

THE GREENSBOROUGH PATRIOT.

the Treasurer; during the months of April and May and June, for which I got 8 per cent. scrip at par.

April 23rd. I obtained \$30,000 for common currency at par. April 25th. Was obtained by W. H. & R. S. Tucker in same way, \$14,000.

April 25th. J. G. Williams & Co., obtained 10,000 for currency at par.

Those obtained by Tucker 25th April, sold at 5 per cent premium.

April 25th. \$14,000 obtained by me in same way.

May, 3rd \$10,000 was obtained by me in the same way.

W. H. & R. S. Tucker obtained same date \$20,000 in same way.

Most of those obtained in Tucker's name, were sold at 4 and 5 cent. premium, in which sales I was interested.

When I was getting bonds for myself for common currency at par, the highest price I got was 5 and 6 per cent premium. I got very few for myself.

(6.)

RALEIGH, N. C., Jan. 24th, 1863.

R. Y. McADEN, Esq., Chairman, &c.:

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 22d to hand.—

We keep an Exchange Office, and dealt in North Carolina 8 per cent Bonds in 1862.

We principally acted as agent for other parties, in procuring the bonds for them, and think that we secured about a million of dollars.

We paid the money over usually to Paymaster A. M. Lewis; he would give us an order on the State Treasurer, for which we received the certificates for Bonds.

We got them at par and paid for them in common currency. It is impossible for us to give the dates of our several transactions and the market value of said Bonds at their several dates.

We did sell a comparative few of said Bonds, but as to the time and premium we cannot answer. We let the most of them go at less than 1 per cent. premium, as the parties sent us the money to buy them.

We shared part of our profits with W. H. & R. S. Tucker. We obtained Bonds through several other parties, whose names we do not remember; don't remember the premium paid or the amount obtained. We paid exchange ordinary currency with Paymaster A. M. Lewis for a large amount, also with the Treasurer, but we did not by gift or any other way, compensate them or their clerks or agents for the exchange of notes. When we commenced buying them, they were not at a premium, but had them offered to us at a discount, inasmuch as the Banks here were not taking them. We, however, did sell them at a premium ranging from one-tenth of one per cent. to fourteen per cent.

We prefer not to state the gross amount of our profits.

Respectfully,

JNO. G. WILLIAMS & CO.

(7.)

TESTIMONY OF JOHN W. CUNNINGHAM.

PERSON CO., N. C., Jan. 24, 1863.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor dated Raleigh, January 11th, and postmarked Graham, 15th, is just to hand, and I hasten to reply to your interrogatories.

Question 1st. What is your profession?

Answer. I am a farmer and a merchant.

Question 2d. Did you, in 1862, deal in North Carolina eight per cent bonds? If so, in what way, and to what amount? If now, and from whom did you purchase them? At what rates, and with what kind of currency.

Answer. I have often had money to invest in various ways, and have bought State bonds at different times. I generally buy for a permanent investment, and sometimes I sell bonds as I would other property, but am not a dealer in stocks. In 1862, I bought N. C. eight per cent bonds from the State Treasurer at par, with Confederate money. I don't remember the precise amount, as I kept no account of it, but think it was about \$80,000. The Treasurer's books will show how much it was.

Question 3rd. Please state the date of your several transactions, and the market value of said bonds at their several dates?

Answer. I don't remember the date of these transactions, but you can ascertain by reference to the Treasurer's books. The market value of the bonds was 4 to 6 per cent premium.

Question 4th. Have you sold said bonds or any of them? If so, at what time and what premium?

Answer. I disposed of bonds to the amount of \$15,000, to the estate of the late Dr. M. M. Harrison, as Executor of said estate, as I had money on hand belonging to the estate, and as I considered it a good investment. The balance was sold for me by Hinton & Dunn, of Petersburg, and John A. Lancaster & Son, of Richmond, Va., at 4 to 6 per cent premium. I will refer you to them for the dates of the sales, as I kept no account of them.

Question 5th. Had you any partners in these transactions? If so, with whom were the profits shared?

Answer. I had no partners. I paid Paul & Hinton, and Lancaster & Son, 2 per cent for selling. I never shared the profits with any one, and never paid any one else in any way.

Question 6th. Did you obtain any bonds through other parties? And if so, what parties, and what commissions did you pay, and what amount so obtained?

Answer. I obtained the bonds through A. M. Lewis in this way. I would pay him Confederate money for the amount I wished to buy, and he would give me an order on the Treasurer. I did not pay commissions to any one, except the 2 per cent for selling to the parties before mentioned.

Question 7th. Did you exchange ordinary currency with any of the disbursing agents of N. C. for Treasury Notes? If so, with whom, and to what amount?

Answer. I exchanged \$10,000 or \$20,000 of Confederate money, (I don't remember which amount,) only one time, for N. C. Treasury Notes with A. M. Lewis.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. CUNNINGHAM.

To R. Y. McADEN, Esq., Chairman of the Committee.

(8.)

EVIDENCE OF A. M. LEWIS, PAYMASTER.

RALEIGH, Sept. 2d, 1863.

B. F. Moore, Esq., Clerk.

SIR:—Yours, of this date, referring me to "Sec. 894, Article 40, Army Regula-

tions, and thereupon (7) founding a series of interrogatories, is received and considered. I do not exactly see the legitimate connection of authority and questions; however, as the subject matter of your inquiries obtained heretofore some public notoriety, I prefer to give you the information desired, and am glad of an opportunity thus to make an official statement in regard to the matter, which I hope to do fully, and to your entire satisfaction.

To Question 1st. The kind of funds received by me were such as the Treasurer chose to pay out at the time of my respective requisitions, consisting mainly in Confederate bills and State issues.

To Question 2d. I did exchange some of said funds. The amount not recollected; and I have no means in my possession, by which I could arrive at it—at a rough guess, I should say, from a fourth to half million. Neither do I know the time at which the various exchanges were made.

The persons with whom the exchanges were made were, according to my recollection, Mr. James Hoyt, of the Washington Bank; Mr. John G. Williams, of this place; Mr. Cunningham, of Person; Mr. W. A. Wright, of the Cape Fear Bank; Dr. Foulks of Fayetteville; Mr. Joseph Cannon, Dr. C. E. Johnson, for Mrs. Iredell, Mr. Samuel Canvady, of Granville. These are the principal individuals, probably others to small amounts. The kind of funds I received in exchange were principally Confederate Notes, some were bills of our own Banks, though few.

Question 3d. If any profit was realized by any of those men by such exchange, I do not know it. As to the use they were going to make of the money received from me, I know nothing. I did not desire any benefit, pecuniary or otherwise, direct or indirect, from said exchange; nor do I know who did or was expected to do it. Such exchange was made by me with the knowledge and by the express request of the Treasurer of the State, with whom I generally conferred about the matter.

Question 4th. If any of the funds parted with by me were sold, I do not know it, nor do I know anything more of the issue of said funds after they left my possession, than the Board of Claims, except so far as I may have incidentally heard.

Question 5th. In the exchange there was some reference to the denomination of the bills. I required, generally, such sized bills as would suit me in paying out to the soldiers. No reference to the size in those I parted with.

Question 6th. It seems to me that this entire question is answered and embraced in Questions and Answers No. 2 and No. 3. If not, I will re-answer.

Question 7th. The reasons for making such exchanges were principally, 1st.—To keep the Treasury replenished, by having the bills exchanged by me, funded under an Ordinance of the Convention for that purpose. 2d. It gave, in my opinion, a better circulating currency, to pay with, as Confederate bills passed everywhere, and State issues were doubtful in some places, where our soldiers were situated. 3d. It was accommodating the gentlemen who applied and wished to invest in State securities.

Question 8th. I know of nothing which the ingenuity and comprehensiveness of your questions do not include; if so, I would with pleasure give it.

In conclusion, I will add, that the exchanges referred to were made by me at an amount of trouble and risk to myself which would not have been assumed, but for the public good, as stated in answer to question 7th. At this time there were great danger of the Treasury becoming exhausted, and the payments to the soldiers thereby having to stop.

Be assured that each voucher presented by me, truly represents its nominal value when compared with the funds received by me. I am, very respectfully, Your obedient serv't.

A. M. LEWIS.

MINORITY REPORT.

The undersigned not concurring in the conclusions arrived at by a majority of the committee as presented in their report, submits the following minority report:

The time allowed him to make this report is too short to permit him to recite fully the provisions of the several ordinances of the Convention for issuing Treasury Notes, &c. But this can hardly be necessary in the opinions of legal gentlemen filed with and made part of the majority report. As to the sale of Bonds to pay the Confederate tax in the City of Richmond by Lancaster & Son, the undersigned does not understand that any complaint is made from any quarter nor does he believe that any other arrangement could have been made by Mr. Courts to raise the amount necessary to pay the tax.

He will barely add that the provisions of the ordinance for that purpose which gave the Treasurer power to use the Treasury Notes "in such manner as may be necessary to the payment of said Confederate tax," fully authorized him to make the arrangement which he did make with Lancaster & Son, and which is fully set forth and explained in his response to the resolution of this House.

By the three other ordinances referred to in the report of the Majority, the Public Treasurer was authorized to issue an amount of Treasury Notes and Bonds, not exceeding in the aggregate six and one half million of dollars. In an exhibit filed with the said report is set forth a list of Bonds issued from sometime in March, 1862, up to the 20th December last, which, by addition appears to be \$4,129,500. And this statement, the undersigned believes is intended to include, and does include, the whole amount of eight per Bonds issued during that time by Mr. Courts. This statement also shows at what rate or premium said Bonds was selling in the Richmond market in the several months of their issue, and a calculation, by which it appears that, had Mr. Courts sold the Bonds in that market, as issued, the sum of \$822,207 would have been realized to the State by way of premiums on such sales.

And then the statement assumes that amount to have been lost by the State, for the reason that, the Bonds were sold in the City of Richmond at par. An examination of the testimony, filed with the report, will show that this statement is very far from correct.

Let it be remembered that the ordinance regulating the whole of the issues, was that of the 26th February, 1862, entitled "an ordinance to provide for funding the treasury notes of this State and for other purposes," and by which any holder of treasury notes had a right, at any time to fund them and to demand Bonds for the same of the Treasurer. That a large amount was so funded appears from the evidence and in fact it is made a charge in the report against Mr. Lewis, the paymaster of our troops, that he exchanged a large amount of these fundable notes for Confederate notes, thereby enabling the holders to fund them in eight per cent Bonds; and the undersigned is moreover informed and believes that large amounts in the hands of persons, otherwise obtained, were in like manner funded.

The undersigned, therefore, was greatly surprised at this statement, after he came to examine the testimony, and when he saw that no deduction was made on account of bonds issued for Treasury Notes, and as to which the Treasurer had no sort of discretion, but was bound by the Ordinance to fund them, come from what quarter they might. What amount of Bonds was thus funded the undersigned has not at this time the means of stating. He was alike surprised to find that, the Report, after censuring the late Treasurer for not selling these Bonds in the markets and thereby incurring what is called a heavy loss to the State, (but should have been termed an available profit on the Bonds,) fully concedes the fact that in the opinion of the signers, sustained as it is by the opinions of gentlemen learned in the law, he had no power under the Ordinances to make such sales. How then can it be insisted with any justice and propriety, that a public officer is censurable for not doing what the law did not authorize him to do; or that the State had sustained a heavy loss by such dereliction of duty? Had it been insisted only, as it is in one part of the Report, that the Treasurer was only authorized to issue Bonds for Treasury Notes, and that the issuing of them for other currency was putting the State to the payment of some interest, which she would not, perhaps, have so soon incurred, owing to the fact that these Treasury Notes would have entered into general circulation, the undersigned could well have appreciated such a position and is ready to admit that, at first blush, it is not without plausibility. Certainly the offence of the Treasurer, if any, has no greater extent than this, and the loss, if any, to the State, was that of interest and no more.

But let us examine this matter, however and see whether there was any reason for the course pursued. The report assumes that these Treasury Notes were mainly intended for a circulating medium, and that they were made fundable in order to give them greater credit, and thereby a greater circulation. In the opinion of the undersigned, this is a total mistake as to the intention and meaning of the Ordinance. The title of the Ordinance, as in every law, is the key to unlock its meaning. This Ordinance is entitled, "An Ordinance to fund the Treasury Notes of the State, and for other purposes." These other purposes, on examination of the Ordinance, will fully show, do not conflict with the main and real purpose, as expressed in the title. Had the intention been, as stated in the Majority Report, these notes would not have been made fundable at all, or if at all, at some distant day. This is further evidenced from the fact, that the small notes directed to be issued and used as currency, were not allowed to be funded at any time. Hence the difference. And the same remark applies also to the notes directed to be issued to raise money to pay the Confederate tax. They were to be used for no other purpose, nor allowed to pay any other debt; but were to be cancelled when returned to the Treasury. Nor is the view of the majority, that the notes would have remained in circulation at all compatible with the fact, that soon after the commencement of the issue of 8 per cent Bonds, they rose to a premium in the market. Such being the fact, every one at all conversant with such matters must know that these notes, by a fixed and uncontrollable law of currency, would immediately after their issue, return upon the Treasury, and be funded. And that such was the case with the issues made, abundantly appears from the evidence filed. So that the interest that the State would have saved, had the law been complied with in the very letter, as insisted by the Committee, would have been comparatively small and trifling. But could it have been carried out literally under the circumstances? And was there no reason for pursuing the course which was pursued by Mr. Courts? His own response to the Legislature, the evidence of Mr. Lewis, and the statements of the report itself based thereon, all go to show that the delay in procuring the necessary plates, owing to the fall of New Orleans, and that necessarily incident to the issuing of the notes after the blanks were obtained, rendered it next to impossible to get the notes out as rapidly as the wants of the Treasury demanded. Our soldiers had to be paid, and large expenditures had to be made for their clothing and subsistence, beside other State expenses; and funds had to be provided for all these purposes. It is vain to say that a depreciated currency was issued instead of a better one.

Mr. Lewis' evidence shows that, to our troops in Virginia, Confederate Notes were more available than Treasury Notes. The former would circulate there, the latter would not, or not so well and besides, these Notes were not under the ban of a depreciated currency, as the majority seem to suppose; for in point of fact, by Section 2, Ordinance 35, all public dues to the State were payable in Confederate Notes, alike with Treasury Notes, Bank Notes and gold and silver. And of course it was intended, that such notes should be paid out by the Treasurer in like manner. The truth is, that by the said Ordinance, it was the intention not to add to the volume of paper money in circulation, the evils of which were known to be great, but to raise money for the State at certain rates specified in the Ordinance, the debt to be funded and paid at some distant day, after the end of the war. And the undersigned can therefore see no objection to the course pursued by the Treasurer in raising the amount, at the rate fixed by the Ordinance.

It was at last but raising the amount and funding the debt at the rate of interest fixed by the Convention. It may be called a loan or sale or whatever else one may choose to designate it, but this does not change its true character, whatever name may have been given to the transaction by the Treasurer, the Committee or others. It may have been that a different policy, and a sale of the Bonds in market, would have been the better policy, and would have saved the State, not a loss, as it is put by the Report but a premium, and thereby a gain. But, in the opinion of the undersigned, nothing can be more unjust than to censure a public officer for not adopting a course unwarranted by law as admitted by the majority, when the fault if any, rested not with him but with the framers of the law. The undersigned has already explained the provisions of the Ordinance assuming the Confederate tax and the reasons for the action of the Treasurer in relation to that matter.

A few words as to the exchanges made by paymaster Lewis, of Treasury Notes for Confederate Notes, and the undersigned will close this report. The evidence of Mr. Lewis fully explains these transactions, and furnishes the reasons which induced him to make the exchanges. He says they were principally as follows:

1st. "To keep the Treasury replenished by having the bills exchanged by me funded under an Ordinance of the Convention for that purpose. 2nd. It gave in my opinion, a better circulating currency to pay with, as Confederate bills passed everywhere and State issues were doubtful in some places where our soldiers were situated." And again, he says: "In conclusion, I will add, that the exchanges referred to were made by me at an amount of trouble and risk to myself, which would not have been assumed but for the public good, as stated in answer to question 7th. At this time there was great danger of the Treasury becoming exhausted and the payments to the soldiers thereby having to stop."

These facts seem to the undersigned fully to exonerate Mr. Lewis as well as Mr. Courts from any censure attempted to be cast upon them, or either of them, on account of this transaction. These notes were not only fundable, but when so funded were, by the provisions of the Ordinance No. 35, re-issuable from time to time. The wants of the Treasury, it is also shown, were pressing and urgent, and but for the course pursued must have stopped payment, as Treasury Notes in sufficient quantities could not have been issued to pay promptly our soldiers, and meet other heavy expenditures which had to be made for the State.

All of which is respectfully submitted, J. H. FOY.

APPENDIX.

PITTSBORO, N. C., February 3, 1863.

R. Y. McADEN, Esq., Chairman, &c.

SIR:—I have been absent from my place of temporary abode, for three weeks; and after my return your communication of the 11th ult. was received here, (on yesterday) having been forwarded to me from Greensboro'. This will account for the delay in replying to the queries therein made to which I now respond.

I am President of the Bank of Washington, and am engaged in the manufacture of iron.

I obtained from the State Treasurer in 1862, North Carolina Eight per cent Bonds to the amount of near \$260,000 at par, and paid for them mostly in Confederate notes of small denomination—a part in North Carolina Treasury Notes.

They were obtained in the early and latter part of May, the first of June, and the latter part of July, at which time I think their market value ranged from about 2 to 4 per cent premium in Raleigh.

I did not sell the Bonds. A large proportion of them were taken for the Bank of Washington; the remainder for other parties, and a part for myself, which I subsequently exchanged for Confederate Bonds out of the State. I had no partner.

I did not procure any Bonds through other parties, nor pay any State officer, directly or indirectly, a commission for procuring them.

I exchanged with the Paymaster, (Major Lewis,) \$50,000 of Confederate Notes of small denominations, for North Carolina Treasury Notes, without compensation being asked for, or given.

At the time I procured the most of the Bonds (or receipts for them,) the Treasury was without the means of meeting all the calls of the Paymaster and others on the Treasury, and it was then considered to be, and I was told by a Treasury officer that it was aiding the State to bring in currency to fund its Bonds.

Very respectfully,

JAS. E. HOYT,

President Bank of Washington

[DUPLICATE]

RALEIGH, N. C. Feb. 6, 1863.

R. Y. McADEN, Esq.,

DEAR SIR:—As we have been requested by you, to state what occurred between yourself and Mr. Foy last night, we take pleasure in doing so.

Mr. Foy came to our room about eight o'clock. He said he came for the purpose of examining the report relative to the Treasurer and other disbursing agents, and wished to take the report to his room. Mr. McAden preferred that the report should be examined there; to which Mr. Foy did not object. The report was handed over to Mr. Foy. He carefully read it over, and they compared it with the various ordinances of the Convention, and the evidence filed with the report, and commented on it. Mr. Foy then remarked, that he heartily concurred in the report of the committee, and said Major Lewis ought to be turned out of his office. To which Mr. McAden replied, that Maj. Lewis had resigned. Mr. Foy then said he did not see anything wrong in the report, and that he would sign it, but first desired to see the defence of the opinions of Messrs. Bragg and Moore, and stated he had appended them to the report.

Mr. Foy gave no intimation that he was dissatisfied in any manner with the report of the committee, or that he wanted further time for examination, or of any intention to file a minority report. Yours Truly,

E. F. WATSON.

SAML. S. HARRISON.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer, 6th.

Speech for Stopping the War.

In the House of Representatives at Washington, by Mr. Conway, an Able Republican Member from Kansas.

—He Proposes the Acknowledgment of the Confederacy and a Radical View of the Question.

A few days ago Mr. Conway, of Kansas one of the most ultra, as well as one of the ablest of the Republican members of Congress made a strong speech in favor of peace, and a stoppage of the war. The speech is said to have the approval of Gov. Andrew, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Horace Groby, and other leading Abolitionists, who held a caucus in Washington just before it was delivered. It is a very important demonstration. We take the following extracts from it, which shows its character.

—HE IS AGAINST REUNION.

SIR:—I am not in favor of restoring the constitutional relations of the slaveholders to the Union, nor of the war to that end. On the contrary, I am utterly and forever opposed to both. I am in favor of the Union as it exists to-day. I am in favor of recognizing the loyal States as the American nation, freed as they are on the principles of freedom for all, without distinction of race, color, or condition. I believe it to be the manifest destiny of the American nation to ultimately control the American continent on this principle. I conceive that therefore, the true object of this war is to revolutionize the national government by resolving the North into the nation and the South into a distinct public body, leaving as a separate State. I believe that the direction of war to any other end is a perversion of it, calculated to subvert the very object it was designed to effect.

HIS UNIONISM.

I have never allowed myself to indulge in that superstitious idolatry of the Union so prevalent among the simple but honest people, nor that political cant about the Union, so prevalent among dishonest ones. I have simply regarded it as a form of government to be valued in proportion to its merits as an instrument of national prosperity and honor.

THE SOUTH INDEPENDENT.

The war which has come in between the North and the South for the past two years has made a revolution. It has substituted in the South another government for that of the Union. This is the fact, and the fact in such a matter is the important thing. It settles the law. No technicality in a question of this kind can stand. The war has utterly dissolved the connection between the North and South, and rendered them separate and independent powers in the world. This is the necessary legal effect of civil war anywhere. It makes the belligerent parties independent for the time being; unless, the one succumbs to the other, they continue independent of each other forever. The principle is laid down by Vattel, as follows. When a nation becomes divided into two parties, absolutely independent, and no longer acknowledging a common superior, the State is dissolved, and the war between the two parties stands upon the same ground, in every respect, as a public war between two different nations.—Book III, chap. 17, p. 428. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that so learned and profound a jurist as the honorable member from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens) should express the same opinion.

THE DEMOCRACY TRUE TO THE UNION.

The Democrats will not, of course, listen to separation for an instant. Such a suggestion, in their eyes, is a proposition to dissolve the Union—for which one ought to be hanged. They expect the question whether the Union shall be restored by force or by compromise to be submitted to the people in the next election; and upon that to carry the country. Their plan is to oppose the Administration simply on its anti-slavery policy. They put in issue the Constitution Act, the Missouri Emancipation Act, the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. Those measures they pronounce unconstitutional, deny their validity and everything done, or to be done, in pursuance of them. In addition to this they attack the administration on account of its assumption of the writ of habeas corpus, false imprisonments, corruption, imbecility, &c., and a thousand other incidents. But on the war and integrity of the Union, they are like adamant itself. They claim to favor the war for the sake of the Union, but to be for compromise rather than war. They say very truthfully that the Republicans have tried force for two years, and exhausted the country, and upon this claim the adoption of their method as all that is left to be done. This is the manner in which the politicians of the country propose to terminate this great conflict.

THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

An alliance seems recently to have been effected to this end between certain elements heretofore hostile. The border State politicians are the remnant of the old Whig and Know Nothing party, who, all their lives, cherished an intense hatred of the democracy. They now unite with that party to effect this object. The Republicans of the Albany school under the sagacious leadership of Mr. Weed, who for long years fought the Van Buren regency and finally broke it down through the agency of free soil, are also hand in glove with their old opponents. This army of the Democracy takes the field for the next great political battle, supported on the left by the followers of Clay and Crittendon, and on the right by the special friends of Wm. H. Seward. Such a host may well be confident. It is a combination for victory. The elements have been well shaped. Not in vain have the border State politicians thronged the hall of the Presidential mansion. Not in vain has the discreet Secretary of State incurred the reputation of being imbecile. Not in vain has the whole Administration suffered the odium of drifting with the tide for the lack of a policy. They could well afford to disperse with the applause of the radicals, while they silently directed the gigantic questions which were to divide them, to the decision of another Presidential election. The Conservatives will triumph.

The chief element in the accomplishment of this reactionary movement is the war, which the administration is conducting for the restoration of the Union.

It is indeed the trump card of the Democracy; not war for conquest, but the Union as it is, for the Union. The fear that it will serve the end of the war has passed that stage. Its results are now in their keeping. All they need is prolongation. In the first place, it keeps the nation pledged to the principle that Union is intact, and the Constitution is to be amended through Southern action, with the Republicans, it weakens its effect in the elections. And in the second place, it is to wear away and defeat the slaveholders, and disperse them in conciliation. The war, in what it may be presented, is an admirable instrument for them. If it should meet with unexpected success, it would bring back just in time to justify the election. If it should lag and accomplish no results, as now seems likely, it will inevitably insure them a triumph in the popular vote. Their theory of Union is a sound one—that the two parties, Union and Secession, now in deadly combat, have only to be permitted to continue to fight long enough to wear each other out, and cause the political waters to subside to their former level.

THE ARMY CONSERVATIVE.

Nevertheless, without reference to the result of war, I consider the effect of the result of the election. It is a question of the Administration. Great importance is placed by the latter on the soldiers; but in my opinion, this is a mistake. The soldiers will be affected in a manner with the rest of the people, and moreover, will be tired of military service and anxious to return home. They will be dissatisfied from a thousand causes and desire a change. The suffering and exhaustion, yet to be engendered by the issue of an irredeemable paper currency, will of itself overwork the Administration party, and overwhelm it deeper in plume over-sounded. But the Democrats in my judgment, safely calculated that they can take issue on any of the desired necessary incidents of the war, and defeat these opponents by a large majority.

THE PROCLAMATION A FAILURE.

Many suppose that the effect of the Proclamation of Emancipation was to free the negro, speedily and completely, and to exterminate slavery; that the government will have no longer a motive for fighting. This is an egregious mistake. The Proclamation will have no such effect. It cannot have any such effect. A constitutionality is denied. It is still a measure, and its validity undetermined. The subject is yet open to debate, and for settlement. The Judiciary Department to render its decision on upon it, and in the meantime it is to be the controlling issue in a popular election for President. The state of things will undoubtedly inspire slaveholders with a more resolute purpose than ever.

Their effort will not as heretofore prevent the Abolitionists from freeing the slave, as a distant and speculative proposition, but to rescue him from the grasp of the enemy already actually had upon him. It will redouble their will and bring every talent to bear.

SUMNER HIS MAGNUS APPELLO.

The Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Sumner) who has lately been elected to serve another term of six years in the Senate, has long been a member of the body. In his crisis, point us to the proper action. His purely Northern character, his great abilities, his lofty aspirations, his earnestness, his entire confidence in his own spontaneous betowed upon him, and that state the noblest in America—single him out as one authorized to be required to speak with a decisive voice in this great occasion. There are also in the House, gentlemen whose words on a momentous theme, the country will listen to with intense interest. The Hon. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, Mr. T. M. Stevens, one of the truly great men in America—full of learning and wisdom, tried by long years of arduous service in this cause, who has never faltered, and is now re-elected in his district by an overwhelming numbers, stands forth as one of those of whom the nation will expect a liberance from the dangers which surround it. Let these men, and such as will speak and tell the country what to do in this hour of transcendent peril. Never less I cannot refrain from expressing a personal opinion that the true policy of the North is to terminate this war at once. The longer it continues, the worse our nation becomes. Let the two Houses of Congress adopt the following Resolutions: "Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, 'That the Executive, General, and he is hereby requested to issue the several military Departments of the United States to discontinue offensive operations against the enemy, and to act hereafter on the defensive." "Resolved, That the Executive be and he is further requested to enter into negotiations with the authorities of the Confederate States, with reference to the restoration of the Union, and the system upon imports, the free navigation of the Mississippi River, and the adoption of the Monroe doctrine."

CAN LIVE TOGETHER.

I entirely disagree with those who say that it is impossible that the North and the South could live peacefully together, because there are no natural boundaries between the two, such as the Rocky Mountains or the Atlantic Ocean. It is a fact that the people of the North and South have never become foreign nations, and in the sense in which the French, English, or Russians are. They are of the same origin, speak the same language, possess a common literature, and it is possible that they may be able to live together in peace and harmony.

