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**ELDER, HARKNESS, & BINGHAM**

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## THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

### Curious and Sarcastic Letter of Emerson Ethelridge.

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1863

GENTLEMEN: I have just received your letter of the 7th inst., inviting me, in behalf of the Washington Union Club of Memphis, to join in a public celebration of the anniversary of the surrender of that city to the Federal arms. You also speak kindly of my past efforts to induce the people of West Tennessee to consent cheerfully to "the restoration of the national authority through out the South."

If I believed that by meeting you on the occasion referred to, I could be of service to a single honest, law-abiding citizen or truly repentant Rebel, or that I could contribute to the least extent in ending the war and restoring the blessings of peace under the Constitution, I would certainly attend; but I have no such faith in myself, and therefore I shall not go.

In your letter you express the opinion that, by a "direct personal appeal," I might "encourage the loyal or reclaim the disloyal." I confess my astonishment at such a statement; and I can attribute this opinion of yours to nothing but a failure on your part to comprehend the masterly policy of our great and good President and the wise statesmen who aid him in shaping and directing the civil policy of the Government. When you have fully studied and understood the grand purposes of our most God-fearing and law-abiding President; when you are more familiar with the profound military strategy which, as "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," he is now displaying; and when you further remember the astonishing success we have had in reclaiming our "misguided countrymen" and in conquering our "wayward sisters," I shall be amazed if you continue to believe it necessary to "encourage the loyal" or "reclaim the disloyal." Why encourage the loyal? Is it possible they need encouragement in Memphis, when, for nearly a year, you have been inside the Federal lines; when every night tattoo is substituted for "Hush, my baby, don't you cry," and at reveille "Hail Columbia" arouses the people to a consciousness of the great security which is afforded to the property of the loyal people in Memphis and "all the country round that (political) Jordan?" How can you or I "encourage the loyal," when our matchless President, the late Congress, his sage counsellors and his peerless military subordinates have already done and promised all which wisdom can suggest, which our sacred Constitution authorizes, and which the Christian religion tolerates or approves? There remains nothing for us to do, unless it be to obey our incomparable President in all his wise measures to conquer a glorious peace. True, we have among us croakers and copperheads—silly, brainless men—who are so unwise and unpatriotic as to question the wisdom of our indefatigable President. If you have any such in Memphis you should at once denounce them as in sympathy with the Rebels; you should send them to their friends "down South" or to the Dry Tortugas, which is understood by many to be a place where everybody is tortured with a thirst for rifle whisky, and not a drop can be obtained. No good Union man will complain of the conduct of the wise men who direct our public affairs. They should be taught to remember that *scandalum magnatum* was formerly a high crime—it is a most heinous offense now—and nothing saves such copper colored wretches but the Christian charity of our most pious President.

At the proposed meeting you should so arrange matters as to secure a list of all who fail to attend or omit to render a suitable apology, and you should adopt resolutions of the most "loyal" kind. Allow me to suggest that the committee on resolutions be selected from contractors and office holders. I particularly suggest one Cooper, who has recently been appointed assessor for the large, rich and populous district of West Tennessee. He was originally from New York. True, he was never in West Tennessee until sent from this city on his official errand; but he no doubt knows by intuition the true value of the goods and chattels, lands and tenements, &c., &c., of a people he never knew and a country in which he never lived. But he is so loyal—so much so that I doubt not he is better fitted for the office than any one of the native born sons, brothers or fathers of the thousands of soldiers who, before the 22d of last September, West Tennessee had furnished to the Federal army. Let the committee imitate the "Loyal Leagues" of Baltimore, and resolve that you not only approve all the present wise and patriotic Administration has done, but that you will sustain and uphold it in everything it may hereafter do. Let the committee make an elaborate report, accompanied with resolutions denouncing all who find fault with our most excellent President. For instance: The last Congress (in July, 1862) passed a law to confiscate the property of certain Rebels. That Congress, though a very wise body, did not possess as much aggregate wisdom as our great and good President. In proof of this we need but refer to the fact that the Congress aforesaid provided that, under this law, trial should precede conviction and forfeiture, and that guilt should be proven, not presumed. Worse still: it offered an amnesty to repentant Rebels; it mercifully gave them sixty days in which to accept it; and provided, further, that our most noble President might suspend for a period the operation of this law as our armies advanced southward, so as to afford all an opportunity to accept pardon. Worse still: this law actually applied to no one but the Rebels. And it is astonishing that it applied to them everywhere, North as well as South—in Springfield, Illinois, as well as Springfield, Tennessee.

But, worse still, it did not effect the rights or property of Union men, women and children, or lunatics, in any section of the country. That Congress, strange as it may seem, did not perceive that the way to end the rebellion and restore affectionate relations between the sections was to place the Union men, women and children and the insane upon a perfect footing of equality with the vilest traitors in the land. That Congress believed that the crime of refusing obedience to the usurpation of Davis & Co., in Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina and elsewhere, amid the terrors of a military despotism, did not merit the same or worse punishment than that they had denounced against titled and official traitors. That Congress spared the women and children; it also shielded from harm the Union men who still adhered to the national symbol of protection. What weakness! But Congress has adjourned. What was to be done? Thank Heaven, our sagacious President was found equal to the occasion. You will percieve that on the 1st of January last, under this so-called Confiscation Law, the slaves of every Rebel in the United States who had not accepted the amnesty therein provided, were *de jure* free. But how were we to end this rebellion if then Union men, women and children in the so-called Confederate State were left in undisturbed possession of all their legal and constitutional rights? If this policy were adopted, the Rebels might become angry with these "monuments of Federal mercy," and in that event the spared monuments aforesaid might cling more closely to the Federal flag. This division among the people might cause a still more unhappy state of affairs in Dixie; our friends there might have to bear additional indignities. As before remarked, our merciful and considerate President was found equal to the crisis.

In a long conversation with some inspired apostles from the saintly city of Chicago—a place where Onderdonking and other worldly amusements are unknown—the President candidly confessed that he was endeavoring (he did not state the means) to ascertain the will of the Lord upon this difficult question; that so soon as he learned the Divine pleasure, he verily would do the will of the Master who sent him. The revelation came doubtless "by due course of mail." Judging from "that which is written," it amounted to this: that in a portion of Virginia and Louisiana, in Delaware, in Maryland, in Tennessee and Missouri, it was lawful for traitors who had accepted the amnesty provided by the Confiscation law, and all other persons, to hold slaves; but that in the tidewater regions of Virginia, and in that part of Louisiana which had not been consecrated to slavery, by the military occupation of Gen. Butler, as also in North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas, it should no longer be lawful for the Union men, women and children, to hold our African fellow citizens to service or labor. And yet there are those of the "copperhead persuasion" who profess not to see the wisdom of this great master stroke of our most noble and exalted President. Sirs, did it not immediately divide the South and unite the North? Were not our camps forthwith crowded with countless myriads of bold and ardent recruits? Have not "our American brethren of African descent" crowded by thousands into our ranks, inspiring our soldiers with a wild enthusiasm and rendering night vocal with the songs of enfranchised Dinahs and mewing and puking Sambos, and have not our arms been victorious everywhere since the dawn of the negro millenium of 1863?

I know that men like General M. Brayman, who commands in your vicinity (at Bolivar, Tennessee,) are guilty of absurdities of speech which afford the enemies of our sagacious President excuses for complaint and criticism. For instance, on the 14th of last March, that officer then in command at Bolivar, wrote as follows in regard to the proclamation of freedom with which our illustrious and far-seeing President greeted the advent of the new year. "The loyal man is equally helpless with the disloyal; in fact, more so: for the Rebel takes his slaves South, or hires them in the army in which he himself serves, whilst the slaves of loyal men flee to our camps, beyond reclamation. Under this process, the Rebel holds his slaves by carrying them into a State in which they are declared free, while the law abiding citizen loses his by retaining them in a State where it is lawful to hold them. As it is now, the loyalty and good conduct of these men avail them nothing."

In speaking of the elevating effects of this system upon our armies and the negroes, Gen. Brayman shocks our sensibilities by the use of language as this: "Their expense to the Government is enormous. It requires soldiers to guard them. They sicken and die in crowded and filthy corrals. They become debased and demoralized. They debase and demoralize the army."

Now, among the resolutions you will adopt at the Memphis meeting, there should by all means be one censuring Gen. Brayman for the use of language so insulting to "our fellow citizens of African descent," and so justly calculated to incense the slaveowners in Tennessee who have so stubbornly refused to join the Rebels.

Why, sirs, this license of speech must be suppressed. What right have men who do not support the present wise and efficient Administration to criticise its policy or the consequences of it? Within the last few days I have heard persons in this city—in this capital, which bears the sacred name of Washington, and which for the present is the home of our illustrious Chief Magistrate—draw seemingly invidious distinctions between the fate of Jessie D Bright, of Indiana, and that of John M. Botts, of Virginia. How my blood "boiled with pious indignation" when, a few days ago, I heard an individual of the straightest sect of copperheads discoursing thus:

"Jessie D. Bright, of Indiana, was expelled from the Senate of the United States last year, charged with treasonable practices. He then owned a farm and negroes in Kentucky, and still owns them. He accepted the amnesty provided in the so called Confiscation Law which passed Congress last July. He is now preparing to accompany his family on a trip of pleasure to Europe, leaving his large properties in Indiana and his slaves in Kentucky under the protection of the law. John M. Botts is just out of Libby or some other Confederate prison, where he was incarcerated for his devotion to the Union and his undying hostility to the so called Southern Confederacy. Ten days ago his slaves were enticed within the lines of our army in Virginia. Mr. Botts demanded that they be surrendered or returned, and received for an answer, direct from Washington, that he had no right to them—that our wise and law abiding President had set them free."

I confess that when I heard this long and complaining rigmarole I was indignant at this person's stupidity. He could not see the wisdom of this wise policy of our most noble Executive. He was almost as incorrigible as Jas L. Petigru, of South Carolina, who, when he read the grand proclamation of the most illustrious successor of Washington, took the oath of allegiance to the Confederate Government, and offered his private fortune to the Rebels to aid them in making war upon the armies of the sublimest man of modern times; of Nelson, of Tennessee, who, with sons in Rebel captivity, published an appeal to the people of that State to take up arms against our freedom loving President; of Houston, Henry and others, who immediately went over to the Rebel cause. Away with all such men. A good Union man loves his country *per se*. He cares nothing for liberty, or property, fame or fortune, consideration or contracts, office or opinion. The true test is simply this; who is the greatest, wisest and best of mankind? Who is the first natural military genius of the world? Who doeth all things wisely and well? Who should be elected President so long as he will accept the office? If to all these inquiries the respondent answers, with a firm, unfaltering voice, Abraham Lincoln, Esq., he may be set down as a good Union man, fit to join a "Loyal League," receive a contract, accept a commission or office, and to vote. But if, like Crittenden, of Kentucky, he is ever talking about the Constitution and such worn out themes he ought, not to be trusted for a moment

A Union man must have an abundance of faith: faith in the saving grace of our exalted President—faith that he will yet prove the political Moses to lead our armies across the Rappahannock—faith that under his leadership, could he be induced to take the field, the mighty hosts of Rebeldom would flee from Marye's Hill and drown themselves, like "possessed" swine, in the adjacent stream.

How is recruiting now in West Tennessee? Last summer, only a few thousand enlisted in our ranks; but very few, I believe, in Memphis. You were so amply protected within the lines, that you quite forgot, I fear, the sorrows of those who had not yet had an opportunity of greeting the flag which brings such certain security to loyal men, women and children; such inevitable protection to property, including such trifling articles as negroes and cotton bales. Hurry up the volunteers. Give the lie to those who intimate that Tennesseans will not go into the Gulf States to fight for their brethren of African descent. True, most of our citizens have sons, daughters, sisters, brothers, or fathers there; but they ought never to have settled so far south. Besides, when you have secured freedom to our African fellow-citizens south of us, you may possibly have the honor of taking part in carrying the same boon to a similar class in Tennessee and Kentucky. I doubt not, our noble President will, in due time, adopt suitable means to ascertain the will of the Lord in this behalf. Indeed, it seems to have been made known already to some of the lesser lights. Last week, a grand convention of the loyal women of America assembled in the city of New York. Each delegate had conceived (not a baby) an idea, and under the inspiration of the great occasion, they had commanded our magnificent President throughout all the ends of the earth. I doubt not, at the proper time, he will so proclaim; and the twenty thousand troops which His Excellency Governor Andrew Johnson was recently authorized to recruit in Tennessee, (you have no doubt enlisted) will soon be ready for the good work of giving practical freedom to our enslaved fellow countrymen, male and female, of African descent. When that time comes, Memphis will be a lovely city. Its walks and promenades will be illuminated by the smiling faces and brilliant eyes of the graceful and accomplished sons and daughters of Lincoln and Liberty, of Darkness and Dahomey. True, our State constitution and laws, like those of Illinois and other loyal States, will not permit free negroes to come within our State, nor enfranchised slaves to remain there; but, from military necessity, or, as a high official expresses it, "from the *ex necessitate rei* of the thing," they will, no doubt, be permitted to remain. The plan recently adopted in South Carolina, of selling there the lands of Rebels, might be adopted, and thereby Memphis might soon become a 'variegated city.' Our white and colored brothers and sisters might thus furnish an example of that "freedom and fraternity" which so many unhappy Northern spinsters sincerely regard as the only means of compromising the present unfortunate distinctions of color.

You should by all means pass a resolution in favor of giving such Rebel farms and town lots as are not needed for our colored brethren to our Christian friends of the North who desire to live among their colored friends, particularly to that numerous and respectable class who think both races will be improved by a cross of the Anglo Saxon upon the pure Guinea. "When this cruel war is over," how our Psalm singing brethren from the Church of the Puritans would enjoy a Confederate farm upon the Big Black, Red river, the Arkansas or Pontchartrain! When the Rebels are disarmed how meek and lowly, docile and penitent, they will be while beholding our Northern brothers occupying their mansions, and illustrating the beauties of General Banks' apprentice system! With what impunity would General Butler ride from his plantation on Moon Lake to to his ranche on Deer Creek! Then would be made manifest the absurdity of those copperhead croakers who foolishly insist that, while military power can put down a rebellion, moral power alone can eradicate its consequences and keep it down.

It is true they cite the example of Vendee, which, in area, is only about the one fortieth part of France. There, we admit, the peasantry believed their religion was endangered, and history records that they defeated six or seven of the best appointed armies which the French Republic, in that warlike age, could hurl against them. It is also true that afterwards, when Carnot was made Minister of War, he quieted the people by assuring them that they should be undisturbed in their religious faith. These mischievous fault-finders, to give further force to their insiduous assaults upon our President, point also to Poland, in which the fires of rebellion are ever burning, but they forget that the Czar of all the Russias is in all respects inferior to our model President, and is wholly ignorant of the true means of quieting a disaffected people. It never occurred to the aforesaid Czar that, to squelch a rebellion effectually, the cause must be removed. Had he studied the history of rebellions in this country, he would have discovered that we always ascertained the cause, the evil, the sin, which gave a pretext to the insurgents.

For example:—During the administration of General Washington, a portion of the people of Pennsylvania got up a rebellion about whisky. It was crushed out by "coercion;" but the sagacious statesmen of that day determined to strike at the cause. The result is that the people of that noble Commonwealth have ever since eschewed whisky and turned their attention to contracts. Nothing is now known in that State of whisky, and, though Mr. Buchanan used to recite some traditionary stories of "old rye" to the junior members of his Cabinet, it is well known that the sight of a bottle of pure Monongahela was as repulsive to his nature as ice water to a mad dog. Subsequently, while Gen. Jackson was President, the people of South Carolina revolted at taxation, because some demagogues called it high tariff, and asserted that the monster "stole money from their unconscious pockets." The rebellion, however, was "subjugated" by the military power of the Government, and the cause—taxation—of course abolished. No tax gathers have been known since in South Carolina. At a later day, during the administration of John Tyler, of the firm of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," some unwashed Democrats in Rhode Island fomented a grand insurrection against the sovereignty of that large and populous State. The army and navy of the United States, by a hearty co operation with the "loyalists" of that day, soon overthrew the insurgents. Their Provisional Governor, Thomas W. Door, was captured, denied the rights of a "belligerent," and sent to the penitentiary. The Democratic party—the cause—was abolished, as all subsequent elections have shown, throughout the United States, since when no speck of rebellion has been known within the vast limits of that loyal State. The rebellion in Utah, which occurred during the reign of the old public functionary, is too recent to be forgotten. The cause is doubtless fresh in the mind of every aged maiden lady in the loyal States. The republican instincts of our people would not tolerate a monopoly in Heaven's "last best gift to man." General Albert Sidney Johnston, was sent to Utah, with instructions to conquer the conjugal spirit of Brigham. The Mormon war ended gloriously to our arms. The cause was removed. Harems are now unknown among the Latter Day Saints, and Brigham, like some lone bird without a mate, "refuses to be comforted." In Europe, protracted and sanguinary civil wars have often resulted from differences of opinion in regard to the true mode of construing the Bible, and especially concerning the operations of the Holy Ghost. They have failed to abolish the one or deny the other. The result is that few countries in Europe maintain the quiet which usually "prevails" along the Rappahannock.

It should not be overlooked that our people were very ignorant or they would never have been deceived by the treasonable enemies, North and South, of our noble President. It was falsely charged that he and his party friends did not desire to suppress the rebellion without first subverting the rights of the States—freeing all the slaves and elevating them to political equality of the whites. Our people being, of course, very ignorant, believed all these false, scandalous and malicious statements; and among the resolutions you will adopt at your meeting there should be one thanking His Excellency, our most approved President, for the effectual means he has adopted to give strength and moral power to the Union men and women of the South, while at the same time he has shown how wickedly false and libellous were the allegations of Southern traitors and Northern copperheads that he intended to use the army and navy to abolish slavery. The Union men of the South will ever greatfully cherish the name and memory of one who, by a scrupulous regard of his official and other pledges, and his manly adherence to the Chicago platform, has vindicated the truth of all the pledges which from time to time we made in his behalf, and the traitors and copperheads who thus falsely charged our great and good President with designing to subvert the institutions of the Southern States must henceforth hide their faces in shame.

You should by no means fail to adopt with wild acclamation, mingled with a few "Bully Hallelujahs," a resolution severely denunciatory of those who criticise our military operations, or show impatience at the tardy movements of our armies in South Carolina and Virginia. Such criticism gives the Rebels "aid and comfort," and, though it may not be felony without benefit of clergy, is nevertheless what Mr. Polk stigmatized as "moral treason"—a crime which our noble President and other Whigs were compelled to "dry up" during the war with Mexico.

Our present military discord is but "harmony when understood." We are abundantly able to beat the Rebels whenever we try. At present we have them completely surrounded—crowded within a small circumference of not more than six thousand miles. Our armies are guarding the outposts of this contracted line, and everywhere daring the pusillanimous butternuts to "pierce the centre," and the ragged wretches "take the dare." We have forces at Galveston, New Orleans, Pensacola, Hilton Head, Newberne, Suffolk—(all is quiet on the Blackwater)—Fortress Monroe, on the Rappahannock, at Baltimore, along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, in Western Virginia, in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Fort Smith and at Vicksburg—in the very heart of Rebeldom. How long can the rebellion exist when thus circumscribed? It addition to all this, Adjutant General Thomas, a native of "My Maryland," and who, last year, was charged by the malignant tongue of slander with being a Secessionist and a traitor—following where such noble men as Butler, Brady, Dickinson and other old friends of Breckinridge dare to lead—is now in the Southwest organizing the loyal blacks, who, it is understood, are impatient to be led against the barbarous hordes of Lee and Beauregard. Northern philosophers, women and divines, who regard the African as the best normal representative of the human race, and those who have seen the sturdy mastiff quail before the perfume of the skunk, do not believe the delicate nerves of the Rebels will be able to withstand a bayonet charge from these American soldiers of African descent, if made when the state of the thermometer indicates cutaneous activity and corresponding perspiration. Time, however, will soon settle this disputed question.

You should further denounce all who complain of the Army of the Potomac. It has been in no sense a failure. It has achieved more than any army in ancient or modern times has accomplished under similar or equal difficulties. Its bravery is unquestioned, and injustice is done its generals. True, McClellan under the influence of Northern copperheads, aided by such Republican fogies as Thurlow Weed, and backed by the stupid graduates of West Point, was fast becoming a favorite with the army and the people, and it was gravely hinted by some of his bolder adherents that he might be used by the copperhead fraternity, to supplant our unrivalled President in 1864.

Besides, General McClellan had commanded the Army of the Potomac long enough. "Rotation in office" is a sound political axiom. He was therefore retired, although still a favorite with the brave men he so long commanded. Gen. Burnside's career has been an eminently brilliant one; and the same may be said of General Hooker, who, I presume, will soon retire upon the laurels he has so nobly won.

But in all this there is strategy. It is the result of that superior genius and wisdom of our President, who, as "Commander-in-Chief," moves inferiors upon the military chess board with a skill which excites the admiration of all who are truly loyal to the Administration. No harm can result from all this. We have an abundance of leaders ready and willing at a moment's notice to lead the Army of the Potomac to the Rebel capital. We have in reserve Butler, Phelps, Busted and Lane, to say nothing of Col. d'Utassy, who, like Mahomet's coffin, is still suspended between the heavens and the earth. I look in vain among the names attached to your letter for one which recalls a familiar face. I do not now remember that I ever had the honor of a personal acquaintance with any one of you, although in former times I knew many of the leading citizens of Memphis, among whom are not a few who are still ardently in favor of a restoration of the Constitution. I regret to find none of them associated with you in the proposed demonstration. But I will indulge no complaints. Wherever our armies have secured a permanent lodgment in the South, as at Hilton Head, New Orleans, Newbern, Nashville and Memphis, the Northern friends of our most excellent President have supplied us abundantly with most disinterested men and women, whose loyal tongues are heard in melodious tones wherever we shall occupy and possess" a cotton or a contraband settlement in the Confederate wilderness.

Look at Hilton Head, where the tender maiden and tougher matron of the North mingle upon sisterly terms with the Palmetto African ladies of South Carolina. A bountiful issue of tracts and catechisms will no doubt soon be followed by an improved issue of contrabands—not so white as the pure Anglo, not so black as the normal African. In a few years they will,

Walk in beauty like the night
Of cloudless climes and starry skies,
And all that's best in dark and bright,
Meet in their aspect and their eyes.

In North Carolina Charles Henry Foster Esq., originally from Maine, and a warm political friend of Breckinridge, has organized a free labor association, and Gov. Stanley has gone back to California in disgust. In Nashville we have a regularly organized Abolition Society. Its organization is the same as that of the State and Federal Government, and the editor, though imported from abroad, is going more to sustain the glorious Administration of President Lincoln than any native born citizen of the State can do or is willing to do. This Abolition Society and this Abolition newspaper, although conducted within the fortifications of the city, is doing, no doubt, much to induce the people of Middle Tennessee to cease all further opposition to the wise, gentle and constitutional rule of our distinguished Chief Magistrate

In Memphis, the harvest is a tempting one. With cotton at a dollar per pound and likely contrabands "lying about loose," our enterprising Northern friends who love the Union and wish it preserved under the guarantees of the Constitution, may make "a good thing of it." Already I hear of several who have farms in Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and other "loyal" States, which are now well tilled by negroes who once belonged to the Union men of the South. Facts like these will tend greatly to the restoration of peace and harmony, and materially aid in removing the prejudice which the people of the insurrectionary States have entertained against their Northern kindred. They now know that the war is not to be so conducted as to deprive them unnecessarily of any portion of their property; and they now have positive proof that Southern secessionists and Northern copperheads, who charged that the war was to be finally waged against the South as a section, instead of the Rebels and their allies, were guilty of falsehood. Furthermore, there is a large party at the North who have persistently refused to regard the African as the best representative of the human race. This influx of negroes will do much to change their opinions, and by the same means Southern manners and customs will become gradually introduced north of the Ohio and Potomac, rendering our people more homogenous than in former times. Thus we will again become a united and loving people. The lion and the lamb—the contractor and the contraband—will lie down together, and then the millenium will have come. Excuse the haste with which I write, and accept assurances of my highest regard.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
EM. ETHERIDGE.

To J. M. Tomeny, G. D. Johnson and others, Memphis, Tenn.

### General Burnside's Doings in the West.

Under this head, the New York Times, a leading Abolition and Administration paper, publishes the following in its issue of the 4th inst:

Unless we are greatly mistaken, the Government will very soon find it necessary to check the intemperate patriotism of General Burnside in his mode of dealing with disaffected persons and presses in the loyal States. Whether the powers which he claims to exercise over freedom of speech and of the press, do actually belong to his office, or not, it is very clear that they should never be intrusted to any man whose zeal outruns his judgment. An over-zealous friend will often do ten times more harm by restless and injudicious meddling, than an open enemy; and in the exercise of powers which, however necessary they may be, are always odious, an exceseive prudence is always preterable to a headlong and reckless temper. We have no doubt that Gen. Burnside thinks he is rendering the country an essential service in suppressing the Chicago Times, and in forbidding the circulation of the New York World within his lines, and we have just as little doubt that he is utterly mistaken. He will very speedily find that he is multiplying ten fold the very evil he seeks to extirpate. It is very rarely that a military man can be found who is capable of understanding what public opinion is, or who can be made to comprehend that the press has any other rights than those which he may be pleased to confer upon it. We do not know that we should gain much on either point by appealing from the camp to the Government; but our interest in the welfare of the country impels us to risk the experiment of counselling President Lincoln to put a check upon Gen. Burnside's super-serviceable and dangerous proceedings, as speedily as possible.

☞ The amount of legal tender notes now out is three hundred and eighty one millions. There is near four million demand notes outstanding.

☞ Several Mormons were in Lafayette on Monday, en route for Salt Lake city. They had stopped over Saturday to try the Artesian baths.

### The Great Peace Meeting in New York City.

Nearly three pages of the New York Herald are filled with an account of the proceedings and speeches at the great peace meeting held in New York city on last Wednesday. There was speaking from five different stands. The Herald says of the meeting:

The Grand Peace Convention, advertised for several days, previously, took place in and around the Cooper Institute yesterday afternoon and evening. It was one of the largest and most enthusiastic assemblages ever convened in this city. An address and resolutions, urging peace in the strongest manner and denouncing the Administretion in the most violent fashion, were adopted. Every allusion to peace was hailed with tremendous applause, and every time the name of Gen McClellan was mentioned a perfect storm of enthusiasm was occasioned. The mention of Mr. Vallandigham's name was also the signal for very decided approbation. The speeches were in time with the resolutions, exceedingly denunciatory of the Administration, and in favor of a cessation of hostilities and the shedding of blood immediately on any honorable terms. The principal orators were Attorney General Wootten, of Delaware; Fernando Wood, George Francis Train, Judge Flanders, Hon. Mr. Dinninny, Judge McCunn and Mr. Wood, of Virginia.

The meeting adopted, with great enthusiasm, the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the electors and the people of the State of New York who have hitherto professed the name and held to the principles known as Democratic, desire to declare their unalterable attachment as well to those truths as to the Constitution and the amendments thereto, forming the supreme law of the land; that they regard obedience to the Constitution as alike the duty of the citizen and the Magistrate, and regard such obedience as the only means of perpetuating the Union, and by it the only hope of restoring the same.

*Resolved*, That the sovereignty of the States and the sovereignty of the people, as laid down in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, of which Jefferson and Madison were the authors, are the fundamental principles of the Democratic party; that they are the vital essence of the Constitution, pervading every line and provision of that instrument, and to deny them would reduce our political federative system to anarchy or despotism. [Cheers.]

*Resolved*, That, under the Constitution, there is no power in the Federal Government to coerce the States, or any number of them, by military force. If power of coercion exists at all, it is a legal power and not military. That the Democratic party, if true to its own time honored principles, cannot sustain a war against sovereign States; that we believe it the duty of the party to proclaim these sentiments boldly, that the people may feel that there is at least one political organization which will deal honestly, independently and truthfully with them.

*Resolved*, That the war in its inception and further continuance, being contrary to the Constitution, must necessarily fast consume all the elements of Union; and hence, that our duty as citizens, our obligations as men and our relations to our common father, alike demand that an end should be put to what is repugnant to the law, abhorrent to the humanity and civilization of this enlightened era, and inconsistent with the benignant spirit of morality and religion. [Cheers.]

*Resolved*, That attempts to do away with the provisions of the Constitution, which point out the mode in which all crimes are to be punished, are high-handed violations of the sworn duties of our rulers, and that the participants in such a policy are guilty of aiming a parricidal blow at the very life of the supreme law.

*Resolved*, That the claim of dictatorial and unlimited power, under the pretext of military necessity, and the trial of citizens not in the land or naval forces or in the militia in actual service, by courts martial, are monstrous in theory and execrable in practice. [Applause.] That it is equivalent to an entire abrogation of the Constitution, and the erection in its place, of a military despotism.

*Resolved*, That the dogma of unlimited submission to the will of the executive branch of the Government is unworthy an American citizen, and inconsistent with the principles of constitutional liberty—[Cheers]—that such a concession is rather suited to the dark and sullen era of feudal despotism than to a time when the rights of man are regarded even by monarchs, and we attribute this exhibition of abject servility as dictated by a spirit of fanaticism bent on effecting its object even at the sacrifice of personal liberty.—[Hurrah.]

*Resolved*, That we should be unworthy of the name of American citizens of this free and independent State, claiming the first rank among the sovereign components of the American confederacy, if we did not protest against the cowardly, despotic, inhuman and accursed act which has consigned to banishment the noble tribune of the people—the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham.—[Cheers, the and ence again rising in the utmost unthusiasm "Three cheers for Vallandigham" and "three groans for Burnside"]—we protest against it in the name of liberty, in the name of humanity and the name of Washington. We hope the people of Ohio will have the opportunity of passing condemnation of this act by the election of Mr. Vallandigham as the next Governor of the State.—[Cheers.]

*Resolved*, That thus believing there can be no security to persons, or property, pending this war, and that by its continuance the Government itself will be utterly and irrevocably subverted; and that the South, as well as the North, must alike crumble into general ruin and devastation, we recommend, in the name of the people, that there be a suspension of hostilities between the contending armies of the divided sections of our country, and that a convention of the States composing the Confederate States, and a separate convention of the States still adhering to the Union, be held to finally settle and determine in what manner and by what mode the contending sections shall be reconciled; and appealing to the Ruler of all for the rectitude of our intentions, we implore those in authority to listen to the voice of reason, of patriots, and of justice. [Cheers.]

*Resolved*, That to the end that our principles, thus publicly avowed, may be practically carried out, and that a State authority emanating directly from the people, may exist to call any future convention of the peace Democracy, if it shall become expedient, or necessary; and disclaiming any intention to distract the Democratic organization in this State, so long as it shall reflect the sentiments of the masses, the following named gentlemen representing, each, a Congressional District, are appointed a State Committee for that purpose, with full power to take such action in behalf of the success of our principles as may seem to them just and proper.

### Legal Tender.

The Supreme Court in this District, three Judges on the bench, have decided, in the well known Roosevelt case, that the act of Congress making Government notes a legal tender is unconstitutional. The decision is rendered by Judges who rank high at the bar, and who have doubtless given the subject mature consideration. The case was ably argued against the constitutionality of the act by George Ticknor Curtis, Esq., and has been held some months under advisement. The general term of the court held at Rochester has decided otherwise. Both cases go to the Court of Appeals for final adjudication in the State, and thence by writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States. This process will occupy a long time, and the matter will remain in doubt for months or years.

It must be borne in mind that the two decisions, that at Rochester and that in New York, are of equal authority. The practice of the court will be, as usual, to follow the decision in the District where it is made, so that in New York the special terms and circuits (courts held by one Judge) will hold in recordance with the New York decision in any new cases until it is affirmed or reversed by a higher court.—[New York Journal of Commerce.

—The citizens of Laporte county have held a meeting and resolved to erect a splendid monument in the cemetery at Laporte, upon which will be inscribed the names of all the soldiers from that county who have or may die or be killed in the service during the present war. The project is as patriotic as it is proper, and we commend it to the citizens of every county in the State.

—GENERAL PEMBERTON'S ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.—On the 12th of May Gen. Pemberton issued the following address to his army:

### Decatur County Democratic Convention.

The Democracy of this county assembled in convention on the 30th of May. Hon. WM. S. HOLMAN was chosen President, and OMAR F. ROBERTS and A. G. WOOD Secretaries. The following county ticket was nominated:

For Clerk, John F. Cheek; for Auditor, Richard D. Slater, Sr.; for Treasurer, Wm. F. Crocker; for Recorder, Alvin J. Alden; for Commissioner, John Anderegg; for Real Estate Appraiser, Elijah Huffman.

The Committee on Resolutions, through their chariman, Mr. O'Brien, then made the following report, which, on motion of Major Anderegg, was unanimously adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That while we condemn many of the leading measures of the present Administration as unconstitutional and unwise, and calculated to increase, rather than remedy the misfortunes of the nation, we still declare that, however unwisely administered, it is the solemn duty of every loyal citizen to sustain the Government, and to give the weight of his influence to every just measure for putting down the rebellion which now seeks to destroy it.

2. That we can not and will not consent to the dissolution of the Union; we will not consent that the Mississippi river, the source of prosperity and power to the Northwest, shall be controlled by a foreign Government; and, as the only mode that is left of preventing these national misfortunes, we are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war to the end, that the rebellion which now seeks to destroy the Union shall be put down; and deploring the infatuation of the party in power, which weakens the cause of the Union by partisan, subordinate and questionable measures; we invite the co operation of all loyal men who make the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, just as our fathers made it, the only foundation of their political faith.

3. That in the judgment of this Convention, the Government of the United States and the Administration, for the time being, are not one and the same; and while we will maintain the Government and its integrity and its constitutional powers at every sacrifice of life and treasure, we will not surrender the constitutional right to call in question such measures of the Administration as our judgment may condemn.

4. That freedom of speech and of the press, and a ballot box controlled only by law, are the foundations of a free government, and are inalienable rights of the American citizen, confirmed by the highest constitutional guaranties; and these rights no earthly power shall compel us to surrender. We will consider and discuss public measures with the freedom, the prudence, and the forbearance which becomes a free people in the presence of great national danger; and yet will condemn any mere factious perversion of these rights to the encouragement of the public enemy.

5. That the suspension by the President of the United States, of the writ of habeas corpus in the loyal States, the orders of military commanders suppressing the freedom of speech and of the press, and subjecting citizens in civil life in the loyal States to the judgment of military tribunals, are measures full of danger to the liberties of the American people, unproductive of any beneficial result, unconstitutional, impolitic and tyrannical.

6. That standing by the ancient policy of the Democratic party, we will condemn any forcible resistance to law, and look only to constitutional agencies and the right of free suffrage for redress against unwise or oppressive legislation.

7. That we again tender to the brave sons of Indiana in the army our grateful acknowledgement of the honor they have conferred on the State and the services they have rendered to the Union by their patriotism and courage. Their gallantry on every field of battle has rendered the name of the State a title of honor. We will stand by and sustain them, and cherish the memory of their brave comrades who have fallen in resisting the wicked conspiracy to overthrow the Republic.

8. That we again cordially indorse the resolution introduced by Hon. John J. Crittenden in the House of Representatives of the United States on the 22d day of July, 1861, and almost unanimously adopted by that body, as a just declaration of the objects of the war.

9. That we reindorse the platform of principles adopted by the Democracy of Dearborn county, in convention assembled in 1862.

E. A. Conger then presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks and gratitude of the Democracy of Dearborn country are due, and they are hereby tendered, to the Hon. Wm. S. Holman, our Representative in Congress, for the bold and fearless manner in which, as a member of the National Council, he has defended the constitutional rights of the States and of the people. His course, as a Representative, commands our highest admiration, and therefore we give him assurances of our undiminished confidence.

Ordered that the proceedings