THE LABOR REVOLT.

A COMPROMISE PROPOSED.

Committees from the Employers and Employes to Arrange Terms.

THE MEN CALM AND COLLECTED

The Citizens' Association and Board of Emigration to "Assist."

Meetings of the Iron Eight-Hour League, German Eight-Hour League, Sugar Refiners, Plumbers, Iron Moulders, Butchers, Granite Cutters, Master Horseshoers, Carpenters and Barbers.

REPORTS FROM OTHER CITIES.

The movement of the eight-hour agitators was very harmonious and quiet yesterday. Some assert that the cause was a sudden faintness of heart and that their purpose is growing feeble. Certainly the movement never showed greater elements of strength and success than now, and if the men fail it seems as though the leaders were again to prove at fault and incompetent.

The conference arranged to take place between the employers and employés, through the mediation of committees from the Citizens' Association and Board of Emigration, will in all probability produce good results, even if in no other way than in pouring the oil of sympathy and mutual concessions upon the troubled waters of discord and contention.

The Singer employés have resolved to hold out for an indefinite period, by which they mean until some remote time. They draw their quota of dollars from the Iron and Metal Workers' League.

The latest sensation of the strike is the notice given by employing carpenters on Saturday night, that they should expect their employés to resume work on the ten-hour system with the present week. All the lodges of the carpenters' unions held secret meetings last night.

Kimball & Cabus, cabinet makers, deny the report that they offered a compromise to their men, made at Teutonia Hall on Saturday evening.

The Iron and Metal Workers' Eight-Hour League.

At Germania Hall, during the afternoon and evening of yesterday, large numbers of the metal workers were gathered, and seemed cheery and hopeful. The Executive Committee of fifteen was in session during the day, and in the evening the President of the league, Mr. Kane, appeared in the hall to announce a temporary embarrassment to the men in the matter of the distribution of funds. A delay had occurred in the drawing of their funds from Wall street, but the whole matter would be arranged and a division by apportionment would take place to-day. He denounced in half sorrowful, half bitter terms the conduct of some connected with the league, who had made unwarrantable remarks in regard to money they had drawn, and stated that all persons receiving funds would be strictly examined before being paid, that no dishonorable advantage should be taken of them. He remarked that one established case of fraud would cut them off from all benefits of the National Union. The accidental hitch in the payment of the men was spoken of with deep feeling and regret, but so far as could be discerned the members showed no uneasiness or ill-feeling whatever.

Mr. KANE shortly after announced that committees from the Citizens' Association, of which Peter Cooper was a member, and from the Board of Emigration had been in conference with the Executive Committee during the day, and had submitted to them a proposal, a copy of which was then in the hands of every trade organization on strike in the city. They proposed that a committee from the Eight-Hour League of Metal Workers should unite with committees from the Board of Emigration, the Citizens' Association and the employers and manufacturers of the city, and that, in a joint conference, endeavors should be made to harmonize all interests and secure the resumption of labor. This announcement was received with evident satisfaction and pleasure by the men.

Mr KANE then added an eloquent address, in which he stated this action might be regarded as an indication that the men supposed to be their uncompromising enemies were disposed, to a certain degree, at least, to take their rights and necessities with honest consideration.

The German Eight-Hour League—Their Cause Before the Police Commissioners.

The Teutonia Hall League, unwilling to be distanced by the metal workers, are forging ahead and have already instilled new vigor into their organization. Rumors prevailed at the place of meeting yesterday that new and important plans of proceeding were on the tapis, though what they are—beyond that they are of a peaceful and orderly character—has not transpired. The following is the additional matter of interest in connection with this league since their Saturday meeting:—

Last week a delegation was appointed to go before the Board of Police Commissioners and demand the name of the commanding officer in charge of the police who attacked them in Forty-second street. Henry Smith, of the Commission, referred them to Superintendent Kelso for information, and gave them instructions concerning the manner of procedure in making charges. The Superintendent informed them on application that on the day in question Inspector Dilks and Captains Gunner and Burden were with the force, and that the command was in the hands of Captain Gunner. Yesterday a committee of the league went before the Board of Commissioners in Mulberry street and preferred charges against the three officials above named. They produced, among other witnesses, three women, wives of members of their league, who, they claim, were themselves so badly beaten that they were confined to their rooms and could not attend. They claim that these witnesses were not allowed to testify, though witnesses in behalf of the police were freely heard. Among others Mr. Steinmitz was sworn, but his testimony was of such a nature as did not tend to convict the unionists of any impropriety of conduct on the occasion of the clubbing.

Superintendent Kelso, on the part of the officers, admitted the clubbing of some of the strikers on that day, but claimed that such measures on the part of the police were necessary to preserve the public peace.

In dismissing the case President Smith said "it was the duty of the police to clear the sidewalks of all large bodies of men for the convenience of the public, and when these bodies assembled in such places and were hostile in their conduct towards peaceable citizens, then the police were in duty bound to use force to dislodge them.

The members of the league are dissatisfied with the proceedings and complain bitterly, stigmatizing the entire trial as a farce.

The Sugar Refiners.

A remnant of the sugar refiners who remain on strike met last evening at 52 Orchard street to consult relative to the propriety of yielding to the bosses. A majority of the refiners have returned to work at the old rates, and those who still hold out are greatly disheartened. It was resolved to hold out a few days longer, and another effort is to be made to induce the bosses to submit.

Journeymen Plumbers.

The journeymen plumbers report everything very quiet in their trade, the greatest contentment reigning since the attainment of their object in the success of their strike. The Benevolent Protective Society held its regular meeting last evening in the Germania Assembly Rooms, corner of Twenty-sixth street and Seventh avenue, and elected new executive officers for the year.

The Iron Moulders.

The iron moulders met last evening at 193 Bowery, but nothing new transpired. The men continue on strike, those who are at work supporting the men still out. Several new members were initiated last evening.

The Butchers.

The provision house butchers met last evening to the Casino, in East Houston street, Louis Volzinez presiding. No business was done save the discussion of the resolution already adopted—to notify the bosses this week that the men demand ten hours for a day's work and twenty per cent advance on present wages. The men have been working all the way from ten to fourteen hours a day, at wages ranging from $10 to $16. The organization numbers about forty men, representing about thirty-four shops out of the forty in the city.

The Granite Stonecutters.

About three hundred members of the Granite Stonecutters' Association met at Putnam Hall last night for the purpose of receiving delegates from Westerly, Richmond and various parts of the States. Mr. James Giblin occupied the chair. The object of the meeting was to adopt such measures as would force Mr. Batterson, owner of the Rhode Island Granite Works, to come to a compromise with the men of the organization on strike in Westerly, R. I. The following was read and carried unanimously. Mr. O'Sullivan, of Westerly, was delegate from that locality, and his statements did much to throw light on the subject:—

Whereas a delegation from Richmond, Philadelphia and the city of Baltimore have reported to this association as being instructed to that effect from their respective associations, that they have already taken steps for a concerted action of the granite stonecutters of those cities with those of New York, with a view to extend an amalgamation throughout the East, the correspondence received by this association for this time past will show that this is the wish of associations from all quarters.

The Master Horseshoers Want Increased Compensation from Their Patrons.

The master horseshoers responded to a call for a meeting last evening signed by the following gentlemen of the trade:—S. Flynn, R. Murphy, E. Gorman, A. Logan, A. Brown, M. Chapman, M. Keogh, A. Blume, J. Kelly, J. Hanlon, J. Rennett, R. Matthews, J. Deery, Morgan & Fitzgerald, J. O'Brien, M. Larcey, M. Connor, McCoy & Mahon, M. Sweet, J. Graham, J. & H. Irwin, H. M. Loughlin and J. Morris, assembling in large numbers at the corner of Thirty-fourth street and Ninth avenue. Mr. J. Rennett was chairman.

The journeymen horseshoers when they struck for a slight increase of wages obtained their demands almost immediately. They are still working ten hours a day. Various causes have led the masters to inaugurate a movement the object of which is to secure higher compensation from their patrons for the work of their craft. The expense of doing such a work has been much augmented; firstly, by the better pay given the journeymen, and secondly by the rise in the price of iron. To counteract these facts and to insure the appropriate profits due them and at the same time concede to the workmen what they ask for their labor, three meetings for the purpose of organizing the movement have already been held.

Little was done last night more than to discuss the proper methods of co-operation. It is proposed to form a union, with various ramifications throughout the city.

The Carpenters.

The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners held a secret meeting on Saturday night and bitterly denounced the action of Mr. Dean, the stair builder, in forcing the ten-hour system again on his men. They considered it outrageous for Dean's men to work ten hours and the other bosses to work eight hours. It was quite evident that if Dean was to be allowed to work on the above terms no employer in the city could compete with him.

Resolutions were adopted to assist the Stair Builders' Union to bring out all Mr. Dean's men from the jobs outside of his shop—in fact, every man he has in his employ, with the exception of relatives.

It was also added that every man who hired with Mr. Dean should be brought away and his wages paid till he got another job. Several of the speakers spoke with determination of making Dean's shop an eight-hour one if it cost $20,000 to do it. One speaker said that the success of eight hours for the stair builders depended on Dean's shop. Another said if that was the case, instead of expending $20,000, they were prepared to expend $50,000, and keep all his men out until he signed a document to adopt the eight-hour system and live up to it for twelve months.

The Barbers' Strike a Success.

In accordance with a resolution passed at the mass meeting on Sunday, the journeyman barbers struck yesterday morning for a reduction of the hours of work from fifteen and sixteen to twelve hours per day. The employers, with a few exceptions, promptly acceded to the demands of the men, accepting the terms prescribed by the newly formed Journeymen Barbers' Protective Union. These terms are, that the hours of work shall be from seven o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening, with an hour for dinner and half an hour for supper, on week days, excepting Saturdays, when the hours of work shall extend to ten o'clock at night, and on Sundays shops shall be closed at noon. A committee for the management of the strike, composed of Messrs. W. Koerber, F. Pasche, T. Cirker, C. Kaemmerer and J. Schlaeffer, was in session at the office of the Barbers' Agency, No. 16 Chrystie street, receiving reports, and yesterday afternoon reported that only about a dozen men had stopped work on account of the refusal of a few employers to accede to the reform demanded. The Journeymen Barbers' Union, formed only a few weeks since for the purpose of carrying this reform measure through, numbers about one thousand members.

BROOKLYN STRIKES.

The Coach Drivers, Car Conductors and Drivers—Iron Moulders—Laborers Moving.

The laborer, being worthy of his hire according to Scriptural teaching, evidently feels it incumbent to demand the rate which he considers just and in accordance with the amount of labor performed. In Brooklyn the workmen are standing off and on, feeling their way cautiously to permanent success. The Eight-Hour law is not the only bone of contention. There are men engaged in branches of employment which require much longer hours of labor than eight, and these people demand more money per diem. The hack drivers, for instance, surely a hard working body, whose duty calls them out at all hours of the day and night, and whose compensation is but $11 per week, are bound out upon the troubled waters of uncertainty, and will be tossed about until the employers see fit to grant their demand for more wages. The livery stable keepers say they will not give in to the strikers, and that they can find plenty to take the places of the latter on the driver's box. The coachmen disclaim any intention to molest the new drivers, and appeal to their patrons, the public, as follows:—

TO THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF BROOKLYN:—

We beg leave to inform you of the manner in which the stable keepers of Brooklyn are using their men. We have been working for $11 and $12 per week, and they say they will pay us no more. Now, they have raised all their prices on coach hire, and we only ask $14 per week. We ask, is it fair to deny our requests? The bosses say they will starve us out; but we think we can live longer than they can let their coaches stand. We are fully determined not to work for less than the $14 per week which we claim.

the drivers assert that the employers have recently increased their rates of fare. For instance, fare to Coney Island, $8 formerly, is now $10; to Hempstead, formerly $15, now $18 is charged. Charges for theatres, funerals, balls, &c., have also been increased in proportion.

The conductors and drivers on the Brooklyn City Railroad line are "going out" *en masse* in the course of a week unless the company will agree to give them more wages or curtail the long hours of labor that they are now compelled to devote to their arduous and unremunerative duties. The City Railroad employés are required to work fourteen hours on week days and fifteen hours every Sunday. They want their time to be reduced to twelve hours per day; or, in case the corporation (which is a soulless one) will not agree to that, they say then they must have higher wages. The sympathy of the travelling public is with these overworked men, and it is possible that something may be done to ameliorate their sad condition.

The iron moulders are determined to carry their point in favor of the eight-hour system. They number about one thousand men, and have a well filled treasury, which they will drain ere they recede from the position which they have taken. Arrangements are being made to hold a mass meeting at the City Hall Park some evening this week for the purpose of publicly explaining the principles by which they are animated in the present strike. The employers are stubborn, and say that they can afford to shut up shop for a while better than they can give their men a full day's pay for eight hours' work.

The Prospect Park laborers, the most poorly paid mortals on the surface of the earth, are growling preparatory to striking. The Park Commissioners treat the poor fellows interested with the utmost contempt, refusing to give them more than $1 70 per day and requiring them to work ten hours. This pittance barely suffices to kee pbody and soul together, and as many of the laborers come from New York daily the nature of their grievance will be the more readily comprehended.

THE STRIKE IN JERSEY CITY.

The men employed in Colgate's soap factory, who were on strike, returned to work yesterday, without having accomplished their purpose. Mr. Colgate informed them that the firm would under no circumstance yield to any dictation from the employés, and if the latter had any reasonable demands to make at any time the firm would give them a careful consideration. As a reward to the men who refused to join in the strike the firm added a dollar a week to their wages. So that the strikers are the losers in every sense.

A STRIKER COMMITTED FOR SIX MONTHS.

August Karnatz was brought before the Judges in the Quarter Sessions yesterday on the charge of assaulting a laborer named Meis, who had taken the place of one of the strikers at the sugar refinery. Judge Randolph administered a severe lecture to Karnatz, and warned the men on strike that if they attempt to intimidate any men who may choose to take their places they will bring themselves into serious trouble. A man has a perfect right to leave his employment if he is not satisfied with it, but the law will not allow him to offer violence to the man who succeeds him. In order to make an example, the Court sentenced the prisoner to six months at hard labor in the County Penitentiary at Snake Hill.

STRIKE OF THE BOILER MAKERS OF PATERSON, N. J.

The boiler makers in the Paterson locomotive shops, variously estimated at from four hundred to six hundred men, struck yesterday noon for an advance of fifty cents a day on their wages. They have been receiving $2 50, and demand $3. The movement is supposed to be connected in some sort of way with the New York strikes. One of the shops offered an advance of thirty cents, but it was declined. The employers are reticent about the affair and will give no information other than that unless the men return to work they will have to shut up shop, all their contracts having been made on the basis of the old prices, and they have enough work contracted for at this price to last over a year. It is thought that some sort of a compromise will be made, and that the men will be induced to resume work.

The boiler makers attached to Andrew Brown's shop again quit yesterday, and commenced action against Brown for non-payment of their wages. He was arrested and compelled to give security that the men would be paid off next Saturday; but the men refuse to resume work until they get their money.

Before the work was quit in the locomotive shop last evening all the employés were told that the shops would be closed in the morning unless the strikers resumed work. This would throw about two thousand six hundred men out of work if really so, but it was believed last night to be merely a part of the employers' game to get the boiler makers to resume work.

COMMUNICATIONS ON THE STRIKE.

The Philosophy of the Matter.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

I have watched the progress of the labor movement, not only with interest, but with great anxiety, for in it I see the greatest present agitator of the civilized world. It is, indeed, a momentous question, touching vitally, not only labor and capital, but indirectly every class of society, for with the capital and industry of a people idle or disordered what class of society can be exempt from its blighting effects?

In view of its great importance and in obedience to the common interest of both labor and capital I am led to offer the following suggestions. At the outset I assume that this question must in the end be settled by compromise. Any end or object attained by either party to the wrong or detriment of the other must be temporary and lead to retaliation, and only prolong and embitter the contest to the great injury of both parties. Suppose that labor, by superior and earlier organization, and taking advantage of the necessities of capital, should force it to yield to arbitrary and unjust demands without compromise, can such a settlement be permanent? Will not capital organize and in its turn seek revenge and advantage by dictating terms to labor when the necessities of both parties will best enable it to do so? Both labor and capital, after being thus doubly impoverished by the two periods of inactivity and loss, will find themselves—minus their loss, and plus much ill-feeling—just where they were before the fight commenced.

Now, why will not both parties be wise and at the outset seek a settlement by a compromise that will be permanent by being based upon strict justice, having reference to the entire and mutual interest of both? Labor must know that capital will and should have at least an equal voice in making the conditions in its contracts with labor, and that it can in no case, for a long period, be compelled to pay to labor more than it earns. Capital, too, must know and recognize the fact that labor is no longer a slave, to submit to its commands or the lash, but is emancipated, and must be met as an equal with exact justice, and that any attempt by capital to withhold any share of the earnings due to labor, or by labor to extort from capital more than its fair proportion of the profits, will lead to hostilities and a mutual loss. Labor should make due consideration for the use and also for the risk to which capital is subjected by the fluctuations in the value of material and the manufactured article, from which labor is exempt; so if at one time capital may seem to receive more than its due share it is liable to a corresponding loss or even annihilation. It should be apparent to both parties that the adjustment of the whole question must be in accordance with a mutual interest and justice, and not by the enactment or enforcement of any law. Laws to regulate the hours or pay for labor are as idle as if applied to the regulating of the supply of light and air. No law can give to labor more or compel it to receive less than it earns. The question comes, what shall be the common basis of settlement, since labor contends quite as earnestly for less hours as it does for more pay? It would seem that the only basis would be compensation by the hour. This would enable the laborer to adapt the hours of labor to his inclination and compensation to his necessities. It is evident that, in spite of any law or theory, capital can never afford to pay the same for eight hours' labor it can for ten, and it is equally certain that it is entirely impracticable to bring all kinds of labor within the eight-hour rule; while in all branches there are many laborers who would much prefer, and others whose necessities would demand, more pay than can be given for eight hours. The sooner the belligerents meet at the half-way point, which they must do, as equals, to consider mutually the interest and rights of the other, the easier and more certain will be the satisfactory and permanent solution of this vexatious question. COMPROMISE.

Prepare for the Future.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

I have a few words I would like to say to those of your many readers who are receiving the benefits of the eight-hour system. Now there are in this city a class of men who, if they are spoken to about the men striking, say, "Well, the employers have given in because they were obliged to; but wait until the winter, and then it will be their turn." So one would expect that they intend to reduce us then by the process of starvation to take any terms they may in their goodness dictate. God forbid! But anyhow let the workingman be prepared for the worst, and make hay while the sun shines. Let him show those who are so fond of slandering him that he does not want the extra time to spend in a rum-hole. Let him look to this and at once. Let him look for a suitable house at an easy distance from the city, and take his wife and family out of those cursed tenement houses that are the cause of so much strife, and where it is a moral impossibility for parents to bring up their children in the way they should go. The reason we have no rapid transit is because the capitalist knows that if the workingmen leave the city it would reduce rents considerably. There was a time when a man who earned his bread by the sweat of his brow was looked on as something more than a mere piece of machinery whereby the rich might grow richer and satisfy their own idea of what an aristocrat is and pay for the liveries of coachmen, and there was also a time when he would go a long way before he could get a white man to wear such a flunkey garb. The very men who say the hardest things about you, brother toilers, are the very ones who are sucking your life-blood. Workingmen, remember that God helps those who help themselves. Never heed the promises of the employers and never fear threats. You will never get any more out of them than they are obliged to give you. Be firm, for it was never intended that man should work so many hours for what will barely keep body and soul together. A WORKINGMAN.

Save Money! Be Independent!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

I am greatly in favor of eight hours' labor; but I don't see what is the use of about one-fifth of the people abiding by this rule. If people want eight hours' labor as a general thing they should make it their business to make everybody strike—not only men working at the same thing that they are themselves. And another thing I want to say. On holidays there are plenty of stores that keep open half the day. Now men ought not to allow it. They ought to tell their bosses that if they do not shut up on the holidays they will leave them. Men ought to insist upon this. Workingmen ought to save money so that they can be independent of these stubborn bosses, and then they can make them do anything they like. AMEN.

Pity the Poor Drug Clerks!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

Having read so much about strikes for shorter hours, I think the drug clerks ought to say a little about it. Most of them work fifteen or sixteen hours a day, and also on Sundays, which most people take for a day of rest. I think ten or eleven hours a day and no Sunday work would give the drug clerks satisfaction. I believe they would like to see a strike, though not for eight hours, for they would be contented with ten or eleven hours, instead of sixteen hours, as is the case now. By inserting these few lines in your valuable paper your would greatly oblige many of the poor clerks and also myself. Your obedient, DRUG CLERK.

The Car Conductors.

NEW YORK, June 4, 1872.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

Allow me to occupy a small space in your valuable paper in favor of a much-abused class of men—namely, conductors and drivers on our city railroads. They are as much entitled to decent working hours as any laborer or mechanic, who appear to have public sympathy in their efforts to secure eight hours; but not a word for the poor individuals who are compelled to stand on a car platform fourteen to sixteen hours for the miserable pittance of two dollars per diem or give up their situations and starve. I think there should be some law enacted compelling these avaricious monopolies to use their employés like human beings. Even the horses, as badly as they are treated, do not labor half the hours of the men who drive them. The companies would be the gainers in the end by having two sets of human statues for each car. Cannot you aid them by a few remarks on the subject, thereby causing yourself to be gratefully remembered by thousands of sufferers?

ONE OF THE SLAVES.

DROWNED IN HOBOKEN.

A boy named William Tanner, aged ten years, while playing on a pile of lumber at the Fifth street docks, missed his footing and fell into the water, in which he was drowned before assistance could be rendered. The place is a favorite resort for young boys. Deceased's brother met a violent death by poison a few months ago.

POLITICAL.

THE GREELEY HEADQUARTERS.

A German Democratic Convention To Be Held in Baltimore—Remarkable State of Affairs in Arkansas.

Horace Greeley was at the liberal headquarters at the Glenham Hotel for two hours yesterday morning. A German delegation, headed by Dr. Gercke, Moritz Ellinger, of the *Jewish Times*, and Dr. Theodore Mierson, of the *New Yorker Journal*, waited upon him, and stated that a German Democratic Convention, which would probably number from three to five hundred delegates, representing all the States of the Union, would be held in Baltimore on July 7, two days previous to the regular Democratic Convention, in order, if possible, to influence the action of the latter Convention in favor of Mr. Greeley.

In answer to a question regarding Senator Schurz, these gentlemen remarked that he was a republican German, and they did not therefore train exactly with that eminent son of "Vaterland;" but they were with him now, and had determined upon their present action in order to neutralize or overbalance the influence of Germans like Ottendorfer and Daenzer and Stallo, who had openly expressed themselves inimical to Greeley.

Mr. Greeley will probably remove his wife and daughters to Chappaqua to-day, and he will himself devote the greater portion of his time hereafter to the cultivation of his farm.

The following letter has been received at the national headquarters. It makes a startling exposition of the state of affairs in Arkansas under carpet-bagger rule, and details a most remarkable series of arrangements for keeping those adventurous gentlemen in power:—

POCAHONTAS, Randolph County, Ark., June 2, 1872.

Hon. ETHAN ALLEN, Chairman National Committee:—

SIR—Let me call your attention to the election machinery of Arkansas. Her laws, since reconstruction, make the Governor the State; he appoints and removes registrars of election at will; he can set any registration aside after having been made; he can refuse to accept the result of the election in any county where the judges of election appointed by himself declare that in their belief it was fraudulent. His registrars are responsible to no tribunal save himself for wrongdoing. These registrars appoint the judges and clerks of election. He appoints all county judges and they district their counties as they please. His registrars can act or not act, as suits them; that is they may wholly refuse to register a county.

They register at discretion, refusing whom they please. If a citizen feels aggrieved he has the gracious privilege of appealing direct to the Supreme Court of the State, which holds two sessions a year at the seat of government, where his case might be reached in twenty-one years.

After the registrars' rolls are taken the registrars can privately, and without notice, strike any name from it they choose; and there is none to molest them or make them afraid. If they would only disfranchise those that the law, as it shows on its face, intended to be disfranchised, the State would still give Greeley and Brown 25,000 majority. Truly yours, J. R. BLACK.

THE FREE TRADER'S TICKET.

A Chicago Journal as the Modern Don Quixote—The Lance Put Out in Defence of the Fifth Avenue Hotel Conference and Endorsement of Their Nomination.

CHICAGO, Ill., June 24, 1872.

The Chicago *Times* of this morning, in a double-leaded editorial, under the heading "The Party of Advancement Makes the Party of the Future," takes the ground that the nomination of Greeley by the Baltimore Convention is a foregone conclusion, and that the result is due to the manipulations of place hunters and wirepullers, who have as effectually packed the Baltimore Convention for Greeley as the Philadelphia Convention was packed for Grant. Such being the outlook, the *Times* says, the nomination of Mr. Greeley at Baltimore will terminate the organic existence of the democratic party. In that act the party organization will abdicate its functions, and, of course, with such abdication, the idea of party allegiance will cease, for there is no such thing as party allegiance to men, to candidates, or to conventions. Such allegiance is due only to principles.

PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ARE NOTHING

but instrumentalities by which some aggregate number of persons seek to carry certain principles into effect. When the instrumentality ceases to act for that purpose, or is perverted by scheming individuals to a different purpose, as the nomination for office of a declared enemy of the principles of the party, it ceases to exist as a party authority. The nomination or endorsement of Mr. Greeley at Baltimore will, therefore, place no one holding democratic principles under the slightest obligation to cast his vote for Mr. Greeley. It will be the disbandment of the party and the surrender of all its delegated authority to the members who delegated it, to be used by each and all of them as in their own judgment may seem proper, thus leaving the democrats wholly without an organization and perfectly free to act as to each individual shall seem fit.

CAPTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The enemies of democratic principles, the writer continues, have captured the democratic organization in order to wield it for the destruction of the democracy. The hope for the latter is in the formation of a new party that will resurrect democratic principles. The resurrection of those principles under the banner of an enemy is impossible. The democrats might as well go to the Grant party as to the Greeley party in such a hope, as one is as pronounced an enemy to democratic principles as the other.

THE NEW PARTY.

Passing to the question as to how their new party shall come into being, the writer quotes the platform adopted by the recent conference of liberals in New York, and endorses it as containing the vital doctrines of democratic faith; every plank expressing not only the vital need of the time, but of a higher and more advanced step in the progress of civilization, and concludes as follows:—"The time for the organization of the party of the future is now. As an organic instrumentality of progressive ideas, as the nucleus around which will gather men of earnest and enlightened purposes, as a means of rescuing from a contemptible fate the moral influence of adherence to principles, the vital need of an organization for the future is upon us."

GROESBECK.

In another article the *Times* eulogizes William S. Groesbeck, and asserts that his nomination at Baltimore would insure the defeat of Grant, while the endorsement of Greeley assures Grant's election.

GREELEY'S CLAIMS AS A CANDIDATE.

Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt to the Baltimore Convention Delegates.

Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt, member of Congress from this city, has addressed the following letter to the delegates from the State of New York to the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, giving his reasons for supporting Horace Greeley as the only Presidential candidate who can possibly defeat General Grant:—

NEW YORK, June 16, 1872.

DEAR SIR—Having been among the first democrats to endorse the action of the Cincinnati Convention and to take an open and active part in favor of its candidates, I feel that I owe to my party, and especially to you who are entrusted at the present juncture with a responsibility which is all-important, an explanation of my conduct and of the reasons which controlled me. I have had certain advantages from my official position for judging of the temper of the people, and am convinced that a mistake now would be fatal to our party and disastrous to the country. When the proceedings of the Liberal Convention were communicated to Washington most of the democratic members of Congress looked upon the result as unfortunate, and offering no possibility of a combination against the corrupt, centralized, despotic and dangerous power which now rules the nation. The first impression was that it was out of the question for the democracy to accept as their leading candidate one who had been their life-long and bitter opponent; but it was not many days before an unexpected sentiment manifested itself among the people and made itself felt with their representatives at Washington, and it became apparent that great changes had taken place in the public mind. Democrats from all portions of the Union announced their approval of the selection of Horace Greeley, while large and influential classes of both adopted and native-born citizens welcomed his nomination enthusiastically. Especially was this apparent at the South, where the whites of both parties were anxious to unite upon him, the one side to prevent further outrages upon their liberties and property, and the other to gain or recover social position among the people with whom they had made their homes. If the negroes were still adverse, it was on account of their being universally banded in their arbitrary Loyal Leagues and ignorantly acting under the orders of their leaders. But while the black vote is of little importance in the locality where it mainly exists, provided the white vote is united against it, any possible injury arising from its loss would be far more than counterbalanced by the adherence of the Irish vote at the North, where every ballot is of consequence. The explanation of this expression of public opinion is to be found in the changed relations of parties. The democrats, having been defeated conclusively in several of their positions, have accepted the expressed will of the people, and universally agreed to abide by the late amendments to the constitution, and to give the blacks equal rights with white men. This made it possible for them to unite with the liberal republicans in the support of Mr. Greeley, who has always been as prominent an advocate of universal amnesty as he has been a resolute and determined foe to corruption and peculation in official life, and who, moreover, was convinced by the illegal course of the present administration, in the danger to our institutions in the concentration of power in a centralized, unscrupulous and irresponsible government. These mutual concessions left but a single point of difference between Mr. Greeley and the democracy. He was a protectionist, while they were supposed to be free traders. I use the words "supposed to be" advisedly; for, to judge by the votes of democratic members of Congress, there was little party distinction between these and the republicans on this question, many of them being decided and prominent protectionists and voting invariably with the extreme high tariff advocates of the other side. But this difficulty, such as it is, was entirely removed and disposed of in the best possible manner by the Cincinnati platform in being relegated to the Congressional districts. As it is a matter purely for the representatives of the people in looking after the interests of their constituents, questions of revenue being expressly confided to that branch of the government by the constitution, at present heavy imports being a fiscal necessity and much capital having been tempted into unnatural channels by unwise legislation, and not to be immediately removed without heavy loss, the doctrine of free trade is hardly a practical issue, although it is sure to revive in a few years if the democratic party is not destroyed.

There are three prominent matters of dispute at present affecting the country. The first is the great question of corruption in office; the second is centralization of power in opposition to the independence of the States, and the third is the demand of the colored people for negro supremacy under special laws, placing the whites at a disadvantage with them. Upon these essential doctrines Horace Greeley is a democrat, while upon the tariff both parties have a loose hold on their members. If he can be accepted he offers us an almost absolute certainty of triumph, as he will not only relieve our party from the unjust insinuations made by our enemies in reference to our good faith in accepting the results of the civil war, but will bring to our support a large body of dissatisfied republicans. His strength among the latter, although apparent already, will not be fully manifested until he is nominated at Baltimore, for without that endorsement he has not the elements of success, and individuals are loth to join a hopeless cause. There are signs of a great uprising of the people to express the disapproval so generally felt with the present administration, but without that his election after such endorsement is as near a certainty as a future event can be. Already his probable nomination has secured us the great States of New York and Pennsylvania and brought about a valuable and powerful combination in Indiana, while it makes every Southern State, with one possible exception, absolutely certain in his favor. Of Mr. Greeley's integrity and devotion to the cause of an honest government it is unnecessary to speak between us who know him, and among whom he has lived the better part of his life. On the other questions involved his opinions are equally well known and accord perfectly with the acknowledged views of the democratic party. On essential issues he is therefore entirely in accord with us, so that we make no sacrifice of duty or of honor in accepting the advances of the party which has nominated him and asks for our support and assistance.

On the other hand, if he is not accepted the dissolution of the democratic party would seem inevitable. No straight-out democrat has a probability of election, while no liberal republican could now be chosen so as to bring in the supporters of the Cincinnati movement, even if one could be found as popular as Mr. Greeley. We have therefore to consider the comparative advantages of moderate concessions, which can afterwards, at the proper time, be again presented for the consideration of the public; or we must prepare to meet a crushing and overwhelming defeat, with its concomitants of disorganization and disintegration. The movement in favor of Horace Greeley has gone too far to be stopped. The liberal republicans are formally committed to him, and his selection has taken so firm a hold of the democracy as to insure its destruction should he be repudiated, this dissatisfaction even perhaps going so far as to assume the form of a bolt from the Convention if a less popular candidate should be chosen at Baltimore. These are the reflections which have influenced me in the stand I have taken, and I think it only just to myself to submit them to you for your consideration. The present crisis is a serious one, involving nothing less than the permanency of the great principles under which our country has flourished for so many years, and which can only be preserved and restored through this movement. The responsibility of the occasion rests with the delegates to the National Convention soon to meet at Baltimore, and at so grave a time you will not regard it as presumption on the part of any public man to express his views of national and party necessities. With great respect, I remain your obedient servant, ROB'T B. ROOSEVELT.

GREELEY AND COLONEL MOSEBY.

What Colonel Moseby Thinks of Greeley's Chances of Election—The Colonel in a Minority of One in His State—An Important Interview by an Ex-Coroner of Brooklyn.

In the course of his rambles around the city yesterday a HERALD reporter met Dr. Norris, formerly coroner of Brooklyn, and in the course of conversation the topic of the day, the Presidential election, was referred to. Dr. Norris mentioned to the reporter that on Tuesday afternoon last he was a passenger on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, and that in the cars he met Colonel Moseby, who got on the train at Warrington. Dr. Norris told the story of his meeting and conversation with the Colonel as follows:—

When we were on the train the word went round, "There is Mosbey." Of course so well known a character as he could not escape an interview, and after obtaining an introduction I launched out at once on the all-prevailing subject of the Cincinnati Convention and its candidates.

"Colonel," said I, "I am not a newspaper man, nor a professional interviewer; but I sometimes amuse myself by scribbling. The people in our place, Colonel, are divided as to your exact position on the questions now agitating the political world."

"Well, sir, I have positive opinions on the political situation," he replied.

"May I ask you then, Colonel, what your opinion is as to the chances of Greeley?"

"He will be defeated, as he ought to be."

"Do you believe that the percentage loss of those Bourbon democrats who refuse to support Greeley, will be greater than the acquisition of the liberal republicans?"

"I do, most assuredly."

"What is the relative strength of Greeley as between the Southern and Northern States?"

"Greeley will carry nearly every Southern State and will lose on the Northern."

"You believe, then, that he will lose a very large portion of the democracy of the North?"

"Yes, sir; fully half."

"Your State, Colonel, has pronounced strongly for Greeley?"

"Yes, sir; Virginia will cast her vote for Greeley."

"Are there many prominent men in your State, Colonel, who are open in their opposition to Greeley?"

"Yes, sir, there are some—I shall not vote for him for one."

"Then, Colonel, you are in the position of a man whose people are all on side and he on the other?"

"Perhaps so, sir; at all events I shall vote against Greeley if I have to go it alone."

The gallant Colonel began to grow restive at my questions, and, suddenly believing himself thirsty, left his seat to get a drink of water, and seemed only too glad to find a vacant seat by the side of a friend some distance behind me. Of course this ended the interview. I was afterwards told that he was then on his way to visit General Grant at Washington, who was temporarily at home from Long Branch.

An intelligent Virginian—a well-to-do farmer—told me that Moseby has most completely placed himself outside the confidence of his people by the step he has taken. In fact, he is regarded as an enemy of his neighbors and former followers. The saying goes thus:—"He induced the young men to flock to his standard against the Union when he thought it popular, and by which means many of them lost their lives, and he now joins those who have persecuted the survivors ever since the close of the war."

"His motives are well understood, however," remarked one of his neighbors; "and, as a consequence, he is held in utter contempt by our people. I have just heard him say that he was on his way to Washington to see Grant; no doubt to have an understanding as to the value of his services."

"Do you believe Moseby's example will be followed by a considerable number of your people?" I asked.

"No, sir," replied the farmer. He has no following. He is scarcely recognized by our people. Moseby," he continued, "was a good fighter, and there his ability ends. We attach no importance to his opinions at all."

Thus ended Dr. Norris' story. As an indication of Southern opinion it is a valuable contribution.

PROSPECTS IN VARIOUS STATES.

Pennsylvania.

Says the Pottsville (Pa.) *Miners' Journal* (Grant):—

The Philadelphia *Press* publishes a list of counties in the State in which it asserts General Hartranft will lose 11,000 votes. Now, with the exception of three of four points in the State, among them Lancaster, where local difficulties among the republicans have existed, reliable information warrants us in saying that the republican ticket will be stronger this year than ever. Pennsylvania, with the republicans at work and doing their duty, is good for from thirty thousand to fifty thousand majority for the republican ticket, especially if Greeley should be nominated at Baltimore, and it is certain that he will be.

Referring to the State election in October, preceding the national election in November, the *Journal* avers that:—

Of 175 republican papers in Pennsylvania, all have hoisted the name of General Hartranft, with the rest of the State ticket, at their heads, except the Philadelphia *Press*, Lancaster *Express* and two or three insignificant papers of small circulation and no influence whatever. For all practical purposes our assertion is correct that the republican papers of Pennsylvania are a unit for Hartranft and Allen.

The Harrisburg *Journal* (republican) declares that Hartranft (republican candidate for Governor) is gaining, not losing strength. How is this for Forney?

Wisconsin.

Referring to the late Democratic State Convention in Wisconsin the Minneapolis *News* (republican) remarks:—

It will not do to belittle the strength of the democracy as consolidated yesterday. The conservative portion of the Convention, although chagrined at its action, is prepared to sink all qualmish questions of conscientiousness in the grand stroke for success. Complete preparations were made by the various committees to prosecute a vigorous campaign in every Congressional district and every county, and there will be no stone unturned that will aid to turn in the defeat of the republican ticket of the nation and the State.

Illinois.

The Chicago *Tribune* (Greeley), in reply to an article in the Albany *Journal* (Grant) about the prospects in Illinois, says:—

If it will give the Albany *Evening Journal* any pleasure to know the truth, we inform it that the Chicago *Tribune* does not concede the electoral vote of Illinois to Grant. On the contrary, we expect that the Greeley electoral ticket and the Greeley ticket for State officers will be elected in this State; that a majority of the Greeley candidates for Congress will be elected, and that the friends of Mr. Greeley will elect a majority of both branches of the Legislature, thus securing the United States Senator.

Per Contra, the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* (Grant) says the Republican State Central Committee have met, compared notes, mapped out the work and gone home. The *Inter-Ocean* says:—"The State is sure for Grant and Wilson by an immense majority."

Referring to what is termed the "Greeley undercurrent" in Illinois, the Rock Island *Union* (Grant) remarks that if this be indeed so, it will be bad for Horace. "An under-current is not only difficult to manage, but is sure death to the poor chap struggling on the surface. If Horace is dependent upon the under-current, his chances for being sucked under and submerged are much better than his chances for anything else."

Kentucky.

The Lexington *Observer* (democratic) gives its reasons why the democracy of Kentucky should support the Cincinnati nominees in a long and well digested editorial. In the course of the article it says:—

Greeley and Brown promise to inaugurate a new era if elected. They are backed by a large number of liberal republicans, and the democratic part in Kentucky, as elsewhere, felt that they were sacrificing no principle, as they could not do it themselves, to unite for such an object with any body of men, no matter who they were, or what their antecedents had been. We are dealing with the future, not with the past, and it is the merest child's play to be quarrelling over the past records of men who propose to act with us hereafter.

The Lexington *Daily Press* says:—

While Mr. Greeley is not at all acceptable, he is far less odious than Grant, and in making our enforced choice we shall select the candidate who is the least objectionable, and give to Mr. Greeley an honest and earnest support.

South Carolina.

The Winnsboro (S. C.) *News* (democratic) referring to the political prospects in that State, says:—

From present indications the October elections in this State are calculated to excite but little interest outside of the two wings of the Radical party. The white people have made every effort to conciliate the blacks, and bring about a union of sentiment and action to advance the material interests of the entire commonwealth. These efforts, however, have met with a cold reception, and the conviction is forced upon us that "Ephraim is joined to his idols," and we think it is about time that our people, in order to retain their self-respect, should cease from all further attempts at reconciliation, and let the party ruling work out the political problems of the day as best they can.

EX-PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON HORACE GREELEY.

He Unbosoms Himself to a Friend.

The Nashville *Republican Banner* (Greeley) states that during Andy Johnson's recent visit to Washington be expressed himself in regard to the Cincinnati movement with characteristic freedom. On one occasion, when referring to Mr. Greeley's nomination, he said:—

ANDY JOHNSON ON THE WOODCHOPPER OF CHAPPAQUA.

* * The Cincinnati movement had a most creditable and patriotic inception; but the result has not been such as I myself would have desired. Certainly I did not foresee it when I gave the movement all the encouragement I could consistently yield. I am positive in the opinion that the nomination of some other man than Greeley would have collected the democrats around the platform which was there adopted with such a rush of overwhelming enthusiasm that, with the disaffected republicans, we would have carried the election beyond the possibility of a doubt. Mr. Greeley has much latent strength, which lies in the fact that his reputation for honesty of purpose has never been impeached. He must now be careful to restrain his friends or his organs, if he has anything of the latter kind, from too enthusiastic adulation of his new adherents. We have men in the democracy who have great influence over the masses, and who still remember and repeat to the public the numerous vigorous assaults of Mr. Greeley on the principles as well as the *personnel* of that party. Now if Mr. Greeley or his friends change to the right about, and are equally vigorous in support of his old opponents, people will make comparisons which are damaging to his reputation for consistent honesty. Remember that he supported bayonet legislation for the South against me; but the *Tribune* opposes it now against the majority of Congress. The tide of radicalism in this country is on the ebb. It has reached its utmost height, and the revulsion has come. I see this fact in the failure to complete the radical intention regarding the Ku Klux and Amendatory Enforcement bills in the House. The current setting in the other way is very feeble just now, and yet sufficiently strong to be perceptible. It is carrying with it many Northern republican politicians, who have wit enough to see the change in public sentiment, or who have commenced to think themselves instead of blindly following the dictates of a Congressional committee. It has been impossible up to this time since the war for the democrats to succeed, but a golden opportunity is now before them. They must act with united decision, however, or they will fail again. Mr. Greeley will doubtless be endorsed at the Baltimore Convention. This may be a bitter pill for some of us to swallow; but we must not show our grimaces to the public. I intend to take the stump myself, in my own State, and perhaps others, against General Grant. I shall oppose him on grounds of public policy, no matter who may receive the benefit of that opposition. It may be Mr. Greeley; it will certainly be intended for the benefit of the nominee at Baltimore.

MISCELLANEOUS POLITICAL NOTES.

The Mobile *Tribune* (Greeley) says:—"It is reported that Henry Wilson, late shoemaker, is not an ultra man. He ought not to be. He should remember the old motto, '*Ne ultra crepidam.*'"

The Chicago *Times* (democratic) is determined that Greeley shall not be elected, and gives the following reasons why he should not be nominated at Baltimore:—

First, because Mr. Greeley can't be elected, and, secondly, because he is not a fit person for President. If these are not sufficient reasons there are plenty more that will readily suggest themselves to any mind that is not afflicted with philosophic insanity.

The Charleston *Courier* is authority for the following doubtful statement:—

Mr. Greeley, always ready to tell what he knows about farming and gardening, answers Colfax's inquiry with the assurance that "squash season" will arrive this season early in November.

The Chicago *Times* refers to the "unspeakable idiocy" which was betrayed in the organization of the New York Conference, but the ticket nominated is "immeasurably superior to the Cincinnati product."

The Toledo *Blade* brandishes its weapon at the nomination of Greeley, crying out:—

Every plunderer, every treasury robber, every Tammany thief in New York, is howling for Greeley and reform with a vehemence that makes an honest man shiver.

The *Blade* of Toledo is sharpening up its wit as the campaign progresses. It is after ex-Congressman Ashley in this manner:—

Our democratic brethren of Toledo are modifying thus:—February, 1872, That damned Ashley; March, 1872, Jim Ashley; April, 1872, J. M. Ashley; May, 1872, Mr. Ashley; June, 1872, Hon. J. M. Ashley; and it will be in July, 1872, "Our" Ashley.

The Philadelphia *Press* (Grant) oracularly declares that "no republican can support Greeley and still remain a republican."

The Georgia *Constitutionalist* (democratic) avers that the New York Conference settles the Baltimore question. It points, it adds, "unerringly to the recommendation by that Convention of Horace Greeley and Gratz Brown as the ticket that is to redeem the country from misrule, and to inaugurate an era of reform, of honesty, security, amnesty and peace