

rights above all laws, constitutions, religions and governments we begin the work of moral regeneration. To-day the soldier, the prisoner, the drunkard, the woman, the child are all subordinated, perverted, demoralized, by some false notions of the interests of society, a society that, by its creeds, codes and customs, is daily manufacturing murderers, drunkards, criminals, prostitutes, rogues, thieves and liars, and then for its protection drags to the torture, the rack, the gallows, the prison, the weak and degraded victims of its own crimes and abominations. Again, in the "Woman's Rights" and anti-slavery organizations, we find them demanding the right of suffrage, but another variation of the same plea for individual rights. All history shows that whatever class is thrown outside the pale of political consideration, that is degraded in its own eyes and in those of the ruling classes. Hence in this demand for suffrage we see the growth of a proper self-respect and the power to secure respect from others. The ballot is the key to all the advantages and opportunities of life, the power by which the citizen secures those conditions of society in which he can freely exercise and enjoy his natural rights. After going over the whole field of argument on this question of suffrage for women and black men, through Bible, constitution, law and logic, through all history, ancient and modern, the arguments resolve themselves at last into this same one of individual rights. And this, too, is the kernel of the great national question we are called upon to discuss to-day. While politicians, bent on personal aggrandizement and party success, absorb the thought of the people with "negro suffrage," "impeachment," "the next presidency," let us remember that the same problem of individual rights, given by our fathers to the nations of the earth for solution in '76, stands face to face with us to-day demanding settlement.

It is the first duty of the American people to vindicate that grand declaration of equality, already twice baptized in blood, and consent to no reconstruction of this nation on any basis but that of equal rights to every citizen of the republic. If we could only concentrate the thought and efforts of the people on this one national question, which swallows up every other, because it underlies all others, we might from this anniversary week, wholly ignoring the plans and purposes, the selfishness and tergiversation of our political leaders, send forth a new declaration of peace and union, calling on the East, the West, the North and the South to sit down in council together, to confess themselves equally guilty in the past in the violation of the republican idea, and to choose this day whom they will serve, whether the old God of caste and class, that has led his subjects through centuries of blood and carnage, or that Sun of Righteousness that shines on the just and the unjust, gilding alike the palace and the prison, the brow of royalty and the dying thief on the cross.

The success of any one of these partial reforms is impossible without the triumph of the whole. Like the human family they belong to one body, and must rise or sink together. Let us, then, no longer leave the helm of the ship of state in the hands of political tricksters, while the people only watch the wrecks on shore, but let us turn from all these partial reforms to the broader one of national life and prosperity by securing to every man and woman life, liberty, happiness, land, and the profits of labor, education, rest and recreation, food alike for

body and soul, and that higher development that shall open the golden gates of hope, and love, and wisdom, to all the sons and daughters of earth.

E. C. S.

IMPEACHMENT.

It still lives in the minds of men, because newspapers find it convenient, though coarse filling for their columns. But out of the heart of the community, it long ago passed, crowded and burning as that heart is with more important and vital questions. Only politicians and those of the least valuable class, had any interest in it from the beginning of the present Congress. It came too late for practical good results, by at least one year. Too late by at least two years and a half, had the nation not lost all decency, all honor. The time for impeachment, with any high moral effect, was when the President babbled his drunken, beastly, inaugural address before a nation sincerely and deeply mourning the murder and loss of his predecessor. In the very presence of those hallowed remains, he should have been hurled from a post the like of him never could but disgrace. Senator Sumner saw it, said it; and had he persisted in enforcing his idea, the country would have sustained him. In the February following he might and surely should have been again arraigned. And had not Congress really been what he then called it, "not the government, but a body of men hanging on the verge of the government," he would never have signed or vetoed another of its enactments. He would have been shaken off as a viper, back into the pit from whence he sprang, to bite and be seen no more. It was not for lack of desert on his part, but of disposition on the part of Congress. His crime was great enough, but Congressional cowardice was far greater. Emboldened by success, he has passed from step to step, until Congress and leaders of the party in place (and that should therefore be in power), saw that he was fast pushing them from their stools, and that his impeachment was becoming a political necessity. The people had grown tired of such leadership, and were loudly calling for and rapidly working a change. And impeachment was the last tub thrown to the whale. But it was too late. The nomination of Johnson was a supposed necessity. His continuance was a necessity; and now impeachment is enacted only as part of the same fatal policy. The republican party has not attempted one manly, just and virtuous movement, since the assassination of its president. Could the bullet of Wilkes Booth have penetrated and put a period to its power without more loss of natural blood and life, it would have increased the prospect of permanent restoration on a new basis of justice and freedom. And until the party is overthrown by some agency, divine or human, there is now no possibility of salvation.

The reason for this is, because the very little virtue the republicans have remaining, has become to themselves a reproach. The party itself regards it as reproach, and in every way wipes it out where possible. The only political virtue it ever possessed superior to the democratic party was its opposition, direct or indirect, to African slavery. To Greek, Polish, Hungarian, Italian and Irish oppression, the democrats were ever and always as intensely opposed as the whigs or republicans. Had the slaves belonged to one of those nationalities, or been a nation by themselves (with white skins),

they, too, would have shared the general sympathy. The whigs championed the negro cause in the Texas imbroglio, the republicans in the conquest of Kansas; but both deserted him when the party interest or success demanded it. But for the Northern hatred of slavery-extension over Texas, General Taylor would never have been elected president. That same hostility cropped out again in the Kansas struggle, and displaced James Buchanan by Abraham Lincoln. But in the hands of unprincipled party leaders, the Texas strife resulted in whig defeat and speedy dissolution. Republicanism is rapidly running the same race. It is ashamed of the idea on which it rose to power. Radicalism is to be its ruin when it should have been its safety, and through it, the national salvation. Opposition to slavery in Texas and in Kansas, logically implied opposition to it everywhere. So, too, if the negro should vote in Arkansas and the Carolinas, he should vote in Connecticut, Ohio and everywhere. Truckling cowardice and demagoguism ruled the hour in the former instance, and ruled to ruin. The same unhallowed policy controls to-day, and has led to the same dire result. The party falling on the rock of Radicalism could only have been broken, at the worst. Nay, that very rock should have been to it an everlasting foundation. Now, through party weakness and wickedness the foundation has fallen upon it, and will grind it to powder. So are truth and right ever a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death!

Impeachment is nothing any more. What interest the public could have had in it, is long ago lost. Many a trial has awakened profounder emotion in the country, and of as long continuance, if not longer. At most, it has served to entertain the people, while far more significant and momentous schemes have been plotted and carried on. Instead of a robe of righteousness, it is but a cloak for sin. The Bonapartes know how to dazzle the eyes of their subjects with the blaze of war, while plotting the national ruin and their own aggrandizement. It is the trick of tyrants and demagogues ever. It serves its purpose in the old world and has for ages. It is equally successful in the new, and this one more word of warning may be thrown away.

P. P.

REV. WILLIAM SHARMAN.

This gentleman has just arrived in this country from Great Britain. He is a Unitarian clergyman of the most liberal school, and one of the class of Englishmen too, who, believes in the liberation of Ireland, and has suffered much for his earnest efforts in her behalf. He brings many excellent letters of introduction from eminent persons of the John Bright and John Stuart Mill party in politics. A short time before leaving England, he delivered a powerful lecture on the Duty of Englishmen and Irishmen to Ireland, to a large concourse of people in Bradford, at the close of which among other approving demonstrations he was presented with the following address. We give it as farther expressive of the purposes as well as character of Mr. Sharman. He has already received several invitations to preach and lecture in this city, Brooklyn and other important places in the country:

ADDRESS OF THE IRISH PEOPLE OF BRADFORD TO THE REVEREND WILLIAM SHARMAN.

REVEREND SIR: We being ever grateful to those who exert themselves on behalf of our country or our people