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McCormick's Combined Reaper and Mower, 1 foot cut, of the new patent, entirely different from the old style. Very strong and serviceable.

Ball's "Ohio," the Improved
"BUCKEYE."—This is ahead of *all* 2-wheeled machines, and the principal objections heretofore urged against that class of Reapers are now removed, as it is well and *durably made* and will *work on rough ground*; has a *sickle instead of a knife* for reaping, and a support for outer end of reel. Cuts 6 feet as a Reaper and 4 feet 8 inches as a Mower.

Kirby Reaper and Mower.
Haines' Illinois Headers.

MOWERS.

Ball's "Ohio," the Improved
"BUCKEYE"—a splendid machine, 2 driving wheels;
Holly Stark and Bay State—2 driving wheels;
Ketchum's Iron Mower—strong, and suitable for rough land and "Bunch Grass," but for ordinary use not as desirable as the 2-wheeled mowers.

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We are sole agents in Oregon and Washington for the GENUINE PITTS BUFFALO THRESHER, from 4 to 10 horse power, band and geared, both of the Pitts and Russell patern, with the PATENT CLEANER, which places them far ahead of all other machines.—These Threshers are gotten up *expressly to our order*, and are strong, *well made, and extra finished*.

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PITTS DOUBLE PINION AND PLANET POWERS EXTRA, from 4 to 10 horse.

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Heretofore we have kept only a small supply of Extras, but we now have soon to arrive over $3,000 worth of extras, comprising duplicate parts most likely to wear of *all our leading Threshers and Reapers*, together with a large stock of SICKLE SECTIONS.

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Such as Grain Cradles, Mowing Scythes, Revolving Horse Rakes, &c., together with a full line of Agricultural Goods, consisting in part of **Rubber Machine Belting** of all widths.

Plows, assorted sizes and kinds, **Cultivators,** *Horse Hoes, Ox Yokes and Bows, Churns, Whiffle-Trees, Seed-Sowers, Grind-Stones*, etc. Also, Fresh

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☞ We are prepared to furnish, at two weeks' notice, through our house in San Francisco, any style of machine in that market not kept by us, that may be desired, at **San Francisco Prices, freight added.**

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KNAPP, BURRELL, & CO.,
Agricultural and Seed Depot,
April 4, 1864-3m5 Portland, Oregon.

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TO FARMERS.

WE with great confidence offer the Buckeye Machine for this reason: knowing it to be superior to any mower for sale, and that it will sustain the reputation it has made for the past three years in surpassing any other Mower in the following respects:

Being better made; much stronger, and more durable; will run lighter; cuts much closer with greater ease to the team, and no side draught.

We can bring twenty farmers to say that the Buckeye is superior to any other mower, to one who can be found prejudiced against it.

The Buckeye mowers are of two sizes, cutting four feet, and four feet eight inches.

The Buckeye as a Reaper.

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Though importing largely of them, we have been unable, for two years, to supply the demand.

They are better adapted to the wants of California and Oregon farmers that any other combined machine for sale. It will adapt itself to every surface of ground, will run lighter, and will deliver its grain easier and better than any other reaper. The reaper's seat is directly over the axle of the machine instead of being on the platform, where it adds greatly to the draught.

WE ARE SOLE AGENTS
IN
SAN FRANCISCO AND MARYSVILLE,
FOR THE
Haines' "Illinois" Header.

This is the *ONLY* Header which, during the past six years, has stood the test and given satisfaction; all others, which have been tried, have proved failures, and have been withdrawn from the market as unreliable.

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Together with a full assortment of
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For Sale in Quantities to Suit
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SPEECH OF HON. J. R. McBRIDE, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 18, 1864.

As the Representative of a people who in my election disregarded all partisan issues, I took my seat upon this floor with an earnest wish to imitate their sacrifice of political associations and to work earnestly and heartily with those whose purpose was to vindicate the imperiled integrity of the nation and compel obedience to its legitimate authority.

Coming from the shores of the Pacific, from among a people many of whom know by experience the inconvenience and the sense of helplessness to which a want of the protection of the national ensign consigned them, I speak for them and their devotion to the integrity of the Union with something of the feeling that is supposed to be peculiar to those who have suffered from the oppressions of other Governments and have at last found protection and a home beneath the folds of our own banner.

In early youth, after a weary journey of two thousand miles from the border of civilization in the valley of the Mississippi, I found myself on the banks of the Columbia, within hearing of the roar of the great ocean into which it falls, in the midst of a wilderness of mountain and solitude, with only a handful of brave but hardy pioneers to whom I could appeal for protection and a home. The ownership of the country was undetermined; the value and resources of it were unknown; the subjects of the British Crown exceeded in number the residents who were American citizens, and the majesty of national authority was unfelt and unknown.

I often heard, sir, in those days of our young State's early history, the American citizen express his hope that the day might soon come when we could hoist the flag of freedom above our homes again and enjoy its blessings and protection. And when a toil-worn emigrant arrived from the far-off land which we still loved to call home, and brought a tattered newspaper to the friend who preceded him, its soiled pages were eagerly scanned to know if yet the vexed question of boundary had been settled, or whether we still must invoke in vain the rights of American citizenship. The painful disappointment, the deep expressions of regret and despair which were common around me as year by year passed away and we were left without notice and without aid or protection from the home Government, left an impression upon my heart of the passionate devotion of an American citizen to the flag and institutions of his country which I shall ever remember with the pride of one who believes that devotion to be not only just but honorable. And, sir, when after years of longing and impatience the news came that the title to the domain where our weak and scattered settlements were located was confirmed to the American Government a thrill of patriotic joy ran through out their length; and when, on the 3d of March, 1849, the little ship that bore him to our shores landed the Governor appointed by the President at Oregon City, and his proclamation announcing that the laws of the United States were extended over the country for its protection was issued, none but those who witnessed the feeling that it invoked and the demonstrations which greeted it can realize the joy that pervaded the community at again being beneath the protecting care of the parent Government.

I allude to this part of the history of our State to show how early and ardent has been the attachment of its citizens to the central Government, and when, in the height of its prosperity we felt not only its want of care but its cold and cruel neglect, the first exhibition of a sense of justice toward us was met by demonstrations of gratitude and affection which showed how deep a hold the love of our common country had upon the hearts of our people. And the patriotism which they evinced then they cherish now; no trick of politics or device of traitors can draw them away from the shrine of the Union and their devotion to the Constitution of the Republic. That dream of expiring treason, the establishment of a Pacific republic, though for long years cherished in secret as part of the plan to make feasible a southern confederacy, had no charm to allure the people from their firm allegiance.

Though the Democratic party had, up to the inception of this rebellion, a majority consisting of almost two to one of the votes of the State with it, and the chosen leader of it had been long the recipient of the confidence and highest honors of the people of the State, and in the interest of his treasonable party association forgot his own allegiance, yet all these influences failed to drag the people of our State from the lofty height of patriotic duty.—With every reason that partisan association and prejudices could devise to seduce them from the path of patriotism they stood fast and true, and I stand here to-day to express my gratitude to the thousands of patriotic Democrats who, in defiance of the influences that had demoralized their party in the interests of secession and placed its organization in the hands of its friends and sympathizers in the Pacific States, nobly rallied to the side of the constituted authorities and have been their firm and unwavering supporters through all the storm and doubt of this fierce rebellion.

With these facts illustrating the Unionism of the masses in the State from which I come—and perhaps from the locality, more than anything else, feeling less interest in those questions, the decision of which in favor of the North by the presidential election of 1860 furnished the pretext for this rebellion—and having no bitterness to revenge upon political enemies, I repeat, sir, I came here with an honest desire and an earnest purpose to co-operate with men of all parties in aiding to restore the authority of the Government, and, I might add, with the belief that among all parties in this great and glorious work the Government would find friends. A few months, however, sir, passed in the States upon this side of the continent prior to the opening of the present session of Congress dispelled that hope and belief which I had so ardently cherished, and I found myself compelled to choose between two parties upon this floor, as clearly defined in principle and purpose and as antagonistic to each other as two political parties can be under the same Government and yet maintain the public peace.

I find, it is true, some gentlemen upon the other side of the House who evince occasionally both by voice and vote an earnest purpose to aid the constituted authorities in maintaining the integrity of the Republic, but I regret to say that they seem too few in numbers and influence to materially affect the action of their party; and I have yet to hear the boast of last winter on this floor that the Democratic party, arrayed against the Administration, was a "war party," or has any longer any such pretensions.

As a Union man, therefore, representing a thoroughly loyal Union constituency, I could find no other friends upon whom I could safely rely to honestly labor for the restoration of the national authority than those with whom it has been my pleasure and honor to act.

The pretense upon which the Democratic party carried the election a year ago, that they were for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, seems now no longer insisted upon, and even those who thus succeeded on a belligerent platform are to-day understood to be as fully indoctrinated with the "peace principles" that propose to disarm this wicked rebellion of its bloody purpose by some scheme of concession to its guilty authors as the known champion of southern interests, Mr. Vallandigham himself.

But I do not make this charge upon that party upon the basis of its action during the past summer only. I go further, and affirm that from the time it drove men like Johnson, of Tennessee, Holt, of Kentucky, Dickinson and Cochrane, of New York, Conness, of California, and Noell, of Missouri, and men like them, outside the pale of its organization, it has been an anti-war party, and a substantial ally of this infamous and treasonable rebellion which seeks to destroy the best Government that human wisdom ever devised.

The fact that such men, the soundness of whose partisan opinions was never impeached, were compelled to renounce their associations, is sufficient evidence of the real animus of the organization, but the developments of the last year are sufficient to establish from their own declarations that the charge which I have made against them is as disgraceful as it is true.

Why, sir, turn to the journals of this body at its last session. On the 19th day of December, 1862, the bill making appropriations for the Army was voted upon; and you will find that of the forty-eight members upon that side of the House voting that day only ten recorded their votes in favor of the passage of the bill. *Thirty-five* absented themselves at roll-call, and *three*, with a manly boldness, which is an honor to their sincerity though little to their patriotism, voted against the bill. There, sir, stands their record on the practical question of pay and supplies for the gallant armies that were then fighting to maintain the honor of the Republic, and whose wounds yet bleeding and fresh from the terrible slaughter of Fredericksburg found neither comfort nor aid at the hands of their Democratic brothers in this House, who had in many cases urged them to volunteer and go into the war so long as it was hoped that such a course would make McClellan President, and who utterly forsook them soon as they found that their political expectations from the Army were not to be realized. And to show the inconsistency of those who oppose the Government in prosecuting this war, some of the same gentlemen who refused to record their votes in favor of a bill which gave wages and clothing and food to our brave soldiers who were facing the enemy in deadly conflict, have been voting resolutions to *increase* the pay of the same men at the present session. Last year they would have had the Government violate its contract to pay them by leaving it without the means; this year they propose to pay them more than the Government agreed. This inconsistency in action is explained by its entire consistency of purpose; by leaving them *without* any pay last year they hoped to create disaffection toward the Government; then by telling them that they ought to have *more* pay than they now get, they seek to foment disaffection now. To weaken and demoralize the soldiers in the field being their purpose, this singularly diverse action is easily understood. They assail the Government and seek to gain possession of the citadel of its power in as many ways as the burglar does who striving to enter the house which he proposes to rob, tries first to break his way with sledge and bar, and failing resorts to the milder means of a false key, and foiled in all, rings the bell and asks admission to the parlor of his victim in the character of a gentleman?

To prove how soon the Democratic leaders of the country became disciples of peace after the removal of General McClellan from the command of the army of the Potomac, I have but to refer to a few facts known to the country as part of the history of the time. Even the energetic member from Ohio, [Mr. Cox,] who is so frequently and prominently before the House, and who only a short time since deliberately voted and spoke in favor of a resolution to send commissioners to Jefferson Davis to sue for peace, only one year ago was one of the most active friends of volunteering in his section of the State; and yet, sir, strange as it may seem, this rampant "war man" anterior to McClellan's removal, lapses in a few revolving moons into a meek advocate of an inglorious peace, and the warm supporter of his late colleague, Mr. Vallandigham, for the office of Governor of the State of Ohio. The conversion of Saul of Tarsus from the character of a firm persecutor of the disciples of the Prince of Peace into that of an humble follower is said in his own account to have occupied three days, and the process was considered sudden, although the shock was so great as to produce temporary loss of sight. How long the gentleman from Ohio labored under conviction before he rejoiced in the light of a new life we may not precisely know, but in mercy to the subject let us hope that the good Providence who watched over both the ancient and modern conversion permitted the latter's mental vision, as a less punishment, to be totally obscured, but did not allow the three days of bodily agony which the apostle suffered, "sorrowing without meat or drink."

But, sir, I will leave these personal reflections, and call your attention to other testimony.

The State of Indiana has shown by every act of her patriotic people that she was emphatically in favor of crushing the rebellion by force of arms; and the conclusive evidence of that is found in the creditable fact that in the President's various calls for troops she has always exceeded the demands made upon her. And yet the democratic committee of her Legislature, chosen in the very hight of the war fever, which swept through the Northwest in 1862, in the winter following issued an address in which this quotation occurs:

"The State possesses no power in theory or in fact to stay the armies which now stand in battle array; and though the Christian and humane mind of Indiana might desire to see the effusion of blood prevented, it, alas! is powerless to stop the carnage which is hurrying her sons to early and '*stranger*' graves."

See the smooth folds of the secession viper beneath this ingenious sentence. Her people are told that their sons are filling "*stranger*" graves; that when they pass beyond the limits of their own State they are upon "stranger" soil; that though the national flag waves alike in supremacy of law over every rood of ground that ever acknowledged the national authority, yet when the brave defenders of that authority march to its defense, when treason has torn it from its place, they are marching upon "stranger" soil, and invading the land of a foreign enemy. They continue:

"The committee is far from thinking the war is the rightful remedy for our national troubles; they belive the reverse to be true," &c.

So much for the peace organization which so suddenly sprang into vigorous existence at the period of our national adversity a year ago in the State of Indiana. I turn now to Connecticut, one of the New England States. The party having control of the democratic organization in that State placed in the field as their candidate for the office of Governor at the last annual election a gentleman who, in a letter which was said to have been addressed by him to a Southern rebel—as to the truth of this I cannot speak, but the authenticity of the letter has, I believe, been admitted—declared that:

"I abhor the whole scheme of Southern invasion, with all its horrible consequences of rapine and plunder." * * * * "Thousands of us are beginning to see there can be no Union got in this way." * * * * "Those who drive the car of war at this time have no more idea of saving the Union by their bloody sacrifices than they have of changing the course of nature."

In speaking of the new levies of that year for troops, he characterizes those as demands "for the hospitals, the marshes, the ditches and gunboat shambles;" and winds up his dolorous epistle by denouncing the war for the Union as an "iniquity which [he] would be found exposing to the end of the chapter;" and adding that "things have gone so far that the only possible chance [to restore the Union] will be by the adoption of a Christian policy, very different from that which at present prevails at Washington."

See how skillfully the doctrine of secession is again made to underlie this whole letter. The attempt to take possession of the property owned and held by the Government of the Southern States and disperse those who were seeking the destruction of its admitted authority with arms in their hands, is called "*a scheme of Southern invasion*," as if this government had not a right if necessary, to occupy every foot of the national territory. This talk about the "invasion" of Southern territory shows how fully the democratic organization of the present day has been imbued with the idea of State supremacy which was the political heresy from which all our present troubles have come, and sounds strangely at variance with the denunciations which have been applied within the last few weeks to the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania who sits near me, [Mr. Stevens] for announcing what they call a similar doctrine. Like the inebriate who fancied that his friends were intoxicated and he only sober, these gentleman charge upon others the sin which is mos tapparent in themselves, and I suggest to them the language of Scripture: "First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see more clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

This letter was was written in July, 1862, months before that *Christian policy* which the writer alluded to was published at Washington. I mean (what he did not) the policy of calling to the aid of the national forces the sympaties and assistance, the hearts and hands of the slaves that had tilled the fields and grown the subsistence upon which the insurgents depended. So that whatever excuse others might have given for the war, growing out of the emancipation of slaves, the author of this letter can now plead no such apology.

I will not occupy my time in reading extracts from the speeches of Vallandigham, or from the letters and utterances of Judge Woodward or of Wickliffe of Kentucky, to prove the unfaithfulness of the democratic party to the duty of prosecuting this war, as its sentiments are proclaimed by its chosen leaders in the various States. Suffice it to say that the proof is ample and overwhelming. If anything further were wanting, it is found in the votes of the minority upon this floor since the beginning of the present Congress.

It was well said by a friend who sits near me that when the wants of the government were such that their aid was not needed, it was tendered with alacrity; but when measures which most required unanimity were demanded it was persistently and factiously refused by the minority.

The bill authorizing bounties for volunteers, when it could be used to postpone the only just and sure method of filling up the wasted ranks of the Army—by draft—was readily sanctioned; but when the bill for the perfection of the system for calling the necessary forces into the field, demanded by every consideration of patriotism and duty, was pending, it was delayed day after day by tedious efforts at amendment, and at last passed after hours of frivolous waste of time in dilatory motions to impede its passage.

Sir, the same impatience of control and denial of the right of the majority to rule, which this southern rebellion has exemplified, finds its counterpart upon this floor. Why was it, sir, that we wasted two days, in large part, upon this floor in deciding dilatory motions by yeas and nays, a proceeding which the people everywhere view as not only disgraceful, but which, if persisted in, would lead to a suspension of the legislative branch of the Government, and finally to anarchy and revolution? And where, sir, is the American citizen who would not blush when told that the measure, the passage of which was thus savagely resisted, was simply a resolution affirming the language of the Constitution on the subject of the punishment of treason! It is because, sir, they are a party of revolution, allied in principle with the causes which led to this rebellion; and, much as they may seek to conceal it, the sympathy between them will, despite all their efforts, color their line of conduct. And, sir, if you want to know whether those gallant men who are bearing our flag through the storm of battle to a final triumph have met with a temporary check, look into the smiling countenance of some gentleman who anathematizes this "abolition war." You can tell from his complacent brow that it is unnecessary to patronize the newsboy to the extent of the price of an evening paper to get the news.—Your country's reverses are written in the smile that plays sneeringly on the features before you. And if you want to know how Jeff Davis' heart beats, take your friend by the wrist, and you will soon get the guage of the rebel pulse.

I do not mean that these remarks shall apply to all who are associated with the minority in this House. I am happy to know that there are exceptions to this general tendency of the policy of that party, and I regret to be compelled to say they are but few exceptions and nothing more.

While I am upon this subject permit me to allude for a moment to the extraordinary spectacle presented on this floor on the day of the organization of this body. By the singular rule adopted by the Clerk of this body at its last session, a number of gentlemen found themselves likely to be defrauded of their right to seats on this floor. And then here we witnessed a development which startled men for the moment, of a deliberate conspiracy to disfranchise a number of the loyal States, and by a quibble, as narrow as it was mean, give the minority the control of the organization of this House. And, sir, the men who always and persistently claim that they are for the rule of the people were here voting to sustain that infamous conspiracy.

The State of Louisiana, steeped as she is in the crime of treason, without any organized government except what the general government has established over her by force, without State officers, and without even the semblance of a fair election or legally authenticated certificates, sent here two men to claim seats upon this floor, the name of one of whom was written upon the secession ordinance of the State when she forgot her allegiance to the Union; and though all these facts were known to the world, in defiance of all decency they took their places on the floor of this Hall.—And not content, sir, with this outrage upon the privileges of this House, the Representatives from loyal States that had never been in rebellion or in sympathy with rebellion were excluded from their places, while these interlopers, who had no more right than a sinner has to a seat in heaven, were quietly installed in these cushioned chairs in the national Congress. And to prove conclusively that all this had a partisan purpose, members elected by a majority counted by thousands, as was the case with myself were not only excluded by this arbitrary ruling of the late Clerk, but when the motion was made to insert their names upon the roll of members of the House, the whole vote on the other side of the House, including the two who were swindled in from Louisiana, was cast solid against us. Talk about the crime of secession! What term of reproach can truthfully characterize this bald attempt to disfranchise whole States at a single blow?—Gentlemen have shown a great deal of indignation at the alleged usurpations of the military in regard to elections. I do not apologize for these things if true; but I do say that such affected indignation comes with no ill grace from those who deliberately cast their votes on this floor to disfranchise whole States by a legislative decree. Sir, legislative usurpation is no more tolerable with me than military usurpation; and with this record behind them I should think that our friends on the other side would not have much taste for discussing the question of the *disfranchisement* of the people. But enough of this. I am merely stating the reasons which have operated on my mind as a Union man, whose sole object and purpose here are to serve the cause of our imperiled Union, and to give every aid and assistance that I can to its authorities in maintaining its integrity, for co-operating with those on this side of the House. I have indicated the objects and animus of the organization of the peace party on this floor and in the country, and shown that neither taking its professions or practice is it to be trusted, and now, sir, I desire to state affirmatively why I go heartily with the gentlemen elected as republicans and as Union men, who occupy seats on this side of the Chamber.

We are in the midst of the grandest struggle of either ancient or modern times. A war whose gigantic proportions stretch along a navigable line of coast and river some five thousand miles in length; that embraces an area of territory larger than was ever before submitted to the arbitrament of a single contest, involving an expenditure of money and of life which has no parallel in modern history, has been for two years and a half drawing upon the resources and exhausting the energies of our people. A war begun strictly on our part in self-defense, and conducted with all the mildness which a kind-hearted Chief Magistrate could throw into the contest, it has at last reached a point where one side or the other *must be conquered*. Begun in order to perpetuate and aggrandise an institution the very existence of which in our free government has ever been a standing reproach in the eyes of the civilized world, and has almost neutralized our example as a republican nation, it has gone on increasing in intensity and bitterness until no one pretends, with any sort of reason, that the cause of the war can survive the struggle. Slavery, in a moment of folly, mad with its own power, precipitated a conflict that can now only end in its destruction.

Without cause, and, I may add, without excuse, the champions of slavery began the war, made its existence an issue, and now, sir, they must take the consequences of their action.—As an institution which it was thought the national Government dare not attack, it was made the bulwark behind which rebellion was to intrench itself in safety; and standing as it did in front of the enemy, as its breastwork and defense, we were compelled to either demolish it or give up the contest. It is the very life of military success that we strike our enemy where he will most keenly suffer from the blow. If we mean to be victorious we must do that which will inflict upon him the greatest injury and harm us the least; and, sir, by destroying slavery in the rebellious States we deprive our enemies of every essential element of success. We not only destroy the means of success but we destroy the motive to rebel. Take away slavery and they have nothing to fight with and nothing to fight for. Hence, sir, I stand with the Union party of this House.—The destruction of the institution in the rebel States is a necessity to the restoration of the Union, and I am for standing by those who will enforce that policy.

It is my misfortune to differ with many gentlemen around me in regard to the capacity and destiny of the African race. While slavery was undermining white society and threatening its ruin it did little by way of enlightening the slave; and I am glad to know that there are gentlemen on this floor, who do not share these opinions with me, and who believe in the capacity of the freedmen to become prosperous residents and owners of the soil, who nevertheless are looking to the means of freeing him from the contact with demoralizing influences and the prejudices of a large portion of our people. I hail with pleasure, therefore, sir, every suggestion which looks to their voluntary emigration from among us; and when my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Kelley] the other day alluded to their natural tendency toward the tropical latitude of this continent, he presented a suggestion which, if properly improved, will prove a wise and practical solution of a problem of our social existence which is liable to become a dangerous and disturbing question. Sympathizing fully with the necessity for emancipation, it will nevertheless bring evils upon portions of the country which the highest wisdom can only modify, not neutralize.

Sir, if I may be permitted to say so here, I will say that I never was an abolitionist. It is not perhaps to my credit that I am not. I never believed in that wire-drawn theory of the transcendental reformers who insist upon the propriety of conferring equal political and social privileges upon all races. I do believe, and always have, that every man had a natural right to his liberty, and that could only be taken away from him when the good and safety of the community were involved. Slavery I always hated as an abomination in the sight of God and all good men; but because I deny the right for you to enslave Sally and Dinah I do not admit that I am bound to marry one or the other, and because I deny that you have the right to sell and oppress the negro I must place him in the same relative position with other white citizens. Natural rights are God-given and inherent, and I concede them to all; political rights are relative, conferred by the State, and may be given or withheld as the body politic may deem best.

Entertaining these opinions, I confess I have always been too conservative to be able to adopt the opinions of the party known in the history of the country as the abolition party. But these are, for the present of course, only abstract opinions, and I do not choose to discuss them. I only present them that I may not be understood to concede doctrines which I deny, or that such concession is involved by the grounds which I assume.

Auxiliary to this scheme of abolishing slavery in the rebellious territory is that other plan for arming the freed population. We all realize what a change has been wrought in the public sentiment of the country in relation to this question. And, sir, whether it is because the people in the pressure for men to fill the quotas of troops demanded were willing to waive their prejudices in relation to this class of persons, and accept aid wherever it could be obtained, or have come to the conclusion more complimentary to the prowess of the colored volunteer, the fact is that public sentiment not only justifies but demands their employment wherever they can be used to crush this rebellion. It not only aids in recruiting the ranks of our army and destroying the basis of the rebel power, but makes the future existence of the institution of bondage impossible.

It is singular that while the prejudices of the northern people long prevented the employment of negroes to aid in overthrowing the power of the rebellion the rebels were too wise to be betrayed into such folly. Within one month from the time when the State of Tennessee was forced out of the Union her Legislature passed and her Governor signed the following enactment:

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee;* That from and after the passage of this act the Governor shall be, and he is hereby, authorized, at his discretion, to receive into the military service of the State, all male free persons of color between the ages of fifteen and fifty, or such numbers as may be necessary, who may be sound in mind and body, and capable of actual service.

"2. *Be it further enacted:* That such free persons of color shall receive each eight dollars per month as pay, and such persons shall be entitled to draw each one ration per day, and shall be entitled to a yearly allowance each for clothing.

"3. *Be it further enacted:* That in order to carry out the provisions of this act it shall be the duty of the sheriffs of the several counties of this State to collect accurate information as to the number and condition, with the names of free persons of color subject to the provisions of this act, and shall, as it is practicable, report the same in writing to the Governor.

4. *Be it further enacted:* That a failure or refusal of the sheriffs, or any one or more of them, to perform the duties required shall be deemed an offense, and on conviction thereof shall be punished as a misdemeanor.

5. *Be it further enacted:* That in the event of a sufficient number of free persons of color to meet the wants of the State shall not tender their services, the Governor is empowered, through the sheriffs of the different counties, to press such persons until the requisite number is obtained.

6. *Be it further enacted:* That when any mess of volunteers shall keep a servant to wait on the members of the mess, each servant shall be allowed one ration.

This act to take effect from and after its passage."

Earnestly engaged in the struggle for rebellious success they did not stop to quibble over the color of the fingers that drew trigger upon the soldiers of the Union, but wisely determined that help was what they needed, and whether it came in the shape of white or black men they accepted it for the good of their cause. They set us the example of arming the negro, and they have no right to complain if we fight with weapons of their own choosing.

At New Orleans prior to the Federal occupation of the city they had a full regiment of African soldiers; and the first colored regiment organized by General Butler was made of the same men who had been conscripted under rebel rule, but embraced the first opportunity to declare for the Union.

I do not stop to inquire into the constitutionality of the emancipation of slaves, and their employment in the armies of the Union.

When red handed treason is grappling at the throat of the nation it is no time to higgle about the means of defense. If any man's code of action was such that he could not defend himself from the assault of a robber or an assassin without violating it, he deserves to be mulct or murdered; and if the occasion arose when he must break his rule or lose his life, I should honor his breach of a creed not worth preserving. And, sir, if the framers of the constitution so made it that our Government was to have no powers of resistance when assailed by traitors, it deserves the destruction to which it is doomed. Such a construction of it would be an imputation upon its illustrious authors of an imbecility which my respect for their memory will not permit me to indulge.—I have no scruples on that score. I do not believe that when a traitor raises the sword to strike at the heart of the Union, he has a right to cram the constitution into the face of its defender and say "You have no right to take life without due process of law." By the very act of resistance to it he loses all the benefits it confers upon a citizen.

I will not insult the memories of those who framed our constitution by intimating that they made a government which when it most needed it had least power; committed the supreme folly of making a government that could only exist by sufferance, and was at the entire mercy of any set of traitors who might seek its destruction. Sir, they did not do it. It is of the very essence of government that it possesses the power of self preservation, as it is of life that its possessor has the right to preserve it by any means which necessity demands. A government that does not possess this right is a cheat and a shadow. Do gentlemen who deny the right of this government remember the history of their own party?

The last administration under Mr. Buchanan spent $20,000,000 in subduing a petticoat rebellion in the mountain girt territory of Utah. No lack of power was found while the rebels consisted of only a large assortment of females, but when the champions of slavery were in arms, instead of the exhausted defenders of polygamy, we suddenly discover a great want of power!

But, sir, I have a little authority on this subject which I desire to submit. Within the recollection of all of us, Mr. Chairman, Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War of the United States. During the progress of those scenes which reddened the virgin soil of Kansas with the blood of brothers, it pleased the Chief Magistrate of the nation to declare certain classes of our citizens there in a state of rebellion. They denied that resistance to the bogus laws forced upon them by a legislature elected by a Missouri mob was rebellion; but the Administration claimed that it was, and Mr. Davis, as Secretray of War, ordered the military forces of the United States to disperse those people wherever found, and here is an extract from his letter of instruction to Gen. Persifer F. Smith, then in command of that department:

"The position of the insurgents is that of open rebellion against the laws and constitutional authorities, with such manifestations of a purpose to spread devastation over the land as no longer justifies further hesitation or indulgence. Patriotism and humanity alike require *that rebellion should be promptly crushed.*"

We have heard of "chickens coming home roost," and I think a better illustration of this homely adage was never found than in this case. What he said in 1856 I echo in 1864. "Patriotism and duty alike require that rebellion should be crushed." Sir, when he was in authority and others were supposed to question it no difficulty of a constitutional character was found to prevent his crushing it; no right of the majority to prescribe their own government, nowadays called secession, was permitted to intervene between rebellion and punishment.

As to the lawful rights of those in the rebellious territory, I have no difficulty. I believe neither in the doctrine of State rights nor State suicide. A loyal citizen of this government cannot have his rights taken from him by his neighbors. The result of their action may deprive him of the means of asserting and exercising them, but they exist in him legally, unimpaired. And and a man who repudiates his duties to this government can, in my opinion, claim nothing from it. The doctrine that a State can commit political suicide is completely answered by that provision of the constitution which says the United States "shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." It is made our duty to preserve what a majority of the citizens of a State might seek to destroy, the integrity of the form of the State government. And so long as one man within its limits stands by his allegiance and defies the rule of rebellion, he has a right to claim from this government, the enforcement of the covenant.

Entertaining these views, I have no hesitation in indorsing the plan of the President for restoring the State governments. It looks to their preservation instead of annihilation, and presents a practical plan by which the constitutional guarantee can be made effective. The preliminary oath required seems to me to be without objection. The complaint that it is an imputation upon the loyalty of a faithful citizen seems frivolous. As well might a man claim that to require an oath to speak the truth as a prerequisite to delivering testimony in a court of justice was an impeachment of his veracity. This tenderness about taking extra-constitutional oaths has its origin in a sympathy for traitors which I think is too apparent to be misunderstood.

But our friends on the other side insist upon having the "Union as it was and the Constitution as it is;" a very pretty *ad captandum* phrase, but in my humble opinion a very senseless one. Are our friends in earnest when they say that they want another rule like that which swayed this government under Buchanan? Do they desire to witness the recurrence of those disgraceful events which brought a stain upon our national honor which can never be wiped away? Are they willing even for the sake of the spoils to see us again wallowing in the slough of infamy into which the last Administration plunged this nation? Do they hunger so for the flesh-pots of Egypt that they are willing to see us prostrating every interest, State and national, to the perpetuation and fostering of that foul curse and reproach to the Republic, human bondage; when Cobb squandered the public moneys till the public Treasury became bankrupt, and your bonds fell to seventy-five cents on the dollar in a time of profound peace; when Thompson embezzled the funds which had been sacredly intrusted to his care to aid in the humane and charitable purpose of elevating the savage from a state of barbarism to that of civilization; when Floyd remained in authority that he might rob and steal on a scale commensurate with his unrivaled capacity; when, in fact, every Department had become so corrupt that the whole fabric came nigh tumbling to pieces from its own rottenness? No, sir. They will pardon me when I say I doubt their sincerity. "The Union as it was?" as well might you seek to crowd the condor who soars among the snowy summit of the Andes into the tiny shell from which he sprang, as to replace the American Union in the same position which it occupied prior to this rebellion.

Sir, these three long years of bloody, devastating war have not taught us a useless lesson. The noble martyrs who have gone down in this fierce struggle for the nation's existence and regeneration have not made their last sacrifice for the barren, fruitless result of restoring the very condition of things which superinduced the strife. It was for no such ignoble purpose that the gallant Lyon died on the plain of Springfield, or that other martyr from my own far off State, the lion hearted, the eloquent Baker, whose brave words rang through this nation like a trumpet blast, calling the people to the defense of the national honor. It was for no such trifling purpose that he fell, the murdered victim of a traitorous commander-in-Chief. Go ask the martyred brave who people the graves that line the swamps of the Peninsula and rest in the lonely tombs that rise on the banks and bayous of the Mississippi, if they are willing that their sacrifices should end in replacing the Union in the same condition it was when this wanton, bloody, and infamous rebellion began. It is enough to make them start from their dust to suggest the inquiry.—After our terrible experience in taming this monster of slavery, we are not going to leave the serpent with his fangs undrawn. The people of this nation who have yielded up so much of life and treasure in this wicked rebellion, will never be content until they can know that its recurrence is impossible, and gentlemen might as well talk of recalling the past or of reanimating the fallen dead as to talk of the Union as it was.

Mr. Chairman, I am for the Union with every star in its place, redeemed, regenerated, and purified, as it will be by this war.

And now, sir, I wish to make a few observations in regard to our duty here.

This war has shown one thing clearly, and that is, that the people on both sides are in earnest. And I may add that if in this respect there is any difference, the rebels are more thoroughly in earnest than are we. Myself a native of a Southern State, and knowing the spirit that animates that people, I can understand the desperate energy which they have thrown into this contest. I do not believe the tales that have from time to time been told us with regard to the affection of the people for the Union and their forced submission to the rebellion. They are, in my opinion, the most thoroughly united people in this contest that ever threw down the gage of battle. Every slaveholder is fighting with the desperation of despair to retain his property, and the poor white man who serves in the ranks is fighting with no less determination to prevent being placed by the law on an equality with the slaves. It may be said that this latter feeling is all prejudice, and I may grant it. Still it is a fact. And for proof of the strength and bitterness of that prejudice, I appeal to all loyal members from the slave States who sit around me.

In my observation the bitterest and most unreasonable pro-slavery men are those who never owned a slave and never will. However wrong they may be, they will remain so until this war has been fought through.

And right here, Mr. Chairman, let me say, that I cannot agree with those humane ideas so frequently advanced on the other side of the House that you ought not to confiscate the property of the rebel in arms—that by so doing you drive him from repentance and prolong this war. I cannot comprehend the principle which permits us to take life with Christian propriety, but is shocked at the thought of taking property. And, sir, if we can take life "without process of law," as a means of putting down this rebellion, can we not take property for the same purpose? As to our confiscating property being an incentive to them to continue the contest, they had thrown their all into the contest before, and nothing but success could save it to them.

But to return to the subject. To-day, with all his defeats and reverses, Jeff Davis defies us with the best army that the Confederacy has seen—men who when set in the stern strife of battle, are the equals of any in the wide world. The rebellion is compressed, cramped, but it is not broken; and gentlemen decieve themselves who think we are to have an early and easy conquest. A single misfortune to Grant or Meade might place us next autumn no nearer our object than we are to-day; and, sir, I believe that it is our duty to look the danger that threatens in the face, and prepare to meet the most tremendous shock of this war. Why was it that Rosecrans lay for months at Stone river after his hard won victory and the retreat of Bragg? It was his want of men and means to follow. Why was it, when the gallant army of the Potomac had hurled back the discomfited legions of Lee on the bloody hills of Gettysburg, that with victory, Providence and the "Patriotic Potomac" on our side, he yet escaped safely into Virginia? It was because we had not the men and means to follow. And lastly, when, beneath the banner of Grant, the gallant Hooker—who was robbed of the glory and the laurels of Gettysburg—stormed the cloud-capped heights of Lookout Mountain, and rolled back the tide of the enemy upon the plains of Georgia, why was it that the results of the splendid triumph were lost? It was because we were still without men or means to follow.

And shall this chapter of failures teach us no lesson, or shall we gather from the experience the wisdom which shall bring triumph to the future? Then, sir, let us vote men and money. Provide the means of filling the ranks of the army, not by tempting men by the sordid motives of pay and bounty, but by that stern call which every nation has a right to make on its people when its existence is at stake—recruit them until success must crown their arms.

Sir, our national credit is already groaning beneath the accumulating debt. We cannot afford to prolong this war. Every day of continuance adds more than its million dollars to the public debt, and we must close this strife by quick subjugation or provide for a collapse of the national credit. We can end this war in the next campaign. I think my military friend from Ohio [Mr Schenck] could draw an act which, if placed on the statute book, would end all organized rebellion within the next ten months. And I will add that I am ready to vote for just as stringent a conscription law as he has the courage to ask for. And while we are voting buncombe resolutions about increased wages to the soldiers, I hope we shall have a tax bill to provide the money.

When the gentleman from Indiana offered his resolution to raise the pay of soldiers, unconscious that I was left entirely alone, I voted in the negative. I did it, sir, because we were informed that the demands upon our Treasury already crowded its resources; and I was unwilling to promise to pay men who had not asked it money that we did not have, and did not know that we could get. I am for filling the Treasury first, and will talk of distributing the contents afterwards.

I pledge myself here and now to stand by every movement which has for for its purpose the replenishing of the army and the Treasury. I will support the President, while, with an honesty of purpose and a clearness of vision which prove him one of the most illustrious men of modern times, he molds and directs the plans which are to throttle this devil of rebellion;—and having thus humbly struggled to do my duty here, go home to the noble young State which sent me here and tell the Union loving people who live among her mountains and val-

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