

# The Greene County Republican.

WITH MALICE TOWARDS NONE, WITH CHARITY FOR ALL, WITH FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT AS GOD GIVES US TO SEE THE RIGHT.—Lincoln.

A Family Paper—Devoted to Politics, Literature, Foreign, Home and Miscellaneous News, &c., &c.

VOL. X.

WAYNESBURG, PA., WEDNESDAY, MAY 30, 1866.

NO. 1.

## The Republican.

JAS. E. SAYERS,  
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

OFFICE IN WILSON'S BUILDING, MAIN STREET.

**TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.**  
Two dollars a year, payable invariably in advance. One dollar for six months, payable in advance.

**TERMS OF ADVERTISING.**  
Advertisements inserted at \$1.50 per square for three insertions, and 50 cts. a square for each additional insertion; (ten lines or less counted a square.)

Local advertising and Special Notices, 10 cents per line for insertion, with a liberal deduction made to yearly advertisers.

Advertisements not marked with the number of insertions desired, charged for until ordered out.

Ordinary notices and tributes of respect inserted as advertisements. They must be paid for in advance.

**W. E. GAPEN,**

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

WAYNESBURG, PA.

Office—in N. Clark's building, Feb. 10, 1866.

**M'CONNELL & HUFFMAN**  
Attorneys and Counselors at Law  
Waynesburg, Pa.

Office at the "Wright House," East door, -Colleges, &c., will receive prompt attention.  
Waynesburg Aug. 26, 1862.—1f.

**R. W. DOWNEY,**  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW

Office in Ledwith's Building, opposite the Court House, Waynesburg, Pa.  
Nov. 4, 1865.—1f.

**WYLY & BUCHANAN**  
ATTORNEYS & COUNSELORS AT LAW

Office in the old Bank Building, Waynesburg, Pa.  
February 3d, 1863.—1f.

**T. W. ROSS,**  
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON,

Office in Jewell's building, West end of Main street, Waynesburg, Pa. April, 1f.

**T. P. MITCHELL,**  
Shoemaker!

Main St., nearly opposite Wright House.

Is prepared to do stitched and pegged work from the coarsest to the finest; also, puts up the latest style of Boots and Shoes. Call on him on reasonable terms. May 2, 6m.

**W. H. HUFFMAN,**  
MERCHANT TAILOR,

ROOM IN DEACON'S BUILDING, WAYNESBURG.

WORK made to order, in finest and best style, Cutting and Fitting done promptly, and according to latest fashion plates. Stock on hand and for sale. May 2, 1f.

**Wm. Bailey,**  
WATCHES AND JEWELRY.

MAIN STREET, OPPOSITE WRIGHT HOUSE.

KEEPS ON HAND ALWAYS A choice and select assortment of watches and jewelry. Repairing done at the lowest rates. April, 1f.

**DENTISTRY.**

**TEETH! TEETH! TEETH!**

DR. S. S. PATTON informs the public that after February 1st, 1864, he will be at Waynesburg, when his dental services will be tendered to any and all making application.

He is now extracting teeth positively without pain, and his new ones in to perfection, and restores decayed ones to soundness. He invites all who are suffering from diseased teeth to come and have their aches relieved, and their mouths filled with gold.  
January 26, 1864.—1f.

**N. G. HUGHES,**  
SADDLER AND HARNESS MAKER,

Main St., nearly opposite Wright House.

READY made work on hand, and having secured the services of two first-class workmen he is prepared to execute all orders in the neatest and best style. May 2, 6m.

**THIRST NO MORE!**  
GO TO  
"Joe" Turner's

HE HAS JUST OPENED A  
**NEW SALOON!**

Keeps Good Rye Whiskey, Brandy of all kinds, Gin, Wine, Ale, &c. And has the wherewithal to put up Fancy Drinks. Call and see him in the brick part of the Adams Inn.  
April 22.—6m

**Whiskers**  
**FORCED TO GROW!**  
ON THE SMOOTHEST FACE!

BY  
**CHARLES HICKEY,**  
No. 5, Campbell's Block,  
Waynesburg, Pa.

**Valuable Recipes for sale.**

The following recipes can be had by calling on or addressing the undersigned:

Half Dye, No. 1, for 67.  
Hair Dye, No. 2, Stimulating Ointment,  
Hair Restorer, Hair Restorer, Cure for Pimples and Throat, Remedy for Freckles and Tan, all for 5c.

These recipes are as good as any in use anywhere.  
**THOS. FERRELL**  
Waynesburg, Pa.

## THE BACHELORS BRIDAL.

AN ORIGINAL PARODY ON "THE SERIAL OF MR. JOHN MOORE."

Not a laugh was heard or a joyous note,  
As a friend to the bridal we hurried,  
Not a wit discharged his farewell shot  
At the bachelor just to be married.

We married him quickly, to save his fright,  
Our heads from the sad sight turning,  
And we sighed as we stood by the lamp's dim light,  
To think he was no more discerning.

To think that a bachelor, free and bright,  
And shy of the girls as we found him,  
Should here by the altar, at the dead of night,  
Be caught in the snare that bound him.

Few and short were the words we said,  
Though we heartily ate of the cakes,  
Then escorted him home from that scene of dread,  
And thought how awfully he shakes.

We thought as we followed his lowly bed,  
Of the bench, the birch, the willow,  
How the shovel and brimstick would break  
O'er his head,

And the tears he would shed on his pillow.  
Says he, "they will talk of their friend who has gone,  
And every old "Bach" will upbraid me,  
And nothing I'll reck if they let me sleep on,  
'Neath the coverlet just as they've laid me."

But half of our heavy task was done,  
Ere the clock tolled the hour for the other,  
And we left, with the hope that the fate he had won,  
Would never be won by another.

Slowly and sadly we marched down  
From the top of the uppermost story,  
And we never have heard from, or seen the poor man,  
Whom we left not alone in his glory.

**THE FLAG RECEPTION ON THE 4th OF JULY.**

The Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company, with its usual patriotism, has offered the gratuitous use of its cars for the transportation, in July next, of the gallant soldiers who, during the late war, by actual deed, bore the colors of their regiments, or acted as their guard, while they were on the field of battle.

Such of these brave men as may be able are requested to assemble in Harrisburg on the 1st of July, and transportation thither will be afforded them upon application to the members of the Military Committee representing the district in which they reside. The members of the Committee on Transportation should secure correct lists of all the surviving color bearers and color-guards, and send them to General Noyes, at Pittsburg, on or before the 29th of the present month, so that no difficulty or delay will be experienced in procuring the tickets. General Noyes can be addressed at Pittsburg, or General Treadwell at Philadelphia, in reference to matters connected with this part of the proceeding, on the coming Fourth of July.

Every member of the committee appointed to act in concert with the Governor evinces a desire to make the reception of the flags an occurrence worthy of our glorious Commonwealth, and the occasion bids fair to be one, the brilliancy of which will surpass any other display ever witnessed in Pennsylvania or in the Union.

**FAST DAY SERMON.**  
FROM THE LOYAL GEORGIAN.  
Preached April 5, 1866,  
BY JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

[The services were introduced by selection from Scripture, especially from the second chapter of Daniel, containing the description of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with head of gold, arms of silver, thighs of brass, legs of iron and feet half iron and half clay, which was destroyed by the stone cut from the mountain without hands.]

Mat. 21: 44.—"Whoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall it shall grind him to powder."

The stone here spoken of is the justice of God. Those who ignorantly oppose it, are like the man who falls on a mill stone, and is necessarily injured. Those who wilfully and knowingly resist justice are like him who should be put between the stones, and be ground to atoms.

The image in this place reminds us of that saying of the East, "The Mills of God grind slowly, but they grind very fine."

We have had numerous illustrations of the truth of these sayings in the last few years. We have seen persons ignorantly, and in good faith, opposing themselves to the judgment of God, honest conservatives—well-meaning, but timid men, who feared reform lest it should mean revolution—disliking oppression, but dreading still more every earnest attempt to remove it. Ten

years ago these men stood everywhere in the front ranks of the nation—the admired leaders, as it seemed, of the public mind, occupying the best positions of influence. They were men wise in their generation, thinking they had their finger on the public pulse, believed to be on the high road to power, fame, office.

Where are they now! God's great millstone of justice to the oppressed, was revolving and they tried to stop it with their puny fingers and were broken. The stone, out of the mountains, cut without hands, the stone of eternal right, the rock of ages, has broken to pieces all the men of mere expediency, and they are gone.

"The Mills of God grind slow, but grind to powder." But of late the mills of God have been grinding very rapidly—the judgments of God have not been delayed, but have arrived very speedily. Look for a moment, and see how, in every case, quick and exact retribution has followed the crime and laid its heavy hand on the offender. If we see by such instances, that this is the day of judgment, and that God is not to be mocked or trifled with—we shall better understand what ought to be done in the present crisis—we shall not be afraid of standing by the right no matter what seems the great expediency, clamoring that we continue, just a little longer, to concede, just a little something to the wrong.

We had a nation a few years ago which appeared great and prosperous.—Our population and wealth were increasing every year with unexampled rapidity. Coming from a manly race with good blood in our veins; inheriting free institutions, and a pure form of Christianity, planned on a continent where all circumstances favored our progress, we grew strong. We took more credit to ourselves than we deserved. Though outwardly sufficiently religious, we had not much sense of God as reigning over us. We sang our Te Deums on Sunday but on Monday and all the rest of the week talked of ourselves as the smartest people in the world. We chanted the "Non nobis Domine," slurring the negation. But all the while, we were like the image of Daniel. The head was of gold, representing the golden ideas of freedom and equality in the Declaration of Independence—ideas which were afterward thought to be only false gold, pinhead, glittering generalities.—The breast and arms were of silver,—the pure cold silver of our Northern stock, the belly and thighs of brass, and legs of iron; the energy and intelligence the practical faculty, the inventive skill, which were the strong pillars of the State. But the foundation on which those pillars rested were half iron and half clay; free institutions mixed with slave institutions. We were the Fuller and Collier of Aesop's fable, keeping house together to the discomfort of both.

The Mills of God grind on: Then came the terrible retribution. The stone cut out of the mountains without hands, the terrible war, which no one, either North or South, expected or intended,—came, and broke the old image to pieces. No longer should slavery and freedom, like clay and iron mixed together, be the inconsistent foundation of the State. During four terrible years the nation struggled for its life. At last we made up our minds to do justly,—to give freedom to the oppressed, to let Gods people go,—and from that hour we began to triumph.

How exact have been the retributions of God on all concerned. The great American Republic had been false to its own ideas for the sake of outward prosperity and power, and during four years all its prosperity and power were taken away. Like Christ, it hung on the cross only he was the innocent victim for others' sins; but we were expiating our own. There was darkness over the land and the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom. For every church in the United States was torn apart.

All who went by reviled us, wagging their heads. England said: "The great democracy is surely destroyed, let us help the rebels to complete its destruction." The French emperor said:—"Now is my time. France helped found the republic; but what of that!—I will seize Mexico, now that the Union is helpless, and cannot prevent me."—None thought there was to be a resurrection for us, and one so speedy.

The mills of God grind on. The South, which had made its wealth and luxury out of the wrongs of the black man,—the haughty, luxurious South, was plunged into utter ruin. She saw her slaves turned into Union soldiers, keeping guard over her homes. She saw the Northern people, whom she had so long governed, ruling her with a rod of iron. By her own folly, she had opened her door, to admit all the Northern ideas and institutions she despised. By her own hands she had overthrown that slavery which she had made her idol.

The mills of God grind on. The guilty South had been punished; the guilty North had been punished. The torments of an enslaved race were expiated by the blood of our best and bravest, shed freely on a thousand fields of battle, the innocent in place of the guilty. The wealth accumulated by the wrongs of the slaves during a century, was all squandered in four years of wasteful war.

With this punishment of the principles came the sentence, also, on the accomplices and accessories. The great democratic party, of the land, which had made itself the devil's advocate of slavery, was overthrown. It had held in its hand the destinies of the nation—it was beaten at last in every precinct, at every election, in every loyal State of the land—for New Jersey has never been a loyal State. Scarcely had England ceased from applauding the rebels, than she was scared by a rebellion in Jamaica, and another threatened rebellion in Ireland. While she was affectionately imploring us to be merciful to Jefferson Davis, she was scourging, shooting and hanging helpless men women and children in Jamaica.

France, also, which had seized the opportunity of our disasters to reach out her arm to grasp Mexico, now finds herself unable either to hold it or let it go. Canada which gave such sympathy to the rebels, that they were encouraged to organize an expedition on her soil to rob and plunder our towns, now finds, in turn, that she is apprehensive of expeditions organized on her soil to rob and plunder her towns. So rapidly do the mills of God grind out their appropriate results. Yet men continue to sow the same lead seed, and cry out, with amazement when the harvest arrives.

Good, careful Abraham Lincoln died. A man full of cares, carrying a great weight of responsibility, but happy in his life, fortunate in the opportunity of his death. Since the greatest of Roman writers, wrote those words concerning Germanicus they have never been applied to a more opportune death. He lived to see the Union restored, Richmond taken, Lee's army surrendered; slavery at an end, his malignant opponents silenced; then he died, and all the bitterness of his enemies changed to silent respect or repentant gratitude. He also reaped what he had sown. He sowed honesty, fidelity, truth; he reaped love and honor. In him was fulfilled the saying:—"If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light." His singleness of purpose took the place of genius, of knowledge, of purpose, of persuasion, of culture. Rising from the humblest position in the nation, to the highest among men, he embodied that great office more than the office ennobled him.

But the mills of God grind on. The Republican convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for reelection nominated for Vice President a man who had always been a pro slavery Southern Democrat, and who differed from the others only in this, that while they were mostly disunionists, he was a unionist. He was a sort of an Abdiel among Southern leaders. Give him the praise of it.

But when the Republican convention nominated him for Vice President, he was a pro-slavery Democrat, as he had always been, brought up in the Border State feeling of hatred to abolitionists, and hatred to disunionists as well. He disliked South Carolina for its rebellion, and he disliked Massachusetts for its abolition. He was nominated, not because he represented the sentiments of the majority of the party, but because he did not. Nominating conventions first satisfy the majority by giving them the President, and then conciliate the minority by the offer of the Vice President.—Of course, they take for granted that the President will not die when in office and so the second office means nothing.

Mr. Johnson has not changed. He is

therefore, changeable and easily led, first one way, then another. It is my opinion that if the nation could utter its voice deliberately and clearly, on the questions between the President and Congress, he would obey that voice, whatever it was. And therefore, it seems to me very desirable, that this voice should be uttered, fully, unequivocally, by the press, by the elections, and if it were possible by State conventions, called for that purpose. Let the President be told that the nation requires of him to protect the freedmen, and see that they have an equal chance with the white man, a full protection for all civil rights, and that God and man demand of him that he see to it, that he bear not the sword in vain, but that he defend with that national sword the weak and ignorant against the strong oppressor.

And now the President and Congress stand before the people with a great issue between them, on which the destiny of the nation depends. You, your children and children's children, to the latest generation, are interested in having it decided rightly. It must not be left to the President and Congress as a private quarrel, it must not be left to political parties out of which to make party capital. The issue is not whether the President on our side, or members of Congress on the other, have been most hasty with their tongues and injudicious in speech. The question is,—What does justice require to be done? This nation stands to day under great obligations. We have taken by the power of the sword, four millions of men and women from the hands of their masters. We are under obligations to God and man to see them through this transition state. Four millions of people cannot remain standing in the highway. But they own no houses, nor lands—where then shall they go? "Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests;" but here is a great multitude who are like the Son of Man in this, that they have not where to lay their head. They are willing to work, but they have to work for those who have always robbed and plundered them. Ought they not to have some protection against their injustice and cruelty? The President says, "No; leave them to their old masters. They will treat them justly."—Congress says, "Yes; they have a claim on the nation for protection. Let us protect them, not by the sword, but by law—just, equal law." It prepares a law, establishes the Freedmen's Bureau. The President vetoes it. It prepares another, the civil rights bill. The President vetoes it.

Now, I have nothing to say to the objections made by the President and his legal advisors to the details of these measures. They may be sound objections, sufficient to justify these vetoes, or they may not. I do not say it is a bad thing to have these bills defeated. I do not know that it would be any advantage to the freedmen to have the Freedmen's Bureau, if all its officers were to be appointed by the President and those sympathizing with him. It might have become a great instrument of oppression. I do not think it necessary to call the President hard names. It is what he is, a poor white man of the South, a Border State man, a man brought up to despise and dislike the negro. A man educated in an ignorant hatred of the North and its institutions. He is a well-meaning man, but having that weakness which consists with a strong, fitful will, a powerful and passionate nature, dimly lighted by the sight of any large truths. He has no definite plan, no clear convictions, no consistency. He declared himself ready to be the Moses of the colored people, and he has proved their Pharaoh. He saw and approved (there is every reason to believe) the Freedmen's Bill, and then vetoed it. In April, 1865, he said, "Treason is a crime, and traitors should suffer its penalties; it must be made odious and traitors must be punished and impoverished. Their great plantations must be seized and divided into small farms, and sold to honest and industrious men." But since he has been President his whole treatment of traitors has consisted in pardoning them. In October, 1865, the President told Maj. Stevens of this city, that he was in favor of negro suffrage under certain limitations; and that he should try to introduce it gradually into Tennessee, if he were there. Just before April 1865, he told a crowd in a speech, that he was ready to give the freedmen the ballot. He advised Mississippi to give the ballot to every colored man who could read, and to all who had fought for the Union. Now, he thinks all attempts at giving citizenship to the negro dangerous and wrong. Mr. Johnson is not a strong man nor a deliberately bad man; but a man ambitious to reconstruct the Union at once; and having no clear, definite purpose, no strong insight. He is,

therefore, changeable and easily led, first one way, then another. It is my opinion that if the nation could utter its voice deliberately and clearly, on the questions between the President and Congress, he would obey that voice, whatever it was. And therefore, it seems to me very desirable, that this voice should be uttered, fully, unequivocally, by the press, by the elections, and if it were possible by State conventions, called for that purpose. Let the President be told that the nation requires of him to protect the freedmen, and see that they have an equal chance with the white man, a full protection for all civil rights, and that God and man demand of him that he see to it, that he bear not the sword in vain, but that he defend with that national sword the weak and ignorant against the strong oppressor.

But a second question is at issue between the President and Congress—preliminary to that of the freedmen and protection for them. "When, and how shall the Union be reconstructed?" The President says: "At once." Congress says: "Wait and see." The President issues his proclamation, declaring the war at an end, and the rebel states all ready to come at once into the Union. He denounces Congress for not receiving their representatives and Senators. Now we have the testimony of Gen. Karl Schurz, and of a multitude of others, that no Union man can be elected even in the most loyal parts of the rebel States, when any one who has fought for the rebellion is his opponent. The President wishes that these men, dripping with the blood of our brothers and sons, shall come to Washington to pass laws to govern the loyal men North and South. Congress says: "No! Wait till we see. Let us consider a little. Let us have some guarantees of their real loyalty before we receive them back." Here is the real true issue between the President and Congress. This is what should be kept before the people, and which the people should be called on to decide. For, after all, in this country, the people decide everything. No man, however powerful or great, no party, however triumphant, can resist the verdict of the national mind.

The President and Congress stand today before the bar of the nation, pleading this question. The President says: "Until the Southern States are admitted to their full rights, martial law at an end, all their governments re-established, their Senators and Representatives in Congress,—the Union is not restored. We wish to restore the Union. That was what we proclaimed to be the object of the war. Now that they are ready to return let us receive them."

Congress replies: "We are as anxious as you to restore the Union, but we wish for a real Union, one which will last. These States rebelled against the Union, and fought it four years. Their spirit is still unsubdued. They hate the North, hate freedom, hate Union,—and if they are admitted now to the floor of Congress, will do all they can to divide and destroy the nation. We do not wish all the blood and treasure spent by loyal men in the war to be wasted. We do not wish to have to do over again all that work. Wait, then, keep things as they are. Keep a military government in the South for some time longer. Protect the freedmen, until they have adapted themselves to the new condition of things. Govern the South firmly but kindly, till it also has accustomed itself to the new order."

Now, we believe, that if the loyal people could be heard on this question, they would declare Congress to be right and the President wrong. On this point there would be no difference of opinion. New England, the Middle States and the West would be all agreed.

During the first part of the war we were governed by the Border States, by their influence on Mr. Lincoln. Now they govern us again, through the character of Mr. Johnson. This Border State influence has always been disastrous. Right, we can understand—and wrong we can understand; but this border ground, which is neither right nor wrong, neither hot nor cold; which claims to occupy the golden mean because it hates equally falsehood and truth; which professes neutrality between virtue and sin; this is that spirit of the church of Laodicea, which the Lord cannot bear. "Because thou art neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm, I will spew thee out of my mouth."

It is a pity that we have not, in this country, some means of taking the sense of the nation on great public questions, like that which the English have in the dissolution of Parliament. In a great crisis like this, in England, the queen would dissolve Parliament and order a new election. Then, all over the land, the question would be agitated at the polls—will you support the ministry and its policy or not? The returns of the members would decide the question. If we had such a method, the President would dissolve Congress, and order a new election. Members of this Congress would go home and discuss the question before the people. If a majority was then returned opposed to the President, as undoubtedly there would be, he would be obliged to submit. We have no such method of getting the sense of the nation. It might indeed be done by calling conventions of the people in all the States to say yes or no to the question. "Do you approve the President's policy?" But we have no machinery for such a work, and no persons whose duty or interest would lead them to engineer such a movement. So we must depend on the declaration of national opinion as it comes from local elections, like that of Connecticut. But, meantime, if we believe that Congress is right and the President wrong on these two main questions, the whole people, by all its voices, by all its opportunities, by every utterance public and private, by heaping the desks of all its members with correspondence, should pour into Washington the confluent streams of public opinion. Let the nation, with no uncertain voice, utter to the President and to its representatives these two commands. 1st, Protect the freedmen; 2d, Delay reconstruction till you have guarantees that the freedmen will be protected.

We demand for loyal intelligent freedmen the same civil and constitutional rights which are afforded to others. We claim for them first, some adequate means for personal protection; second, some equal opportunities of acquiring and holding property, third, the motives and means of education. For as God mad the issues to depend upon the war to depend on the way we treated the slaves, so now he makes the character of the peace to depend on the way we treat the freedmen. The Nation, President and Congress, are standing together before the bar of God's infinite and perfect justice, and we are to go to the right hand or to the left, according as we treat Christ to-day in the form of these, the least of his servants. Do we need a guarantee for the integrity of the Union, that there shall be no more secession, no more rebellion? Let the freedmen at the South have civil and political rights, and they will turn the scale for the Union in every State. Their loyal vote will everywhere prevent nullification and secession. Do we have a new public sentiment in the South, and to root out the last remains of the pro slavery hatred of free institutions? When once the Southern States have given equality, education and full protection to the colored man, they are necessarily in sympathy with the North. Then, they will ask the North to help them in carrying out Northern ideas. Do we wish to escape financial embarrassments; to secure the means of paying the national debt; to enlarge the power of the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests of the country? There is no way by which it can be so easily and thoroughly done as by elevating these four millions of people out of poverty into industry, comfort, knowledge. Give them their full rights as men and citizens, and they will increase the whole productive power of the union in an immense ratio. They will consume your manufactures, they will buy your goods, they will increase the rewards of industry all over the country, and add thousands of millions of dollars to its taxable wealth.

But whatever we choose, whatever we decide, the mills of God will grind on and grind to powder all who come between them. If we choose, we can say, "We are tired of the eternal negro; let him be; this is a white man's government. Let the whites of the South govern the blacks; the blacks are not fit to take care of themselves; so let them do as they are commanded. We want the Union restored at once; we want no Freedmen's Bureau; give their rights to the seceded States; do not say anything against the President. He is the Government; let Congress be quiet and

therefore, changeable and easily led, first one way, then another. It is my opinion that if the nation could utter its voice deliberately and clearly, on the questions between the President and Congress, he would obey that voice, whatever it was. And therefore, it seems to me very desirable, that this voice should be uttered, fully, unequivocally, by the press, by the elections, and if it were possible by State conventions, called for that purpose. Let the President be told that the nation requires of him to protect the freedmen, and see that they have an equal chance with the white man, a full protection for all civil rights, and that God and man demand of him that he see to it, that he bear not the sword in vain, but that he defend with that national sword the weak and ignorant against the strong oppressor.

But a second question is at issue between the President and Congress—preliminary to that of the freedmen and protection for them. "When, and how shall the Union be reconstructed?" The President says: "At once." Congress says: "Wait and see." The President issues his proclamation, declaring the war at an end, and the rebel states all ready to come at once into the Union. He denounces Congress for not receiving their representatives and Senators. Now we have the testimony of Gen. Karl Schurz, and of a multitude of others, that no Union man can be elected even in the most loyal parts of the rebel States, when any one who has fought for the rebellion is his opponent. The President wishes that these men, dripping with the blood of our brothers and sons, shall come to Washington to pass laws to govern the loyal men North and South. Congress says: "No! Wait till we see. Let us consider a little. Let us have some guarantees of their real loyalty before we receive them back." Here is the real true issue between the President and Congress. This is what should be kept before the people, and which the people should be called on to decide. For, after all, in this country, the people decide everything. No man, however powerful or great, no party, however triumphant, can resist the verdict of the national mind.

The President and Congress stand today before the bar of the nation, pleading this question. The President says: "Until the Southern States are admitted to their full rights, martial law at an end, all their governments re-established, their Senators and Representatives in Congress,—the Union is not restored. We wish to restore the Union. That was what we proclaimed to be the object of the war. Now that they are ready to return let us receive them."

Congress replies: "We are as anxious as you to restore the Union, but we wish for a real Union, one which will last. These States rebelled against the Union, and fought it four years. Their spirit is still unsubdued. They hate the North, hate freedom, hate Union,—and if they are admitted now to the floor of Congress, will do all they can to divide and destroy the nation. We do not wish all the blood and treasure spent by loyal men in the war to be wasted. We do not wish to have to do over again all that work. Wait, then, keep things as they are. Keep a military government in the South for some time longer. Protect the freedmen, until they have adapted themselves to the new condition of things. Govern the South firmly but kindly, till it also has accustomed itself to the new order."

Now, we believe, that if the loyal people could be heard on this question, they would declare Congress to be right and the President wrong. On this point there would be no difference of opinion. New England, the Middle States and the West would be all agreed.

During the first part of the war we were governed by the Border States, by their influence on Mr. Lincoln. Now they govern us again, through the character of Mr. Johnson. This Border State influence has always been disastrous. Right, we can understand—and wrong we can understand; but this border ground, which is neither right nor wrong, neither hot nor cold; which claims to occupy the golden mean because it hates equally falsehood and truth; which professes neutrality between virtue and sin; this is that spirit of the church of Laodicea, which the Lord cannot bear. "Because thou art neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm, I will spew thee out of my mouth."

It is a pity that we have not, in this country, some means of taking the sense of the nation on great public questions, like that which the English have in the dissolution of Parliament. In a great crisis like this, in England, the queen would dissolve Parliament and order a new election. Then, all over the land, the question would be agitated at the polls—will you support the ministry and its policy or not? The returns of the members would decide the question. If we had such a method, the President would dissolve Congress, and order a new election. Members of this Congress would go home and discuss the question before the people. If a majority was then returned opposed to the President, as undoubtedly there would be, he would be obliged to submit. We have no such method of getting the sense of the nation. It might indeed be done by calling conventions of the people in all the States to say yes or no to the question. "Do you approve the President's policy?" But we have no machinery for such a work, and no persons whose duty or interest would lead them to engineer such a movement. So we must depend on the declaration of national opinion as it comes from local elections, like that of Connecticut. But, meantime, if we believe that Congress is right and the President wrong on these two main questions, the whole people, by all its voices, by all its opportunities, by every utterance public and private, by heaping the desks of all its members with correspondence, should pour into Washington the confluent streams of public opinion. Let the nation, with no uncertain voice, utter to the President and to its representatives these two commands. 1st, Protect the freedmen; 2d, Delay reconstruction till you have guarantees that the freedmen will be protected.

We demand for loyal intelligent freedmen the same civil and constitutional rights which are afforded to others. We claim for them first, some adequate means for personal protection; second, some equal opportunities of acquiring and holding property, third, the motives and means of education. For as God mad the issues to depend upon the war to depend on the way we treated the slaves, so now he makes the character of the peace to depend on the way we treat the freedmen. The Nation, President and Congress, are standing together before the bar of God's infinite and perfect justice, and we are to go to the right hand or to the left, according as we treat Christ to-day in the form of these, the least of his servants. Do we need a guarantee for the integrity of the Union, that there shall be no more secession, no more rebellion? Let the freedmen at the South have civil and political rights, and they will turn the scale for the Union in every State. Their loyal vote will everywhere prevent nullification and secession. Do we have a new public sentiment in the South, and to root out the last remains of the pro slavery hatred of free institutions? When once the Southern States have given equality, education and full protection to the colored man, they are necessarily in sympathy with the North. Then, they will ask the North to help them in carrying out Northern ideas. Do we wish to escape financial embarrassments; to secure the means of paying the national debt; to enlarge the power of the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests of the country? There is no way by which it can be so easily and thoroughly done as by elevating these four millions of people out of poverty into industry, comfort, knowledge. Give them their full rights as men and citizens, and they will increase the whole productive power of the union in an immense ratio. They will consume your manufactures, they will buy your goods, they will increase the rewards of industry all over the country, and add thousands of millions of dollars to its taxable wealth.

But whatever we choose, whatever we decide, the mills of God will grind on and grind to powder all who come between them. If we choose, we can say, "We are tired of the eternal negro; let him be; this is a white man's government. Let the whites of the South govern the blacks; the blacks are not fit to take care of themselves; so let them do as they are commanded. We want the Union restored at once; we want no Freedmen's Bureau; give their rights to the seceded States; do not say anything against the President. He is the Government; let Congress be quiet and

therefore, changeable and easily led, first one way, then another. It is my opinion that if the nation could utter its voice deliberately and clearly, on the questions between the President and Congress, he would obey that voice, whatever it was. And therefore, it seems to me very desirable, that this voice should be uttered, fully, unequivocally, by the press, by the elections, and if it were possible by State conventions, called for that purpose. Let the President be told that the nation requires of him to protect the freedmen, and see that they have an equal chance with the white man, a full protection for all civil rights, and that God and man demand of him that he see to it, that he bear not the sword in vain, but that he defend with that national sword the weak and ignorant against the strong oppressor.

But a second question is at issue between the President and Congress—preliminary to that of the freedmen and protection for them