DAILY SENTINEL

TUESDAY .... FEBRUARY 11

The Union it must be preserved.
—*Jackson.*

Democratic Union State Ticket.

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE,
JAMES S. ATHON,
Of Marion County.

FOR AUDITOR OF STATE,
JOSEPH RISTINE,
Of Fountain County.

FOR TREASURER OF STATE,
MATTHEW L. BRETT,
Of Daviess County.

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL,
OSCAR B. HORD,
Of Decatur County.

FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
MILTON B. HOPKINS,
Of Clinton County.

Expulsion of Senator Bright.

Speech of Hon. Jesse D. Bright upon the charge of disloyalty to the United States, and in vindication of the Freedom of Opinion and Speech.

In the Senate on Wednesday, the 5th instant, the resolution proposing the expulsion of Mr. BRIGHT being under consideration, he made the following remarks before the vote was taken in vindication of his devotion to the Constitutional Union, to the best interests of the Government, and against the proposed outrage on the freedom of speech and the right of voting according to the dictates of conscience and judgment:

In the personal aspect of the question it would perhaps be better that I should have said weeks ago what I shall say to day; but not anticipating that the subject would occupy as much time as it has consumed, or that such importance would be attached to it, I was content to leave it with the members of the Judiciary Committee. I stated at the close of the debate on Friday last that I might, before a final vote was taken, offer a few remarks more in the form of a statement of facts than an argument in my own defence. I realize the truth of what I believe is generally regarded as a maxim, that "no man is a wise or safe counsellor in his own cause;" but as there are now three Senators present who were not here for several days after this subject had engaged the attention of the Senate, I think it due to them that I should make a brief explanation of the facts which form the basis of this arraignment. I allude to the honorable Senator from Virginia, [Mr. Willey] who has been absent on account of indisposition, and the honorable Senators from Missouri, lately admitted.

Further, Mr. President, I wish to make my acknowledgments to the members of the Committee who so unanimously reported against the adoption of this resolution, even although one of the number [Mr. Foster] has since given way under the unprecedented pressure that has been brought to bear upon him. I regret this, sir, as much on his as on my own account. The reasons he has assigned may be, and no doubt are, very satisfactory to himself; but I apprehend they will not be so to the friends of even handed justice.

It is due to myself to say that I do not propose to appeal to any Senator to support the report of the committee. No, sir; my main object is to place myself right on the page of history. If I can accomplish this, I am content, let the result be what it may.

I confess, sir, that I have been amazed at the party organization exhibited on what has been so justly and ably treated as a judicial question by every member of the Judiciary Committee who has spoken in favor of the report. I may well fear my inability to succeed against so formidable an array of accusers, and such a variety of accusations. I said on a former occasion that had I known of the full proportions of this organized effort to take my seat from me, and the means to be employed to effect it—that the charge of disloyalty (for that is the only specification in the resolution) was to be added to and multiplied at the will and pleasure of every speaker—that every vote given or opinion expressed not in conformity with the peculiar views of those who are my accusers and prosecutors, was to be brought against me as a crime, I might, with the greatest propriety have asked for counsel; but conscious that I have not said, done, written or voted anything inconsistent with the prerogatives of an American Senator, I did not ask it, and I do not regret not having done so.

I shall not attempt to shield myself from the partisan blows leveled at me with such fury by interposing legal forms and technicalities. Let the light of day be poured in upon every act of my political life proper to be inquired into in this connection, and, as I said on a former occasion, I repeat now, I challenge investigation.

I have had hitherto no reason to doubt that my political action was approved by the people of the State of Indiana, for thrice has she honored me by election to this body, and on each occasion with a unanimity among my political friends, and by majorities of which any man might well feel proud. Nay, more, sir; the journals of this body, during my long service here, contain the evidence that I have shared largely in the confidence of its members and the honors they have had to confer. I do not refer to these facts in a spirit of egotism, but as affording the most pointed answer that can be given to such Senators as have questioned my antecedents, and sought to prejudice me in the estimation of my countrymen.

I come now, sir, to the *gravamen* of the offense charged against me.

On the 1st day of March, 1861, I wrote the following letter:

> WASHINGTON, March 1, 1861.
>
> MY DEAR SIR: Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend Thomas B. Lincoln, of Texas. He visits your capital mainly to dispose of what he regards a great improvement in fire-arms. I recommend him to your favorable consideration as a gentleman of the first respectability, and reliable in every respect.
>
> Very truly, yours, JESSE D. BRIGHT.
>
> To his Excellency, JEFFERSON DAVIS,
> President of the Confederation of States.

It becomes important at the threshold of this inquiry to ascertain who Thomas B. Lincoln is; whether he is "a gentleman of the first respectability, and reliable in every respect," (in the language of the introduction,) or is he a man of doubtful character? Would his past life prove him to be an honest or a dishonest man? Is he or was he a loyal or disloyal citizen at the date of my letter, and upon what do I or did I base my opinions? These I deem important inquiries, to be answered before I go further, for in giving such an indorsement as I gave to Mr. Lincoln, I am responsible for the truth of what I said.

My acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln commenced about the year 1837. He removed from the city of Philadelphia to Madison, Indiana, where I then resided, and was practicing my profession. Mr. Lincoln was both a wholesale and retail merchant, and did a very extensive business. During his residence at the place last mentioned, which was between three and four years, I generally attended to his legal business. On winding up his mercantile affairs, which I think was in 1841 or 1842, he removed to Texas, leaving with me the collection of a large amount of outstanding debts. I think it was not until 1851 or 1852 that I had a final settlement with Mr. Lincoln, which resulted in my purchasing from him a considerable amount of real estate, and there being a defect in the titles, I was kept in occasional correspondence with him up to 1854 or 1855. About this time, Mr. Lincoln connected himself with what was known as the Texas land grant, and formed one of many of a large company that conceived the idea of making a railroad to the Pacific coast. About this time Congress had under consideration the same subject. This brought Mr. Lincoln to Washington each session thereafter as regularly as Congress met. It so happened that I was one of a special committee of nine raised in the Senate on the occasion to consider and report upon some plan or route of railroad to the Pacific. This again brought me in communication with Mr. Lincoln. Seldom a week passed that he did not visit me at my house. I was always glad to see him, and whenever and wherever we met, I recognized and treated him as a friend and a gentleman. I may here add that Thomas B. Lincoln is well and favorably known in his native city of Philadelphia, and in the community in which I live. He is known to many of the citizens of Washington, and very well known to all those Senators and Representatives who took an active part in the great enterprise I have mentioned. I never heard aught alleged against his honesty, integrity or loyalty until I heard of his arrest in the city of Cincinnati, in July or August last, *on suspicion—mere suspicion*—of being in complicity with the Southern rebellion. There were found in his possession among his papers two letters written by me; and if he had had his business budget with him, there would no doubt have been found hundreds of letters from me, running back during the last twenty-three or twenty-four years. Having read one letter which was found with Mr. Lincoln, I now read the other:

> WASHINGTON, June 27, 1860.
>
> DEAR SIR: I take pleasure in introducing to you an old and valued friend, Mr. Thomas B. Lincoln. He has a proposition to make to you connected with a kind of machine he understands you are using in the public improvements under your control. I commend him to you as a reliable gentleman in every sense of the word, and bespeak for him your kind consideration.
>
> Truly yours, J. D. BRIGHT.
>
> Captain FRANKLIN.

Mark you, this letter forms no part of the accusation against me. It has been certified to here by the officer who has custody of it, for the purpose, I suppose, of showing that I had been in the habit of corresponding with Mr. Lincoln. I am glad it has been done. It enables me, from the face of different papers, penned at different periods, to show what my relations were with Mr. Lincoln, and my opinion of him, long before even the thought of disunion was expressed.

The Senator from Maine, [Mr. Morrill,] in his assault upon me, laid great stress on the cordiality of feeling expressed in my letter of the 1st of March, both toward the person to whom it was addressed and toward the person in whose behalf it was written; and volunteered the opinion that it sounded like the language of a courtier. I have none other than a mere passing acquaintance with that Senator, and his total ignorance of my character is disclosed by venturing to make such an imputation upon it. If he knew me better, he would have known that whatever be my defects, this was not one of them. With more sycophantic smiles, and fewer looks and tones of defiance since this prosecution commenced, I can scarcely doubt that I should have lessened the number of my prosecutors, and abated the venom of their attacks; but with entire confidence in my innocence and integrity, all I ask, or have asked is justice.

I wish now to call the attention of the Senate to the similitude of language in each of these letters. When the first was written I was chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. Captain Franklin, to whom it was addressed, was in charge of the Capitol extension, and to some extent under their direction. This brought me in daily communication with Captain (now General) Franklin. No doubt Mr. Lincoln knew this, and solicited the letter, stating what his object was. I have been in the almost daily habit of giving letters of introduction to friends and acquaintances for years past, as a matter of course, and as I presume most members of Congress have, particularly those who may be in sympathy with the party in power at the time. In the letter to Captain Franklin, I stated what Mr Lincoln's business was:

> "He has a proposition to make to you connected with a kind of machine he understands you are using in the public improvements under your control."

I further said:

> "I commend him to you as a reliable gentleman in every sense of the word, and bespeak for him your kind consideration."

In writing such letters, my mind, and I presume that of others, dwells almost entirely on the relation the person asking it bears to me, and I have no recollection of but a single case in which I ever refused a letter of introduction to a friend or acquaintance. I have given them, as of course, where I had confidence in the character and standing of the applicant, and generally stated, as he requested, his object in asking for the letter, without even a thought in relation to that object.

But it is also asserted that the address of the letter to Mr. Davis as President of the Confederate States, is evidence of disloyalty. My answer is, that I had neither the authority nor intention to recognize the lawfulness of his claim to the office he held in fact, and I suppose I addressed him as a matter of courtesy by the title he claimed, and, in doing this, did no more, as was well said by the Senator from California, [Mr. Latham,] than was repeated by Senators on this floor in open debate, both before and after the date of my letter. I had been for many years on terms of friendly personal and political relations with Mr. Davis, and in common with those who knew him, had a high opinion of his character and capacity, and of course felt justified by those but recently severed relations in giving a letter of introduction to him without any reference to the position he claimed; nor did I then for a moment believe that civil war could or would be resorted to as a remedy for the settlement of our sectional difficulties. Nay, more, for weeks before, and for days if not weeks after this letter was written, letters and documents were transmitted by your mails, addressed to Mr. Davis by the same title, without objection or giving rise to the idea that such an address was a recognition of his lawful title to the office he claimed or any impeachment of the loyalty of those who directed them or permitted their transmission. One of the Senators from Texas on this floor repeatedly showed documents and letters that he had directed at his desk here to the President of the Confederate States.

Subsequent to this letter for more than a month persons claiming to be commissioners from this new confederacy were residing in this capital unmolested, and in communication, whether formal or informal is immaterial, with the Secretary of State.

The postal, commercial, and traveling intercourse of the people of the United States was continued as before the commencement of this revolution, and yet a mere letter of introduction, written during this state of affairs, for a friend of twenty years' standing to another I had known almost as long, is now perverted in its intention, and held to be evidence of disloyalty.

I felt at the date of this letter, in the language of the President, uttered three days thereafter, and repeated by himself and his political friends for weeks thereafter, that there could not, must not be war; that we were friends and not enemies; that our unfortunate sectional difficulties would be settled peacefully, but never by the power of the sword.

But, say some of my accusers, you must have known, despite of all this, that war was upon us;" others say, "you must have known that it was inevitable." To this illiberal, unjust imputation of prophetic knowledge on my part I oppose history and facts. Cotemporaneous with the scenes and incidents I have mentioned came the voice of the people of Tennessee, declaring by a majority of thirty thousand that she was for the Union and Constitution and against secession; and the sound had scarcely died upon our ears ere we heard its reverberation from that mother of States, Virginia; and following her example came Kentucky, Arkansas and North Carolina. With this cordon of loyal border Southern States, who believed that a soldier would ever be sent from north of Mason and Dixon's line to enforce obedience to the Constitution?

Again, sir, many of the leading Republican journals of the country were open and unreserved in their advocacy of peaceful separation. Among them was the New York *Tribune*, commencing its advocacy as far back as December, 1860. Distinguished public functionaries of the Republican party openly avowed this policy, and I can name them if my statement is denied. As late as April 10 the present Secretary of State in his dispatch to our minister at London, said:

> "The President neither looks for nor apprehends any actual dismemberment of the American Union, especially by a line of latitude." * * * "The movement, therefore, in the opinion of the President, tends directly to anarchy in the seceding States, as similar movements in similar circumstances have already resulted in Spanish America, and especially in Mexico. He believes, nevertheless, that the citizens of those States, as well as the citizens of the other States, are too intelligent, considerate, and wise to follow the leaders to that disastrous end. For these reasons he would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs, namely, that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, even although he were disposed to question that proposition. But, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true. Only an imperial or despotic Government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State. This Federal Republican system of ours is, of all forms of Government, the very one which is most unfitted for such a labor. Happily, however, this is only an imaginary defect. The system has within itself adequate, peaceful, conservative, and recuperative forces. Firmness on the part of the Government in maintaining and preserving the public institutions and property, and in executing the laws where authority can be exercised without waging war, combined with such measures of justice, moderation and forbearance as will disarm reasoning opposition, will be sufficient to secure the public safety until returning reflection, concurring with the fearful experience of social evils, the inevitable fruits of faction, shall bring the recusant members cheerfully back into the family, which, after all, must prove their best and happiest, as it undeniably is their most natural home. The Constitution of the United States provides for that return by authorizing Congress, on application to be made by a certain majority of the States, to assemble a national convention, in which the organic law can, if it be needful, be revised so as to remove all real obstacles to a reunion, so suitable to the habits of the people, and so eminently conducive to the common safety and welfare."

In view of all these historical facts, how can any candid, impartial mind reach the conclusion that on the 1st of March, 1861, I knew there was war existing or that war was inevitable? Add to this the timid and time serving policy of the late Administration, in frequent consultation with the immediate friends and commissioners of the Southern organization, allowing his political friends and the press of the country to announce and reannounce daily that there would be no war—that fort Sumter would be evacuated and peaceful relations established; and you have another key to the delusion under which thousands and hundreds of thousands of loyal Union men in the South, as well as in the North, were laboring. Up to the day that Fort Sumter fell I believed with the President that "we were friends, not enemies." I wrote of them and to them; I spoke of them and to them, as I ever had; but here, sir, the curtain fell; this was an act of war, and from the date of the President's proclamation we were enemies, not friends, in the belligerent sense of the term. Acts which before the happening of this event were legitimate and lawful, become now illegal and in some instances treasonable. The shipment of provisions, the sale of all kinds of munitions of war that had been publicly carried on between the North and the South, and was an every-day occurrence up to this time, suddenly, and by this act of war, and by virtue of the proclamation of the President, became illegal and treasonable; and after the occurrence of these events, I should never have felt myself at liberty to address a letter of introduction to Mr. Davis.

No man disputes this; but are you going to say that every man who engaged in trade, commerce or correspondence with the South prior to this time is disloyal and guilty of treason? Are you prepared to assert this principle of *ex post facto* tyranny? If so, who can fix a limit to offenders, and to what a farce do you reduce that principle of eternal justice which has in all ages of the world been the shield and protection of the citizen?

I return again to my letter, and after a short statement, which shall be substantially a repetition of what I said before the committee, will dismiss it as far as I can from my mind.

I have not the most distant recollection of having written either of these letters. I said so in my letter of explanation to Mr. Fitch, which has been introduced here and criticised with such severity, because of the bold avowal of opinions which I honestly entertained. I said the same to the committee, and I repeat it here to-day. So little impression did this act of courtesy for a friend make on my mind, that to this hour I cannot call to mind when, where, or under what circumstances the letter was written, and I may say the same of the letter to Captain Franklin. When I saw the letter published marked "private and confidential," I said that the language of the letter was my style, that Lincoln was an old friend, and that if he said I had given him such a letter it must be so; that the words "private and confidential" I seldom put on any letter, never in a letter of introduction. A friend soon after wrote me that I was correct on that point. Still, it has gone to the world in that form, and all the prejudice that such an addition to the letter would create, has attached, and my enemies have the benefit of it, in swelling the volume of opposition that arrays itself against me.

Another argument against me is that, after I took my seat here, I said that I would do the same thing again under the same circumstances, and defend it here or anywhere else. I did say so, and I repeat it; and I meant by that just this, that when I gave that letter to Mr. Lincoln, the idea of war or of a hostile collision with any one or more of the Southern States never entered my mind. It could not; I know it did not. If even a gleam of such a suspicion had entered my mind, every instinct of my nature would have deterred me, to say nothing of those prudential considerations which I trust have governed me in all the relations of life.

I was asked by one of the honorable committee whether I would have given such a letter after the fall of Fort Sumter. I unhesitatingly answered: "No, sir; I would have regarded the request on the part of an intelligent man, under such circumstances, as an insult."

Mr. President, it is only since grave Senators have geen betrayed into dignifying this matter with a public examination that I could bring myself to realize that any man who knew me believed that I was faithless, in any sense of the term, to the obligations I owe the Government of which I form a part; but I am no longer left to conjecture on this point; I am bound to believe, from what I see passing around me, that there are those who think I am less loyal than themselves; and while I laugh to scorn such an absurdity, I shall not, under the present frenzied state of excitement, attempt to wrestle with or alter those opinions, or influence their votes; nor will any conclusion that may be reached here or elsewhere alter my opinion of myself, or change the *quo animo* of my heart as coupled with this transaction. God and myself know that, and not suspicious, fallible man. I have already devoted more time to this letter than it merited at my hands, for no one who has observed the direction this debate has taken believes that the letter forms any part of the reason for my expulsion. I wish now to call the attention of the country to the various phases this case has assumed in its progress.

The resolution for my expulsion was based solely on the letter. Both were referred to the Judiciary Committee; and after hearing the facts, six out of seven members reported against the passage of the resolution; whereupon the mover of it asked to have it made a special order; and then commenced party drill, prepared speeches, and a general plan of attack on my fitness and qualifications to sit in a legislative council with such patriarchs in their country's service as the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner] and the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Clark;] even the nerves of the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wilmot] and the not less distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Johnson] are affected by my presence here. I am not loyal enough for either of them. Oh! I must have degenerated in the last ten years! In 1850, I was elected by a vote of the Senate as one of the Committee of Thirteen, of which the patriot and statesman, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was chairman, and having as part of its members Webster, Calhoun, Cass, Clayton, Berrien, and others, and I contributed my humble efforts (very humble, I admit, when compared with theirs,) to effect a general adjustment of all sectional issues then exciting the country. I voted for all the compromise measures embraced in the report of Mr. Clay, and against the honorable Senator's odious proviso, as I have against all sectional issues, whether they came from the North or the South, ever since I entered this body. I voted on every call of the roll where I was present last session for the peace propositions of the Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. Crittenden,] and I used whatever of influence I had with Southern Senators, all to do the same thing. Though representing a free State, I have never given a vote that can be called sectional, to the best of my knowledge. I have named these two measures as affording some evidence that I would rather have peace than war, and hoping it may have a soothing influence on the excited state of mind the Senator from Pennsylvania is laboring under.

The Senator from Tennessee has criticised with great severity a letter I wrote to one of the best and truest friends any man ever had, (Mr. Jonathan Fitch,) in which I represent myself as standing on the subject of coercion just where the President stood in his inaugural address—where the Secretary of State stood on the 10th of April last and where I understand other Senators and members now stand. It may be very wrong, but as I am thirty years of age, the Constitution supposes that I am capable of thinking, voting and speaking for myself; and I am quite sure my constituency would think much less of me than they do, if they supposed that any man or party could force me into the formation or expression of opinions or a line of political action inconsistent with the time honored creed of the great Democratic party, to which I have ever belonged, and whose principles and policy can alone, in my judgment, restore this country to its former proportions, and make us once more a united people—a result that I would make any sacrifice on earth to effect. The honorable Senator from Tennessee must allow me to take counsel of my constituency as to what they consider my duty on all these questions.

Mr. President, my own self respect and the respect I entertain for the admitted constitutional rights that every representative enjoys under our form of Government of forming and expressing his opinions in a decent and becoming manner, forbids me from entering upon a defense of the opinions I have, during a service of seventeen years, announced and voted in this body. The only tribunal on earth that has a right to arraign and try me on these issues, is the people who sent me here, and if under the excitement and prejudice of the hour it is the pleasure of those who have got the power to use it, I shall appear again before that tribunal and ask a fair, fair and impartial hearing, and judging the future by the past I have no fear of the result. All I ask of each and every one of my constituents is the charity of their silence until the time comes that I can meet them face to face.

From the hour this war actually commenced I have had in view in every act of my life, public and private, one single object—the reunion of these States. I have not to this hour, with all the clouds that hang upon us, despaired entirely of this result; and there is no sacrifice that one man could make that I would not make to effect so desirable an object. I may differ from others not less honest than myself as to the means to effect this object, but I trust I am none the less honest in my purpose, or devoted to a form of government that, up to the commencement of our present troubles, had conferred more of the blessings of civil and constitutional liberty, regulated by law, than any Government known to history. Every impulse of my heart, every tie that binds me to earth is interwoven with the form of Government under which I am living, and to which I acknowledge my allegiance. I will yield to no man living in my attachment to it. Few men of my years have enjoyed more of its glorious advantages; none feel more grateful for them; and though I have been assailed in the fury of party spirit, my character unjustly aspersed and my loyalty and devotion questioned, this shall not alienate me from the faith of my fathers or lesson the obligations I feel to devote the humble energies of my life to the support of the Government of which I form a part, and which I would not exchange for any other on earth.

This may be the only opportunity I shall have of expressing my gratitude to the members of the Judiciary Committee who have, from that innate sense of justice that always governs a just judge, stood by their report, and rising above the storm of passion that seems to control the hour, resolutely maintained the total absence of all guilt on my part. They have done me justice; and if my antecedents as a private citizen and public servant have not proved a shield against criticism, and are not a sufficient guarantee, I give to them the pledge of an honest heart that my future life, wherever fortune may place me, shall leave them no cause to regret this act of justice.

I am not informed as to the opinions of Senators on this question, except as they have declared them in debate, or volunterred to make them known. I have approached no Senator to know his views, or sought to influence his vote except in debate. I have had no outside friends soliciting the aid of the public press with which to manufacture public opinion in my favor. Conscious of the purity of my intentions and purposes in all that relates to the interests of the Government to which alone I owe allegiance, I had a right to suppose that my peers could rise above the behests of party, and look upon this transaction in its true light; but this is a matter that I have not attempted to control. If the Senate has been polled, as I see it stated in some of the papers it has, and it is a foregone conclusion that go I must, I say to my friends and to my enemies I will lose no time in putting myself on trial again before a tribunal whose judgment I have ever found just, and who I am sure will give me all the benefits resulting from an acquaintance of forty years standing, coupled with a service which entitles them to judge whether I am a loyal or disloyal citizen; whether I have been a faithful or unfaithful representative of their rights in the many and varied duties they have entrusted to me to perform.

I will go with my record made in this Hall in one hand, and the record of those whose voice sends me from it in the other, and I will submit to them the question of right or wrong in this case. I will go with the platform of principles laid down by the party that I have acted with through life, and which I referred to yesterday, and in the name of those principles, and in the name of the Constitution that I have ever tried to support in letter and in spirit, and I will ask a fair and impartial hearing. This, and this only, is the tribunal with whose judgment I will be content.

I have now said all that I intended or should have said, but for some remarks make yesterday by the honorable Senator from Virginia, [Mr. Willey.] His bearing and manner towards me was in such striking contrast with that of the Senator from Tennessee, who is so similarly situated and affected in his political and personal relations by this unnatural war, that I could but remark it. The former, with a fairness and candor that sunk deep into my heart, did me the justice to say that he had seen nothing in my past life that rendered me obnoxious to the charge of contributing in the least degree to the deplorable condition of affairs now upon us. If the honorable Senator from Virginia had known my course here as some others know it, he would have done me justice in adding that the blood of no one man attaches to my skirts in this strife. I have had but one countersign since I have been on duty here, and that has been—peace; war never—never—for any real or imaginary grievance.

But how different was the tone and manner of the Senator from Tennessee. Causes of complaint I know he has; and I sympathize with him in his afflictions, and would that I had the power to lift the load of sorrow that is bowing him and thousands and tens of thousands of others to the earth. Point me to the road that leads to peace, the restoration of the Union, making us one Government, with one flag, not a star effaced, and I will travel it with you as long as there is a gleam of light to guide me on such a path; and, forgetting and forgiving, I would even consent to take as a traveling companion, with all his heresies the Senator from Massachusetts. Sir, the Senator from Tennessee has done me great injustice. Smarting under the blows inflicted by the conduct of those he called "a close corporation" when here, he points to my personal and party associations with them—forgetting, at the same time, his own—and undertakes to hold me responsible for all that was said or done them, and has happened since. History, facts, living witnesses, repel these unfounded, absurd accusations.

The honorable Senator from Maryland, [Mr. Kennedy,] moved by a sense of justice and love of truth, vindicates history in his late speech on some of these points. He well recollects the appeals made by himself, myself and other Senators, (some of whom are still here,) to Southern Senators to remain, give to the incoming Administration a fair trial, and seek a remedy for all wrongs inside, not outside of the Union. If, sir, I had been privy to any such purposes as have since resulted in forcible resistance to the Government of the United States, why did I join with the honorable Senator from Maryland and others in remonstratieg against this suicidal step? The Senator from Tennessee can not believe, *he knows*, that I had no part or lot in any movement having for its object the disruption of these States. I have been as open in my opposition to secession as any man living.

The honorable Senator from Virginia, in the remarks I have alluded to, made yesterday, asked me to explain the concluding paragraph, in a letter I wrote Mr. Fitch in September last. In doing so I must preface what I have to say with the single remark that I deem it due both to him and myself, if he thinks my position an equivocal one, to answer; but I beg it will not be construed as an effort on my part to influence the vote of the honorable Senator. As much gratification as it would afford me to have the weight of his name as a Senator and a distinguished member of his profession, I can not consent to be placed in the position of seeking votes by any change or modifications of my opinions for the time being, and I know that the honorable Senator would not have me do it. I said on a former occasion, that as far as principles are concerned, my opinions are fixed. In the execution of details connected with the administration of General Governmental affairs, I have always endeavored to conform my action to the policy of those in charge of the Government; and when I could not do so, I never made factious opposition. So, under this Administration, when I differed, I have said so in a becoming manner, I trust, and left those who have the power to assume the responsibility of exercising it.

I have ever been opposed to the principle of coercion. I believed, in the language of the present Secretary of State, used on the 10th of April last, "that this Federal republican system of ours, of all forms of government, is most unfitted for such a labor." Coercion was war, and in the language of the late Senator from Illinois, war was disunion. Earnest in these opinions, I joined others in urgent appeals to the late Administration to withdraw our forces from Fort Sumter, and make our differences the subject of peaceful arbitrament. And, sir, down to the day this letter is dated, and even down to the 3d of March, the day the late President left the executive mansion, I believed this would be done; and I had every reason to think so from the course of those who alone had the power to do it.

But when hostilities commenced at Fort Sumter an entire new feature presented itself. This act, followed by the proclamation of the President, was war, and while my opinions as to the policy of resorting to coercion, even then, as a remedy in the first place, remained unchanged; and while I differed entirely with the line of policy pursued by the late as well as the present Administration in the conduct of affairs at Charleston, I never hesitated as to my duty towards my own Government, and that was to sustain it, as I have done, in all that related to its efforts to defend the remaining States from invasion, and in all its efforts to enforce obedience to the laws of the United States, within constitutional limits, within all the States.

One other remark, and I am done. This outrage upon the right of representation of a sovereign State is the volunteer offering of partisan proscription, and intended as a condemnation of my political opinions, and as a consequent of my indorsement of the platform of principles which has so lately been declared by the great party that I claim to represent, and whose action I have avowed my purpose to maintain. Let the country bear witness, that no legislative body in Indiana, no conventional action, no appeal from the gallant men of her army have petitioned you to strike this blow; still, I say, let it come. The decree of thas remorseless tyrant, Caucus, has been issued, and I bare my person to the blow, unawed, I trust, even though coupled with the threat of banishment made on yesterday by the brave, gallant, chivalric, polished, classic Senator from Massachusetts. If I am to fall, of which I entertain no doubt, it shall be with my face toward my accusers, and into the arms of a people that I have ever found just and swift to vindicate the right.

"Great Party at the White House—An Extraordinary Entertainment—The Dressing, Eating, Drinking, etc., on a Grand Scale—Who Cares for War!"

Under this caption the Cincinnati *Gazette* republishes from the New York *Herald* the arrangements for a grand party which MRS. LINCOLN gave at the White House on Wednesday night. We clip a few extracts to show its character:

The party at the White House to-morrow night is the exclusive topic in the *beau monde* of Washington. * * The whole suit of apartments are being prepared for the occasion. Mrs. Lincoln will receive her guests in the East Room. The Red Parlor and Blue Room, ordinarily used as reception rooms at levees, and the Green Parlor will all be thrown open and richly decorated with a profusion of natural flowers. The chandeliers in the lobby are to be festooned with wreaths, and the pier tables covered with natural flowers in pots gracefully arranged. The supper, for which the most extensive preparations have been made, will be set in the Congressional dining room. The arrangements for this feast are elegant and *recherche*. The splendid Japanese bunch bowl, containing ten gallons of champagne punch, will be placed in one of the side rooms for the benefit of thirsty guests. Monsieur Mailard, of New York, with four or five assistants, has arrived, bringing with him thirty large boxes of confectionery, and is busy in getting up the pyramids and ornaments and confections for the table, in addition to which nearly a ton of turkeys, ducks, venison, pheasants, partridges, hams, &c. are being prepared.

The dispatches to the *Gazette*, of yesterday, says of this *recherche* affair:

MRS. LINCOLN'S DANCING PARTY.—The White House ball was a success for Mrs. Lincoln, but costly for the Treasury. There were eight hundred invitations. The throng was immense from half-past nine to midnight, when a sumptuous supper, provided by Maillard of New York was announced. President Lincoln promenaded with Miss Browning, and Mrs. Lincoln with Senator Browning. The Japanese bowls were full of champagne punch.

The last million of dollars left the Treasury yesterday for Kentucky, to pay troops who are fighting the enemy.

This is what the *Herald* facetiously terms returning to the purer and better days of the Republic.

Communication with the South.

The Washington correspondence of the New York *Sun* contains the following item:

There is no more letter writing South under flag of truce, except to prisoners of war. Mr. Stanton has discovered that the privilege has been shamefully abused by certain parties. But in spite of his restrictions, parties here continue to keep up a steady communication with the South. It is wonderful *how* they do it, but it *is* done. A neighbor of mine receives letters every few days, *from Georgia. How*, no one can tell, but the fact is indisputable.

Special Notice.

TO ADVERTISERS.—All advertisements taken for a specified time, and ordered out before the expiration of the time specified, will be charged the regular rates for the same up to the time they are ordered out.

MEDICAL.

PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE.

TO LADIES OF DELICATE HEALTH OR IMPAIRED organization, or to those by whom an increase of family is from any reason objectionable, the undersigned would offer a prescription which is perfectly reliable and safe, and which has been prescribed in various parts of the Old World for the past century. Although this article is very cheap and simple, yet it has been put up in half pint bottles and sold very extensively at the exhorbitant price of $5 per bottle, the undersigned proposes to furnish the recipe for $1, by the possession of which every lady can supply herself with a perfect safeguard, at any drug store for the trifling sum of 25 cents per year. Any physician or druggist will tell you it is perfectly harmless, thousands of testimonials can be procured of its efficacy. Sent to any part of the world on receipt of $1, by addressing.

DR. J. C. DEVERAUX,
P. O. Box, No. 2353, New Haven, Connecticut.
uly22-d&w'61

BROWN'S BRONCHIAL TROCHES.

BROWN'S BRONCHIAL TROCHES.

A Slight Cold, *Cough, Hoarseness or Sore Throat, which might be checked with a simple remedy, if neglected, often terminates seriously. Few are aware of the importance of stopping a Cough or Slight Cold in its first stage; that which in the beginning would yield to a mild remedy, if not attended to, soon attacks the lungs.*

Brown's Bronchial Troches were first introduced eleven years ago. It has been proved that they are the best article before the public for Coughs, Colds, Bronchitis, Asthma, Catarrh, the Hacking Cough in Consumption, and numerous affections of the Throat, giving immediate relief.

Public Speakers & Singers *will find them effectual for clearing and strengthening the voice.*

Sold by all Druggists and Dealers in Medicine, at 25 cents per box.

PERSONAL.

☞ ASTROLOGIST! ASTROLOGIST! ☜

THE CHARMING AND FASCINATING
Miss Ida Henri,

The most wonderful Planet Reader in existence, takes her departure on

☞ **Friday Next.** ☜

Now is the time to consult her.

MISS HENRI SHOWS A CORRECT LIKENESS OF THOSE YOU LOVE. Brings absent ones back. Causes you to be beloved. Gives you good luck without charge. PRICES MODERATE.

Consultation room, Letter B, Spencer House. Private entrance for ladies on Louisiana street. Terms moderate to suit the times. feb11-d3t

COMMISSION MERCHANTS.

C. L. S. Matthews,
GENERAL COMMISSION
—AND—
FORWARDING MERCHANT,
Large Fire-Proof Building,
NO. 124 FOURTH ST., WEST SIDE,
Between Main Street and the River,
LOUISVILLE, KY.

☞ Consignments are respectfully solicited, and immediate sales with prompt returns guaranteed. jan13

PATENTS.

PATENTS

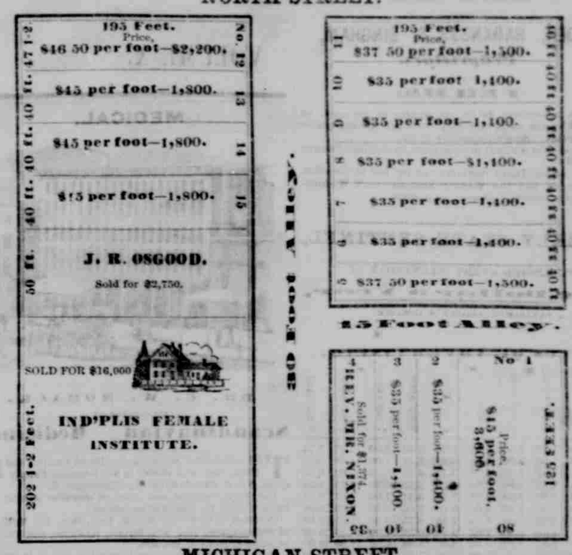
OBTAINED FOR NEW INVENTIONS OF EVERY description. Fees contingent on success. No patent no pay. Send for Circular, giving terms, directions, &c. Address AMOS BROADNAX,
Patent Attorney, Washington, D. C.
nov18-d1y

FOR SALE.

THE UNDERHILL BLOCK FOR SALE AT REDUCED PRICES.

Desirable Building Lots fronting on Pennsylvania, Delaware and Michigan sts.,

IN H. PARRISH'S SUBDIVISION
OF SQUARE NO. 4, AS PER PLAT.



THE PRICE OF THE ABOVE PROPERTY ON MICHIGAN AND DELAWARE STREETS HAS BEEN REDUCED from $45 per foot to $35 per foot. On Pennsylvania from $55 to $45 per foot.

This is the cheapest and most desirable vacant property in the city, by 33 per cent., north of Washington, between Illinois, Delaware and North streets, which is the center of Indianapolis.

Parties wishing more than 40 feet can have a part of the next lot.

TERMS—One-fourth cash, balance in 1, 2 and 3 years, with annual interest.

For further information call at my office over Talbott's Jewelry Store. H. PARRISH.

Indianapolis, Indiana, February 1, 1862—feb1-d6m

AMUSEMENTS.

METROPOLITAN HALL.

Lady and Gentleman to Dress Circle	75 cents.
Each additional Lady	25 do.
Gentlemen—Dress Circle and Parquette	50

TUESDAY EVENING, FEB. 11, '62.

Second night of
Miss E. Kimberly.
In her great character of
THE OCTOROON;

ZOE.............................. MISS KIMBERLY.

MR. FELIX VINCENT.
MISS MARION MACARTHY,
BOTH IN THE PIECE.

☞ Doors open at 7, commence at 7¼.

CANDIDATES.

☞ REV. E. WHITTEN WILL BE A Candidate for Trustee of Center Township, at the approaching April election, subject to the votes of the people. feb1-dte

GROCERIES, &C.

New Arrangement
—AT THE—
NEW YORK GROCERY STORE,
No. 17 East Washington Street.

C. H. BUELL, having purchased the above establishment of the Messrs. Bryant, intends keeping constantly on hand a full supply of every article in the line of Family Groceries and Provisions, and will warrant every article to be of the best quality and at the lowest prices.

The highest market price, in cash, paid for all kinds of Produce.

He respectfully solicits the citizens generally, in the city and country, to call and examine his stock and prices before purchasing elsewhere.

Articles promptly delivered in all parts of the city.

j3-d1m C. H. BUELL.

DRY GOODS.

CLOSING SALE OF
WINTER DRY GOODS!
AT NO. 5 EAST WASHINGTON STREET.

Silks, Shawls,
Merinos, Cloaks,
Furs, Fine Dress Goods,
Embroideries, Gloves and Hosiery,

REDUCED 20 PER. CENT TO MAKE ROOM FOR SPRING PURCHASES.
A LARGE STOCK OF DOMESTIC GOODS JUST OPENED—NOW IS THE TIME FOR BARGAINS!
M. H. GOOD, Proprietor.

DENTISTS.

P. G. C. HUNT,
DENTIST,
OFFICE AND RESIDENCE,
NO. 32, EAST MARKET STREET,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

NOTICE.

☞ PERSONS HAVING ANY BORROWED Books belonging to the late GORDON TANNER, will confer a very great favor by returning the same immediately, to No. 43 North Pennsylvania street.

FOR SALE—A complete Law Library, formerly the property of Gordon Tanner, deceased, will be sold at a great bargain. Apply to THOMAS COTTRELL.
jan28-d10t

DRY GOODS.

GO TO GLENNS' BLOCK FOR DRY GOODS.

☞ The New York Store. Glenn's Block has no connection with any other Establishment of the same name in or out of Indianapolis.
W. & H. GLENN & CO., Proprietors.

ATTORNEYS.

BENJAMIN HARRISON,	WILLIAM P. FISHBACK,
Late of Wallace & Harrison.	Late of Conner & Fishback.

HARRISON & FISHBACK,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
OFFICE, NO. 62 EAST WASHINGTON ST.,
(Over Munson & Johnston's Stove Store,)
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

THE UNDERSIGNED HAVING ASSOCIATED themselves together in the practice of the law, will attend to all legal business entrusted to their care in the State and Federal Courts.
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
WILLIAM P. FISHBACK.

December 11, 1861.

Henry M. Scott, Notary Public, will take acknowledgments of deeds, &c., at the above office. dec12-d3m

PHYSICIANS.

DR. HENRY F. BARNES,
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

OFFICE—Diagonal, corner of Washington street and Kentucky avenue. nov12-d&w3m

DRS. JAMESON & FUNKHOUSER,
Office No. 5,
SOUTH MERIDIAN STREET
1-d6m

NOTICE.

☞ A NEW YEAR CALL.—A KNODLE & SON would respectfully request all those indebted to them to call at their place of business on East Washington street, north side, opposite Glenns' Block, and settle their accounts. A. Knodle & Son need the money or they would not thus publicly call upon their patrons for whose favors in the past they are extremely obliged. It will give A. Knodle & Son infinite pleasure to serve all who may call on them in the future. jan6-dtf

PIANOS.

PIANO FORTES

WE HAVE ON HAND A NUMBER OF FIRST Class Pianos, which we will sell at cost for cash.
WILLIARD & STOWELL,
No. 4 Bates House.
oct1