THE OHIO DEMOCRACY.

Interesting Campaign Speech Last Night by General Tom Ewing at Columbus.

Exhaustive Criticism of Republican Administration of the Finances.

How the Masses and the Merchants Have Been Systematically Swindled.

HARD ON GRANT.

He is as Cruel and as Cold as a Bayonet.

Splendid Promises of Fiscal Reform by the Democracy.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, August 11, 1871.

General Thomas Ewing, Jr., delivered this evening in this city the opening campaign speech for the Ohio democracy in the coming contest for Governor. As will be observed, the speech mainly discusses the financial issues of the hour. General Ewing was frequently interrupted by applause, and his sentiments are generally accepted as an authoritative declaration of the programme of the party. He spoke as follows:—

FELLOW CITIZENS—It is important to all who care for good government to sift the past from the present party issues, so that judgment may be given intelligently by the people on the very questions to be decided. First, then, the war issues are settled forever. Secession invoked the war, slavery became necessarily involved in it, and both went down together in the battle. No one, North or South, representing any body of citizens, has ever questioned the finality of that terrible and potent arbitrament. All the alleged war issues are settled also. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments embody (in addition to some matters which were never disputed) all that the republicans have asserted, and the democrats denied, to be proper or necessary results of the war. These amendments are recognized by the democracy of Ohio and the nation, almost unanimously, as part of the supreme law, and, therefore, to be construed, obeyed and executed precisely as the rest of the constitution. Hence, unless and until some party proposes to agitate for a new amendment of the constitution, striking out all or part of these amendments, they are beyond the range of profitable discussion.

THE NEW DEPARTURE.

This position, taken by the democracy throughout the nation, is miscalled the "New Departure." What departure from democratic principles is there in saying that, though we opposed making the amendments part of the constitution, we will obey and execute them now they are part of it? Has the democracy ever wilfully violated the constitution? Never. That theory of our government which led to nullification and secession was sincerely believed by most of the Southern democracy, and many of the Southern whigs. It had been taught them by some of the venerated Fathers of the Constitution, and it were a gross error to charge those who were led by that instruction into the act of war with wilful disregard of known constitutional obligations. Whenever the republican party, since the war, has found the grants of power of the constitution insufficient, or its limitations embarrassing, in the accomplishment of its schemes, it has deliberately violated its provisions and, as Thad Stevens said, "legislated outside of the constitution." But the democratic party, throughout its long and grand career, has been distinguished for its rigid observance of the fundamental law, and has never wilfully violated one of its provisions, however pressed by party exigencies.

RECONSTRUCTION.

In thus recognizing the fact that the amendments have been ratified we do not at all endorse, or admit to have been valid, the reconstruction laws through which their adoption was secured. The fact that those amendments are part of the constitution results from the fact that the Southern State governments have been to a large extent formed, and wholly accepted and acquiesced in, by the Southern people, white and black; have been recognized by every department of the national government, and all the affairs of society conducted under them for three years past. We cannot shut our eyes to these controlling facts. Governments, like children, become legitimized by recognition of their putative father—the people. These State governments have been so recognized, and it is therefore too late to attack their legitimacy. Only the wildest political visionary would now talk of overthrowing those governments by force, or of changing them, except under their own forms. Hence their acts of ratification of the amendments must be treated precisely as those of the Northern States; and the certificates of the secretaries of the requisite number of States to the fact of ratification by the States respectively having been filed with the Secretary of State at Washington, no department of the general government can impugn them or deny the effect of their ratifications, as declared in the constitution. Therefore those amendments are part of the constitution, notwithstanding the lawless inception of the Southern State governments. And the democracy, in recognizing the accomplished fact of the adoption of the amendments, no more approve their policy, or the execrable means of procuring their adoption, than the republicans in 1854, by recognizing the law for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska and making the best of it, endorsed squatter sovereignty or took back the accusation that the repeal of the Missouri compromise was a flagrant breach of faith.

HARD ON GRANT.

I would like very much, fellow citizens, to discuss the differences between the two parties already developed as to the construction and execution of the amendments. And especially to show how the republican party, by a flagrant misconstruction of the constitution as it is, has assumed to confer on General Grant the power, whenever he thinks the authorities of any State fail to give any person or persons equal protection of the laws, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, stop the functions of the civil government, and declare and wage war on the people. This extraordinary power is vested in General Grant obviously to enable him to re-elect himself and his party next year, by controlling or breaking up the elections in the Southern States, with the federal army and the black militia. He combines all the qualities to make him a fit instrument for such designs. He is both ignorant and careless of the duties and obligations of his high office—has probably never read the constitution—for it is not published in the Army Regulations or the Stud Book—is bold, unscrupulous, ambitious, selfish, and as cruel and cold as a bayonet. If he don't use that law next year with that purpose and effect it will be because the Northern people show a returning sense of the value of constitutional liberty, or because the Ku Klux and carpet-baggers combined can't concoct sufficiently plausible pretexts, or because Horace Greeley beats him for the republican nomination. Let us hope, for the honor of the country, that all these contingencies will happen.

General Ewing then proceeded to discuss in the most exhaustive manner the various questions growing out of the debt and the currency. He analyzed the present system in all its details, contending that it has increased enormously the public burdens, crippled the enterprising debtor class and paralyzed general business. He then went on to enounce the following policy for the future as that to be adopted by the democracy:—

PROPOSED FINANCE POLICY OF REPUBLICANS.

In considering the policy to be adopted respecting the finances we are fortunately not in the dark as to what the republican party purposes. It is part of their policy, distinctly expressed in the "act to strengthen the public credit," to reduce the currency or hold it at its present volume until by contraction it reaches par in gold. This involves continued high interest, a vast continued appropriation by the non-producers, through usury, of most of the net increase which all the property in the country and all the labor combined produce. They intend, too, to fund the whole two hundred-four hundred millions of bonds, notes and greenbacks into new long bonds exempt from all taxes, State and national, and give to national banks the whole currency. As they have not yet been able to sell their five per cents at par it is fair to figure results on as high an interest as that for the whole debt, if funded under their auspices. The result of this policy, if carried out, would be to increase by four hundred millions the present interest-bearing debt by converting greenbacks into bonds. The people, notwithstanding the reduction of rate of interest, will then have to pay an aggregate of one hundred and twenty millions of gold interest, instead of one hundred and fifteen millions, as now. There's not much relief in that!

Let us see what we will pay if the debt be funded in forty-year five per cent bonds. I think it will be admitted, after all we have borne of war and taxes, that this generation ought not to do more than pay principal and interest of $1,400,000,000 of the bonds, leaving $1,000,000,000 to be paid, principal and interest compounded, by our children. If that be done, at the end of the forty years the amount we will have paid, compound interest added, will be $10,000,000,000, or four times the present debt; and our children will owe $7,210,000,000, or more than three times the present debt.

DEMOCRATIC FINANCIAL NEW DEPARTURE.

From this whole system of finance, past, present and to come, adopted and proposed by the republican party, the democracy of Ohio announce a new departure—one which will relieve the people of much of their burden of taxes, leave no heritage of debt to oppress and enslave our children; and so establish and regulate the currency as to greatly reduce interest, and thus distribute the net increase of wealth fairly between labor and all forms of capital.

They propose that the general government shall furnish all the money of the people in an issue which shall be a legal tender equally with coin for all public and private debts whatsoever, except where the contract expressly calls for specie, and with it redeem the five-twenty bonds; and, to prevent an undue expansion of the currency, issue a three per cent bond which shall be exchangeable at par for legal tenders at any time, and into which legal tenders may, at the option of the holders, at any time, be converted.

It is not at all likely that the currency would fall so far below par in gold that any bond would be redeemed in a less valuable currency than that the government got for it. If such instances occur the hardship will not be great, however. Take the bondholders of 1864, who, according to Jay Cooke's tables, gave a little less than forty cents in gold for their bonds; they have already received six per cent on their investment and got the principal returned to them, and still have the bonds. So if the currency in which the bonds are redeemed were to fall even to sixty or seventy cents in gold on the dollar (which is not to be anticipated), these gentlemen will not have suffered much by their self-sacrificing purchase of the bonds at forty. I know whole families who have suffered more by the war, and by the legal tender act.

But there is no probability that this policy will depreciate the currency at all for any length of time. Our five-twenties have been below par in Europe, not because of lack of faith in the resources or stability of our government, but because it is well known the people regard them as justly payable in greenbacks and that our necks are not yet callous enough to bear whatever yoke our agents put on us. The credit of Great Britain rose when she compelled her creditors to take three per cents for bonds bearing a higher interest; and if we, in strict accordance with our contract, make our debt easily supportable, and therefore sure to be kindly borne, our bonds will have a value denied to those compounded of "repudiation and extortion."

CHARACTER AND EFFECT OF THE NEW CURRENCY.

The effect of this system, when the outstanding notes and bonds are all converted by purchase or payment into the three per cent legal tenders, will be:—

1. To give us a currency superior to any we ever had in these important particulars:—

a. It will be a legal tender for all purposes whatsoever. It will pay every debt, tax and impost, buy every commodity and rule every money transaction with the power of gold.

b. It will be a stable currency. Its constant convertibility into bonds bearing a fixed rate of interest will give both it and the bonds a value as stable as that of the consols of Great Britain. This quality being obtained, it will be of no more importance, so far as the adaptability of the currency to all the uses of the people goes, whether a dollar of it will buy exactly a dollar of gold than whether it will buy exactly a bushel of wheat. Gold will remain, as now, a mere article of commerce, and of no more influence on commerce than any other article, except as it is the measure of values in about half the countries with which we trade. If the American measure of value, the paper dollar, and the English, the silver pound, keep about even proportion to each other, as they do now, our foreign trade will not be injuriously affected by the fact that the measures are not the same—any more than our trade with France in silks is affected by the fact that our measures of length are not the same as ners. And if our legal tenders and the English pounds should vary in proportion to each other, such fluctuations affect chiefly our foreign trade, which is not one-fiftieth part as great as our home trade. But if we had a currency redeemable in specie, as the republicans propose, it would be incessantly expanding and contracting, not because of the fluctuations of the business it is used to transact, but because of the export of our gold to settle adverse balances of our foreign trade. The whole superstructure of domestic business would thus be incessantly racked by movements of its foundation.

c. It will be an elastic currency, contracting and expanding to fit the fluctuating demands of trade. At seasons when large amounts are needed bonds will be converted into currency to meet the demand, and as that falls off the surplus will be reconverted into bonds. It will always be sufficient, never excessive.

d. It will establish a moderate and nearly uniform rate of interest. As much will be issued at once as will command investments preferable on the whole to government three per cents. It will thus establish the average rates paid by business men at about five per cent, instead of nine, as now. Once established, these rates will be comparatively uniform, because, as they tend to rise, more currency will be issued, and as they tend to fall more will be exchanged for bonds.

Let us see the effect of this policy in lessening the burden of the debt. Assuming that it will take one billion of currency to reduce interest and meet present demands of trade, the people will then pay interest on fourteen hundred millions of bonds, equal to forty-two millions of dollars, instead of one hundred and thirty millions in currency, as now. The currency will increase probably in equal ratio with the population—say twenty-five millions the first year. If the people pay the interest of the bonds and apply the yearly growth of currency to extinguish the principal, the whole debt will be paid within —— years. Or if they apply the natural growth of the currency to the interest of the bonds, the whole burden of the debt will be less the first year than the burden of the present national bank subsidy alone and will in a few years pay all the interest and gradually extinguish the principal.

But we will be told the legal tenders will be a debt outstanding when all the bonds are paid. They will be no debt in any proper sense of the word. The government will be bound then to do what it always has been bound to do, but has never done—furnish the people all their money, the measurer, exchanger and distributer of all their values. It will be necessary to keep up the *per capita* circulation and maintain its stability and elasticity by some suitable means. The people will have got a good money; stable, elastic, establishing low and uniform interest and thus promoting happiness and industry by distributing equitably the increase of the land between capital and labor. The curse of the debt will thus turn to a blessing by teaching us how to escape the usury which has robbed and degraded the masses of all nations from Israel to Great Britain.

LAND GRANTS.

A few words now on the land grant question, and I am done. Among the greatest errors committed in national politics in the past ten years has been the bestowal of public lands on private corporations. The first grant was to the Pacific Railway in 1862. Before that year there had been but two land grants ever made by the general government for works of internal improvement, and both these were made to States, not to private corporations. The need of a Pacific railway was manifest at the outbreak of the war. The grandeur of the idea and the absence of all reliable estimates of its cost magnified the supposed difficulties of the undertaking. Both parties united to give it a munificent land grant. But the hole made for the cat was big enough for all the kittens, and hundreds of smaller grants followed, until over two hundred millions of acres were given away up to the end of last session—an area eight times as large as Ohio. In all this century the general government has sold and given away about six hundred and fifty millions of acres; and it has left, excluding Alaska, but nine hundred millions. Leave out the worthless lands of the mountains and plains and it would be an extravagant estimate to put the rest at 650,000,000 of acres, or as much as the government has already disposed of. This remainder is but sixteen acres to each inhabitant of the United States. It should be kept as a sacred trust for the people to be disposed of only by gift in moderate quantities and values to those who need and will occupy it. Then, while any of it is left, the robbery of the masses by usury now going on cannot reduce any large number of them outside of the cities to absolute pauperism.

Though both parties united in the first Pacific grant, the later subsidies have been opposed by the democracy and carried through by the republicans. Thus, the last Northern Pacific grant received but seventeen democratic votes in the House out of 107, and not one in the Senate.

CONCLUSION.

I know well what answer the constellation of republican orators who will blaze in our skies on the 24th will make to all we say of the depression of industry and the decay of property among the masses. They will point to the two railroads pushing to the Pacific, to the unexampled extension of our railroad system in every State, to the rows of palaces rising in our cities, and the displays of wealth shining on every hand. But these are evidences only of the growth and concentration of capital, not of the prosperity of the masses. To show their condition, ascertain how steady is the employment of mechanics and laboring men, and what is left of their wages after tariffs and excises on all the necessaries and common comforts of life are taken out. Hear Commissioner Wells' statements, based on official statistics, that the masses live more poorly now than before the war—that, notwithstanding the increase of population, fewer shoes and hats are worn, and less tea, coffee and sugar consumed now than then. Behold in every city East and West tenement houses standing vacant to tell how two families are crowded by hard times into the place lately filled by one. See the million of only half employed men in New York and a circuit of fifty miles, of whom Horace Greeley tells. Remember the wail that went up out of Boston last year from the eight thousand sewing women in that small city who starve in sight of her gorgeous palaces on but one poor meal a day—and thus learn

How wide the span
Between a happy and a splendid land.

Fellow citizens—it is in vain to look to the republican organization to arrest and remedy the evils I have discussed; or to banks or railroad companies, or any of the great repositories of the wealth and power which the policies of that party have filched from the people. You cannot divide those forces. With few patriotic exceptions they all act together. It has been and is the fixed policy of the republican party to build up great money powers by tariff, bank, bond and land subsidies. These corporations are now immensely powerful in American politics and grow stronger yearly. Already in many States, through money and patronage, they corrupt Legislatures, make the laws which govern them, and thus to the extent of their interests rise superior to the people and become sovereign in the State. With them, and the wealthy men generally, who have been enriched by their party, to control the North, and the army and black militia to control the South, the republican party expects to renew and perpetuate its power. To look to that party, therefore, to abolish tariff, bank and bond subsidies, or to reform a money system which robs the masses to enrich its supporters, or to restore civil order and free government in the South, were about as unreasonable as to expect Jim Fisk to surrender Erie or General Grant to abolish nepotism.

In this contest the democratic party is the sword and buckler of the people. It has fought every existing abuse and tried to apply every appropriate remedy. Though some time controlled by slavery and racked by discord and by war it has kept the faith in the people and free government which Jefferson, its glorious apostle, taught. It represents no faction, but the whole people; no section, but the whole country. It is not a white man's party or a black man's party, a poor man's or a rich man's, a Christian's or an infidel's party. It is the people's party. It will trample on no man and give no man preference before the law. It stands for the reserved rights of the people and the States, because liberty dwells with them. It is jealous of every extension of federal power, because the path to consolidation leads on to despotism. It fights for equality against privilege, democracy against aristocracy, government by the ballot against government by the dollar and the bayonet. It looks to the people and seeks direction and strength from them, whence comes the inspiration of every great reform. And it now especially calls on the masses of the republican and labor reform parties—the "plain people," who are interested least in mere party triumphs and most in such measures of reform as shall give to the workingman a fair share of the wealth he creates while laying on him only a fair share of the just burdens of government—to help it overthrow the republican party, all of whose policies tend to strengthen, exempt and exalt capital, and weaken, burden and degrade labor.

MAZZINI'S MANIFESTO.

Address to the Workingmen of Italy—The International and the Paris Commune Severely Denounced—Mazzini's Love of Labor—What He Says About the Men Who Deny Their God, Their Country and the Rights of Individual Property—The Union of Italy To Be Consecrated at Rome.

The great Italian patriot, Guiseppe Mazzini, has addressed the following to the workingmen of Italy:—

DEAR FRIENDS—Many among you love me and know that I love you. I love you as a hope of immortality for the dearest being; for I know that in you, men of labor, live more than elsewhere the immortal destinies of Italy. I love you because the unjust privations suffered through ages have not taught you to hate, because you alone, perhaps, in Europe felt that nobody can have rights without merit, and because you have gathered around a flag that bears written on it duty; because since one hope of resurrection dawned for your country you did your duty in fighting, suffering, dying—because you fought, suffered and died unknown, without the pride of fame among the living, without bequeathing a name to posterity—in the silence and sanctity of your martyrdom. And you love me because you know that I have desired much for you and without selfish intent or requiring to be spurred on, save by my devotion for what is good; because you know that if I can, as every man can, err in intellect, I cannot knowingly and willingly, or for the sake of a more hasty victory, attempt to deceive you, because you know in your soul that to-day I am devoted to your welfare, though, on account of my years, every hope is lost of rejoicing over it as I could once, while fervent with energy and confidence, I entered into political life; but I will be devoted to your cause until death.

For a long time I have not written to you directly; but, writing in reference to the affairs of the country, I have never been silent about your element, nor of the change of your condition as inseparable from the possibility of Italian progress. Of you I had no fear, and I know that in order to prepare you for that progress you required no incitement. And if to-day I address myself to you I do it to warn you of a danger that threatens you, and which rests upon you alone to drive away.

Together with the regular movement of workingmen is formed an association that threatens to falsify it in the end—formed through the same means and in the same spirit which inspired you, and through which alone you will obtain victory.

I speak of the

INTERNATIONALE.

This association, founded years ago in London, and to which I refused from the beginning to lend my co-operation, is directed by a council, the soul of which is Carl Marx, a German and a man of acute genius, like that of Proudhon—dissolvent, of a domineering temper, jealous of the influence of everybody else, without firm religious or philosophical convictions, and, I fear, with more elements of hate than of love in his heart. This council, composed of men from different countries, and in which the conditions of people are different, cannot have unity in the appreciation of the existing evils and their possible remedies: but they must inevitably lead more than anything else to negative results. The only reasonable mode of organization of the aspirations of Europe is that which, recognizing nationality as sacred and leaving to the different national associations the management of their own affairs, would form of the delegates selected from and instructed by them a common centre, by which they could maintain the harmony of their movement toward its general end. A nucleus of individuals who take upon themselves to directly govern a vast multitude of men, different as to country, tendencies, political condition, economical interests and means of action, will always end by not having performed any work, else it will have to work tyrannically. For these reasons I withdrew myself from that body, and so did, a while after, the Italian section of the Republican Alliance in London.

The Internationale exercised influence principally in the second period of the recent Parisian movement. Of this, and of the programme adopted by them, of the acts which debased that period, I have spoken elsewhere. The programme found France helpless; for the first time Paris rose and fell alone. And as to the fascinations exercised, which, over many, the power which the association proved in Paris, I will not try to diminish it, as I could, by examining the circumstances; they were so peculiar that very likely it will occur no more that we should behold the arms, men, means and passions of a wronged population at the disposal of the Internationale leaders.

I would feel guilty of thinking basely of you if I, exhorting you to remain apart from that association, should speak to you otherwise than of the end to which it tends. From that end alone and not from the number of the adepts in that society must you judge it. Like me, you know that every force is unable to last which is not based upon truth and justice. The Internationale is doomed to dismemberment; and in England, the seat of its centre, the dismemberment has already begun.

In reference to the principles that inspire the association, I do not intend to say that they are forming the faith of all its members. In an organization constituted like the Internationale real unity cannot exist, and I know of sections located in countries far from the centre that are wholly ignorant of the tendencies of the society. They merely know that they belong to an European association which has for its object the emancipation of the working classes and nothing else. The official acts of the centre have been up to to-day rare and little known. But those principles first revealed by imprudent orators in the international conventions held in late years in Switzerland and Belgium, were left without being denied by the centre; were confirmed from time to time by members of the council in London in their public discourses, and were more recently corroborated during the rule of the Commune in Paris.

The principles mooted by the heads and influential members of the Internationale are:—

First—A denial of God—that is, of the only, firm, eternal, indestructable foundation of your duties and your rights, of your duties toward others of your class, and of the certainty that you have been called to conquer and will conquer. Once cancel the existence of a first intelligent cause and you cancel the existence of a supreme moral law governing all men and constituting certain obligation for all; and you also cancel the possibility of a law of progress, of a superior intelligence which regulates the life of humanity; progress and morality become no more than transitory facts, without a source, except in the tendencies, in the impulse of the organism of each man; without sanction, except from the will of any one actuated by changeful interests or by force.

Second—A denial of one's fatherland, of his nation—that is, of the basis of support for the lever with which you can work for the benefit of yourselves and humanity; and it is as if they would call you to work, while denying you every department of the work itself, or shutting up the doors of the workshop. Your country was given to you by God, because in a group of twenty-five millions of brothers closely united to you by name, language, faith, common aspirations, and their long glorious unfolding of tradition, and in their veneration for the resting place of departed loved ones and the solemn memories of the martyrs who fell to strengthen the nation, you should find more available and valid assistance in the fulfilment of your mission than a geographical position or special aptitudes would afford you. He who would suppress your nationality would neutralize all that immense sum of forces created by the communion of the means and activity of three millions and would close to you every path to plenty and to progress. For the nation the Internationale substitutes the Commune, the independent Commune, for governing themselves by themselves. You come from the Commune, they say. In that your life was educated; which is true; but will you go back to the life of infancy, will you give infancy a prevalence over manhood, because before being men you were children? The life of the Commune was besides preceded by that of the family; why should it not extend even to that? Do you not read in its ascending progressions, whenever it follows from the family to the Commune, from the Commune to the nation, from the isolated nation to the idea of federation of nations, the working of the law that calls you to bind yourselves more in a vast and a more intimate association? If you feel so strongly the sentiments of patriotic brotherhood, you will remain such, even according to the Italian organization. Moral education and uniform laws are necessary to transmit from generation to generation that sacred increased measure of brotherhood to an end unanimously accepted, while they would leave education and law to the whims of every Communist. You may have education and laws confided to almost nine thousand Communes, to influences predominating for awhile among some or other of the men of progress or retrogression, unionists or federalists, believers in God and the immortality of the soul, materialists or Catholic clergymen, and you will have after the third of a century all those little local egotisms renewed, the name of country will vanish, and the civil strifes of the Middle Ages will be repeated. And in the meanwhile there will arise a scarcity of means everywhere; the path to grand political, intellectual and economical realizations will be cut off, and Italian life will be reduced to a poor, slimy, vegetative existence. The scheme of the Internationale guides inevitably to anarchy and impotence.

Third—A denial of all individual property; that is, of every stimulus to the production of the necessaries of life. Property when it is the consequence of labor represents the activity of the body, of our organism, just as thought represents that of the soul; and it is the visible sign of our part in the transformation of the material world, as our ideas, the rights of liberty and the inviolability of the conscience are the signs of our share in the transformation of the moral world. He who labors and produces has a right to the fruits of his own labor. In this resides the right of property. And if greater or less activity in labor arises from material inequality this is a token of moral equality, the consequence of the principle that every man ought to be rewarded according to his work: "*Avere quanto egli ha meritato.*" It is necessary to attend to the placing of an order of things in which property may not become a monopoly, and that it may not descend to the future if not from labor; in which as much as at present the laws tend to diminish gradually their permanent concentration in a few hands, and adopt every just means of transmission and distribution. But the abolition of individual property and the substituting of collective property would suppress every impetus to work; would suppress every stimulant to give the highest possible value to future productions; would suppress the liberty of individual labor, and, attributing authority to a few individuals, representing the state of the Commune, accessible to selfishness, seduction, arbitrary tendencies and the arbitrary administration of all property would again reduce every citizen to a system of salary, under some other name, when we would, little by little, wish to establish the association, and reopen the ways to all those evils which to-day provoke your complaints against a few holders of capital. Collective property represented the first grade of human economy when humanity in its infancy had not yet departed from the patriarchal system of families.

To-day such is not the case among the Communists of Russia, where for many years the workingmen, freed from servitude, hasten to avail themselves of individual property.

I will not prolong this unpleasant examination. The few points taken ought to be sufficient to judge whether the Internationale would or would not prove salutary to you.

No. You will not abandon, for such proposals, the way thus far tested successfully, and I will be able, even to my last day, to move on it with you.

When upon searching history you will find ideas which refer to the first known periods of humanity, which have lived with it from epoch to epoch, transforming themselves always, but always and everywhere remaining in their essence, inseparable from society and stronger than every destroying revolution; stronger than other ideas which belong to a single people and a particular age, and in questioning in your better moments of love, of holy suffering, of devotion to your general good, your conscience you will perceive to be within an echo of those ideas transmitted through thousands of ages; then those ideas are substantially true and innate in humanity, whose progress they must also follow. You can and must modify them; ameliorate their development and application, not abolish them. God, the immortality of life, your country, your duty, the moral law which is alone sovereign, your family, property, liberty and association are among those ideas.

Do not deviate from that programme, do not remove yourselves from those among your brothers who recognize these your rights, and labor to level the path leading to the institutions that can recognize and preserve them. He who would call you elsewhere is unable to help you.

Educate and instruct yourselves as much as possible. Never separate yourselves from the fortunes of your country, but cause your brotherhood to adopt every enterprise tending to make it still more free and great. Increase your associations; form clubs, and connect through them mechanics and farmers, uniting the cities with the villages and country towns. Labor to create co-operative societies in every quarter. You may confide in the result.

But unite yourselves compactly; be locked up in the one cause; be disciplined as an army. To-day you are not as such. Your societies are morally identified with common tendencies; but no one has a right to speak if not in his own name; no one can take it upon himself to use the name of the whole artisan class before the country to express wants or wishes; no one can speak authoritatively. This they want; those the workmen of Italy repulse. Have unity of purpose—not of action and method. Without a compact of brotherhood, without a direct centre you cannot acquire or infuse into others a conception of the strength that is in you; you cannot arrange and publish statistics of the evils which afflict your classes; you cannot give the vigor of uniformity and of regularity to the indication of the proper remedies.

These things I told you a few years past and you accepted them convincingly. A treaty was accepted by the majority of the societies in one of your congressional conventions, but through an error committed in the formation of the direct authority that treaty remained a dead letter, useless and forgotten. Why do you not strive to revive it and frame it anew with more wise provisions and amendments; vigorously agitate that motion of concentration which is to-day more urgent than ever? And why do you, a new element that is rising and cannot stay itself without receding, make yours the fault too frequently committed in Italy of saying and not doing

Rome, the maternal city, is ours to-day; but ours to a certain degree, ours materially only; and it devolves upon us all to turn toward her the soul of the country, and from her receive the consecration of the way we must tread upon in order that your destinies being fulfilled a strong manifestation of Italian vitality will make the union holy and fruitful. Why do you not hasten to gather in Rome at a congress and give a new baptism to your brotherhood? Perhaps, besides its great advantages to you, you should remember for the sake of example, and as if giving the initiative to Italy, that from Rome ought to issue another and a broad national treaty, a definition of our future life, without which Rome and Italy are empty names. GUISEPPE MAZZINI.

WELCOME HOME.

Arrival and Reception of Judge Dowling—The Seneca's Cruise in Search of the Steamer Queen.

At an early hour yesterday the friends of Judge Dowling assembled in force on board the police boat Seneca and proceeded down the Bay in search of their returning friend. Every preparation had been made on board to give the popular Judge a fitting reception, and the boys amused themselves on the way testing the quality of the champagne, which by general consent was allowed to be excellent. The cool breeze on the Bay during the sultry heat of the day made the excursion truly a pleasure, and nothing but

THE SWELL OF THE DEEP SEA

seemed to affect the nerves or the appetites of the Judge's lusty friends. Fortunately for the jolly looks of some of the party it was not necessary to tempt too far the dangers of the deep, as the ship which bore the fortunes of "Joe" hove in sight. As soon as it was discovered to be the wished-for Queen the Seneca put about her helm and laid by, Judge Dowling's friends gathering to the side and giving hearty cheers, while the artillery of the ship spoke in thunderous tones responses to the welcome. The greatest enthusiasm was manifested, and as soon as the Queen cast anchor she was at once boarded, and then ensued a hand-shaking that threatened to dislocate the Judge's arm. However,

HE ESCAPED ALIVE,

and the exuberance of his friends having somewhat subsided, Joe recounted for their amusement some racy anecdotes of his visit to the Old World. Such fun and such jokes, and above all such hearty laughing at them, are not often enjoyed, and by the time the Judge had been got on board the Seneca, to be landed at the Barge Office, everybody was in the best of humor with himself and the world at large. The Judge's health was drunk, and the fair Lynda, companion of the voyage, was not forgotten, but was freely

TOASTED IN FLOWING BUMPERS.

Judge Dowling looks in excellent health, and seems to have enjoyed his trip immensely. He is as brown as a berry, but it must not be concluded from this that he has been "done brown" in Europe. Rather guess not! Among those on the Seneca were President Smith, of the Police Board, and Commissioners Manierre and Barr, ex-Congressman Morgan Jones, Superintendent Kelso, John Slacom, Warden of the City Prison; Captain Kennedy, Sixth precinct; Christopher O'Connor, Archibald Fullerton, Captain Irving, Detective Force; Mr. John Hogan, Tombs Court; Alderman Coman and his brother; Detectives Farley and Doran; Sergeants Meyneer, Douglass and John J. Quinn. After the examination of baggage at the Barge Office the party proceeded to the foot of Warren street, and the Judge was escorted to his residence by his friends, where they left him to seek much-needed repose after the excitement of the day.

MONOPOLISTS ON THE FRONTIER.

Upper Missouri Officials Need Looking After—Sutlers Attempting to Monopolize Trade.

CHICAGO, August 11, 1871.

The Sioux City (Nev.) *Times* of the 9th inst. publishes an anonymous letter addressed to General Hancock, charging Messrs. Peck & Durfee, who have charge of all the trading posts on the Upper Missouri, with gross frauds, and also with abusing the rights and privileges given to them by the government. The writer says they have induced General Stanley, the district commander, to issue a general order prohibiting citizens or soldiers from purchasing goods from any one except the post sutler, and it is also claimed that they have refused to carry to certain posts on their line of boats, notwithstanding that they are common carriers, all packages addressed to citizens or soldiers which they believe to contain provisions or clothing. This, the writer claims, is all done with the countenance and connivance of the military authorities.

VICE PRESIDENT COLFAX.

MILWAUKEE, August 11, 1871.

Vice President Colfax arrived here last evening, and will remain over to-day as guest of E. D. Holton. A number of prominent citizens took breakfast with him this morning. After visiting prominent places of interest to-day and a reception this evening he will leave for St. Paul.

THE ITALIAN CELEBRATION.

The Committee of Arrangements of the Italian celebration request all societies, civic and military, American and foreign, in this and the adjoining cities, who may desire to take part in the coming celebration, to communicate with the committee before the 20th instant at 607 Broome street.

THE GALLOWS.

Execution of Franz Joseph Von Messner at Rochester Yesterday.

He Meets His Fate with Calmness and Resignation.

ROCHESTER, August 11, 1871.

Since early morning the city has been thronged by the curious from all parts of the adjacent country, who have been led here by a vague and unhealthy curiosity and a desire to be as near as possible to the scene of Messner's last suffering on earth. Men and women, old and young, gathered in knots about the streets, and a dense crowd was packed in the neighborhood of the jail and without the lines of the soldiery who guarded the avenues and grounds approaching it. Longing eyes were strained toward the gray walls, as if their vision sought to penetrate them, and many seemed listening attentively as if to catch any sound from the prison yard. The guard about the jail consisted of Companies E and C of the Fifty-fourth regiment, N. G. S. N. Y., under command of Lieutenant Colonel Baetzel, and reported to the Sheriff for duty, from their armory, at six o'clock A. M. The rush of persons anxious to witness the execution has been so great as almost to drive the Sheriff from his office, and though many more were admitted than it was designed should be, long lists of names of persons of greater or less influence were registered at the office, some of the parties actually

BEGGING FOR TICKETS

or special sheriff appointments. The Under Sheriff, Mr. Charles J. Campbell, estimated the number of applicants at five thousand. Every effort was also made to ascertain in advance the exact programme of arrangements to be followed, but Sheriff Campbell remained unflinchingly silent, and no satisfaction was afforded the curious. As the hour for the execution to take place drew near the excitement increased, till the air of anxious expectancy on every face became absolutely oppressive. Now, however, all the excitement and fever are over.

Franz Joseph Von Messner has at last gone to his long home in the dark and unknown land; gone with a stoical air, as one persecuted, yet with many evidences of sorrow and repentance for a deed committed in a moment of ungovernable passion, and with a childish and complete faith in the power of good Father Payer's prayers to obtain for him forgiveness for his sins. The old man had been taught by three years of suffering and by many acts of injustice and cruelty to have little faith in the honesty of individuals or the good qualities of the masses. They had, he believed, sworn falsely against him; they had, at a later time, brutally and meanly demanded in his presence that he be led to death at the first moment prescribed by his sentence for fear a writ of error would arrive and deprive them of a disgusting and horrible pleasure, and they had gambled about him and won or lost their stakes, as he should keep or lose his life. All this did not make him love his neighbor much. Debarred from human sympathy, regarding all who approached him only as enemies, he turned from man to God, and one should hope at last finds peace.

THE CONDEMNED.

Franz Joseph Von Messner was born in the kingdom of Wurtemberg in 1817. He had been in this country nearly twenty years, and came to this city from Long Island in 1861. He was of medium height, broad shouldered, compactly built, lean and muscular. A broad belt from the forehead to the back of the head was nearly bald, the hair, which was of a dark brown, growing thinly. He wore a heavy mustache, the face and chin being cleanly shaved, and showing firm, square cut jaws. He was not a handsome man, nor was he in the least degree repulsive or evil looking, and he had evidently suffered much and worked hard during a long, rugged life. When he came to the prison first he was bronzed by the sun and winds, and, despite his age, had cordons of muscles and an iron frame. In the fearful months he had passed since then the brown tinge had faded out from his cheek and forehead and the arms had grown feeble and nervous almost as a child's. For some months past he claimed that his memory was failing, and a strange, buzzing noise came in his head, which often pained him. He sat at a little table in his cell and looked down through the grated window to the grass plot in front of the jail, longing with who knows what intensity, what hope and what fear, for some glimpse of good fortune, some fruit of pity, something that would stay the shadow of death, which for the fourth time was creeping over him. Then he would sit at twilight in the window and smoke his huge German pipe, enveloping and losing himself in the clouds of tobacco smoke. But most of all he read

AN OLD DOG'S-EARED GERMAN BOOK,

read it with an intensity that was almost desperation. Suddenly he would rise with a nervous quickness, and with his eyes fixed persistently on some distant imaginary spot would walk stupidly across the floor or down the hall, fumbling with, arranging or disarranging something, anything. This was the only outward evidence of the terrible inward agony. Since he swore his life away last June, however, he grew weaker and the forces of nature which had hitherto borne him up seemed ebbing away. He refused to talk about his past or future, and exhibited little confidence in the efforts which it was rumored were being made to secure for him a commutation of sentence and save him from the scaffold. As his faith in his counsel's ability to ward off the blow became less his faith in the mercy of an all-powerful and forgiving God grew great. Something of his feeling and thought can be obtained from the following letter addressed by him to the Under Sheriff, Charles J. Campbell, and dated on the 24th of July last. By this it will be seen that his strength and courage were both fast ebbing away. It is copied literally, and, though under ordinary circumstances the curious, uncouth manner of expression and bungling attempts to spell out English sounds would excite a smile, the mirth in them now would be very ghastly in its nature.

MESSNER'S LETTER.

SHERIFF, Your Hon Sir!

You pliese excuse me for my writing to you in dies way, for I wish you would make a stone to it for I like it very well now if all the folkes wil stek out from this Room. It is to moch droble against my Nature now for to think that any body has a right to make a show of me. I like to read my Book now in pease and no more distorping stol by so many Strange People who I to not know. When was hire last Dueting I was in a deab sleep, excuse me for not speking whit you Sir. Your respectfully

FRH JOSEPH VON MESSNER.

The following postscripts were enclosed, written on small slips of paper:—

You plies grand me a Drink Liquor in the morning for my health is not as it was som time ago you know you zed Sir how it is now

FRH J VON MESSNER.

Mr. CAMPBELL—You pilese and kip that for yourself, only tell Him about it. JOSEPH MESSNER.

Yesterday I visited Messner in his cell, and talked with him a long time. He asked me to read the report in regard to him published in the HERALD of Wednesday last, and seemed much pleased by the appearance of his own words *verbatim*. Then he talked about his health and about his crime. He said:—"My memory is pretty much all gone now; I can't think well any more; but I know that some of them who swore against me swore false. They swore my life away. I did not intend to kill my wife. I say so now, when I know that I must tell the truth. I loved my wife, and I was proud of her. Yes, I was. She was not a pretty woman, but she was beautifully formed—ask any of the neighbors—and I was proud of her and I loved her. But she brought me here, and I want to say to all of you that you must take warning by me and

NEVER MARRY OUT OF YOUR NATION.

My wife was Irish and I was German, and Irish and German don't agree. My father has been dead many, many years, but I remember what he told me when I was young—that I should never marry out of my own nation. Then, turning to the Under Sheriff, he said:—Mr. Campbell, you know that book you brought me to read? It was two years ago. That book was English, but it was true. I read it and understood it, every word; and you know what I told you about it then. The condemned man here placed his hand upon his heart. You know, he said, what I told you about this; it was in that book; it was true