NEW NATIONAL ERA.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
Editor and Publisher.

All Communications and Business Letters should be addressed to FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Editor and Publisher New National Era, Lock Box 31, Washington, D. C.

This paper is not responsible for the views expressed by Correspondents.

Mr. Lewis W. Stevenson is a duly authorized General Agent for the NEW NATIONAL ERA in the State of Texas.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1870.

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
Lock Box 31, *Washington, D. C.*

THE undersigned has purchased the NEW NATIONAL ERA, and the Printing Establishment on Eleventh street, where the paper is published. He will hereafter be its Editor and Publisher. All letters and other papers, whether intended for its columns or remittances in payment of subscriptions, should be addressed to—

FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
Lock Box 31, Washington, D. C.

Another Change.

To the Readers and Friends of the New National Era:

The NEW NATIONAL ERA and the printing establishment bearing its name have now passed into my hands. I shall, therefore, hereafter be its editor and publisher. This step has been taken to secure the continuance of the paper and to increase its usefulness among the class whose welfare it was established to promote. Five millions of people, whose character, life, and destiny are still the subject of thought and inquiry, cannot well afford to remain without some such organ as the NEW NATIONAL ERA, through which they may speak for themselves. They are no longer dumb or driven cattle, to be bought and sold; but men and citizens, armed with the mighty power of the ballot. They are a tremendous political force, and every lover of his race and country must look favorably upon all well directed efforts to render them an intelligent and beneficent force. There are hardships, and possibly losses, involved in the work I have undertaken: but I have faith in my people and in their friends, and believe my hands will be held up in this enterprise as they have been in other days and other labors for the advancement of the interests of my race. In any case, I shall have the satisfaction that follows an honest effort to assist a struggling people in their transition from a condition of ignorance and bondage to the heights of liberty and civilization.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

THE undersigned, having disposed of his interest in the NEW NATIONAL ERA to FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Esq., is no longer connected with the paper; all letters, therefore, relating to the business of the NEW NATIONAL ERA should hereafter be addressed to FREDERICK DOUGLASS. Lock Box No. 31.

J. H. HAWES.

WASHINGTON, December 12, 1870.

Highly Important!

Please take notice that Mr. J. H. HAWES the former business manager of the NEW NATIONAL ERA, is no longer connected in any way with this paper, and that no letters in reference to its business should be sent to him. All letters should be addressed to FREDERICK DOUGLASS, "New National Era," Lock Box 31.

THIS has been a busy week with the editor of the NEW NATIONAL ERA.

The important changes made in its ownership and management will, we trust, explain to its readers the somewhat hurried appearance of its editorial columns. There is, however, one consolation. Those of our readers who like short articles, and protest against long ones, will find the articles of this week's number short, if not sweet.

BE careful to sign your name and give your proper address. Many letters are received at this office, some of them containing subscriptions, to which no names are attached. Of course it is utterly impossible for us either to send the paper or to send back the money in such cases. Please *sign your names*, and give the name of the place from which you *write*, and the county and State.

PERSONAL.—It gives us pleasure to observe that our old friend, EDMUND KELLY, is actively at work in New Bedford, where he has so long resided, to secure the election of municipal officers who are true to the interests of our colored citizens as well as to citizens not colored, and to the poor as well as the rich. We want more men of the EDMUND KELLY stamp in every community where the votes of colored men are deemed of more value than the men themselves.

THE *Christian Recorder* is thus far silent over our reply to its unjust and ungenerous attacks; but we are not without evidence in the improved appearance of its editorial columns that our strictures have been of service to Mr. TANNER, its editor.

New Names, but Old Issues.

It is pleasant to notice that the discussion which has been going on of late through the press concerning the issues which divide political sentiments and parties has not been without essential benefit to the party of liberty, loyalty, and progress. It has led the Republican party to re-examine its own foundations. The effort to break up that organization, upon the assumption that its work is done, has met a signal rebuke, and a very just one. For once let it be acknowledged that the American people are not the hurrying, impetuous mortals they are often reported to be. If they do not like the looks of "dead issues" above ground, they still have quite a practical turn of mind, and entertain a high respect for the teachings of common sense. Almost any theory can be made plausible if no regard is had to facts. The rebellion ended with the surrender of the last rebel soldier; the Union was restored at the same moment, if it was ever severed. "Let bygones be bygones!" All very pretty; but suppose the country had acted upon such a theory, the whole South, in all the likelihoods of the case, would have ere this resmoked with the fires of a new rebellion. The country was wise in not permitting the South soon to forget her crimes. It is not good for us, nor for the South, that she should be treated according to this gospel of forgetfulness. "The evil that men do lives after them." The evils that have afflicted this country have not been conceived and consummated in a moment. Two hundred and fifty years cannot be effaced by five or ten years. The past and the present must have a broad margin interposed between them to induce the belief that they are not bound together by strong interlacing ties and sympathies. Is the Democratic party a safer custodian of the nation's life and liberty to-day than ten years ago? Plainly it is not. Read its papers, listen to its speakers, consider its platforms, study the history of its great men North and South, and they are all of one consistent character. You will find in them an ingrained coldness toward the Union soldier, a discontent with the just and necessary measures for paying the national debt, a settled contempt for the rights of colored men, and a growl of indignation whenever any just restriction is imposed upon the men lately in arms against the Government. They are the apostles of forgetfulness just now, and no wonder, for their pathway has been strewn with the whitened bones of their countrymen. But for the Democratic party slavery might have been abolished without severance of the Union or bloodshed. It was the North divided which invited the South to strike the rebel blow. Without this encouragement through the BUCHANANS, the PIERCES, the SEYMOURS, and others high in the Democratic church, bold and brave as the Southern people are, they would not have dared to dash their rebellious brands against the breast of this nation. This Democratic element is the same now as ever. The channels through which it runs is deep and wide, and where its bitter waters flow to-day they will flow to-morrow. Until the leopard shall change his spots, and the Ethiopian his skin, we shall look for no change in the controlling sentiment of the Democratic party.

Talk of "civil service reform," "revenue reform," and the soul of the nation is unmoved. An administration prefers its friends for clerks. The thing is natural; and who cares? The other party once in power will do the same; and who cares? If a party can obtain votes enough out of a population of forty millions to get into power, surely out of such a majority it can find men enough of its own, sufficiently honest and competent, to carry on the Government. But it is said that these clerks are "taxed"—that is, they are asked to contribute a part of their earnings to promote the success of their party. For the life of us we cannot see anything so horrible in this. Why should not an officeholder contribute a part of his earnings to such an object? What better is his money than any other man's money? If anybody should support the political principles in which he believes with his money, everybody should, and the officeholder included. A clerk in the Interior is no more absolved from his party obligations than a clerk in STEWART's store. As to "*revenue reform*," when anybody can define just what it means, it will be time enough to consider the idea of building a party on that. For the present the country hears new names and new voices, but her great soul, like an ocean, is still moved by the mighty elements that rocked us during the rebellion. Until these shall sink to rest it will be idle to attempt to arrest the nation's thought or feeling by inferior forces.

The Breakers Ahead.

Glorious as the record of the Republican party is, and necessary as all good men admit its continuance in power to be, it barely escaped defeat at the recent elections. Though the people cheerfully concede that it has carried out all the pledges it made on coming into power in 1861, and that it has been patriotic, honest, and faithful in the administration of public affairs, yet several Republican States were revolutionized, a large number of members of Congress defeated, and the House of Representatives well nigh lost to us through the open defection of men who had hitherto zealously sustained the party. And this defection does not seem to have resulted from a want of confidence in the integrity of the party or its representatives; nor from dissatisfaction with its principles and policy.

It is true that reckless correspondents here, and a portion of the Republican press, apparently for no other reason than to show their *independence*, indulged, during the last session of Congress especially, in the most virulent and systematic warfare upon the Republican majority. Their official and personal integrity was impeached day after day, and they were charged with all sorts of corruption and extravagance. No means was left untried, on the part of several leading Republican papers, to undermine the confidence of the people in their honesty and fidelity. But no specifications were made, and no proof given to sustain these sweeping charges; and it is doubtful whether they made any serious impression on the public mind.

But there is no question that this kind of warfare was made a pretext in part for the treachery of a large number of Republicans to their party candidates in almost every Congressional district—especially in the North. Republicans that had never before faltered, and who had no doubt of the fidelity of their leaders, seemed everywhere bent on vindicating their independence by bolting their own ticket and voting for their rebel opponents. The press had taught them that there was virtue and manliness in stabbing their political friends. So they bolted everywhere; and not one in a thousand can give any better reason for his defection than the clamor which a self-complacent editor, and correspondents, had raised against Republican members of Congress.

There is another cause for this demoralization which so generally exhibited itself in our ranks at the recent elections. It is the indifference that has been shown on the part of a great portion of the Republican press to the treachery to their party obligations of so many members of Congress within the last two years; and, what is still worse, the uniform encouragement they receive from their colleagues.

A member of Congress does not endanger his standing in that body by the most open and damaging treachery to his party. This is especially true of the Senate. A Republican Senator may use all his influence for months to embarrass his party, vote with his political opponents on all leading political questions, and aid them during the recess to destroy his own party, and yet be as highly honored by the majority of his Republican colleagues as the truest and best of them all. Senators, by the uniform indulgence with which their defections are treated, have come to understand that while they claim the *name* of Republican they can co-operate with the enemy with the utmost impunity, and retain their high places on committees with the utmost confidence.

Infidelity to party and principles, and even open coalition with the enemy, is no longer considered inconsistent with Republicanism, if we are to judge by the action of a majority of the Senate. And fidelity to party and principles has ceased to be looked upon as a merit to the same extent. All inducement to political integrity and honesty is, therefore, removed. While disorganizers and chronic bolters are as highly honored as those who are always true and loyal to their party, there is no motive for adhering to it longer than interest may dictate.

We are aware that this class of men claim to be a little purer and holier than those who adhere to their party and its principles through evil and through good report. Having ridden into power through the agency and by professing the principles of the Republican party, they become disgusted with politics, and affect the patriot by becoming an ingrate and apostate. In politics, as in war, traitors should be shot. Party success is absolutely out of the question while its ranks are filled with men who shoot a friend as often as an enemy. All good and loyal men believe the success of the Republican party necessary to the welfare of this country. That success can only be secured through party organizations and party discipline. To this end traitors must be punished and the loyal rewarded and honored.

How to Put South Carolina into the Hands of the Former Slaveholders.

If every landholder would, in proportion to his means, give one or two tracts of land to honest immigrants, South Carolina would soon have her population increased by thousands, and the settlers would, from self-interest, vote the Conservative ticket. Would it not be wise for the tax-payers to give away a portion of their useless lands to good citizens, rather than have their broad acres sold at a nominal price to a class of persons whom the Radicals will forever use as tools with which to carry out oppression to the white race? Suppose every large farmer would apply fifty acres of land in the manner proposed, what would be the result? A number of poor, honest men, sufficient to overcome the Radical majority, could be induced to settle in the State; and they would not only be a political accession to the Conservatives, but would, also, bear a proportionate amount of the taxes. Thus could the Radical party be hurled from power; and the glorious result would not eventually cost the land owners one cent, for their remaining acres would, with light taxes and an honest administration, be worth far more than the whole at present.

The above is copied from the *Star and Southern Advertiser*, published at Marion, South Carolina. It tells its own story. The deepest and most controlling sentiment of the Southern heart—that heart which was fired by the projectors of the rebellion—is now to regain, by one means or another, honorable or dishonorable, the power which departed from their hands upon the fall of the Confederacy. The idea broached above as likely to assist in the accomplishment of this desired aim is not a new one, and we have no doubt that an effort will be made in pursuance of it to divest the newly-enfranchised classes of South Carolina, now constituting the majority, of every office and position of power in that State. The fact that leading minds in the Southern States find it necessary to resort to the importation of coolies or others, with a view to regain their lost power, is an attestation of the sagacity and the unanimity of the colored people, highly creditable to them. Were they the ignorant, besotted, and ungrateful wretches they are often described to be, their ancient masters might easily find means to cheat them, cajole them, overawe them, or otherwise despoil them of their independence, liberty, and power. Thus far, at least in South Carolina, the colored citizens have creditably sustained themselves in their new and trying relation. That there have been failures among them, and political rascalities perpetrated by some of them, ought neither to surprise nor discourage. It was never claimed for the colored man that he is more honest than his white brother; and we doubt if any colored man in South Carolina has yet proved himself to be the equal of his white brother in political villainy. Nevertheless, we urge and entreat the colored citizens of South Carolina, and colored men everywhere, to bestow their suffrages upon no man, whatever his gifts or qualifications in other respects may be, of whom they have not the fullest assurance that he is above corruption and is in all respects an honest man. Everybody knows that we are, as a people, deficient in culture; and generous men will easily pardon this deficiency in view of our past history; but, while all allowance may be made for this, none will be made for dishonesty or immoralities of any kind. If colored men want to get into office, or remain in office, considering the vigilance of those who stand about them and the many motives existing for their humiliation, they must be like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion.

South Carolina Politics.

The Whittemores, and their like, no doubt get some of their power over their ignorant constituents because it is yet too soon for the negro quite to trust the white man, even when planted on the best of platforms, and influenced, let us grant, by motives sincerely good; but some, at least, of their power is based on the mere ignorance of their constituents and on their own as yet undetected rascality, and their prosperity has not the elements of stability. Its supports can, in no long time, be taken from under it by patient fair treatment of the negro population, and sincere co-operation with them for the common benefit in political labor and investigation. The State grows richer in spite of its plunderers; the colored politicians must always be few in comparison with the colored laborers; and long before there is time or opportunity for the corruption of the latter, by the example of the former, the laborer, if fairly treated, and if fully accepted as a political co-worker, will have forsaken corruptionists and demagogues, or else have driven them to comparative decency.

The foregoing is from the *Nation*, a paper professedly established in the interest of liberty and humanity, and which numbered among its original editors and proprietors several distinguished anti-slavery men, one of whom was a son of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. Most of the money furnished with which to start the periodical, if we are not misinformed, came from the pockets of men who claim to be radical friends of the negro. It is, therefore, with pain and disappointment we observe the *Nation* indirectly lending its aid and counsel to the malignant rebels of South Carolina, the dearest purpose of whose hearts is to drive the negro entirely out of politics, and restore him, as nearly as possible, to his ancient condition as a beast of burden. While justly lashing, and with deserved severity, the political rascality which has obtained in South Carolina, the *Nation* manages to handle the subject in just such a manner as to strengthen the hands of the ancient ruling class of that State. It is well for the colored people of the South at least, to be able to distinguish between journals friendly to them and those which intentionally or otherwise seldom speak of them but with disparagement and implied contempt. The *Nation* seeks for itself a reputation for dispassionate candor in the treatment of all subjects, and we believe that it has in some measure gained for itself this very desirable reputation; and yet in every case where it has anything to say in respect to the negro, his abilities or his possibilities, it is easy to detect a tone of supercilious aversion. No such manifestation should be observable in a journal of such origin and of such pretension.

Hon. A. M. Clapp, Congressional Printer.

We have before us the report of the Congressional Printer, Hon. A. M. CLAPP. It is a full, clear, and complete statement of the amount of work performed under his supervision, with its cost, and the needs of the establishment to make it more efficient. By all accounts, from disinterested sources, Mr. CLAPP has performed his duties as Government Printer with great satisfaction to the Government and credit to himself. On taking charge of the Government Printing Office he was met with a whirlwind of opposition from parties who assumed the right to dictate to him how the internal arrangements of the office were to be managed. With characteristic firmness and sense of duty he informed the impertinent meddlers that he had accepted the responsibilities of the position and that he proposed to assume them.

Mr. CLAPP's position in regard to the employment of colored printers is well known to the country. Everything that could be done to annoy and drive him from the position he occupied was done; denounced and censured by the printers of the United States and Canada in convention assembled; charged with corruption and misappropriation of public money with such pertinacity as to compel him to ask an examination before the Senate Committee on Printing, which resulted in his complete vindication. Not content with their miserable attempts at prosecuting him for his steadfastness in recognizing no citizen of the United States by his color, the printers again, at their late International Convention, through their president, urged that all efforts in their power be made to secure the removal of Mr. CLAPP from the position of Congressional Printer.

Mr. CLAPP continues to employ printers of African descent; he also is instructing three colored lads in the "Art Preservative of all Arts." We hope, and we know that we express the wishes of the large body of the colored voters of this country, that Mr. CLAPP may be retained in the position of Government Printer.

The actual disbursements of the office for the year ending September 30, 1870, were as follows: For the public printing, $632,690.82; for paper, $418,974.21; for lithographing and engraving for Congress, $64,929.21; for the public binding, $477,603.74; for mapping for Supreme Court, $1,473.50; for salaries, &c., in the office of Congressional Printer, $12,514.

TO A WISE MAN HIS OWN PROVERBS.—It is always an ungracious task to criticise severely the course of a person whose intentions are mainly irreproachable, but the duty of those who seek to influence men from a higher standpoint than that of political expediency is no less clear. The greatest kindness which can be shown to an honest public officer is to hold him strictly accountable for the company of his advisers; when he accepts evil counsels, to oppose him; and if he clings to corrupt and artful schemers, or allows them to cling to him, to rebuke his weakness by withdrawing him from his position of trust.

Some Republican journals are endeavoring to throw dust in the eyes of the people by parading these easily refuted slanders against President Grant which others have thought it for their interest to circulate, with the added inference that if these charges are untrue, all must be equally valueless. This subterfuge will be unavailing. The President's best friends, while believing no less than ever in his honest purpose, are forced to the conclusion that he has failed to set his iron will against that corrupt system, which, long upheld by both parties, has reached its culmination under the one now dominant.

This sin of omission cannot be explained away, and recent events have fixed the attention of all thinking minds upon it. Gen. Grant has, contrary to his fame, given many advantages to his enemies of the political ring, but he can yet save himself, if he will "move immediately on their works." He has nearly two years to "fight it out on that line;" let him not "keep himself bottled up" in fatal inaction.—*Christian Union.*

What does HENRY WARD BEECHER mean by these sinuous and insidious attacks upon President GRANT? He who could shelter with his broadest charity the treacherous ANDREW JOHNSON, and would not tolerate the idea that there was anything corrupt about him, should, for the sake of his own consistency, if for no higher consideration, be careful of his ground when he ventures to charge corrupt practices, or the omission to rebuke such practices, upon President GRANT. We ask Mr. BEECHER, and all others, to be explicit. If he does not like the President's treatment of ex-Secretary Cox, to say so. We shall then know just what Mr. BEECHER means by "corrupt system" and "political ring," and what measure of guilt to attach to General GRANT, and whether his sins have been such as to divest him of our confidence. The fact that General GRANT is assailed, in general terms, by one who can, when he pleases, be as direct and pronounced as a cannon ball, is to our mind convincing proof that his assailants have more of feeling than facts to support them. The nation has read the correspondence between Secretary Cox and the President, and, if we do not misjudge the case, public opinion has decided that President GRANT was right. Let those who know that President GRANT is a party to any corrupt "political ring" hereafter say so directly, and tell the facts, and have done with dark insinuations. HENRY WARD BEECHER is noble above what he has written above, and we are surprised to see him stoop to such a mode of attack. We do not worship General GRANT, or any other man; but to-day he stands at the head of the first free Government that the black man has seen in this country, and we would fain allow no dishonor to come nigh him in that position.

The National Aspect.

In our other columns, under the above heading, we copy an article from the brilliant pen of the editor of the New York *Independent*. It is a bold criticism of President GRANT, and a significant hint to the latter that he must either mend his manners or fail to be his own successor in 1872. We find little difficulty in assenting to the teachings of the *Independent* upon political questions generally, for it is instinctively and generally right; but we hesitate in this instance to accept its view of the national aspect, partly on account of inability to discover wherein President GRANT differs from Mr. TILTON in his sense of the demands of the country, and of the means of satisfying those demands. Mr. TILTON says much about "revenue reform" and about "civil service reform." Will he be good enough to explain and define precisely what he means by these phrases? Will he tell us in what respect the President differs from him in regard to these reforms? Mr. TILTON owes it to himself and to the country to be explicit as well as candid in dealing with President GRANT. The *Independent* is a power, and if public men are to receive its blows they are entitled to know the cause. Generalities, however brilliant, fail to satisfy a dispassionate public. Mr. TILTON says "the body-politic is corrupt from one end to the other." This is a tremendous statement, and, if true, it ought to cause a shudder of apprehension from the centre to the circumference of our whole country. He says that "public offices are practically bought and sold at auction." Another tremendous statement. We know some men in the country who would like to be bidders and purchasers at such auction. "Political parties are supported by an open and shameless tax levy on the salaries of officials." There is another dashing sentence, and which, if true, in the sense which it implies, would justify some political saviour in making a scourge of pretty large cords and visiting our political Jerusalem, wherein we have recently taken up our abode, and here imitate Him who once scourged from the Temple the buyers and sellers and thieves who had taken up their residence therein.

Postmaster General's Report.

From some cause unknown to us we have not yet received a copy of this report. We have, however, seen it extensively and favorably noticed in many of the public journals of the country. Mr. CRESWELL very evidently is a man of energy and determination. He does not hesitate before obstacles. His objective point once decided upon he moves on to it with marked strength and steadiness. He seems to have set his heart upon seeing the end of the franking privilege, and he remits no effort to that end. Though we differ from him on this subject, we can but respect his consistency and admire his persistency. The "frank" has never seemed to us the great evil it is described to be. It is expensive, but we think it quite worth all it costs. The people and the Government, according to our notion, cannot be brought into relations too close, and see each other face to face too often. So far as the frank favors this intercourse between the people and the Government (and it manifestly does favor it) the franking privilege is a benefit, not an evil, to the country. The following notice of the Postmaster General's Report is from the *Christian Union:*

Postmaster General Creswell reports the ordinary revenues of his Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1870, as $19,772,220.65, and the expenditures, $23,998,837.63. The estimated expenditures for the year ending June 30th, 1872, are $25,436,691, and the estimated revenues for the same time, including $700,000 appropriated for free matter, are $21,467,411, leaving a deficiency of $3,969,380. The whole number of stamps, envelopes, and newspaper wrappers was 554,407,945, of the aggregate value of $16,456,782. There was an increase over the preceding year in length of routes of 7,501 miles; in annual transportation, 6,301,593 miles, and in cost, $478,152. Adding the increased cost for railway post-office clerks, route, local, and other agents, $195,633, the total increase in cost was $637,815. The attention of Congress is again called to the necessity of readjusting the rates of compensation established by law for the transportation of mail matter by rail. The Secretary says that, in his opinion, the rates are not high enough, and that carelessness on the part of the railroad companies is an almost inevitable result. He, however, recommends that if higher rates are paid, the companies be required to enter into a formal contract, by which they can be held responsible, for prompt transmission of the mails. The franking privilege is again discussed, and the recommendations for its abolishment reiterated; and the Secretary closes his suggestions by urging the adoption of postal cards, as calculated to be of great advantage to the public and the Government.

Mr. SCHURZ offered the following:

Resolved, That the disqualifications and disabilities imposed upon persons lately in rebellion against the United States were dictated by imperative public necessities, and not by a spirit of hatred or vindictiveness; and that as soon as such public necessities cease, due regard for the fundamental principles of our system of government, as well as every other consideration of sound statesmanship, demand the removal of these disqualifications and disabilities.

Mr. WILSON. I object to its present consideration.

Mr. SCHURZ. I do not ask its present consideration. I ask that it may be printed, and give notice that, on Thursday next, I shall move to take it up, for the purpose of making some remarks on it.

We can very easily think of many excellent things which this distinguished Senator might do in harmony with our earnest wishes, but we think of none just now that would afford us a larger measure of satisfaction than such an explanation of his recent political course as will lift from his political character the cloud of doubt now resting upon it. We have not spared Mr. SCHURZ. We thought the B. GRATZ BROWN movement in Missouri, of which Mr. SCHURZ was the brains, a naked piece of perfidy to the Republican party and pernicious to the country, and have said so. If the matter is susceptible of any other interpretation, and these gentlemen can be fairly vindicated, we shall rejoice and be exceeding glad. Mr. SCHURZ has long been one of our political idols, and it was with unfeigned regret that we saw him striking a blow at the very heart of the only power that can withstand the hell black cause of slavery and rebellion. We shall await with much anxiety the promised remarks of Senator SCHURZ which are to be delivered in the Senate to-day.

The Arlington Debate in the Senate.

The national pulse was felt on Tuesday to ascertain how far the national indignation had cooled toward the late rebellion. The proposition to turn over the Arlington estate to Mrs. LEE, the widow of the late rebel general, and remove the bones of the loyal soldiers from their resting place on the Arlington property, and the speech of the Kentucky Senator in advocacy of the measure, were all well calculated to kindle anew the fire of senatorial patriotism and call forth a scathing rebuke of rebel impudence and profanation. The debate will do good in arresting that sickly sentiment which would have us forget and forgive the deeds of men who with broad blades and bloody hands sought to destroy this Government, with no other living motive but to perpetuate the barbarous system of slavery.

"FREDERICK DOUGLASS is not our leader."—*Christian Recorder.*

Who in the world has ever thought or said the contrary? We are told that our friend HUNTER, of Pittsburg, has been toiling through the columns of the *Recorder*, during several weeks lately, to establish a proposition which, so far as we know, has never been questioned. The dear fellow must have lots of time on his hands, and is a good deal put to it to find agreeable occupation. If it pleases him to ring the changes upon the sentence or phrase quoted, he is quite welcome to continue the exercise. We merely venture to hint to him that the world cares precious little whether Mr. HUNTER, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, or anybody else is the leader of the colored people. It is more concerned to know that they wisely and properly lead themselves.

Gratz Brown—The Missouri Bolt.

If there has been any doubt of the justice of what we have from time to time had to say in denunciation of the political movement in Missouri headed by Mr. BROWN, that doubt will be instantly removed by reading his speech in reply to one from Col. ARMSTRONG, both of which we publish in another column. If B. GRATZ BROWN is not entirely within the Democratic camp, and is not outside the Republican party, we should like to know in what political relation he does stand.

An Exceedingly Interesting Debate in the Senate.

Mr. MCCREERY asked leave to introduce a resolution, of which he gave notice yesterday, proposing an investigation with a view to the restoration of the Arlington estate to the widow of General Robert E. Lee, the removal of the graveyards on the premises, and general restitution for any incumbrance placed there in the interest of the Government.

Mr. EDMUNDS hoped that leave would not be granted. The proposition to dig up the bones of our dead soldiers in order that certain property might be given back to its rebel owners was, in his mind, perfectly monstrous. While entertaining the highest respect for his friend, Mr. McCreery, he hoped the Senate would never entertain the proposition.

Mr. MCCREERY then occupied twenty minutes upon the subject. He referred to the circumstances attending the recent decease of two of the foremost generals on either side in the late war—Lee and Thomas. He spoke of the friendly intimacy existing between these generals up to the commencement of the rebellion, when Thomas followed the starry emblem of the Union, and Lee resolved to stand or fall by the State that had given him birth; of the general sorrow and respect which manifested itself in either section succeeding the mournful intelligence of their decease. He proceeded to eulogize the inflexible virtue, military genius, and valor of General Lee, remarking that the American people would never relinquish the property which they held in the name and fame of the great Virginian. He then referred to the principal historic features of Lee's campaigns to show that with the means at his command possibly no other man could have accomplished results so vast, and proceeded to pronounce an extended eulogium on the merits and virtues of General Lee. The loved partner of his bosom still lived, and in her behalf justice was now implored. She belonged to a race fond of bestowing charity, but poverty could not force her to accept it. Would the Senate now remove the barrier that excluded her from Arlington.

Mr. EDMUNDS said that, instead of being wedded to the institutions and destinies of Virginia, General Lee was the ward of the nation; that the nation had fed, clothed, and educated him; that he lived at the capital, and when the capital called upon him to defend the flag under which he had been born, protected, and honored, he deliberately turned his back upon it, and planted his cannon in sight of the capital he had sworn to protect and defend. But he (Mr. Edmunds) would not dignify such a proposition by discussing it. General Lee was now dead. He (Mr. Edmunds) had never wished him ill. The only regret, he thought, that right minded men who believed in the war would have was (without any unkindness to that general) that he had not died either in his youth or in his patriotic manhood, or even that he had died earlier than he did by the hand of the law, which penalty would have atoned in some measure for his crime.

Mr TRUMBULL, while disclaiming any sympathy with the apparent object of the resolution, which was to surrender and mutilate the last resting place of thousands of the Union dead, held that it would be, if not unprecedented, at least unparliamentary, to deny to a member a simple request for leave to introduce any legislation not in itself insulting to the Senate.

Mr. CARPENTER inquired whether Mr. Trumbull could state a proposition more flagrantly insulting to the Senate than that to remove the slaughtered dead of the Union army from Arlington for the purpose of returning the farm to its rebel claimants.

Mr. TRUMBULL reiterated his disclaimer of sympathy with the object of the resolution, and replied that while the resolution was, without doubt, repugnant to the sense of the nation, it was not, in a personal sense, insulting to the Senate. He was averse to the adoption of any precedent the effect of which would be to prevent the free exercise of a right guaranteed to a member of the Senate.

Messrs. EDMUNDS and SUMNER cited two instances (the former the case of the proposed annexation of Texas, the latter the bill for the repeal of the fugitive slave act) when requests for leave to bring in bills were refused.

The VICE PRESIDENT stated five additional precedents.

Mr. MORTON protested against the consideration of the resolution. He had heard what he never expected to hear—a eulogy upon the character of General Lee in the Senate of the United States. While General Thomas was passed by with a few words, Lee had been favored with a high sounding eulogy, and that, too, within sight of the graves of the victims of his rebellion. Hampton and Sydney died not for human slavery, but for liberty. This man, General Lee, was, of all others, the great sinner. He had sinned against light and knowledge. His Revolutionary ancestry, his oath of fealty as an officer of the United States, his finished education and high abilities all forbade him thus to sin, and the enormity of his crime could not be concealed by decorating his grave with the flowers of rhetoric. In a word, it was now proposed that the Senate should gravely consider a proposition to degrade the memories of the patriotic dead of Arlington by removing their bones to less hallowed ground, in tender consideration of the rights of the widow of the arch rebel of the most wicked rebellion in history.

Mr. SCOTT said the coupling together of the names of Thomas and Lee recalled the utterance of Stephen A. Douglass, made at the time those two generals resolved to tread in opposite paths, that at that time there were but two classes in the nation—patriots and traitors.

The patience with which the Senate of the United States had to day listened to a eulogy upon the chief conspirator in the attempt to tear down the Government was but another illustration of that unparalleled magnanimity and mercy which had characterized the treatment by the Government of those engaged in the rebellion. Had the subject of that eulogy succeeded in his effort, where would the American Senate now be sitting? By his triumph slavery would have cast its dark shadow all over this land of freedom, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. To-day the doctrine of secession lies buried beneath the bones of the thousands who fell that their blood might seal the covenant of the nation; yet to-day we behold a the spectacle of a resurrectionist coming here to drag the dead doctrine out from beneath the bones of the nation's martyrs.

Mr. WILLEY characterized the resolution as most insulting and shocking to the sense of the Senate and of the country, as abhorent to humanity. Though personally tenacious of the rights of individual members, he could not vote to receive it.

Mr. SAWYER said the Arlington estate, like thousands of acres of property in the South, had been forfeited, sold at public sale for non payment of taxes and bought by the United States. In the absence of any memorial from Mrs. Lee, he regarded the contemplated inquiry as utterly worthless, as the facts he had stated were well known and needed no verification.

Messrs. HARLAN and PATTERSON also opposed the resolution—the former deprecating the day (should it ever come) when equal solicitude shall be shown by Congress for the welfare of former rebels and Unionists alike. The latter denounced the offer to rake up the bones of our valiant dead in order to prepare a home for one who fled from it, even before her husband, as an insult to the country. He said General Lee had spit upon the nation's flag and hurled defiance in the face of the nation, and the request now made in behalf of his memory would, if granted, be an outrage upon decency.

Mr. SAULSBURY disapproved of that part of the resolution looking to the removal of the graves from Arlington. He could not see that the merits of the cause in which General Lee was engaged were at all in controversy. He regarded the question as one simply of the ability of a Senator to exercise his right to introduce any business.

Mr. THAYER reminded the Senate that he had predicted that if the Congressional policy was not rigidly carried out in the Southern States the day would come when the leaders of the rebellion would be honored in the United States Senate. In one sense the day has come sooner than he expected. The Senator from Kentucky had seen fit to pronounce a glowing eulogium upon the leader of the rebellion, but had not given utterance to one word in condemnation of Lee's treason. The question now was, whether the graves of 50,000 loyal dead, who died that the nation might live, were to be opened to make way for the widow of a traitor, whose hands were red with loyal blood. This would be sacrilege, and as an American citizen and a soldier in the war for the Union, he entered his solemn protest against it.

Mr. NYE said the unseemly haste in certain quarters to restore traitors to favor could result in no good. The verdict of to-day and of posterity is and will be that General Lee was a traitor. The Senator (Mr. McCreery) had declared him a hero. So was Benedict Arnold. But what would have been thought of the man who could have proposed to restore to Benedict Arnold his property in Connecticut. The Senator had said that General Lee was a Christian. He (Mr. Nye) regretted that he did not know so well as he ought what constituted a Christian; but if General Lee was a Christian, he did not want to be one. Could the Senator recognize as a Christian and patriot the man who had drenched this land in blood? Possibly the aroma from the patriot graves would be offensive to the nostrils of the rebel owners of Arlington. Be that as it may, he looked upon the resolution as an insult to his own person, and as indicative of a disposition which, if not rebuked, would soon be a premium upon treason.

Mr. FLANAGAN, in some general remarks, spoke of General Lee as the great traitor of the age, whose influence had carried into the rebellion the flower of the Southern youth. Davis, the other great traitor, still lived, and, in the light of recent events, it was not unreasonable to expect an early move to make him President.

Mr. SUMNER desired that parliamentary law should be administered upon the present occasion with the utmost rigor, with a view to the most summary disposition of the resolution. He had nothing to say of General Lee except that his name stood high upon the catalogue of those who had imbrued their hands in their country's blood. He was content to hand him over to the avenging pen of history. He regarded the resolution as indicative of the sentiments of the political associates of the Senator from Kentucky, and as prefiguring the policy they would establish should they obtain power—a policy which was to take the old rebellion by the hand and install it in high places of power.

Could he make his voice heard from Massachusetts to Louisiana, it would be to warn his fellow-countrymen, especially of the South, against that combination which now showed its hand in the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky. He stated that he was present when Secretary Stanton gave the order for the interment of dead bodies of Union soldiers at Arlington; and that Stanton stated at the time his purpose in selecting the place was to forever prohibit the reinstatement of the Lee family there; that if they did come they might encounter the ghosts of their victims.

He quoted the epitaph above the grave of Shakespeare, which for two centuries and a half had guarded the sacred remains of England's greatest poet; and he would now write the same epitaph above the grave of every one of our patriot dead:

> "Good friend, for Jesus' sake, forbear
> To dig the dust inclosed here;
> Blest be the man that spares theses stones,
> And curst be he that moves my bones."

Mr. MCCREERY replied that he had introduced the resolution without consultation with his colleagues, and for every word of it, as for his own expressed sentiments, he was responsible to his constituents and his God. At the instance of his colleagues, he now asked to withdraw the resolution.

Mr. EDMUNDS raised the point that, the yeas and nays having been already ordered, the resolution had become the property of the Senate and could not be withdrawn.

The VICE PRESIDENT stated the question to be upon the motion of Mr. McCreery for leave to introduce the resolution.

Mr. DAVIS moved to lay Mr. McCreery's motion on the table.

Mr. BAYARD stated that about the first thing he did when he arrived in Washington, recently, was to visit the national cemetery at Arlington, and he did not hesitate to say that in looking over the almost numberless graves his sight grew dim and his eyes were moistened. There slept in peace together those who were called Union soldiers, and those who were called rebels. He (Mr. Bayard) left satisfied that no one of his constituents would for a moment countenance the removal of those dead. He would never consent to such a proposition. In regard to the resolution, he could not vote for it because it was not within the scope of Congressional jurisdiction, but belonged to the judiciary. He regarded the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Sumner's) attempt to connect the Democracy with the resolution as most disingenious. That Senator, in his desire to perpetuate a party founded upon sectional hatred, was willing to avail himself of any means to injure the only national party of the country, the Democratic party.

Mr. DAVIS' motion was then rejected—yeas 9, nays 49.

Mr. MCCREERY's request for leave to bring in the resolution was then refused—yeas 4, nays 54. The yeas were Messrs. Fowler, Hamilton, of Maryland, McCreery, and Vickers.

Mr. TRUMBULL declined voting, believing the right belonged to every Senator.

Two Quaker Ladies.

BY T. W. HIGGINSON.

Miss Martha and Miss Amy, the soft hearts of those dear old ladies were melted in an instant by Gretty's courage and catastrophe. They had lived peacefully all their lives in that motherly old house by the bay side, where successive generations had lived before them. The painted tiles around the open fire looked as if their fops and fine ladies had stepped out of the Spectator and the Tatler; the great mahogany chairs looked as hospitable as when De Noailles was quartered in the house during the Revolution, and its Quaker owner, Miss Martha's grand-uncle, had carried out a seat that the weary French sentinel might sit down. Descended from one of those families of Quaker beauties whom De Lauzun celebrated, they bore the memory of those romantic lives as something very sacred, in hearts which perhaps had romances as genuine of their own. Miss Martha's sweet face was softened by advancing deafness and by that gentle, appealing look which comes when mind and memory grow a little dimmer, though the loving nature knows no change. "Sister Amy says," she meekly confessed, "that I am losing my memory. But I do not care very much. There are so few things worth remembering!"

They kept house together in sweet accord, and were indeed trained in the neat Quaker ways so thoroughly, that they always worked by the same methods. In opinion and emotion they were almost duplicates. Yet the world holds no absolute and perfect correspondence, and it is useless to affect to conceal, what was apparent to any intimate guest, that there was one domestic question on which perfect sympathy was wanting. During their whole lives they had never been able to take precisely the same view of the best method of grinding Indian meal. Miss Martha preferred to have it from a wind-mill; while Miss Amy was too conscientious to deny that she thought it better when prepared by a water-mill. She said firmly, though gently, that it seemed to her "less gritty."

Living their whole lives in this scarcely broken harmony by the margin of the bay, they had long dwelt in concert upon one delicious dream. They had talked of it for many an hour by their evening fire, and they had looked from their chamber windows toward the Red Light upon Rose Island to see if it were coming true. This air-castle was, that they were to awake some morning after an autumnal storm, and to find an unknown vessel ashore behind the house, without name or crew or passengers; only there was to be one sleeping child, with aristocratic features and a few yards of exquisite embroidery. Years had passed, and their lives were waning, without a glimpse of that precious waif of gentle blood. Once in an October night Miss Martha had been awakened by a crash, and looking out, had seen that their pier had been carried away, and that a dark vessel lay stranded with her browsprit in the kitchen window. But daylight revealed the schooner Polly Lawton, with a cargo of coal, and the dream remained unfulfilled.—*From the Atlantic Monthly for January.*

A REMARKABLY AMBITIOUS EAGLE.—A correspondent of the Worcester (Mass.) Spy, writing from Warren, says: "One day last week a boy about fifteen years of age, son of Mr. James McDermott, was attacked, while in a field near his father's house in Auburn, by a large gray eagle, which fastened its beak and talons into the boy's legs and shoulders, and could not be frightened off by kicks or screams. An uncle of the lad, happening to be near by, heard the noise, and went to the rescue. The eagle turned on him, and he was obliged to beat it to death in self-defence. The writer of this was at the house next day, and saw the ugly bird. Its wings measured eight feet across from tip to tip, and around one of its legs was tied a bit of rope, showing it had escaped from captivity.