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SPEECHES OF GENERAL GRANT.

BEING EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES, LETTERS, ORDERS, MILITARY AND STATE PAPERS.

DEFEAT AND SURRENDER OF LEE.

FIRST LETTER.

APRIL 7, 1865.

GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States Army known as the "Army of Northern Virginia."

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General.
General R. E. LEE.

SECOND LETTER.

APRIL 8, 1865.

GENERAL: Your note of last evening in reply to mine of same date, asking conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say that, *peace* being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General.
General R. E. LEE.

TERMS OF SURRENDER.

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

GENERAL: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to-wit: rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate; one copy to be given by an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property, to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority, so long as they observe their paroles, and the laws in force where they may reside.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General.
General R. E. LEE.

CONGRATULATORY ORDERS TO TROOPS.

"It has been his (the General's) fortune to have been in all the battles fought in Mexico by Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista; and he never saw one more hotly contested, or where troops behaved with more gallantry. Such courage will insure victory wherever our flag may be borne and protected by such a class of men. To the brave who fell, the sympathy of the country is due, and will be manifested in a manner unmistakable.—[After Belmont.

"For four successive nights, without shelter, during the most inclement weather known in this latitude, they faced an enemy in large force, in a position chosen by himself. Though strongly fortified by nature, all the additional safeguards suggested by science were added. Without a murmur this was borne, prepared at all times to receive an attack, and with continuous skirmishing by day, resulting, ultimately, in forcing the enemy to surrender without conditions.

"The victory gained is not only great in the effect it will have in breaking down rebellion, but has secured the greatest number of prisoners of war ever taken in any battle on this continent. Fort Donelson will hereafter be marked in capitals on the map of our united country; and the men who fought the battle will live in the memory of a grateful people."—[After Donelson.

"The General commanding congratulates the troops who so gallantly maintained their position, repulsed and routed a numerically superior force of the enemy composed of the flower of the Southern army, commanded by their ablest generals, and fought by them with all the desperation of despair. In numbers engaged, no such contest ever took place on this continent; in importance of result, but few such have taken place in the history of the world.

"Whilst congratulating the brave and gallant soldiers, it becomes the duty of the General commanding to make special notice of the brave wounded and those killed on the field. Whilst they leave friends and relations to mourn their loss, they have won a nation to gratitude, and undying laurels not to be forgotten by future generations, who will enjoy the blessings of the best government the sun ever shone upon, preserved by their valor."—[After Pittsburg Landing.

"Besides the heavy artillery at the place four field-pieces were captured, and some stores, and the enemy were driven to destroy many more. The country is the most broken and difficult to operate in I ever saw. Our victory has been most complete, and the enemy is thoroughly demoralized."—[Grant to Halleck after Grand Gulf, 1863.

"The enemy surrendered this morning. The only terms allowed is their parole as prisoners of war. This I regard as a great advantage to us at this moment. It saves, probably, several days in the capture, and leave troops and transports ready for immediate service. Sherman, with a large force, moves immediately upon Johnson to drive him from the State."—[Grant to Gen. Halleck announcing the surrender of Vicksburg.

"You have secured positions from which no rebellious power can drive or dislodge you. For all this, the General commanding thanks you collectively and individually. The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you. Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy Rebellion are with you daily. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered. You will go to other fields of strife; and with the invincible bravery and unflinching loyalty to justice and right which have characterized you in the past, you will prove that no enemy can withstand you, and that no defenses, however formidable can check your onward march."—[After Mission Ridge.

"*Soldiers of the Armies of the United States:*

"By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and the proclamations forever abolishing slavery—the cause and pretext of the Rebellion—and opened the basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dim the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in the defense of liberty and right in all time to come.

"In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and volunteered in her defense. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, fellow countrymen and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."—[After the surrender of Lee and Johnston.

Speaking of the armies of the East and West, General Grant, in the closing words of his report, in 1865, says:

"The splendid achievements of each have nationalized our victories, removed all sectional jealousies, (of which we have unfortunately experienced too much) and the cause of crimination and recrimination that might have followed had either section failed in its duty. All have a proud record, and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with the enemy whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor."

MAXIMILIAN AND MEXICO.

General Grant early urged that to support our neighbor Republic insured us peace. On the 19th of June, 1865, in an official letter to President Johnson, General Grant says:

"The great interest which I feel in securing an honorable and permanent peace, whilst we still have in service a force sufficient to insure it, and the danger and disgrace which in my judgment threaten us, unless positive and early measures are taken to avert it, induces me to lay my views before you in an official form.

"In the first place, I regard the act of attempting to establish a monarchical government on this continent in Mexico, by foreign bayonets, as an act of hostility against the Government of the United States. If allowed to go on until such a government is established, I see nothing before us but a long, expensive and bloody war; one in which the enemies of this country will be joined by tens of thousands of disciplined soldiers embittered against their Government by the experience of the last four years.

"As a justification for open resistance to the establishment of Maximilian's government in Mexico, I would give the following reasons:

"First. The act of attempting to establish a monarchy on this continent was an act of known hostility to the Government of the United States. * *

"Second. Every act of the Empire of Maximilian has been hostile to the Government of the United States. Matamoras and the whole Rio Grande, under his control, has been an open port to those in rebellion against the Government." *

Speaking of the emigration of rebel leaders and soldiers to Mexico, Grant proceeds:

"That the leaders will espouse the cause of the empire, purely out of hostility to this Government, I feel there is no doubt. There is a hope that the rank and file may take the opposite side, if any influence is allowed to work upon their reason. But if a neutrality is to be observed which allows armed rebels to go to Mexico, and which keeps out all other immigrants, and which also denies to the liberals of Mexico belligerent rights—the right to buy arms and munitions in foreign markets, and to transport them through friendly territory to their homes—I see no chance for such influence to be brought to bear.

"What I would propose would be a solemn protest against the establishment of a monarchical government in Mexico by the aid of foreign bayonets." * *

"The French have a just claim against Mexico. I would regard them as having triumphed, and would guarantee them suitable awards for their grievances. Mexico would no doubt admit their claim: it would not affect their territory or rights as a free people.

"The United States could take such pledges as would secure her against loss. If this course cannot be agreed upon, then I would recognize equal belligerent rights to both parties."

On the 1st of September, 1865, from Galena, Illinois, Grant wrote the President, that after mingling with the people for seven weeks, he is more than convinced—

"That there is but one opinion as to the duty of the United States toward Mexico or, rather, the usurpers in that country. All agree that, beside a yielding of the long-proclaimed Monroe doctrine, non intervention in Mexican affairs will lead to an expensive and bloody war hereafter or a yielding of territory now possessed by us. To let the empire of Maximilian be established on our frontier, is to permit an enemy to establish himself who will require a large standing army to watch. * * The trade of an empire will be lost to our commerce, and Americans, instead of being the most favored people of the world throughout the length and breadth of this continent, will be scoffed and laughed at by their adjoining neighbors, both North and South—the people of the British Provinces and of Mexico."—[From A. D. Richardson's Personal History of Grant.

"There is but one party, one Government in Mexico whose wishes have claims to respect from us. No policy has been adopted by our Government which authorizes us to interfere on Mexican soil with that country; but there is nothing that I know of, to prevent the free passage of people or material going through our territory to the aid of the recognized Government. Our neutrality should prevent our allowing the same thing when the effect is to make war upon that Government so long as we are at peace with it—[Ibid, Grant to Sheridan, October 9, 1866.

PROPOSED MEXICAN MISSION.

About the time of the Maryland disturbances in 1866, an effort was made to get General Grant out of the country. He took a deep interest in the affairs of Mexico, and the proposal was made to attach him to the Mexican Embassy. The proposition was declined several times. Extracts from these papers are given:

"On further and full reflection upon the subject of my accepting the mission, I have most respectfully to beg to be excused from the duty proposed. It is a diplomatic service for which I am not fitted by education or taste. I most respectfully but urgently repeat my request to be excused from a duty entirely out of my sphere, and one, too, which can be so much better performed by others."—[To the President, Oct 21, 1866.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—PROTECTION TO OUR SOLDIERS.

General Grant wrote as follows to Major General Butler under date "Headquarters Armies of the United States in field, Culpepper Court House, Virginia, April 17, 1864," in relation to the exchange of our prisoners:

"1. Touching the validity of the paroles of the prisoners captured at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. * * * *

"2. The status of colored prisoners.

"As to the first no arrangement for the exchange of prisoners will be acceded to that does not fully recognize the validity of these paroles, &c. * * * *

"As to the second, no distinction whatever will be made in the exchange between white and colored prisoners, the only question being, Were they, at the time of their capture, in the military service of the United States? If they were, the same terms as to treatment while prisoners, and conditions of release and exchange, must be exacted and had in the case of colored soldiers as in the case of white soldiers."

"Q It has been said that we refused to exchange prisoners because we found ours starved, diseased and unserviceable when we received them, and did not like to exchange sound men for such men?

"A. There has never been any such reason as that. That has been a reason for making exchanges. I will confess that if our men who are prisoners in the South were really well taken care of, suffering nothing except a little privation of liberty, then, in a military point of view, it would not be good policy for us to exchange; because every man they get is forced right into the army at once, while that is not the case with our prisoners when we receive them. In fact, the half of our returned prisoners will never go into the army again, and none of them will until they have had a furlough of thirty or of sixty days. Still, the fact of their suffering as they do is a reason for making this exchange as rapidly as possible."—[Grant's Evidence before the Committee on Conduct of the War, Feb. 11, 1865.

RECONSTRUCTION—PROTECTING OUR SOLDIERS AND LOYAL CITIZENS.

WASHINGTON JULY 6, 1868.

GENERAL ORDERS, No 44.—Department, district and post commanders in the States lately in rebellion are hereby directed to arrest all persons who have been or may hereafter be charged with the commission of crimes and offenses against officers, agents, citizens and inhabitants of the United States, irrespective of color, in cases where the civil authorities have failed, neglected, or are unable to arrest or bring such persons to trial, and to detain them in military confinement until such times as proper judicial tribunals may be ready and willing to try them.

"In my opinion, the great number of murders of Union men and freedmen in Texas, not only as a rule unpunished, but uninvestigated, constitute practically a state of insurrection, and believing it to be the province and duty of every good government to afford protection to the lives, liberty and property of her citizens, I would recommend the declaration of martial law in Texas to secure these ends.

"The necessity for governing any portion of our territory by martial law is to be deplored. If resorted to, it should be limited in its authority, and should leave all local authorities and civil tribunals free and unobstructed, until they prove their inefficiency or unwillingness to perform their duties.

"Martial law would give security, or comparatively so, to all classes of citizens, without regard to race, color, or political opinions, and could be continued until society was capable of protecting itself, or until the State is returned to its full relations with the Union. The application of martial law to one of these States would be a warning to all, and if necessary, could be extended to others."—[Grant on Texas affairs, January, 1867.

"Although it would meet with opposition in the North to allow Lee the benefit of amnesty, I think it would have the best possible effect towards restoring good feeling and peace in the South to have him come in. All the people, except a few political leaders in the South, will accept whatever he does as right, and be guided to a great extent by his example."—[Letter to the President, 1865.

"The white and black continually require the protection of the general Government. In some form the Freedmen's Bureau is an absolute duty, until the civil law is established and enforced, securing to freedmen their rights and full protection."—[Grant's Report to the President, January, 1866.

SHERIDAN'S AND STANTON'S REMOVAL.

"First. On the subject of the displacement of the Secretary of War. His removal cannot be effected against his will without the consent of the Senate. * *

* It certainly was the intention of the legislative branch of the Government to place Cabinet ministers beyond the power of executive removal, and it is pretty well understood that so far as Cabinet Ministers are affected by the "tenure-of-office bill," it was intended specially to protect the Secretary of War, whom the country felt the greatest confidence in. The meaning of the law may be explained away by an astute lawyer, but common sense and the views of loyal people will give it the effect intended by its framers.

"On the subject of the removal of the very able commander of the fifth military district, let me ask you to consider the effect it would have upon the public. * * * In conclusion, allow me to say, as a friend desiring peace and quiet, the welfare of the country, North and South, that it is in my opinion more than the loyal people of this country (I mean those who supported the Government during the great rebellion) will quietly submit to, to see the very men of all others they had expressed confidence in, removed.

"I would not have taken the liberty of addressing the Executive of the United States thus, but for the conversation on the subject alluded to in this letter, and from a sense of duty, feeling that I know I am right in this matter."—[Grant to to the President, August 1, 1867.

The second was written during the same month. Its principal points are given below:

"It is unmistakably the expressed wish of the country that General Sheridan should not be removed from his present command. This is a Republic where the will of the People is the Law of the Land. I BEG THAT THEIR VOICE MAY BE HEARD. General Sheridan has performed his civil duties faithfully and intelligently. His removal will only be regarded as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress. It will be interpreted by the unreconstructed element in the South, those who did all they could to break up this Government by arms, and now wish to be the only element consulted as to the method of restoring order, as a triumph. It will embolden them to renewed opposition to the will of the loyal masses, believing that they have the Executive with them."—[Grant to Johnson, August 17, 1867.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE PRESIDENT.

"From our conversations, and my written protest of August 1, 1867, against the removal of Mr. Stanton, you must have known that my greatest objection to his removal or suspension was the fear that some one would be appointed in his stead who would, by opposition to the laws relating to the restoration of the Southern States to their proper relations to the Government, embarrass the army in the performance of duties especially imposed upon it by these laws; and it was to prevent such an appointment that I accepted the office of Secretary of War *ad interim*, and not for the purpose of enabling you to get rid of Mr. Stanton by my withholding it from him in opposition to law, or, not doing so myself, surrender it to one who would, as the statement and assumptions in your communication plainly indicate was sought. And it was to avoid this same danger, as well as to relieve you from the personal embarrassment in which Mr. Stanton's reinstatement would place you, that I urged the appointment of Governor Cox, believing that it would be agreeable to you and also to Mr. Stanton—satisfied as I was that it was the good of the country, and not the office, the latter desired. * * * *

"The course you would have it understood I agreed to pursue was in violation of law, and without orders from you; while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in accordance with law, and not in disobedience of any orders of my superior.

"And now, Mr. President, since my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from the beginning to the end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War—my superior and your subordinate—without having countermanded his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey."—[Grant to the President on the restoration of Stanton, February 3, 1868.

Pennsylvania Victory.

The following verses which appeared under the above title, in the Philadelphi Press, over the initials of Charles Godfrey Leland, are as expressive of the joy of the Republicans of Ohio as of their brethren in Pennsylvania:

Thank God at last for victory!
Thank God we've gained our fight!
Though battle clouds are rolling yet,
At length we see the light.
Dark was the hour of deadly strife,
And darker were our fears;
Yet not a true heart failed us in
The breaking of the spears.

"What cheer from Pennsylvania?"
Comes flashing o'er the wires;
"What tidings from the Keystone State?"
Each friend afar inquires.
The land of Penn is saved again,
The Keystone State is free;
We've gained our greatest triumph yet—
A civic victory.

Can Union men so soon forget?
They ask o'er rolling waves;
Is there by night no solemn light
Above dead soldiers' graves?
No! Union men remember well
Those graves are altars still;
Hurrah! the dead have fought with us,
And nerved each heart and will!

And faster, faster, come the cheers,
And louder ring hurrahs;
And wilder, wilder are the shouts
Of thundering applause!
From West and East the cry "Well done!"
They sound it o'er the sea;
It thrills fresh life to freemen's hearts,
Our golden victory!

What ho! through all your Southern land?
What ho! through Northern pines!
'Tis heard in pleasant Italy;
It sings o'er German vines.
In Paris, and in Burgundy,
Such news the Liberals seek.
"'Tis well in the United States,
VIVE, VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE."

We'll let them hear such news again
Before this fight is o'er;
We'll let them see that liberty
Still lives upon this shore.
Enough—as Pennsylvania leads,
The Union always goes,
And Pennsylvania HAS GONE
And triumphed o'er her foes!

From the Sandusky Register.

Intercepted Dispatches.

One of the Register's reporters whose clandestiniously tapped the grape-vine telegraph yesterday, secured the following private telegrams, which we impolitely publish as an inside view of the situation since the election:

"NEW YORK, October 14.

"To H. Seymour, Utica:

"Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Nebraska have gone Republican. Geef me back my money. BELMONT.

"Nat. Dem. Com."

"UTICA, October 14.

"To C. L. Vallandigham, Dayton:

"Pity me, Clement, pity me! Come to me and we will weep on each other's necks. This is terrible! My grief is made more poignant by the fact that I am to have you as a companion in defeat. What shall we do do-boo hoo!

"H. SEYMOURN."

"COLUMBIA, S. C., October 14.

"To H. Seymour, Utica:

"What is the matter? Where is the glorious October Democratic triumph you promised? How is the programme of Blair and myself to be carried out, if matters are going on this way? Once more you Northern Confederates have deceived us of the South. You don't run the machine at the North, and we may as well begin to make terms with Grant. Adieu, Seymour! Adieu, nullification and Blair.

"WEIGHED HAMPTON."

"UTICA, October 14.

"To George H Pendleton:

"As every body seems to want Grant for President, what do you think of my withdrawing in his favor! It's terrible, and I have wept all night, but I see no better course. Do you oo-oo oo oo oo boo-boo? H. S."

"CINCINNATI, October 14.

"To H. Seymour:

"Don't withdraw. Run now, out of pure cussedness, and punish the people by keeping before their sight. If, on the 4th of November, you want proof that you have been a candidate, I will make oath to the fact. By the way, Seymour, wouldn't you like to manipulate another New York Convention? There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamed of in thy philosophy. Stick!

Geo. H. P."

"POST-OFFICE, CONFEDERIT X ROADS, (Wich is in the State uv Kentucky.) October 14, 1868.

"To Mr. Vallandighum:

"Bascom's boy, wich went across the Ohio River, Tuesday, with a couple uv hundred more patrits from this neighborhood, to sling in a few votes for the Ohio Dimocrisy and the Konstitooshen as it wuz, comes back with a crushin wait uv sorro onto him. He says you're defeatid by that unconstitooshnal Radikle Skunk; that Ohio's gone fur Grant; that Pencitvany, and Inginny, and Kneebrasky, hev all gone to them bournes from wich the Seemore Dimocrisy won't never rescue 'em. What's up? The Corners iz in teers. Fourteen Radikle niggers, wich we hed strung up in anticipashun of gellorious Democratik triumphs at the North, hed to be cut down afore they wuz ded, when Bascom's boy brought the bad news, and they are now insultin and outragin this constitooshnal community by yelling for Grant, Coldfacts, and wat they call Peese. Think uv peese in the sunny South, with niggers hurrayin for Ablishun kandidates. Not much!

"By the way, Vallandigum, do you spoze yo'll hev any influence to speak uv with General Grant's adminstrashun? I shel want my commission ez Postmaster extended next March. Durned ef Grant's so bad a feller after all.

"Yourn hopeful, but in teers.

NASEBOY."

The Vote for President—Duty of the Hour.

We carried all the States which voted on Tuesday and *that* is morally decisive of the Presidential election. But nothing human is certain which we don't make so by our own exertions. The heathen maxim is *fortuna favet fortibus*—fortune favors the brave. Our Christian maxim is that God works together with those who trust in Him. We must do our part, and our part *now* is to take care *that we poll every vote on November 3d which we did on October 13th*, and many more. We shall be joined by thousands of Democrats who will vote for Grant—and we shall have thousands less to vote against us because, on the 3d of November, imported voters, who were poured into Pennsylvania, will not be there. We must put into the ballot-boxes in November the whole Union Conservative Republican vote to make Grant's majority so large that it will be morally decisive, and *we shall have peace*. If Grant is elected we shall have peace in about six months, and from the moment of his election the whole business of the country will spring into activity. Any doubt not merely upon his election but upon that election being *decisive* of all the questions of the day, will simply continue the clouds and anxieties which have been so prevalent. General McClellan in one of his letters said the truth, when he said that the war was divided into two parts, only the first of which was ended at Appomattox Court House. The other has been going on ever since, and can only be ended by an *overwhelming majority for Grant in November*. This is as much to the interest of every Democrat in the country as it is of any Republican. All Americans have the same real interest. Why not, when a question is really decided, as the question of the Presidency is substantially—why not accept it, and try to make the decision absolute, and make it of permanent benefit to the country? What is got by making a factious opposition? We believe this view will be taken by thousands of Democrats all over the country. Look at the letter of Judge Pierrepoint, in New York, one of the leading Democrats of Tammany Hall. He saw and declared that Blair's letter and rebel speeches mean *revolution*, and that the success of Seymour would reduce the property of the country to half its value. This may be a strong statement, but it is near the truth. To undertake any more revolution, which the attempt to overthrow the work of reconstruction will most certainly produce, would throw the business of the country into utter confusion, and reduce the value of all property. Can Democrats afford that any more than Republicans? If, as is claimed by some of the Democratic leaders, the business of the country is obstructed and progress retarded by the political agitation caused by the Republicans, then, when the decision is clearly rendered and it is no longer in the power of the Democratic party to prevent Republican measures, why any longer keep up a useless agitation? Let any intelligent Democrat look at the case precisely as it is, and he will see that it is as hopeless to expect Democratic success on their present platform as it was for the Federalists to have expected success after the war of 1812-15. The next Senate will be more than three-fourths Republican; the House of Representatives nearly or quite two thirds. What will follow that fact? These things will follow it:

1. The Reconstruction measures of Congress will be sustained. The South must either submit quietly or be forced to submit; and herein is the strongest reason why Democratic Conservatives should support Grant, and make his election a moral as well as political decision, authoritative on the public mind. A contrary course may induce the wild partisans of rebellion in the South to attempt a resistance to the laws, and a continuance of their past violent conduct—a course which would compel the government to use force, and result in conflict and disaster. The reconstruction measures will not be changed, unless to make them more stringent on the rebels.

2. Negro suffrage is a *fixed fact* in the South, which nothing can change. It was not intended, at first, by the Republicans; but it was forced on the South, by the conduct of the rebels in rejecting the Fourteenth amendment. Then it became necessary to meet rebel votes with negro votes. But since then the question has risen to a higher level. We are advancing. We can not stand still in the career of human progress. Negro suffrage is now a moral and a commercial, as well as political, necessity. It is now necessary for all the friends of human rights *to vindicate political equality among all races of men*. Nothing less than this will give tranquillity to the public mind, peace to nations, and stability to commerce. And what is this but the doctrine of Christianity carried into practice? And what is this but what merchants practice in every part of the world, where they are compelled to meet men on equality, and respect the common rights of man? Christianity, commerce and political stability, all require that we should utterly discard all ideas of bondage, serfdom and caste from the political code of nations. But, at any rate, negro suffrage in the South is a fixed fact which can not be got rid of by any possible means.

3. *Balloning* will, after the election, cease to be a political vocation. Mr. Pendleton's efforts in this line have been very creditable, and it is, perhaps, the best performance he could have made, considering his political situation. He had a hard political problem to solve, and he solved it very adroitly. He had to appear active in the campaign, as the friend of his party, and yet to speak nothing decisively on the vital questions of the day, which might make a record for the future. As far as possible this is just what he has done. His doctrines may be very absurd, but they will not harm him much. Ballooning, we say, is at an end, for the great questions of finance, taxation and currency will be settled on a solid basis. The public debt will be funded in long securities; a sound tariff maintained; taxation reduced as much as possible, and the return to specie payments aided, as far as can be done consistently with commercial interests. In one word, we take it for granted that the future administration will conduct the financial affairs of the nation on the same principles that a prudent merchant would his. Largely in debt, he would use his credit prudently, economize his resources and pay off his debts as fast as he can. This is common sense, and we take it for granted that the Republican Administration will do this. It is no time for quackeries of any sort. It is a time to return to common sense and to common honesty. We must take leave, if we want to preserve the integrity of the nation, of all the wild theories and delusive speculation—both political and financial—which have so long agitated the public mind.

Now, if Grant is to be elected, and such are the facts of the case, we ask again, why should not conservative Democrats as well as conservative Republicans help to make Grant's majority large and decisive? Is it not time to put an end to our political troubles? Is it not time to put an end to the war? If we must have great parties (and we suppose that will always be the case) why not close the old issues and put parties on a new and better footing? It is the Democratic party alone which can do this. They have played their game and failed. Is it wise to play the old game over again? Is it not better to choose new sides and begin a new game?

At any rate one thing is clear—that the GREAT UNION REPUBLICAN PARTY must, on the 3d of November, renew all their efforts of the 13th of October, and make their majorities (as they will be) much larger. Let the 3d of November be decisive of all the controversies of the last eight years. Grant will probably receive the votes of *Twenty seven States*, and perhaps more. Let the popular vote be as decisive as that of the States. Let us have a decision of the American people, which shall be clear to all minds, and end the second part of the rebellion with the TRIUMPH OF PEACE. E. D. M.

MORROW, October 16, 1868.

What the Democracy will do if Successful.

From the South [illegible] Register.

The fourth resolution [illegible] platform calls for [illegible] every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities." Let us see what this means. Congress has removed the tax from over ten thousand different articles which are constanly used by rich and poor. The tax now levied is upon spirits, fermented liquors, gas, matches, and a few other articles which can not be really classed as necessities. If the Democratic party is successful in the coming election, the sentiment of the above resolution will be carried out. Equal tax will be levied upon every species of property, and you will see Democratic tax gatherers in every street, lane, highway and by-way of the land, demanding and collecting from you taxes upon—

Your farm.
Your house and lot.
Your horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and other stock.
Your wheat, oats, corn and other grain, hay, fruit, vegetables, and whatever else is raised upon your farm.
Your reaper, plows, harrows, and all agricultural implements.
Your wagons, carriages and sleighs, etc.
Your tools with which you prosecute trade, be you a blacksmith, carpenter, wagon-maker, or what not.
The clothes yourself and family wear.
The food you eat.
The tea and coffee you drink.
The pot in which it is boiled.
The cup out of which you drink it.
The sugar to sweeten it.
Every particle of food you eat.
The stove on which you cook it.
The wood and coal you use.
Your carpets, chairs, tables, and other furniture.
The bed you sleep on.
And lastly, the coffin and shroud in which you are buried, after being worried and harrassed to death by Democratic tax gatherers, under a Democratic administration which taxed everything equal.

And for what?

Simply that the bonds may be taxed.

Yes, this Democratic equality would place a tax upon nearly *seven billions* of dollars' worth of property in farms, live stock, houses, estables, clothing, etc., for the sake of having a tax upon a little more than *two billions* of dollars' worth of bonds, most of which are held by persons of only moderate circumstances.

Do you want to pay this enormous tax?

If you do, vote the Democratic party into power, and heavy as your taxes have been in the past, they are nothing to what you will have to pay under Democratic rule.

Remember that equal taxation, as expressed in the Democratic platform, taxes everything.

What not to shun—gumption.

A Disagreeable gust—disgust.

The lists of fortune—capital lists.

Down in the mouth—the dentists.

The lumber of learning—School boards.