLEMEN: I have been a subscriber to the Richmond Enquirer, since June, 1817. I shall presume on this long acquaintance, so far as to give expression to a few thoughts on the present perilous condition of our beloved Confederacy. Though unknowing and unknown, I take not less interest in its present and prospective destiny.

We are in the midst of a desolating war—whether wisely or foolishly begun, it is too late now to discuss. The question of successful resistance alone must occupy public attention. In view of the vast preparations of the enemy for our subjugation, it is a matter of grave astonishment that our public men should waste their time in clamoring and quibbling about State rights, habeas corpus, constitutional limitation, and all that. Why, sir, have they not yet realized the solemn truth that a war for self existence, as this is, is a suspension of all law, all gospel, all written constitutions, whenever and wherever they contravene our success? With the enemy at the door, these otherwise inestimable rights and blessings are placed in abeyance for the public welfare pendentelite. The great and paramount desideratum is how to conduct the war to a successful termination; to uphold that army in number, discipline and supplies is the *sine qua non* of our success; to wrangle and cavil about the means, is to trifle with the subject. The patient in the throes and agonies of death cannot wait the slow decision of your board of arbitrating doctors about the price of his recovery. Lee's army on the Rappahannock must perish, disband or fall back under the six weeks discussion of market prices, just compensation, &c. Was there ever such insanity on the part of legislators before? I am an old man, and must, therefore, speak plainly; the alarming exigencies of the times demand it; nothing can save us but that this Congress should clothe the President with full power over purse and sword to conduct this war to its conclusion. We no longer fight for shadows, but for substance; we care not for forms or names so we achieve our ends. Democratic assemblies are clogs upon our success; they have been eminently so this winter. It must have been obvious to any man of common sense, at the beginning, that this war would terminate in military despotism on both sides. From the very nature of the case it is inevitable, as the strife becomes more bitter and acrimonious each day; the struggle more and more doubtful, each will resort to the strongest measures for success. The Yankees have already adopted this policy; they care not for names, but for things; not for shadows, but practical results. They have merged all other questions in that of conquest; shall our statesmen set down with fettered limbs and calmly wait the concentrated attack of three millions of men, guided by one mind and sustained by one purse and sword? Democratic declamations about the inalienable rights of man and his capacity for self-government will not stay the alarm. This idolatrous worship of Democratic forms of Government has had its day; it is now a phase of past society, with the sardonic grin of death upon its face. It may do in times of peace and plenty, but when population presses upon the means of subsistence, when gastric disturbances no longer observe the nice distinctions between neum and tenum, all history attests its failure, and the necessity of some stern power to protect the minority from the majority.

If you think these suggestions have any value, you may use them as you please. The only remarkable feature about them is, they emanate rom a Democrat of forty years' standing.

SENEX.

From the New York Express.

Interesting Correspondence between an Editor and a Brigadier General on Order No. 9, etc.

Some days since, the editors of the Express received a letter from Brigadier General Milo S. Hascall, dated Indianapolis. Never having heard of this military gentleman, until his now famous Order No. 9 came out, we thought that when he sent us the following letter, somebody was making a fool of him and his profession, and therefore we wrote to inquire if the letter was genuine, or a forgery. In a scurrilous reply, he admits the letter to be genuine. We therefore publish the letter and our reply, which we have mailed for him, to-day:

To the Editors of the New York Express:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF INDIANA,
DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
Indianapolis, May 5, 1863.

GENTS: Some one has been kind enough to enclose me a slip from your paper containing a copy of my Order No. 9 and your remarks thereon. They are exceedingly witty and smart, and in your judgment, probably, dispose of the whole case. It may surprise you some to know that the order was issued after mature deliberation and consultation, and is being and will be carried out to the letter. It is fortunate for you that your paper is not published in my District.

Very truly yours,

MILO S. HASCALL.

AN EDITORIAL REPLY.

OFFICE OF THE N. Y. EXPRESS,
NEW YORK, May 14, 1863.

Milo S. Hascall, Brigadier Ganeral, &c., &c.:

SIR: I have waited for some days in order to ascertain, if, in the curious lottery of "Generals" drawn in Washington, it was possible, for even chance, to throw out such "a prize" and could indite a letter like yours of the 5th, to a journalist in a free State, living among a free people! A subsequent note, in reply to a polite one from me, merely asking "if it was genuine or forged," shows, in its scurrility, if in nothing else, that the first note was genuine.

"It is fortunate for you (Editors of the Express, you say,) that your paper is not published in MY District."

"It is fortunate for you," I may add, by way of comment, that this threat is not uttered in "MY District," for, if it were, the Grand Jury would indict you for threatening to disturb the peace, and the least punishment you could hope for would be "bound over," with sureties, "to keep that peace."

Your military Order, on which the New York Express commented freely, as it had a right to do, has in it this absurdity:

"All newspapers or public speakers that endeavor to bring the *war policy* of the Government into disrepute, will be considered as violating the Order No. 38 (General Burnside's.) * * * He who is so factiously and actively opposed to the war policy of the Administration is as much opposed to this Government," &c.

You labor, I see, under the not uncommon delusion with men of your military calibre, that the *Administration* is the GOVERNMENT, and that "*the war policy*" of the Administration is "THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND," not the Constitution of the United States. Or, in other words, that "No. 38," or "No. 9," is the Government of the United States. It may be very safe to labor under that delusion in Indiana just now, but it would not be safe to be deluded off by it, in New York. If you should forcibly interfere with the publication of the New York Express, a Sheriff only, on complaint, would arrest you, or, if you did not respect his writ, the *posse comitatus* would aid him, or, if that were resisted, the military power of the State, under Horatio Seymour, as Commander-in-Chief, would indirect a place in the Tombs for Brigadier General Milo S. Hascall, "Headquarters District of Indiana," &c.

Whether order "No. 38" and "No. 9," extend to Missouri or not, I cannot say; but if they do, you will find full field for action upon them in a large meeting of German radicals, held in the city of St. Louis, on the 10th inst., where the General in Chief of the army of the United States, Gen. Halleck, and the "war policy of the Administration," or "the Government," are very bitterly assailed, and brought into excessive "disrepute;" or if more particularly you should prefer to try and test "No. 38," or "No. 9," in New York, you will find in a Convention of Garrisonian and Wendell Phillips Abolitionists abundant material of all kinds, not only bringing the Administration, war policy, but even President Lincoln into this "disrepute."

But permit me, in closing, most respectfully to suggest that you forget the land you live in, and the people you are trying to affright. Indianapolis, even, is not yet Constantinople, and New York is not yet a slave State. Besides, sir, if you have surplus military talent yet undeveloped, would it not be wiser first to flesh your maiden sword in the field, upon the enemies of your country, before you distinguish yourself as a Jailor or executioner?

I am, sir, most respectfully yours,

JAMES BROOKS.

From the Richmond Enquirer, April 11.

United States "Democrats."

The strife of parties in that country which bounds the Confederacy on the North, are, strictly speaking, nothing to us. Thank God! we have washed our hands of them, forever. Yet there is a certain malignant satisfaction in seeing that the "Democrats" of those States are to be left at the mercy of their enemies, the philanthropists. They are to experience a little what that philanthropy amounts to in the case of white men. Hard on the heels of the Republican triumph in Rhode Island, comes the Republican triumph in Connecticut. That Mr. Seymour, who cried peace! peace! when there was no peace—he, and all his clan, are thrust aside, and abolition and war flourish rampant in New England. In Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, the municipal elections are reported; all for war, abolition, extermination. It is an overwhelming rebuke to Vallandigham and those whom they nickname "copperheads"—whom we prefer to call blockheads. Blockheads in the most wooden sense of the term; for their whole movement depended upon the silly imagination that their olive branch would be hailed with delight at the South, and act like a magic wand in bringing to life again the dead old "Democratic party," *with us in it.* A blunder is a crime; so let the blockheads suffer the penalty. They thought, when they denounced Lincoln as an "usurper," and called on conservative men to overturn his Government, that Confederates would take the invitation as addressed to them, and fly to aid the Democrats in reconstructing the old Government, with guarantees, pledges and oaths. And, singular to see, the Confederates look on with sneering indifference! We care not if Lincoln is an "usurper;" do not in fact believe he is; for if we have read aright the history of the country, he was regularly elected President; and all parties have since placed themselves and their Constitution at his feet, and made him their gracious and impartial master. We have the honor to wish them joy! As for their guarantees, pledges and oaths, we must really be excused; we have tried all that once too often.

Not that we can say that it is altogether indifferent to us—as being alien enemies of that country, and engaged in actual war with it—what men and what party may control its government, and carry on the war against us. In this point of view we have some interest in the affair; and avow ourselves well pleased that the philanthropic, subjugating, exterminating, and *anti-Union* party is to govern the United States; at least until we have done with them. It has been already made sufficiently plain—even without the declarations of Conway and the New York Tribune—even independently of the robber Butler's theory of the war, as expounded to an applauding audience of New York—that the Abolitionists have given up all idea of the Union, and breathe only slaughter and conquest and confiscation. Give us the open foe, always! Him we know how to meet; but defend us from the treacherous enemy who asks for armistice, "negotiation," the power of "reason," conciliation and *compromise!* Ah! we know too well what their negotiation and reason mean, they mean intrigue, bribery, "spoils," "log rolling." (Once more we beg the reader's pardon for employing this Yankee slang, which, like the ideas it expresses, ought to be left to our enemies exclusively,) and for a time we trembled lest those ancient Democratic allies of ours, who cheated us into *compromises* for many a year, should again have some chance of taking possession of their Government, and should lay forth their tempting wares, which they call reason and negotiation. We feared it, because we have here also a few copperheads and blockheads, (alas! that we should say so,) and if those ancient snake-charmers, the Democrats, had come in, the rogues might have charmed our copperheads and seduced our blockheads. Now that we are sure they are effectually shut out, and the affairs of their country are to be in the hands of our worthy friends, the philanthropists, (*nos amis les annemis,*) why our reconstructionists will be ashamed and will hide their heads of copper. Our blockheads will have a chance to grow wise. Even our cowards will be brave.

Thank Heaven, it is open war, and war to the knife.

Gen. Hascall's Order—Mr. Edgarton's Response.

Having published the letter of Gen. Hascall, in response to the one from Hon. J. K. Edgarton, asking for explanations of certain parts of Order No. 9, we to-day, as a matter of justice, publish the reioinder of Mr. Edgarton, to the letter of Gen. Hascall. It will be seen that Mr. Edgarton protests with considerable acerbity against the restrictions which Gen. Hascall seeks to place upon the discussion of political questions within the limits of his Military District.

While we have every disposition to assist the authorities to the extent of our power in keeping down unnecessary and intemperate political wrangling during the pendency of the war, we cannot but think that some of our Generals have used language in their orders and letters on this subject, the tendency of which will be rather to aggravate than cure the evil of which they complain. The people of the United States have become so accustomed to full and free discussion of all questions of a public character, that it will be found difficult, we apprehend, to convince them that there is now a necessity to discontinue, absolutely, all discussion of the great questions in which the humblest citizen, as well as the highest civil or military officer, is interested.

Nor do we understand that it is the intention of the military authorities to prevent such discussion in a temperate manner, but merely to discountenance and stop that sort of wordy eloquence which, while accomplishing no good purpose, tends, in times of civil danger, to inflame and irritate and bring about collisions among our people, thus holding out encouragement and hope to the public enemy, the tendency of which is to prolong the war and incite the Rebels to greater efforts. We are the more inclined to believe that this is the correct interpretation of the views of our commanding Generals from a sentence in Gen. Burnside's response to the United States Court at Cincinnati, in the case of Vallandigham. Speaking of the press and public speakers, Gen. B. says:

"There is no party—no community—no State Government—no State legislative body—no corporation or body of men that have the power to inaugurate a war policy that has the validity of law and power but the constituted authorities of the Government of the United States; and I am determined to support their policy. If the people do not approve that policy, they can change the constitutional authorities of that Government at the proper time and by the proper method. Let them freely discuss the policy in a proper tone; but my duty requires me to stop licensed and intemperate discussion which tends to weaken the authorities of the Government and army; whilst the latter is in the presence of the enemy it is cowardly so to weaken it."

This clearly indicates that Gen. Burnside does not intend to interfere with or put a stop to a moderate and temperate discussion of political questions. In this view we are confirmed by an article which appears in the Cincinnati Commercial, and which doubtless meets the approbation of Gen. Burnside. Says the Commercial:

"It seems to us there is nothing in the celebrated Order 38 which should disturb the feelings of any loyal man. It is not designed to abridge the liberty of the individual, where that liberty is not used to the detriment of the Government. It is not General Burnside's wish or intention to interfere with political organizations, or their leaders, unless they are the direct or the indirect instruments and aids of the rebellion. There will be no interference with temperate and candid discussions of the acts and measures of the Administration, or the organization of a party which has for its object a change of Administration. But where men, in the pursuit of these objects, assail the existing Administration in violent and incendiary language, and present arguments for the consideration of the people, whose practical results can be nothing but violent opposition to the enforcement of the laws, and particularly to the Conscription Act, they make themselves obnoxious to the restrictions of the order, and need not be surprised if the military arm is laid heavily upon them."

These are the views of Gen. Burnside, and we presume those of Gen. Hascall do not materially vary from them. They are such as we have ever acted upon in the conduct of this journal, and which we firmly believe are those best calculated to restore peace and the Union. Temperate discussion, at the proper time, will not weaken the authority of the Government, or give aid to the Rebels, while at the same time it prevents discontent at home; intemperate discussion inflames the passions unduly; while a total suppression of discussion sets men to brooding and plotting in secret, the final result of which, experience tells us, is civil convulsions and terrible excesses.—[New Albany Ledger.

From the South—The Death of "Stonewall" Jackson—The Spoils of Victory.

The Richmond Enquirer, of May 13th, says:

Gen. Jackson having gone some distance in front of the line of skirmishers, on Saturday evening, was returning about 8 o'clock, attended by his staff and a part of his couriers. The cavalcade was, in the darkness of night, mistaken for a body of the enemy's cavalry, and fired upon by a regiment of his own troops. He was struck by three balls—one through the left arm, two inches below the shoulder joint, shattering the bone and severing the chief artery. Another ball passed through the same arm, between the elbow and the wrist, making its exit through the palm of the hand. A third ball entered the palm of the right hand, about its middle, passing through and breaking two bones. He was wounded on the plank road, about fifty yards in advance of the enemy. He fell from his horse, and was caught by Capt. Wormley, to whom he remarked, "All my wounds are by my own men." He had given orders to fire at anything coming up the road, before he left the lines. The enemy's skirmishers appeared ahead of him, and he turned to ride back. Just then some one cried out, "Cavalry, charge," and immediately the regiment fired. The whole party broke forward to ride through our line, to escape the fire. Capt. Boswell was killed, and carried through the line by his horse, and fell among our own men. Col. Coachfield, Chief of Staff, was wounded by his side. Two couriers were killed. Major Pendleton and Lieuts. Morrison and Smith escaped uninjured.

Gen. Jackson was immediately carried on a litter, and started for the rear. The firing attracted the attention of the enemy, and was resumed by both lines. One of the litter-bearers was shot down, and the General fell from the shoulders of the men, receiving a severe contussion, adding to the injury of his arm—injuring his side severely.

The enemy's fire of artillery at this point was terrible. Gen. Jackson was left for five minutes until the fire slackened, then placed in an ambulance and carried to the field hospital at Wilderness Run. He lost a large amount of blood, and at one time told Dr. McClure he thought he was dying, and would have to bleed to death, but a tourniquet was immediately applied. For two hours he was nearly pulseless from the shock. After the re action, a consultation was held between Drs. Black, Coleman, Wall and McClure, and amputation was decided upon. He was asked "If we found amputation necessary shall it be done at once?" He replied "Yes, certainly.. Dr. McClure, do for me whatever you think is right." The operation was performed while he was under the influence of chloroform, and was borne well.

He slept on Sunday morning, was cheerful, and in every way was doing well. He sent for Mrs. Jackson, inquired very minutely about the battle, spoke cheerfully of the result, and said "If I not been wounded, or had I had an hour more of daylight, I would have cut off the enemy from the road to the United States Ford, and we would have had them entirely surrounded, and they would have been obliged to surrender or cut their way out. They had no other alternative. My troops may sometimes fail in driving the enemy from a position, but the enemy always fail to drive my men from a position." This was said smilingly.

He complained this day of the fall from the litter, although no contusion or abrasion was apparent as the result of the fall. He did not complain of his wounds—never spoke of them unless asked.

On Sunday evening, he slept well.

On Monday, he was carried to Chancellor's house, near Guiness' Depot. About daylight, the Surgeon was awakened by the boy saying, "The General is in great pain." The pain was in the right side, and due to incipient pneumonia, and some nervousness, which he himself attributed to the fall from the litter.

On Thursday, Mrs. Jackson arrived, greatly to his joy and satisfaction, and she faithfully nursed him to the end.

By Thursday evening, all pain had ceased. He suffered greatly from prostration.

On Monday morning, when it was apparent that he was rapidly sinking, Mrs. Jackson was informed of his condition. She then had a free and full conversation with him, and told him he was going to die. He said, "Very good, very good. It is all right." He had previously said, "I consider these wounds a blessing. They were given me for some good and wise purpose. I would not part with them, if I could."

During his delirium, he frequently expressed to his Aids his wish that Major General Ewell should be ordered to command his corps. His confidence in Gen. Ewell was very great, and the manner in which he spoke of him showed that he had duly considered the matter.

The Richmond Whig of May 12, says:

From every side, we hear that the spoils left by Hooker's army exceed those on any previous battle-field, not excepting the engagements around Richmond. Not only an immense number of small arms, variously estimated from thirty-thousand to fifty thousand, but an almost infinite quantity of overcoats, knapsacks, caps and blankets.

What the Czar Teaches us by Example.

Alexander of Russia, the most absolute monarch of the civilized world, ruler over the most vast and powerful Government of christendom, deigns to offer to treat with rebels in arms. Even in the hour of victory, with the leader of the Polish rebellion in prison, he offers amnesty and promises to respect the fundamental principles of good government. This offer was sent out from St. Petersburg on the 31st of March. It is in substance and form a "proclamation." It is a proclamation that will reflect honor upon him while the world revolves. Declaring his firm determination to suppress disorder, he also declares his determination to respect the lawful rights of his rebellious people. And what is more, he promises to yield all the essential rights demanded. What more noble and liberal from such a source than this paragraph:

On us lies the duty to guard the country from the return of all agitations opposed to order, and to open to it a new era in its political life. These can only be introduced by a rational organization of the powers of local self-government as the basis of the entire structure.

Americans have little respect for the general principles upon which the Government of Russia is based. But this offer of amnesty will win the applause of the world, and do more to permanently suppress that rebellion than a thousand Russian regiments. It proves, too, that even kings and emperors sometimes respect the rights of their subjects, and gain strength and honor by so doing.

It is a pity that this spirit does not more patently actuate our own rulers. There are no such proclamations of amnesty here. We get no decrees from Washington promising "local self-government" in the future to Rebel States. We see no evidences of that spirit of conciliation accompanied by positive declarations of a determination to impartially execute the laws which distinguished the action of Jackson thirty years ago. Instead of these we have proclamations of confiscation, proclamations suspending the fundamental law of both sections of the Union; proclamations to abolish forever the social institutions of nearly one half the States; official letters threatening the North, and official speeches proposing to hang some of the noblest and most loyal statesmen of the land—all of which, as even Kings know, tend directly to strengthen rebellion and rob the real friends of the Government in the rebellious States of the last motive for loyalty.

In dealing with rebellion, can we learn no lesson from Czars, Emperors and Kings?—[Milwaukee News.

☞ We print in another part of this paper a manly letter from Hon. Mr. Edgerton, Representative in Congress from the Fort Wayne, Indiana, District, to Gen. Hascall, the military commander of that State.

It seems to us that it is now the duty of every Democrat to join Mr. Edgerton in asserting the supremacy of the Constitution and laws, and in this regard we look with great interest to the Democratic Mass Convention to be held at Indianapolis on the 20th inst.—[Chicago Times.

☞ Hon. A. J. Douglas, Senator from Huntington and Whitley counties, was arrested at Crestline, Ohio, where he has been for some time on a visit with his family. His offense was the speaking plainly his opinions on the conduct of the war, in a speech made at Crestline—for free speech is now considered an offense by our military rulers.—[Fort Wayne Sentinel.

The Mass Convention!

IMMENSE OUTPOURING OF THE PEOPLE!

75,000 Democrats in Council!

THEY ARE UNANIMOUS!!

Speeches by Voorhees, Merrick, McDonald and Eden.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED!

The Mass Convention of the Democracy of Indiana assembled at the Capital on the 20th, exceeded by thousands any political meeting that ever gathered in the State. The lowest estimate we have heard placed upon the crowd, by those who are accustomed to note large masses of people, was 75,000, and many contend that it was in excess of that number. It was a gathering of the freemen of Indiana, the major part of them the owners and tillers of the soil.

The morning was beautiful, and early the streets were thronged. From the neighboring counties vast crowds came in their own conveyances, and encamped in the outskirts of the city the night previous. The trains of the day before were also filled, and without the excursion trains the crowd would have been immense; but when the long lines of cars from the different roads disgorged their freight of freemen, the streets were almost blocked with the living mass.

The military commandant had taken alarm, or had thought that some precautionary means was necessary, and early in the morning the troops at the various camps were placed on duty. A regiment of infantry in full marching order was posted in the Governor's Circle, and two pieces of artillery were placed to sweep the streets leading to it. A twelve pounder was placed opposite the Headquarters so as to rake Virginia avenue, and a company of soldiers stacked arms at the point where that thoroughfare debouches into Washington street. Another company stacked arms at the junction south, of Delaware and Washington streets. It is needless to say that no person was suffered to pass these points without especial permission. A section of a battery with an infantry support was placed at the new Arsenal east of the city, and two guns were placed ranging on the speakers' stand at the State House, supported by a squadron of cavalry, concealed by the buildings.

We have particularly noticed the disposition of the military force to show the skill that presides over the destinies of the free people of Indiana.

At at early hour the east side of the State House Square, where the stand was erected, was densely packed with an anxious crowd, and the streets leading to it were also thronged.

The people exhibited a commendable spirit of patience in waiting for the organization in the uncomfortable position they were forced to occupy. It was 11 o'clock when the meeting was called to order by THOS. DOWLING, Esq., of Vigo, a member of the State Central Committee.

The organization was effected as follows:

President—Hon. Dan'l W. Voorhees, of Vigo.

Vice President—Robert Lowry, of Elkhart.

Secretaries—Samuel R. Hamil, of Sullivan, and James W. Vawter, of Jennings.

Mr. Voorhees, on taking the stand, was received with loud and long continued cheers. He said that he would return his thanks for the honor done him in selecting him to preside over such a vast assemblage, when the business organization was completed.

Mr. Hendricks then moved the appointment of a committee of three from each Congressional District, to prepare resolutions for the Convention, which was adopted by acclamation, and the President announced the committee as follows:

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Solomon Claypool, Chairman.

First District.—Wm. E. Niblack, of Knox; Michael F. Bulk, of Davis; M. J. Carnahan, of Posey.

Second District.—Henry Comingore, of Orange; John F. Read, of Clarke; A. L. Hardin, of Washington.

Third District.—James E. Hester, of Brown; S. H. Buskirk, of Monroe; A. B. Carleton, of Lawrence.

Fourth District.—George Berry, of Franklin; James B. Foley, of Decatur; Robert Sproule, of Rush.

Fifth District.—Lafe. Develin, of Wayne; James Elder, of Wayne; John S. Reid, of Fayette.

Sixth District.—A. B. Conduit, of Morgan; Thomas W. Woolen, of Johnson; Fred. Rand, of Marion.

Seventh District.—John G Davis, of Parke; Andrew Humphreys, of Greene; Solomon Claypool, of Vigo.

Eighth District.—Harris Reynolds, of Fountain; James F. Harney, of Montgomery. J. C. Applegate, of Carroll.

Ninth District.—P. M. Kent, of White; S. A. Hall, of Cass; George F. Seymour, of Laporte.

Tenth District.—A. P. Edgerton, of Allen; S. W. Spratt, of DeKalb; E. V. Long, of Kosciusko.

Eleventh District.—Samuel McCaughey, of Huntington; James Jackson, of Wabash; C. J. Barker, of Madison.

The following letters from Hon. George H. Pendleton of Ohio, and Hon. W. A. Richardson of Illinois, were then read:

CINCINNATI, MAY 19, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I cannot be with you at the Convention to-morrow. My duty here detains me. Vallandigham was yesterday ordered to be confined in Fort Warren during the war. The very stones of that fortress will soon learn, I think, to remonstrate against the uses to which they are being put.

Mr. Seward in one of his dispatches to Mr. Adams in November last, in explaining Democratic victories, said: "In this country especially, it is a habit not only entirely consistent with the Constitution, but even essential to its stability, to regard the Administration at any time existing as distinct and separable from the Government itself, and to canvass the proceedings of the one without the thought of disloyalty to the other. We might possibly have had quicker success in suppressing the insurrection, if this habit could have rested a little longer in abeyance; but on the other hand, we are under obligations to save not only the integrity or unity of the country, but also its inestimable and precious Constitution. No one can safely say that the resumption of the previous popular habit does not tend to this last and most important consummation, if at the same time, as we confidently expect, the Union itself shall be saved."

Do you remember Webster's indignation at an attempt to check freedom of discussion?

"It is the ancient and undoubted prerogative of this people to canvass public measures and the merits of public men. It is a 'house bred right,' a fireside privilege. It hath been enjoyed in every house, cottage and cabin in the nation. It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air or walking on the earth. Belonging to the private life as a right, it belongs to public life as a duty, and it is the last duty which those whose representative I am shall find me to abandon. Aiming at all times to be courteous and temperate in its use, except when the right itself is questioned, I shall place myself on the extreme boundary of my right and bid defiance to any arm that would move me from my ground.

The high constitutional privilege I shall defend and exercise within this house and in all places; in times of peace, in times of war, and at all times. Living, I shall assert it; and should I leave no other inheritance to my children, by the blessing of God I will leave them the inheritance of free principles and the example of a manly, independent and constitutional defense of them."

And yet with Mr. Seward's dispatch before them, the Administration sends Vallandigham to Fort Warren, because he made a speech canvassing the proceedings and motives of its various members, and disputing the wisdom of its policy—this is his offense, and none other.

Truly your friend,

GEORGE H. PENDLETON.

HON. DANIEL W. VOORHEES,
Indianapolis, Ind.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS, May 17th, 1863.

My Dear Sir: The severe illness of Mrs. Richardson, will deny me the pleasure of being with you at the Mass Meeting at Indianapolis, as I had hoped to be.

Since my return from the East, her sickness has prevented me from participating in the canvass of public affairs except in my own neighborhood, and for the last two days I have not been able to leave her bed side for more than a few hours at a time. This will, I know, be sufficient excuse for me.

I hope the meeting may aid the cause of our country and of civil liberty.

I am, truly,

W. A. RICHARDSON.

J. J. BINGHAM, Esq.,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

MR. VOORHEES' SPEECH.

[REPORTED BY CHARLES W. STAGG.]

Mr. Voorhees said:

My Democratic Fellow Citizens of the State of Indiana:

For the distinguished honor which you have just conferred upon me in calling me to accept this elevated position, I return to you my sincere and heartfelt thanks. At such a time and under such circumstances as those which surround this hour, to be called upon to preside over such an assemblage as the one before me, is an honor to be remembered to the latest hour of life and to be treasured up as one of the highest, proudest distinctions ever conferred by my fellow citizens. From a grateful heart, a heart often deeply touched by the kindness of my countrymen, I thank you.

We meet to-day in accordance with the time-honored custom of political parties since the foundation of this Government. There is nothing new in this assembly. We meet as our fathers met before us; we meet for the high and holy purpose of taking part in the discussion of those matters which relate to the welfare of a Government formed and created, and governed by the people. We do not recognize the fact that anything has occurred or can occur to divorce the people of Indiana from an interest in public affairs. We do not admit that the Democratic party is in any manner ostracised from a participation in matters of government.

Holding the Constitution of my country in my hand, I declare that this is a lawful assembly, lawful in purpose and lawful in act. In this great document I read that it is an inalienable right of the people peacably to assemble and ask for a redress of grievances. No sadder grievances ever befell the children of men than those which afflict the people of the United States at this time. Confusion and disorder darken the sky; the very earth is laden with the sorrow of our people; the voice of woe and lamentation goes up from every portion of our distracted country; the angel of death has spread his wings on the blast, and there has been no sacred blood sprinkled upon the door posts of our homes to stay the hand of the destroyer. It is in such a time, my countrymen, that we meet according to the plain precepts of the Constitution, to ask the Administration to redress those grievances which bear so heavily upon us, and return speedily to the policy inaugurated by the fathers of our Government—that policy which made us a happy, united and fraternal people.

Such being our objects, who shall tell us we shall not meet? Where is the power that shall interfere with, or prevent us from peacably exercising our plain constitutional rights? I, for one, plant myself upon the Constitution of my country; it is the rock on which I built the church of my political faith, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

Having thus peacably assembled, according to the plain precepts of the Constitution, we are met, however, at the very threshold by an issue which we cannot avoid, an issue which it is out of our power to ignore for a single moment. We are met with a plain, palpable and audacious denial of the liberty of speech. And when thus met what shall we do? What shall we say? I turn again to the Constitution—to the rock on which the the Temple of Liberty is built—and ask what does that Constitution say? What it says you, fellow citizens, and I are willing to do. It is the rule of our conduct and we know no other. It is a safe guide in all cases; it leads us over no uncertain grounds; it has been tried. The Constitution is all we want; we will have it as it is, without any additions or subtractions. When I am met with a denial of the right of free speech, I will come to the Constitution and ask what it says. It says that Congress, which is the only legislative power known to the Government, shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. Thus saith the book. Let that be true, though all the world be a liar. If the Congress of the United States cannot, under the Constitution, pass any law interfering with the freedom of speech, can anybody else do it? No. This is the house of my refuge. Hither we will come for safety; we will lay hold of the very horns of the altar, and in the name of American liberty, and with a firm reliance upon a just God, bid defiance to our persecutors.

I ask that this book may speak again in our favor. It says that the Constitution and laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land. There is, there can be no higher law than the supreme law. You cannot go above it. You can not escape this conclusion. One of the perilous evils that now unhappily beset us as a nation, consists simply in this fact, that years ago a party arose in the country proclaiming to the world a higher law than the Constitution. I tell you, that in my judgment he who proclaims that doctrine, and in the next breath swears to sustain the Constitution, is perjured in the sight of God and man. The Constitution is the supreme law. It provides for the maintenance of these great rights of freedom—free speech—a free press—and who shall take them away from us?

Yet, my fellow-citizens, in the face of this fact, we have been told, here in Indiana, not merely that public discussion was in general terms prohibited; but we have even been told what particular measures of public policy, we shall not discuss. I am not going to descend into particulars upon this point, but I will tell you this, that the Democratic party will discuss the tax bill and the internal revenue policy; (for you have the money to pay;) it will discuss the confiscation act and the President's emancipation policy. These measures effect the best interests of the white man, and the peace and security of the Government for generations to come. To discuss them is our undeniable right. I plant my feet upon the Constitution and solemnly declare, in behalf of myself and the great Democratic party, that we will never surrender to any