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ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

BLACK SPOT UPON OUR MILITARY ESCUTCHEON.

From Bennett's Herald.

* * * For several months past every steamer from Port Royal has brought us accounts of the "lame and impotent conclusion" of the Burnside expedition, the ridiculous result of this once great expedition, this great grand armada. Can any one refrain from laughing while contemplating the finale of this hopeless affair? Laughter, quotha? We beg pardon of Lord Brougham, and of all the coteries of petitioned philanthropists of Exeter Hall and the New York Abolitionists—the result of this expedition is, philanthropically considered, most glorious. Look at the Sunday and week-day schools which this great armada has been the means of establishing. Look at the motley group of motley clad or naked negroes, taking daily lessons in A, B, C, and thumbing with their greasy digits the precious productions, the pictured primers, of the American Tract Society and Sunday-School Union. See the hoary wool of the patriarchal negro bending in unison with the little head of the pickaninny over "object lessons," where they learn from the picture of a colored one, before them what UGLY spirit! Is not this a glorious result—is not this superlative generalship? Have we all the millions of money been well spent to attain this glorious consummation? Are not all the lives lost and the blood shed in this campaign nothing to be compared with the wealth gained, with the commutation of letters to a few superannuated and infantine negroes of South Carolina? We seem transported back again to the age of Cadmus. True it is our army has not killed the dragon, nor even wounded it; but it has taught letters to big and little negroes. Seriously, this of Port Royal is the blackest spot upon our military escutcheon; it is rank; "it smells to Heaven." We are lost in astonishment that Gen. Dupont, with all the bravery of Farragut, skill and talent upon his head, can have tamely submitted so long to an alliance with such impotency, shame and disgrace in his co-department.

THE SUBLIME OF IMPUDENCE.

From The Springfield Republican.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said, in Music Hall, Boston, last Sunday:

"The government wants three hundred thousand men; we must vote to the President, 'You shall have men and a dollar mint you proclaim a policy.' Thus will open the eyes of the President and Cabinet to the true sentiment of the North."

The "policy" which Mr. Phillips demands as the condition of support to the government is the abolition of slavery. Now, whom does this man represent when he makes this demand? He represents the Garrison Abolitionists, who take no part in the government and give it no voluntary support, and have not for years, because they think that by so doing they should become responsible for slavery. Nobody expects these men to give a dollar or to enlist in the army. They would not be accepted, for there is not one of them who would take the oath of allegiance. They call the Constitution a "compact with death and an agreement with hell," and believe no man can be loyal to it without committing mortal sin. And these are the men who are most loud-mouthed and arrogant in dictating a war-policy to the Administration, and saying what it must or must not do in order to secure their support. Out upon such impudence! Let Wendell Phillips speak for himself and his little clique, and not for the people. Nobody expects him or his adherents to enlist, or to help the country in any way, or to do anything but abuse and insult those who are laboring and dying in its defence. The true way to silence these malignants is to present to them the oath of allegiance. They won't take it. They will deny that they are citizens of the United States. They merely live on the soil, but are voluntary aliens to the government. And yet these repudiators of the Constitution undertake to dictate to patriotic men how the Constitution is to be defended. Shame on them!

From The N. Y. Observer.

The only point of interest in a brief paragraph on our first page [copied above] lies in the fact that it comes from the Springfield *Republican*, a decided anti-slavery newspaper. When we read such remarks in a Massachusetts paper of that school, we take heart, and hope for the country. They are our sentiments exactly, and we like them all the more in the Springfield *Republican*.

THE PRESIDENT'S TACT.

From The N. Y. Observer.

A SHORT time ago, while several persons were calling upon the President of the United States, one of them, a venerable woman, said to Mr. Lincoln:

"Mr. President, God has called you to your high office to abolish slavery."

"In that case, Madam," replied the President, "I shall undoubtedly do it."

When the Progressive Friends waited on him formally and read him a written lecture on his duty in this matter, he told them that "God's way of accomplishing the end which they have in view may be different from theirs. It would be his earnest endeavor, with a firm reliance upon the Divine arm, and seeking light from above, to do his duty in the place to which he had been called."

If "God wills it," and the President is doing his duty, it seems to us that ordinary faith in God and his servants might make us patient. When the Quakers urged him to issue a decree of emancipation, he said:

"If a decree of emancipation could abolish slavery, John Brown would have done the work effectually. Such a decree would be more binding upon the President than the Constitution, and that cannot be enforced in any part of the country now. Would a proclamation of freedom be any more effective?"

This is the right kind of "abolition." Let the President do his duty, Congress do theirs, and the people do theirs, and all will be well. It is this distrust of God, impatience with Providence, and contempt of Constitution and laws that make all the trouble.

"FANATIC ZEAL."

From Tribune Weed's Evening Journal.

THE rebellion, in its progress, but for the fanatical zeal of those who aided in precipitating it, would have indicated the means by which it could have been and should be crushed. Slavery, by its nature, would have brought about its own destruction. But in anticipating and in attempting to force events, instead of awaiting their development, the best hopes and highest prospects of the Union have been thwarted. In vain have such incendiary, but scarcely less than infernal spirit represented by Mr. Sumner in the Senate, Wendell Phillips in the forum, and *The Tribune* of the press, has united the Southern people, and made them divide the North. The speeches, lectures and filibustering from these sources have been used by secession leaders and journals to aggravate and intensify Southern hostility, instead of having, as would long since have been developed, powerful minorities of Union men in the Insurgent States, we now see men, women and children banded together against us, fighting, as they believe, for all that is hallowed by domestic relations and social ties. The real character of the rebellion, in the eyes of its victims, has thus been changed. The ambitious, wicked, fratricidal leaders—Davis, Iddell, Toombs, Mason, Slidell, Floyd, etc.—enjoy the advantages of a changed issue, in which their great crime is merged.

[Mr. Weed is angry on account of the failure of all his and Mr. Seward's projects of compromise with the slaveholders, and therefore vents his spleen upon Abolitionists and the men of principle in the Republican party.]

Selections.

SPEECH OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

At Framingham, Mass., July 4.

THE short time which it is possible for me to take, in justice to other speakers, will not permit a speech; and therefore I shall only give you a fragment, torn out of the middle of one, with neither beginning nor end.

We have been reminded in the course of the day of the method, or rather, perhaps I should say, the want of method, in which the military operations of the North are carried on against the rebellion. The anti-slavery movement which has been agitating the country for the last thirty years still stood in need of any justification to the minds of candid and sensible men, it would be found in the attitude of many of the North to-day towards the rebellion, acknowledged on almost all hands to have sprung from slavery, and nothing else. Here stands the North, cowering before the very power which has stirred up that rebellion, and talking about putting down the rebellion without going behind it and putting down its admitted cause; as if you should try to put down diabolism in the world, and respect the vested rights of Satan. It is said that the anti-slavery has blinded the minds of the people, and stupefied their understandings; and all the way from Abraham Lincoln in the chair of State down to his lowest follower in the halls of Congress, you find the same evidence of a stupefaction which has been not only of moral, but even of intellectual vision. We suppose that men in conspicuous public stations ought to know something; and these men do know something about everything except about the anti-slavery movement. Of that, there, they seem to know nothing, or, at least, they do not know the very thing which it is important they should know at this time. We are told that Abraham Lincoln is a very good, well-meaning man; and we have no reason to suppose, if so, is the proof of what I have said; for your well-meaning man, if he understood his business, would never go about the work of putting down a pro-slavery rebellion after the fashion in which he has gone about it. But men say he is waiting to see if the people will support him; he is going to drift upon the tide. I tell you the man who understands his business never waits for his followers to drift him in the right direction. He is appointed to go before, and his very vocation serves to bring his followers after him. If Abraham Lincoln had spoken the right word at the right time, he would have been supported by the whole country; not only by those who are marking out a policy, but all the loyal people would have thanked him from the bottom of their hearts for saving them the trouble of seeking one for themselves; and not only by them, but by those who stand waiting for an opportunity, and mean to go with the strongest party, and when they see the party in deadly earnest and the other shivering in the wind, by instinct, recognize the deadly earnest men as the strongest party; and still others, those who were opposed, would have been swept into the current. If Abraham Lincoln had shot forward with energy enough to make a wake behind him that would draw men in.

Men say the Constitution stood in his path. But why is not the constitutional right of every body else sacred as that of so-called loyal slaveholders—the "black swans" of this age—to hold men as chattels, when we know that the very root of disloyalty is the practice of holding men as chattels? Is it not a glorious constitution that secures some rights; but this government of yours stretches its long arms to the North and the South, and sweeps you all up together, your property, your lives, your liberty, and crushes them into one mass, which is to be buried beneath rebellion. You strew the battle-field with slaughter—nobody's constitutional rights meddled with there; you crowd your prisons with captives, put there without a court of law, save martial law—nobody's constitutional rights meddled with there; and you destroy the property of the nation until you burthen the land with a thousand million of dollars of debt—and nobody's constitutional rights are meddled with there. Where is the law, and the king, and the law-makers, and that is, not your person, not your freedom, not your life or your property, but the slaveholder's claim to make a beast of his brother man (applause).

Now I answer all that in a great many ways, but I only make one answer this afternoon. In the first place, I say that if you want Constitution, you shall have Constitution, to the very end of it—as much of it as Fortis in the play wanted of the Jew—as much of the Jew as you shall have all that the law awards, and nothing more; and then I say, that by the Constitution of your country, and by the law of your land, Abraham Lincoln is a perjured man if he allows slavery to be recognized as a legal institution in this country another hour. I tell you that slavery died in every rebellious State of this Union the instant it raised the flag of rebellion. I prove it to you in a few short words. What is the legal basis of slavery, if you hang by it? Positive law. Lord Mansfield said, in England, years ago, that slavery is of so odious a nature, that it cannot be suffered to exist upon any other ground than that of positive law. The courts of Louisiana, Mississippi, and almost every one of your States, slave and free, have recognized that same principle in by-gone times; and all the North—Abraham Lincoln and all the rest—recognize it to-day. Slavery is the creature of positive law, so far as it has any law at all. *Positive*, not natural law. It has no prescriptive rights, no rights based upon nature; it has nothing to uphold it as a legal system but judicial precedents and statute enactments. Well, what holds up judicial precedents, statute enactments? The government from which they proceed—nothing else. If I have a natural right to anything, you may annihilate all the governments this side of God's, and my natural right remains unharmed; but if I have a right created by government, when the government sinks, my right goes to the bottom with it. Is not that plain common sense? The United States, by its creation perishes with him. If your theology teaches you that. Now, the rebellion has annihilated the law-making power in the slaveholding States. Is there any government in South Carolina, is there any government in Georgia or Virginia, or any other rebellious State, which a loyal person of the North has a right to recognize as a government? Does Abraham Lincoln recognize any government there except his own? He issues a Governor down—more's the pity—to North Carolina, who goes there to enforce the laws of North Carolina; loyal men of the North have

power, and then we shall see what we shall see. The nation was confident: it believed what it was told; and it continued to chose, like a schoolboy, told; and it continued to chose, like a schoolboy, the end of the plitterings. Congress was in session. Congress had its duty and adjourned, leaving to the President the simple task of executing the laws it had passed. He was expected to issue a proclamation at once, declaring the principle of these laws, and instructing all his Generals in the field to carry them out. He was further expected to fill up our thinned regiments at once, by drafting, if it could not be done otherwise. The danger was imminent, the crisis was upon us, and there was no time for straining at gnats. His reply to these expectations is the two orders in question. One of them authorizes the army to support itself in the insurrectionary States, "when it necessary and proper;" the other empowers military commanders to make use of slaves, which is also necessary and proper. But the vital electric words are wanting. The glorious name of freedom, which is the solution of the whole difficulty, does not appear on the record. In this the President does not come up to the requirements of the law. Congress, which is the voice of the nation, has not only enacted that slaves may be used in the military service, but that they shall be free, and their wives, their mothers, their wives and their children, are free forever, and that beneficent result should have been declared in the orders. It will not detach the slaves—who are the main productive force of the rebellious States—from their masters, it will tell them they will be paid wages for their labor in our camps; but it will detach them to inform them that the law makes emancipation the reward of work. Why has the President omitted the magic word, the vital force, the very point and end of the law?

Our correspondent at Washington, who is usually accurate, and who has the best means of information, insists, that in spite of appearances, Mr Lincoln has at length made up his mind to act with energy, austerity and decision. It is the old story—how can we believe it? Or, if he has, will not the influence of Gen. Halleck, who is known to be a slower and less enterprising mind than McClellan even, and an obstinate sticking for ancient prejudices and forms, modify his opinions once more? Gen. Halleck will, in all likelihood, be acting Commander-in-Chief of the armies, and will naturally exert great power over the determinations of the government. But in account of this it has been said to be the designs of the President? Will he cheerfully and energetically carry out the new policy alleged to have been decreed? We have our doubts; and yet we are encouraged to hope, in spite of the positive declarations of the President in his letter to the Border State Congressmen. He said distinctly in that letter that emancipation would end the revolt; he said, moreover, that he concurred with Gen. Hunter in feeling such sentiment, and with such aspirations and such convictions, how, in the name of humanity and truth, can he withhold his hand from the effective deed?

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

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WHAT A YEAR HAS BROUGHT FORTH.

IT is little more than a year since the battle of Bull Run struck sorrow and shame to the heart of the North. The shame and the sorrow, indeed, brought forth good fruits, for they neither dismayed nor disheartened the people, but led them to more resolute efforts to repair the disaster. An immense force sprang armed to the combat, almost without an effort. It looked as if the resources of the South, cut off by the blockade from European supplies, could not withstand the power put forth to crush them. Statesmen and Generals had short terms for the war to run, as if it had been a note of hand. And yet, at the end of a twelvemonth from the first great battle of the war, we seem to be about as far from its conclusion as we were on the morrow of Bull Run. We have had our successes, indeed. Fort Donelson and Fort Henry in the West, and Norfolk, Beaufort, Roanoke and New Orleans are witnesses to the strength which lies in either arm of national power when put forth with a good will behind it, on land or at sea. But for all these, the rebellion holds its head higher than ever, and the danger of European intervention is greater at this moment than at the darkest hour of a year ago. Gen. McClellan, at the head of the largest army ever seen on this continent, and seldom equalled on any other, has not yet been able to "push the rebellion to the wall," which he promised to do after Yorktown. His retreat from before Richmond and his change of base in the presence of the enemy was a masterly piece of generalship, but it was a more masterly one or the part of the rebel leaders which compelled him to it. A position seventeen miles from Richmond, however skillfully taken up, will not look to the world so well as one but four miles distant, within sight of its spires and hearing of its bells. Halleck's great Army of the West has failed of permanent successes memorable to its first victories, and is now cut up into small commands. And our Generals on the coast are crippled in their operations, and confined within the range of their guns, for the lack of men enough for their necessities.

These are unpleasant truths; but they cannot be gainsaid nor denied. There must be reasons for them—primary and secondary causes. These last we are not curious to inquire into. Whether the choice of Gen. McClellan were a good one or not, it was certainly an honest one. He was not one of the party that made Mr. Lincoln President. He was young enough to be the son of many of the Generals over whose heads he was put at the head of the army. He was chosen simply because he was believed to be the best educated soldier on the continent, and the most competent for the great work the nation had to do. The Jacobian knot of red tape was cut at once, and all considerations of long service and seniority waived by the veterans of many battles, in a manner most honorable to their patriotism. Whether another man would have done better than he or not is now beside the question. Whether he might have spared the lives of the thousands who have died of disease during the last half-year by a vigorous pushing of the war last December, and have ended it by the occupation of the enemy's country before the enemy had time to collect and concentrate his strength for the desperate defence he has so ably made, is now a vain speculation. Bygones must be bygones, as far as measures are concerned. But the country cannot avoid looking beneath the measures, military and civil, of the past year, to seek for the original cause for such a result of such hopes and of such preparations. There must be a primary cause of such a state of things; and that cause, we apprehend, is to be found in the diseased, depraved, etiolated condition of the public mind, resulting from its long exposure to the virulent and pestilential contagion of slavery. Slavery had not only robbed the nation of its guns and its fortifications—it had done worse mischief to its soul by robbing it of its sense of right and wrong, and of its keen perception of what its own preservation called for. It has taken a year at least to bring the general mind to appreciate the fact that we are actually at war, and with an enemy as able as he is unscrupulous and implacable. Without this bitter experience the nation could not be brought to accept the only cure that is sufficient for its disease. The base habits of subserviency to the South were only to be broken by the hardest of blows. The belief that the quarrel was one capable of settlement on other terms than the conquest of one party or the other could only be eradicated by the severest treatment. We think the first stage of the cure is reached.

Impatient as we, whose eyes have been made keen by long looking into the right in which the land was plunged, could not help feeling at the mad attempts to restore the old state of things, it was a necessary condition for the country to pass through. The idea that slavery was not only not incompatible with our national prosperity and greatness, but essential to it, had been too long inculcated and made an integral element of political forces to be easily eliminated. The hope of the good old times, when slavery ruled the land, and its interests got the first things as the reward of their allegiance, was too tempting to be abandoned excepting upon the most urgent of compulsions. And the spirit of compromise, which had eaten into the marrow of the bones of the better sort of politicians, made them believe that some invention could be found which should satisfy the South and content the North, without proceeding to extreme and radical measures. But the progress of the war has dispelled all these delusions—or is fast dispelling them. The dream that there is a large Union party in the revolted States, waiting only for a chance to proclaim their loyalty, has vanished like the visions of the night. The fond belief that the rebel forces would disperse of their own accord if let alone long enough, and the rebellion die a natural death if no blow was dealt it, has dissolved into thin air. So has that which flattered us that they were without arms and munitions of war, and on the point of actual starvation. At the end of a year our Generals find themselves not merely out-generalled, but out-numbered, and that by troops quite as well appointed as their own. The President has been forced to call upon the nation for three hundred thousand men, and not only taxation but conscription stares it in the face. Matters are getting serious when they reach a point like this, too serious to be blinked any longer. The rebellion must be speedily crushed, or the nation is at an end. All means necessary to produce that result must be used, and the war carried on in earnest on our side as well as on theirs. The futility of any hopes of reconciliation must be now patent to the meanest capacity. None but those really desirous of the triumph of the rebels can object to whatever measures are essential to their defeat. This will soon become a test question, and one which we are sure the nation is in a mood to apply sternly and rigidly. If not now, the impending danger of European intervention must bring them to that point soon. And as soon as they have reached it, the work will be virtually done.

The recent action of the President clearly shows that he is seeing his way more and more clearly in the only direction in which safety lies. With the rebellion all but triumphant, keeping his armies at bay on the James, and shutting them up in the captured sea-ports, he must see that the time is coming when the blow must be dealt at its heart in order to be effectual. All honest lovers of their country, all but base panders of slavery, must see that the Negro holds in his hands the destinies of the nation. As he strikes will the battle go on the one side or the other. It may be mortifying, but it is true, and it is just. It is right that the American people should have to pay to the race it has so long wronged for its own salvation. Gen. Hunter has demonstrated how easily the black man can be made into a soldier. A word from the President guaranteeing freedom to all slaves who should seek the lines of his armies would disorganize the whole labor of the South. The march of those armies would then be easy, and their occupation of the conquered country sure. The sale of the rebel lands would pay the expenses of the war and Northern emigration, carrying capital and intelligence along with it, would soon regenerate society in those blasted regions. And we should soon see the United States in a position of prosperity, power and glory which would enable them to control the destinies of the world. Such are the blessed teachings of defeat.

THE VOICE OF NEW YORK.

A CONVENTION of Committees representing the Chamber of Commerce—the Union Defence Committee—the Common Council and other bodies met on Wednesday, July 23d, in the Hall of the Chamber of Commerce, and appointed a committee to wait on the President. Further action was necessary to carry into effect the call of the President for additional troops. The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we look upon the present as the crisis of the rebellion—a crisis from which we see no escape other than in the most prompt and energetic action.

Resolved, That every person and every community of doubtful loyalty should be regarded as disloyal; and the government should be assured that we ask no qualified Unionist to aid us in this contest for great principles, but trust only in the truly loyal who will sacrifice property, life, and even opinion for the common good.

Resolved, That the time has fully come when we must strike for our national life, using every weapon God has given us, and calling to our aid every person who can be drawn from the rebels or added to our cause. That a proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief declaring the principles of the late act of Congress to be the sentiments of the government, and that they will be enforced, would secure to the Union cause a million of willing workers, hundreds of brave men, and millions of cooperating well-wishers. That the welfare of our country, the lives of loyal soldiers, and the happiness of loyal families all over the free States demand immediate action.

Resolved, That every day's delay complicates our relations, both foreign and domestic, gives the rebels strength, and lessens our chances of good will from men; and it is far better that every rebel should perish than that one more loyal soldier should die.

Resolved, That it is that we, with entire unanimity, most respectfully and most earnestly call upon the President to act in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and immediately issue a proclamation which will at once deprive their great source of strength, while it will diminish their army by calling to the defence of their homes large numbers who are now in their ranks against us; we assure the President that in this, as in every act of his Administration, the people of the free States will sustain the policy, while the whole civilized world will see that the fault of this struggle is theirs.

That such resolutions as these were unanimously adopted by a Committee representing the conservatism and wealth of the largest city on the continent, affords striking evidence of the great change wrought in public opinion within the last few weeks. The President *must*, ere long, obey the rising voice of the people, and issue "the Proclamation of Emancipation."

CHANGE OF OPINION.—Foremost among the "Union-savers" and supporters of the Fugitive Slave law in 1850-51, and since, was Richard Busteed, Esq., an able member of the New York Bar. His opinions, however, like those of many others, have lately undergone a very decided change. The managers of the late semi-traitorous meeting lately held at the Cooper Institute, under the auspices of Fernando Wood, ventured to put his name in the list of Vice-Presidents, and the composer he wrote a letter declaring that he did not sympathize with the objects of the meeting, and expressed himself in the following terms:

"*I am not opposed* to the further agitation of the negro question. In conducting this war for the nation's life, I would accept the services of LaFayette or Kosciusko or Thaddeus Stevens, or any other man who would do the work. I am in favor of the restoration of the Union as it was, with this qualification, that the slaves shall not be counted in the basis of each State shall not only be entitled to have but actually have 'all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States,' and in which a New Yorker could be prosecuted for the possession of tar and feathers or hanging in Georgia or Alabama. If he intimates that slavery is not a Divine institution, I shall not hesitate to pronounce it a great mistake as it is, '*any longer* than is requisite to amend it in the manner provided by law. I want a Constitution in which there shall be no saving clause or ambiguous provision in favor of slavery, but which shall be founded upon the principles of God's eternal justice, and square with his golden rule. These sentiments, you perceive, differ very widely from those announced by that distinguished orator, Fernando Wood, against those who believe that '*all men* are endowed by their Creator with certain *inalienable rights*, among which are life, *liberty* and the pursuit of happiness.'

When such men as Daniel S. Dickinson, John Cochrane and Richard Busteed break away from the proslavery Union-saving party, it is reasonable to infer that that party is rapidly losing ground.

THE FREED BLACKS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

LETTER FROM J. MILLER McKIM

to GERRIT SMITH, Chairman of the Committee of the Board of Direct'rs of the Freedmen's Aid Commission.

PORT ROYAL, S. C., July 21, 1862.

DEAR SIR: I comply with your request to add in this form, what, for lack of time, I was obliged to omit in my address of the 9th inst., as well as to restate some things which, for the sake of condensation, were left out of the published report.

I. One point which I omitted to mention on that occasion, but which, I suppose, was the mooted one of the black man's capacity, has for me negro the spirit *the pluck*—to do his proper part in maintaining the *status* now, or hereafter to be assigned him? This is a practical query, clearly within the scope which, as I understand it, my inquiries were expected to take. I will answer it by the statement of a few facts, general and particular—*pro and con*. First, general and *con*:

Servitude is not a condition favorable to the growth of courage. Chattel slavery, in fact as well as in law, unmanned its victims. The Helots were not as brave as their Spartan masters. The Africans, on his own continent and on this, is of a milder type of character and less given to war than the Anglo-Saxon or Celt. The negroes in our Southern States have not, since the breaking out of this rebellion, made haste to rise in insurrection; neither do they now show any especial eagerness to enlist as soldiers. In certain contingencies, not unlikely to happen, it would not be safe to count confidently on their fighting qualities.

But, on the other hand, man is a fighting animal. Courage is an essential quality of his nature. The power to face danger, and death it needs be, without flinching, is common to the whole human family in all countries and under all circumstances. While the Helots were not equal to their masters, as soldiers under them they made the Spartan army invincible to the world. The African naturally prefers the tools of peace, but he has always, when occasion required it, shown himself capable of the arts of war. Up to this time in his history he has never failed to fight when he has had at the same time the motive and the means. His record on his native continent, in our revolutionary war, in the war of 1812, and in the history of San Domingo, furnish ample illustrations of this fact.

"Then why does he not now rise," it is asked, "in insurrection? Why, in this question to an intelligent negro, well known at Beaufort, Prince Rivers by name, now a Sergeant in the 1st Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers. "Why," said I, "don't the blacks on the main now rise against their masters?" "Lord, sah," was the reply, "what would be de use? Dey has no chance. What could dey do? no gun, no sword, no knowledge, no chance—no nuthin'."

"But suppose they had a chance, would they fight then?" "Yes, sah." "How do you know they would?" "Cause I *know* they would. Only let 'em know for sure—*for sure*, mine you—dat de white people means right; let 'em know for sure dat dey's fightin' for demselves, and I *know* dey will fight." "Well, Prince, wouldn't you call this a good chance?" "Yes, sah; I do call this a good chance, and I tell my people may be it's de *last* chance. Dat's de reason I jine de soldier. I was gettin' big wages in Beaufort, but I'd rather take less, and fight for de United States; for I believe de United States is now fightin' for me, and for de cause of my people in de long run of time. Yes, I do?" "No, sah; but dey would if dey knowed de same as I do." This is the testimony, substantially in his own words, of a black man, who is regarded where he lives as in all respects competent to bear witness on the subject.

In one of my visits to the town of Beaufort I conversed with Hannah Small, wife of Robert Small, the hero of the "Planter," and heard from her the whole story of that adventure. According to her statement, which was amply verified by facts then and only known, the men and women engaged in that exploit were animated by a courage that would be equal to any of the perils incident to a condition of war. The whole party had solemnly agreed in advance that if pursued, and without hope of escape, the ship should be scuttled and sunk; and that, if she should not go down fast enough to prevent capture, they would all take hands, husband and wife, brother and sister, and jump overboard and perish together! Now, I think that, if you will add to the courage evinced in this transaction by the whole party, the cool, strategic skill of its leaders, you will have a fact that will throw some light on this mooted question.

Before leaving the island I had a letter from a gentleman—one of the superintendents—containing an incidental allusion to this subject, which it may not be amiss here to quote:

"Ordinarily," says the writer, "the blacks show a lack of courage, but when an emergency occurs, they display a coolness which I would like to commend to their white brethren. About ten days ago we were roused from our beds early daylight by news from the neighboring superintendents, with the cry that the rebels were upon us, and that we must to the boat immediately. And in a moment, almost, such a panic prevailed among the whites (there were three men and six and two women), and two of the men undertook in an excited manner to force the men of color to leave their families. The women of color, good calm, cool, did not move, till one of them said, 'If massa will tell us what to do, we'll do whatever massa says.' Then being ordered, they ran to their houses, put on their clothes and under way. A short time after we left, some Union pickets came in, and in an excited manner told the people that rebels would be there in twenty minutes and would burn the plantation house.

"They were believed; but instead of running off as we did, the women of the party collected our household stuff, clothing and valuables, placed them on a box, while the men took it on their heads, went to the woods near by, dug a large pit and buried the box, and covered the place with leaves; and after that they went about taking care of themselves and looking after their own things. They then placed the old people and children in little canoes, ran them into creeks into the marsh during the night, and the following night, hidden in the high grass for six hours, till return tide, under a blazing sun. Everything was done coolly and with method. I would add in contrast."

II. Speaking, in my address, of the goods sent to the blacks, the clothing, made and unmade, etc., I intimated that their distribution was not made wholly as a charity, but that a portion of them were sold. The money to pay for these goods was made by the negroes by picking and packing cotton, planting the new crop—a dollar an acre on which had been paid by Mr. Dupont—and selling chickens, eggs, vegetables, fresh fish, and the like, to the soldiers. The negroes show quite a Yankee turn for trade. This was noticed by any one who will watch them on the beach at Hilton Head, where they come in their canoes to dispose of their commodities. The men of the 100th Pennsylvania and the Massachusetts 1st are quite sharp at driving a bargain, but the negroes are fully a match for them. They will dispose of their half-fledged chickens at fifty cents a pair, their eggs at a quarter of a dollar a dozen, and their scanty strings of mullet or whiting at "a quarter," in short at less and with as much more ease as would any old Jersey marketman, brought up to the business on the curbstones of Philadelphia.

On my return from my tour I brought home to the Treasurer of the Committee nearly $300—the proceeds in cash of goods sold from the Philadelphia boxes on the island of St. Helena. Mr. Philbrick, one of the superintendents from Boston on the same island, told me that he had sold for cash goods to the amount of about $800, and that he could have made the amount larger if he had had the articles. He had purchased the goods out of his own pocket and sold them at wholesale prices, his object being to accommodate the people and save them from the extortion of sutlers and other traders. Since coming North I have received a letter from this gentleman, in which he gives the items of his sales, which items throw incidental light on another subject germane to this, and I will therefore quote them. They are as follows:

Sugar, at 12c per lb.	$18 72
Molasses, 50c per gallon—4 bbls.	80 00
Shoes, at $1 per pair	40 00
Cotton Drilling, 15c per yard—2,000 yards	300 00
Cotton Denims, 15c per yard—2,420 yards	363 00
Tobacco, at 20c and 25c per lb.	68 00
Soap, at 6c per bar	12 00
Ready-made clothing	223 00
	$8416 72

Connected with this, let me state that among the Philadelphia articles that were exposed for sale a few days before I left, were a quantity of very small, low-priced looking-glasses, and a half-dozen iron pots and pans. The former came into immediate request, and for the latter there was being enough to supply the demand—there was almost a scramble.

The point on which "incidental light" is thrown by these facts, is, that of *the enlarged market for Northern manufactures that will be created by an enlarged area of freedom*. The average cost of maintaining a slave, independent of his food, has been computed at $100 per annum for a field hand, or $1.50 a head all round. Suppose the expense of two suits of clothes (we shirts and drawers) and a pair of blankets—and we shall be quite liberal—that is, each man and woman, boy and girl, has, on a cheap calculation, one pair of shoes; and, for such as are old enough to need it, one handkerchief. Whatever they get over this, as a general thing, they buy out of their own earnings.

Now, it will be seen that as soon as these people become free, their wants increase. They begin to demand articles of clothing, like that worn by the Northern man or woman; and as soon as they can afford it, they want as pots, kettles, pans, brooms, buckets, tubs, spoons, soap, candles, combs, Yankee clocks, etc., etc. Some of these articles are already in request, others are coming into demand. Ten thousand new customers, to be sure, is not a very large number in the aggregate of a nation, but they are sufficient to affect somewhat the gains of Northern men of business. Now fancy this 10,000 multiplied by 100, making about 1,000, the total number of slaves in the country, and that an overwhelming cumulative argument does it furnish in favor of pushing this Port Royal experiment to its logical conclusion.

III. The subject of climate is one which, in this connection, needs a passing notice. It is a matter on which much ignorance prevails, and in regard to which even the best informed acknowledge a want of light. The climatic question at the South has been made subservient to the slavery question, and there is reason to believe that the alleged facts propagated from that quarter, in favor of the one, are not much more to be relied upon than those that have been put forward in support of the other.

The favorite theory of the Charleston savans, as stated in the loose phraseology in which one citizen hears it: "A night on the plantations during the height of summer is almost certain death to a Northern white man"; or, as it is sometimes put, "to make one sweat like take away de fever"; or, "we tie up de head with 'gympson' leaves (shamnonium); dat make we quiet and stop de pain"; or, "we give it (the child) Asia root tea; dat kery good for de worms," etc., etc. By a course of interrogation like this, facts were elicited showing that these ignorant people have quite a copious pharmacopeia. They have their undoriffics, anthelmintics, diuretics, carminatives, antispasmodics, etc., etc., some of which they claim to be specific in their effects, and some of which certainly are the least valuable because called by a homely negro name, instead of a learned technic from the dictionary. It is fair to presume that among the simple remedies of these people are to be found some quite as efficacious while a good deal less dangerous than many that are weighed out from the shelves of the apothecary. It is to be hoped that Gen. Saxton will have on his medical staff men competent and willing to give to this subject the attention due to its importance. The sanitary question is closely allied to the slavery question; what throws light upon the one side in the solution of the other.

V. I have in my possession some letters from gentlemen at Port Royal which I should have been pleased to introduce in the course of my address at Sansom Hall; but there was not time; neither is there space here. Nevertheless, as some of them contain matter corroborative of my statements, as well as suggestive of new subjects for thought and reflection, I will take the liberty of making from them a few extracts. The first shall be from a letter from Mr. Philbrick, the superintendent from Boston, to whom reference has already been made. He says:

"They (the blacks) work on with a degree of confidence and industry that has surprised me. Though we came on to the ground nearly two months later than is the rule when it is necessary to prepare land for the new crops, we have planted more than half the ground that was planted last year, including a much larger proportion of the best cotton land, and they seem to be doing is one of content; they are willing to endure a certain amount of privation for the sake of being their own masters. There is, too, a very general feeling of religious trust; a feeling that God has interfered to drive away their old masters and give them a chance for themselves. . . . They never refer to their masters' cruelty unless I first mentioned it, have not searched for cases of this kind, because I thought it a waste of time to talk over past troubles when the present hour was so crowded with duties. They have no malice in their hearts.

"I overheard one of the servants in this house, the other day, telling another that he ought to pray for old massa. 'No, I won't,' said Joe. 'I can't pray for him.' 'Oh, yes,' said Flora, 'who knows but he may now be pitying for want of a meals vittuals, while we are plenty.' There is a lesson, thought I, in Christian forgiveness, which a woman of more culture would do well to study. I do not believe there is another race in the world so docile or so easily managed. The change in their condition has not reduced to portion the amount of labor they have accomplished this year with so little definite promise of payment for their work will and willingly whenever they see clearly that they are to profit by their labor. It is to be regretted that so large a portion of their work this year has been upon a common field, where they have not the stimulus of property expressed by the old method. I have become deeply interested in the question, and shall continue here from the same motive that brought me till I see the organization sufficiently perfected to stand alone and sustain itself as a beacon light before the world."

Mr. Richard Soule, Jr., also of Massachusetts, in a letter containing much valuable information, has the following:

"There is but one feeling among the negroes in respect to their present condition as compared with that under their old masters. They consider themselves as free men, and are ready to labor for the return of their masters. They would take to the woods or escape in boats, they all say, if they had any intimation that their masters were coming back.

"Our experiment here has satisfied me of two things: first, that the negroes will do as much work in the condition of freemen, and under a judicious system of management, as they formerly did under the stimulus of the lash; secondly, that there is no need of providing for the emigration of any considerable portion of them. They would prefer to stay where they are, and as their services are required on the places where they have been accustomed to labor.

"The time has arrived, it seems to us, for the government to come out with some decision in this matter. If the *status* of these blacks is now that of slaves, we do not know it beyond a doubt, and then we can work for them with more energy and devotion, both physically and morally, with much better heart than we do now, when the future seems so uncertain.

"If they are declared to be free, my plan would be to pay them day wages for their work, and require them to purchase all they need in the way of food and clothing, abolishing the present system of allowances, and giving a piece of land for private cultivation. I would have an account kept of their time, and charge them precisely as is done in our workshops in the North, the pay to be graduated according to the amount of work done. This would be a school to teach them to appreciate the advantages of industry, and would soon acquire the thrifty habits of freemen.

"The improvement of their physical condition being first secured, I would make provision for the education by establishing schools in convenient localities, with competent teachers, to be paid in part at first, and wholly by and by, by a tax on the parents. It would not take a long time, I think, to make the colored population self-supporting, and to enable the more thrifty of them to accumulate something in advance of their immediate wants.

I have one more letter from which I desire to quote, and I shall have done. It is from the "medical gentleman" above referred to, Dr. James P. Greves, superintendent and physician on Edgely plantation, Port Royal Island.

"When I arrived on the 14th of March, I found every thing here in a state of utter chaos. Being suddenly left by their former masters, the people had left them the teams on the place and many of the implements, and afterward the United States troops taking all their cattle, and the rebels having shot every one over their corn, they seemed to be at a loss what to do. Of course no work of any consequence was done, and what was done was done so poorly that they must starve, or be sustained by the government. The people received me very welcomed me, and agreed to work under my direction. I found but one mule to do the ploughing; tied a little more than half the corn, some by the hoe, and still left their former masters, and the rebels left them the teams on the place and many of the implements,

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1862.

THE great anxiety of the nation to day has reference to Mr. Lincoln, the nation's President. Has he the courage to meet the issues of the hour? Is his great soul enough, wise enough for the emergency? If not, the doom of the republic is certain. It is impossible for the people, however earnest and pure, to succeed at this late day, if the President is not great enough for the emergency.

I can see nothing that has yet come from the President in a message which gives a clue to the future. It is impossible as yet to say whether Mr. Lincoln is a failure or not. He has not yet done anything to confound the people that he is a statesman or a great soul. The order issued by him in reference to the seizure of rebel property and the use of black men as laborers was not bold. It was not even manly. Congress ought still further to do a law—in a law that Mr. Lincoln would sign—and it certainly seems very strange that the President in his order should have shrunk from the provisions of his own law. In the appointment of Gen. Halleck as General-in-Chief we have no promise of the future, so far as the question of slavery is concerned. Halleck has been a bitter pro-slavery man, and no one has yet heard of his conversion. Since his arrival here we have not heard a word of his acquiescing in the support of the war in any other sense than that he would suppose that he will carry out the recent enactment of Congress heartily. His whole previous course is against it.

The most serious fact, however, is the Presidential order which is so strangely silent upon the subject of slavery. Why was he silent? Why was the order so worded that it would not offend even the rabidest of the Northern, like Wickliffe and Wadsworth? I hear of what the President says in private conversation—many encouraging things—many sayings which would lead one from the depth of despair could he believe them to be the honest sentiments of the President, and that he is to pursue his policy upon the slavery question. But unfortunately it is reported that the President continues to please everybody who calls to see him. Some day a warm anti-slavery man has an interview with him, and he comes away telling his friends, "I have got him, and he comes away telling his friends, "I am sure Mr. Lincoln is all right. We can trust him. He is on our side of this great question. He will strike a blow at slavery one of these days that will make him famous!" All is well, we are encouraged. But some day a Border State man comes, and he comes away saying, "I saw Mr. Blank of Kentucky this evening. He had an interview with Mr. Lincoln for an hour this morning, and he says he is perfectly satisfied that he dislikes the anti-slavery people, and that he means to cut loose from them!" There you have the history of the ups and downs of an anti-slavery man in Washington.

Just think of it! The ship is on the breakers, or so near them that the hoarse surges startle the most stupid from slumber. The Captain is at last roused from his cabin, and is upon the deck, and we wait with him in order to put the good ship about—*and he does not give it!*

In spite of this dark picture, I am in strong hopes that the ship of State will yet escape these breakers. Perhaps the Captain has fully resolved upon his course, and is simply waiting a moment to gather strength of voice, to give the grand order at the precise moment when it will do the most good. After the many good and honest things Mr. Lincoln has said, I cannot yet believe he will let this nation drift to destruction because he is afraid of Kentucky. I believe he will soon be found on the right side of the question. He will strike a blow at slavery one of these days that will make him famous!" All is well, we are encouraged. But some day a Border State man comes, and he comes away saying, "I saw Mr. Blank of Kentucky this evening. He had an interview with Mr. Lincoln for an hour this morning, and he says he is perfectly satisfied that he dislikes the anti-slavery people, and that he means to cut loose from them!" There you have the history of the ups and downs of an anti-slavery man in Washington.

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Gen. Lane has gone West, *he says*, to raise a small army, and with the permission of the President to enlist and arm as many black men as he can. Is this so? So Gen. Lane says. I *know* that this is the representation of the Kansas Senator, but there is something a little queer about his conduct heretofore. He has always been on the point of doing something important in the military line, and just before he was ready his President or the General-in-Chief has interfered. Then there were threats of what Lane would do when he got back to Washington—that he would open his batteries upon the Administration, etc., etc. Yet when it came to the sticking point—when Lane came on here—it was found that he seemed to be on the best terms with the President. It is so now. Lane departs for Kansas on good terms with the Administration. It remains to be seen if within two months the Western newspapers will not herald forth another difficulty with the Administration and the consequent return of "Jim Lane" to Washington to take his seat in the Senate. I confess that there has been so much of this kind of work in connection with Lane that I mistrust his statements. I doubt whether Mr. Lincoln has committed himself yet to the idea of using the black man. If he has, the country is saved. If in this one case he has sold a Senator to go home and put a half-dozen black regiments in the field, the great question will be settled. Some regard this as a mere case, but I fear the President, if questioned, would deny the story and show that the Kansas Senator had misunderstood him. All that we want is that Mr. Lincoln shall seize the bugle and give the bold note announcing a new policy. Whispering it into a few anti-slavery ears will not answer the purpose. It must be *proclaimed* if it is to have any effect, North or South. The slaves would hear the blast a thousand miles away, if once given in no uncertain way.

The old *National Intelligencer* of this city has of late been endeavoring to monopolize Mr. Lincoln and the Administration. While *The Evening Post*, *The Tribune*, and *The Independent* have been mildly expostulating with the President, *The Intelligencer* rushes to his defence, especially in reference to the slavery question. *Everything* that the President has done favoring slavery his paper applauds and praises, and when any act is slighted it keeps silence. On Saturday morning appeared a remarkable article upon the Administration upon Mr. Seward and his position with the Administration. The article was undoubtedly written by Thurlow Weed, who is here, and it means a good deal. We hear from it that Mr. Seward has been the enemy of no General whether in success or disaster, and that he now wishes to see unanimity everywhere. Finally, we have the thrice-repeated statement that Mr. Seward, when he leaves the State Department, leaves public life *forever*. "I will not be President, even if the people want me as a candidate," says Mr. Seward, and that his faithful friend Mr. Weed. And, by the way, there is a little secret connected with this whole matter. Thurlow Weed has a hold upon *The National Intelligencer* that most people know nothing about. His tenure is pecuniary. The nominal proprietors of that sheet can deny that he is editor or owner, but in reality he has the whole concern in his hands. It is covered with debts, is mortgaged all over, and Thurlow Weed has the management of those mortgages. In other words, Mr. Seward really "mortgages" the general course of *The Intelligencer*. He gives it nice bits of exclusive news occasionally. The settlement of the Trent difficulty was given entirely to that journal. Not one of the New York journals had it till after it was printed in full in *The Intelligencer*. So with some other very important matters, which Mr. Seward had within his own grasp. This may seem idle gossip to some, but it is not. It all bears on one very important point. *The Intelligencer* opposes all radical measures for the overthrow of the rebellion. It has of late seen fit to join issue with the leading Republican journals in the resolution of abolishing slavery. Does it represent anybody? Is it Mr. Seward's personal organ? There are very many reasons to believe that it never writes anything that it knows will displease the Secretary of State. It often publishes leading editorials written either by Mr. Seward or his friends. As for the next important question—does Mr. Seward have the ear of the President? there can be no room for doubt. Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln are very intimate, and, unless Madame Rumor tells unconscionable lies, agree almost entirely as to the conduct of the war.

AVON.

THE DUTCH EMANCIPATION BILL.—The Emancipation Bill proposed by the Minister for the Colonies has passed the Second Chamber by a large majority. Many amendments were introduced favorable to the negroes to be freed. The period for declaring emancipation is fixed for 1st July 1863. The necessary form of the government surveillance is ten years. The government scheme of immigration is rejected. The bill has yet to pass the First Chamber, which is the Lower House, but must either reject or accept it. Its acceptance is fully anticipated.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

HONORED SIR: If ever the voice of the People might be considered the voice of God, it was when that voice called you to Washington. Partisan politicians had dragged our country down to the lowest depths of degradation. Conspiracy had poisoned the head of the nation. Treason had mined the foundations of the Capitol. Volcanoes were rumbling over a great part of our land, threatening to pour forth the lava that shall utterly destroy. Dark clouds, portending great storms, appeared on the horizon. Distant thunders, betokening approaching tempests, were heard all around. Fitful gusts of wind gave warning of the coming tornado. The great Ship of State, under the control of insane officers and a treason-mutinied crew, was rushing on toward deadly breakers. The passengers, will with affright, and, in their despair, sweating great drops of blood, called for help, and the voice of the ALMIGHTY, spoken by human tongues, called you, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, to the helm. I doubt if Sacred or Profane History can produce a more direct providential intervention in the affairs of a people. I speak reverently when I say that God knew the instrument he was selecting for the salvation of this nation. I deny, no flattery for you, Mr. President—none whatever; you are the mere human clay in the hands of the Almighty potter, to be fashioned by His will. Yet, like all human agents employed by our Universal Father for the good of his children, you are endowed with powers of discretion, and will be held responsible for the proper use thereof. Since you have filled the great office you have been called to, you have done well. I believe no man could have done better. God be praised for what you have accomplished. If the prayers and wishes of thousands of honest hearts are of avail to a public officer, you, Mr. President, have been and are well sustained. Nightly, from the homes of loyal thousands whose loved ones are doing and dying for their country's life, and weekly from ten thousand pulpits, ascend heartfelt prayers for the Head of the Nation—for you, ABRAHAM LINCOLN. See to it that no deed of yours shall give cause for the offering of these prayerful ones. Let not the blessings so lavishly invoked on your head be, by any act of yours, turned to curses. Providence has invested you with as much authority as ever fell to human hands. Use it wisely; use it well. On assuming this authority you found your country divided by treason. On the side of the traitors was your hated slavery; on the side of loyalty you found freedom. These hosts still oppose each other. Still slavery is trying to destroy the government established for freedom. Are you doing all that your high position demands for freedom, for government, for right, for justice? Do you realize as you ought, that while you hesitate to assume what you may conscientiously consider doubtful powers, in behalf of freedom as against slave-working rebellion, thousands on thousands of your loyal fellow-citizens are going down to MORTAL graves? Do you realize that honest homes are made desolate, by camp-engendered disease, that walketh by noonday and rendeth not by night? Death deprived you of a loved one since you have been President—death in its least repulsive form. Your cherished one breathed its last in the arms of parents, surrounded by the care that never tires. Yet you grieved. Think, Mr. President, of the heart-rending miseries that thousands of fathers as loving as yourself daily and hourly suffer by the prolongation of this terrible war. Your child died under your roof; the sons we are giving on the battle-fields, wasting in deadly camps, and marching down to the dead from diseased hospitals. Names of the killed, wounded and sick fill our papers. Death reaps a rich harvest, and your reigns supreme. Millions of people believe that much, very much, of future woe may be prevented if you will call to the aid of the nation ALL THE HELP within its reach, without stopping to see if the Constitution provides such aid. Our national edifice is on fire. The flames are destroying its timbers. The great want is *water*, WATER. We have no time to waste in discussions as to the nature of these elements. We know that the source of the fire is the rebel force will conquer. The fire of rebellion, aided by the work done by slaves, is destroying us. Our only safety is in pouring on the WATERS OF FREEDOM fast enough to quench the flames. We have been manning the engines for long, burning months; our men have dropped dead in their harness. Still we have worked, and still the infernal fire rages. Slaves that are to-day helping rebellion by their labor had rather work for the nation. All they ask is *opportunity*, GOVERNMENT OPPORTUNITY. To you, Mr. President, has God intrusted the duty of preserving this nation, of putting out this fire. Will you not rise above all party or personal prejudices, and grasp every and all means that can be reached? This terrible rebellion is in one section. The other section is loyal. God deals with peoples in masses. The people of the rebellious States as a *mass* are armed traitors. If there are any loyal States among them, they should be protected in their rights, but such protection should not tend to the defence of traitors nor be to the detriment of loyal men in other States. There may be pitied for the misfortunes of locality. We of the loyal States have suffered, are suffering badly, *as a whole*. This loyal few of the traitor region must not complain if they too suffer. The nation is rich, is just. If by any act of the government these should sustain unjust loss, they can be made whole—not so with the nation. If its life is taken by this rebellion, no earthly power can restore it. To you, Mr. President, under Providence, we look to preserve our existence. We are laying down our lives and pouring out our money at your call, and we ask is that we be not utterly exhausted before you call to our assistance the hundreds of thousands of slaves (now working for the rebels), every one of whom would gladly work for us if invited or allowed. As a mass, these slaves are our friends. They have acted as our guides and pilots. They are ready to work and to fight for the old flag, if that flag will protect their rights. Justice to them as a people dictates their emancipation. Protection to ourselves demands that we use them. The first principle of war, that of weakening your enemy, requires that we invite them to our lines. Our rebellious enemy lives on the food they produce. His soldiers rest while his slaves do the tiresome work that wears out our brave men. You, Mr. President, can change all this. The common sense elegance that your proclamations carry can send hope to the loyal, fear to the rebels, and joy to the slave. As a mass, the people of the rebel States are traitors; as a mass they should be punished. If you bring their slaves to help us would be a punishment, that punishment should be administered. You are the man to apply it. The harvest fields of the loyal States are white with the bread that is to feed us. Hands cannot be had to gather in the great crops a kind Providence has given us. You ask for three hundred thousand more men. The nation is willing five times that. But where shall they come from at this season? If the harvest is left ungathered, we invite starvation for the future. The rebel States, too, have their harvest. Admit that the majority of the people of the traitor States are loyal and should not be wronged of their property or personal rights. All governments take private property for PUBLIC USES by paying a reasonable price therefor. Without this well-settled principle, nations could not exist. Without it we could have no roads, canals, parks, or other public things. Apply this principle to those rebel States. Let the South, whose slaves might leave them on your invitation. No injustice would ensue. If they are loyal, they ought to aid the nation to the extent of their ability. We of the loyal States do that. Those of the traitor States must bear their share of the burden. This is simple justice. Wherever our armies go, there also go Federal laws. These laws exact obedience from a black slave just as imperatively as from a white freeman. These laws protect the slave in his right to life. For this protection he should yield service. You, Mr. President, can require that service. In conclusion, I implore you, by your love of country, by the sympathy for your loyal fellow-citizens, by the love of Freedom, you have gained for Right, for Justice, to call to your aid the help of ALL CLASSES OF PERSONS, IN ALL PARTS OF OUR COUNTRY, whether they be WHITE or BLACK, BOND or FREE NATIVE or ALIEN, let all who can help have an opportunity, and when in future times the historian writes your name, it will be in LETTERS OF GOLD as the PRESERVER OF the NATION. GOD BLESS YOU, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

A FEW WORDS MORE.

HAVING in good faith stated our objections to the article in *The Christian Intelligencer* for July on "The Africans and their Guardians," we are anxious to do justice to even the slightest injustice to the author, therefore give place, without comment, to the following note:

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

YOUR courteous recognition of my name encourages me to add a few lines more—the insertion of which, however, I do not claim as a right, nor even ask as a favor—overlooking the first three and four columns are, indeed, an exceedingly anxious matter, I owe should be a right understanding between those who have advocated instant emancipation all along, and those who hope the time for it has come. It is as express myself feebly, to say that I long daily for the appearance of the decisive word—in what form, I am willing to leave to the President to decide.

When I wrote my former note, I was absent from home, and out of reach of a copy of *The Christian Intelligencer*. I felt, moreover, that it would hardly be right understanding between those who has

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

TAMAR'S PRAYER.

FITFULLY her cabin fire
Flickered up across the gloom,
On the little children sleeping
In the corners of the room,
On the forms that circled slowly,
Swaying to the favorite tune,
To the measured beat of rhythm,
That the older women croon.

When one said, amid the chorus,
Speaking hurriedly and low—
"Of the strange words of our master.
Have you heard and do you know?
Down along Virginia's rivers,
Lincoln's men march side by side,
Giving all the black men freedom,
While the masters fly or hide."

She went out beneath the live oaks,
With their hanging veils of grey,
Knelt upon the passion flowers,
Reasoned all her fears away,
And she said, "In far Virginia,
With its stranger fruits and flowers,
One God rules alone the country,
'Tis the self-same God rules ours.

"We have prayed in Carolina,
They upon Virginia's sod,
One has heard, and One shall answer—
Have we not the self-same God?
God of Northmen, as of Moses,
Send them to our help, we pray;
God of slaves as well as freemen,
Give us freedom in this day.

Bless the Lord! their friends are coming,
Marching on like thunder-storms,
With their firm but kind eyes looking
Pity on their trembling forms,
Past their quarters, through their cornfields,
With a black man for their guide,
While they thought "our freedom coming
Surely with the freemen ride."

Far away in many a rice field,
Where the blue mist creeps at night,
In the tangled marsh where hunted
Fugitives have stayed their flight,
Pine and moan their wives and children,
Sleep in fear and wake in pain,
But the God who freed these islands—
Yes, the self-same God is there.

Soon across the Southern city,
Guarded fort and cotton row,
Shall the steps of the deliverers,
Shall the Northern armies go;
For the self-same God is striking
In the South as in the North,
And at last to save his people
He has sent his armies forth.

St. Helena's Island, S. C. ELLEN.

LIBERTY'S LEGITIMATE WEAPON.

From Conway's "Golden Hour."*

A PANTHER can slay seven men, if in the encounter the men have only the weapons of the panther: tooth to tooth, claw to claw, the men are inferior. But let one man encounter the panther, armed with his superiority to the panther—let him bear in his hand his chemistry and art, in the fire arm which the panther cannot invent or use, and he can slay the panther.

Slavery having challenged Liberty, Liberty has been unwise enough to select Slavery's own weapons. But with these weapons Liberty's apparent victories will be defeats; for though the panther be driven into its den, to hold it there is not the subversion of this government, *i. e.* its change into a government of military force. But let her be armed with her superiority to Slavery, and she is irresistible.

The only legitimate weapon of Liberty is—LIBERTY. It is doubtful if the nation at large will be able to see how a bold, unconditional decree of emancipation would speedily and thoroughly suppress this rebellion. God always allows some margin for human magnanimity. If this nation saw success in such a measure, it would enact it; so would any herd of cattle. Room is allowed man for the play of motives higher than policy; his highest success comes only when he seeks first the kingdom of justice, and then finds that all other advantages are added thereunto. "Honesty," says Whately, "is indeed the best policy; but no honest man ever acted on that principle." Indeed, it takes an honest man to find out such policy; those see clearly how emancipation would end the war forever, who would emancipate in any case, because it is right. Yet probabilities can be shown in the direction of emancipation which are far stronger than any indicating that war can win us even a military victory over the rebellion; probabilities more numerous and sufficient than those on which human beings act in a majority of cases.

There is a point in the South by longing which the entire military power of the South is paralyzed. Nat Turner touched that point, and, with fifty negroes behind him, held the entire State of Virginia as if stricken by catalepsy for five weeks. John Brown touched it, and, with twenty-one men, so held Virginia that, had he had a fourth of McClellan's army, he could in one month have occupied the entire State. It became a proverb, that John Brown had demonstrated the weakness of Slavery. This huge machinery of armies and numbers is a barbarism; it is as if we built great Roman aqueducts, ignoring the modern discovery of the water-level, which makes a hydrant in one's yard serve the same purpose, or a better. It is a rudeness far behind our civilization to think that numbers can conquer for us: numbers are as weak as they are strong. We are beyond that in our municipal governments. It is estimated that twenty policemen can disperse and disperse the largest riot or tumult that could occur in New York. Why? Because each policeman has the moral power of the nation at his back, whilst the rioters are merbits of chaos. We do not believe that one-half of a city to keep the other half in order. I have seen a half-dozen burly ruffians led to prison by a man weaker than either of them, but who had an IDEA symboled in the star on his breast, whilst the ruffians had none. When our country had a million in the war, it need only send Such a moderate police force. Nat Turner and John Brown, with stars out of heaven on their breasts, holding commissions from Almighty God to put down the oligarchy of chaos in the South, proved that Slavery cannot stir but as Freedom permits it; but McClellan, with 700,000 men under him for six months, proved that men unarmed with ideas are as unable to cope with the kindled energy of whole gangs of ideas, as guns to cope with half their number of tigers. In a fearful sense our men are yet unarmed.

It is a common phrase with many of those who evidently think that the Union cannot be nothing without slavery, that an edict of emancipation would not reach or free a single slave, and, to use a favorite phrase with certain journals, "would not be worth the paper upon which it should be written." I observe, however, that these always end their arguments by saying, For God's sake, do not try it! It is quite remarkable how nervous they are, lest an edict should be put forth which could have no effect whatever.

Have we considered well what would be the practical bearing if our government should declare every slave free? Slavery would by this stroke of the pen be exposed to the anti-slavery feeling of the world. If John Brown had a successor, he would march South under protection of the flag under which the old Captain was hung. White and black crusaders would rise in Canada, Kansas, Ohio, Hayti, New England, following new hermit-leaders to rescue the holy places of humanity. Hayti would no longer need beg laborers to come to her shores, and pay them for coming: she need only send her ships to cruise near the inlets and creeks of the Southern coast, and pick them up as they should escape.

It is not to the point, observe, to say that such an edict would not at once free the slaves practically; it would practically do a better thing,—*it would recall to his home, where he ought to be, every soldier now in arms against the Union fleets.* It is manifest that the South would not be able to resist the anti-slavery crusade of the world, guarding its slaves from escape, and at the same time leave its homes to assassinate the liberties of the United States. Let that a Southerner hath will be give for his life; and to that cord drawing him home would be added that panic which a whisper of insurrection can raise in that section to such an extent that it drives all before it. In a single month there would be a disturbance of all the forces of the Confederacy into various Home Guards.

Perhaps I am more impressed with the conviction of the immediate potency of emancipation than persons reared in the North. I have seen the pallor which a whisper can bring upon the cheeks of hundreds. I know that a casual rumor has again and again deprived whole towns of a week's sleep. Negro insurrection is the name for every horror, simply because it is one of which the Southerners know nothing. It is doubtful whether, in all the insurrections in the South for a hundred years put together, five hundred slaves have been in actual insurrection. The present generation has seen nothing of the kind. That is the very reason why there is such a horror and panic about it; it is a vague, mysterious, and unknown evil. As the ancients shudder about "covering the South with the horrors of insurrection" is real, and not a traitorous pretence, it may be met by the fact that the history of insurrection throughout the world shows that in every case the barbarity was directed by the whites, and always provoked by them. In every case, twenty blacks have been butchered to one white. Of all the races now on earth, there is none so little cruel, so little bloodthirsty, as the negro: that being why it has been for so many ages the enslaved race. The only dread we could have in an immediate emancipation of this race is, that the Confederate forces would rush home to massacre their negroes. Doubtless they would ask the United States for a few months' time for that purpose—and as the family of fools is yet quite large and respectable, and most of them have managed to become Generals in our army, there would be danger that our courteous McClellans, Hallecks, etc., would be perfectly willing to the massacre should take place. But when we are up to such a master-stroke of justice, we shall be up to stripping the epaulets from negro-hounds and placing them on the shoulders of men. We can depend upon it that the call for a truce, which would surely come, God's invitation for us to march into the South the protectors of black and white—an army of saviors, not of destroyers—our glorious task to see that the transitions-pangs of the South were safely passed, and her people born into light and liberty.

Let none doubt that the slave is ready to stir in a way which will paralyze the armies of the South, as soon as he hears the true voice. I am asked a thousand times, why he and others did not escape: be replied, "Because, after getting out of the slave-*holding* States, we must either drive under or fly over all the slave-*hating* States from here to Canada." Let Canada be carried whenever our flag goes; let every slave be empowered and authorized to make the spot on which he stands Canada.

The South has not a misgiving that her slaves are not generally asleep to these issues. I have heard of a Southerner who, having a Northern visitor before whom he was showing off slavery in clean linen, finally alleged that his slaves were so happy that nothing could induce them to accept their freedom. To make the experiment perfect, he, in the presence of the Northerner, man, offered them their freedom if they desired to leave him. *Every one of them said he would accept freedom.* Whereupon the master swore at them as fools who did not know what was good for them, compelled them to their work, and in future exhibitions before Yankees never attempted the manumission-trick. Fortunately for him, the Yankee had already taken South-side views of the institution.

When John C. Fremont was a candidate for the Presidency there was no portion of the South where the watchword "Freedom and Fremont" was not heard at midnight. The South was on the verge of panic. Well is it that such a same man was in the Western Department, that cry from the slaves was echoed from plantation to plantation all along the Mississippi, Tennessee, and Red Rivers; and so frequent was the cry, that the impression reached the semi-loyal of the Tennessee and Kentucky border, who acted up through all the shades of disloyalty and loyalty, until the panic of rebels was felt at the Capitol, and removed the Warrior of Liberty from his command.

By that removal, and by the infamous proclamations and wanton renditions by which our officers have humiliated us even more than by their wretched incompetency, we have lost ground which these proscribed men, so that our task, at first easy, is now difficult. But it is certain that we need only let the slaves along the border know our good faith, to have the tidings flash through the South along the line of nature's telegraph; *the way to do this, is to free the slaves of the Border States immediately.*

When I first came North, I used to maintain stoutly, with my companions, that the slaves did not desire freedom. More than once, when I had lived amongst those dumb creatures, never dreaming that any one of them had a thought of freedom. But when I returned South I found that they not only knew, what few whites knew, that I was an abolitionist but they were anxious to converse with me as to how they might escape. All this took me by surprise; I had never hinted freedom to one of them, and it was in one of the obscurest parts of Virginia, where Northerners never came, but I found it was well known that the whole social system of the South is undermined.

The South does not as yet fully comprehend her own weakness. But she knows that every where has his ear to the heel. Our only danger is that, before our slow Northmen are ready to act, the South will suspect this her danger, and will cover it up with a decree of emancipation for all able-bodied men who will bear arms for the Confederacy. That would free nearly 500,000 negro men, which would be a cheap price to pay for a victory over the North, which would give them power to recover the emancipated half of the negroes, and have remained half would not impair slavery at all. (For I do not believe the South would give up slavery for anything!) The children, by the codes of all slave States, follow the condition of the mother, and such a decree would not touch the mothers.

No bid that we could then make for these negroes would bring them to our side; for they would then be under military rule, and animated by the spirit of the South. Our only hope is that the South is more that they have most faith in; a distant, less imposing power might double the offer with no effect.

There is one man in the South who has his eye steadily on the watch in this direction. Jefferson Davis has no faith whatever in the fondness of the negro for his condition.

A few years ago an artist of Philadelphia was engaged by the State of South Carolina to prepare some national emblematic picture for the State House. Jefferson Davis was requested to act with the South Carolina committee in criticising the studies for this design. The first sketch brought in by the artist was a design representing the North by various emblems, representing the South by one thing else, which the South was represented by various things, the centrepiece, however, being a cottonbale with a negro upon it, fast asleep. When Jeff saw it he said, "Gentlemen, this will never do; this will become of the South when that negro wakes up!"

The first blast from the trump of universal Freedom will reveal to Jeff and his Confederates that the negro does not sleep; that, also, which is more important, that the North is waked up; then will our army go marching on to bloodless victory—trampling scourges, not men, breaking fetters, not hearts.

Ah, what tongue can celebrate a victory so glorious; a victory which would restore to our firesides the lost links of their circles; which would touch the blighted lands of the South as by a magic wand, until its desert should blossom as the rose; which would clasp the broken arch between North and South with the infrangible keystone, eternal Justice!

AN ENGLISH TOMB IN THE DESERT.

LONG before Petherick left England, a marble tablet had been consigned to his care by the relatives of the late Mr. Melly, who dying at Gagee, was buried in the neighborhood; and it was their earnest wish that the memorial stone should be placed over the grave. It was accordingly conveyed in the company of Mr. John Petherick for bringing and placing it here. At the foot of the tablet a sentence in Arabic is carved, to the same purport as the Italian one at the head—"Respect the tomb of the stranger." As we approached a mound of some extent, Ali Nassa conducted us to the summit, and there we sought. It was surrounded by the graves of the natives, all beautifully neat. That fanaticism existed not here was evident; and proudly Ali Nassa mentioned that the body of the unbeliever was permitted to rest in peace near their dead, many of them were regarded as saints. Carefully examining the tomb, which was built of rude brick, it was found to have suffered considerably from the heavy rains; and Petherick decided that it should be pulled down, and the stone was placed permanently. As the Moslems never suffer a change in their graves to be made without the offering of a bullock or sheep, respecting their feelings, one was ordered to be slaughtered the following morning.—*Mrs. Petherick's African Journal.*

HOMELESS.

From Miss Procter's "Chaplet of Verses."

Is it cold dark midnight, yet listen
To that patter of tiny feet!
Is it one of your dogs, fair lady,
Who whines in this bleak cold street?
Is it one of your silken spaniels
Shut out in the snow and the sleet?

My dogs sleep warm in their baskets,
Safe from the storm and snow;
All the beasts in our Christian England
Find pity when they go—
(Those are only the homeless children
Who are wandering to and fro).

Look out in the gusty darkness—
I have seen them in my dreams;
That shadow, that flits so slowly
Up and down past the window pane:
Is it merely some criminal lurking
Out there in the frozen rain?

Nay, our Criminals all are sheltered.
They are plotted and taught and fed:
That is only a sister-woman,
Who has got neither food nor bed.
And the Night-wind, "We go to be trying,"
And the River cries, "Sin to be dead."

Look out at that farthest corner
Where the wall stands blank and bare:
Can that be a peak which a Peddler
Has left and forgotten there?
His goods are long gone, unclaimed and
Will be spoilt by the damp night air.

Nay!—goods in our thrifty England
Are not left to lie and grow rotten,
For each man knows the market value
Of silk, or woollen, or cotton.
But in counting the riches of England
I think they have forgotten.

Our Beasts and our Thieves and our Chattels
Have weight for good or for ill:
But the Poor, made in God's image,
His presence, His word, His will—
And so Lazarus lies at our doorstep
And Dives neglects him still.

TRUE MOTIVES OF THE CONDUCT OF ENGLAND.*

LET me examine more closely whether it be true, as is pretended, that the interests of commerce and manufactures have been almost the only motive power of England in the policy pursued by her during the past year with respect to the United States. A great deal has been said about cotton and calico: this has been constantly in the market. I doubt not; but there has been something else beside; reasons, if not more important, at least more elevated, have contributed their full part in determining the attitude of the Cabinet of St. James. It is only just to show this—it is both just and salutary: for the better it is known, the better will it be comprehended, and the better also will reciprocal animosities be calmed.

As to cotton, I am far from believing that a wise government has not to take into account the wants of its manufacturers. In a country where the working of cotton turns thirty million spindles, and gives the means of existence to nearly four million laborers, it would be a transcendent magnanimity that should take high ground above the sufferings of these men, women, and children. Material interests as much as you please! They translate themselves into physical and moral miseries. Cotton become scarce and dear, and in the same light as other produce provisions in a famished garrison. Here are workmen laboring but three days, two days, one day, perhaps, in a week; others who are without any work at all, and have no other resources than the gifts of charity.

Let us hasten to say that this charity is admirable, and that the resignation of the workmen is no less so. They themselves have recognized the necessity of introducing into their Legislature, *Short time*, into the manufactories; they have murmured neither against their masters nor the United States, and we have seen in what terms they have addressed the Americans.

The government has only to follow their example. While neglecting nothing, as is its duty, to alleviate and abridge the crisis, it should comprehend that to endure such a crisis for such a cause would be to contract a debt of honor. There is no one whereabouts to tempt the best ambition of England. It is unceasingly repeated that this age is an age of cotton, that cotton rules, that cotton is king; the question is to prove these assertions to be untrue. Exposed to the most powerful temptation to which a manufacturing nation can encounter, it would be glorious to look it in the face, and go straight forward on its way.

The United States, in this respect, set a great example to Europe. Their factories at Lowell are suffering no less than those at Manchester and Mulhouse. No matter; duty has spoken, a noble cause must be sustained; they will accept the suffering, all classes will submit to extended privations, and we shall see the uprising of a great people.

England, it may be believed, would have more easily consented to take part in the sacrifice; she would have admitted with a better grace the excellence of the end proposed to her which the Americans proceeding, if the unlucky adoption of a new tariff had not occurred to bring into discredit, as it were, in the nick of time, the incipient Administration of Mr. Lincoln.

* * * *

But neither cotton nor the tariff can explain the unkindly, almost malevolent feeling which has repressed for long months the true sentiments of England. Whence comes this icy coldness? Whence came, at the first news of the seizure by the commissioners, those burst of vehement indignation?

It must be admitted that it was the overflowing of a full cup. The point in question was to chastise Yankee insolence once for all.

The Americans, I have to admit, have often been very arrogant toward the English. They have shown themselves provoking and unjust. But what Americans? those of the North or the South? It would be rather strange to make friends atone for the sins of the enemy. We know, however, that beneath appearances sees that the North has never ceased to be attached to England at heart; it was the South that detested it. It was the South that, in the eyes of the English, believed itself able to have everything against it. It was under the rule of Southern men that those acts of violence were committed—the bombardment of Greytown, placed under English protection, the dismissal of the English consuls during the Russian war, the occupation of the island of San Juan.

All this may be traced to Southern policy, a policy founded on the violation of international right, on the contempt for foreign nations, on the necessity of making compromises with slavery, of which the filibusters of Walker were the worthy agents, and the Ostend manifesto the glorious formula. Mark that this policy had as its fundamental law the hatred of the English, the English England, liberal England, conservative England.

By what strange mistake have our neighbors beyond the channel placed to the account of the North what belonged essentially to the South? Doubtless, the North too had been more than once implicated in it had, moreover, its Democratic party in close alliance with the South. But under the surface, often rough, attentive observers discover something else. Without the support of the North, in order the better to punish the system of which Messrs. Davis and Mason had been the most ardent representatives, surprises me, I acknowledge. It is a new example of the power of words. The word "United States" is enough with many; it was the United States by whom they were offended; it is the United States that must pay for the offence.

I shall not enter upon the examination of these real or feigned offences. I believe that England has self-respect enough not to show herself less patient toward America weak, than she did toward America strong. I think that she knows how to rank in their proper place those injuries, wrongs, verbiage commercial gossip, words attributed to such or such a statesman, speeches made in the heat of an election, the passing and unimportant excesses of a noisy and democratic tribune.

As to the concessions which she has made, far from considering them humiliating, I regard them as among her brightest claims to honor. Face to face to a quarrelsome government which, under the contagion of the passions of the South, conducted the affairs of the Union, England has known how to show herself moderate. So much the better! She has given way, she says, eight times in twenty-five years. What matter? I ask for real reasons for regret. Would it have been better to break with America than to settle the questions of Oregon, Maine and San Juan as she has done?

The fact remains unhappily certain, that the proceedings of the American governments have been often of a nature to irritate England. We, Frenchmen, will not refuse to comprehend national susceptibilities. They have played a much greater part than has been imagined in the misunderstanding of the last year. They have rendered in some measure plausible the suppositions of those who say, "The act of Captain Wilkes is grave in our eyes, only because we see in it the inevitable and long foreseen conclusion of a policy hostile to England. The Mr. Seward has made no secret of his time worthy of the most palmy days of American arrogance? Has he not designated Canada as the possible compensation for the loss of the South? The plan was fixed on yesterday so, knowing that we should be attacked, could we scruple much in becoming ourselves the assailants?"

I understand the sentiment that is thus expressed; it may have existed, but it is about to disappear. The Times affect has made another many veils, and laid bare many positions; the two peoples have seen each other, perhaps for the first time, in their true colors. Behind the blind transports of the moment America has perceived the hatred of the liberal Englishmen for the cause which she is maintaining; behind the declamations of the occasion, England has perceived the attachment of a friendly and sister nation. Henceforth, I hope, the moment will be left to Southern statesmen, Mr. Toombs, for example, of those malignant attacks in which he formerly excelled, when he declared on the floor of Congress that it was his greatest ambition to cover the Atlantic with armed steamers in order to humble Great Britain.

I would go too far, doubtless, were I to affirm that many Englishmen, on their side, were moved by the desire of humbling the United States. It is true that in thinking impossible that the English policy has inherited the maxim from the last century, which clear-sighted men reject, but which has its effect upon the crowd, that the maritime preponderance of England cannot be maintained if the United States.

There are men in England who detest Americans as cordially as their ancestors did at the close of the Revolutionary war. There are some who regard as a great advantage the co-existence of two rival nations, ever engaged in strife, and annulling each other. There are some who have a vision of a protectorate in the South, or even a monarchical establishment under an English prince, with a national Party which would be perhaps yea, the united kingdom of England, Ireland and Africa, appearances to have mirrored itself before some imaginations.

All this will enter into the computation when we would explain the impulses of the public mind. I take care, moreover, not to stop at considerations of this kind. Although future danger of interference from the American navy may be taken in earnest by the Cabinet of St. James, I acknowledge that I think that such a motive had a marked influence on their attitude. It is more probable that, in the recent complications called forth by the war, they have found a natural occasion to put Canada in a state of defence, or to show off the immense maritime resources of their country.

I cannot help believing that they have also found occasion therein to obtain another kind of successes. Hitherto, in the parliaments, the minority was reduced to the most alarming proportions. Lord Palmerston saw the session approaching without having yet discovered means to strengthen his position. Suddenly, an overwhelming majority presented itself. The government, which the journal of *Morning Herald* pledged it solemnly in their name, provided Lord Palmerston showed no weakness toward the United States; it was a party stroke, and the long parliaments of the American war seemed about to begin anew. With the very serious opposition, for the moment at least, would cease; the national excitement would give birth to a sort of unanimity; all reforms and all questions difficult of solution would be put off to a later day.

If we add to this, that, unfortunately for Englishmen, they are far from examining their foreign with as much independence as their home affairs, that they are accustomed on this point to follow their government at a fixed distance, and sometimes, and to criticise later, too late, when the nation is at strife, and you will comprehend that the right of the parliamentary session and the triumphant majority may have contributed to drive the Cabinet of St. James and the ministers themselves, to the rigidity that has been introduced into American relations.

But let us come to a more justifiable and also, I am convinced, more real motive. If there had been nothing but cotton and tariff, the fear would be felt by a hostile navy, or the remembrance of a vexatious quarrel or unfriendly measures, or the desire of settling old accounts and preventing hostile designs, or the tempting chance of securing an election, yet I think the English and their government would have acted as they have done.

Their great motive, their great excuse, shall I say, has been that, for many years past and with increasing violence, the United States have been at war in the name of those of America. The United States have become an engine of war, a battering-ram hurled unceasingly against their ramparts.

One might be irritated for less cause. What then remained? In the embrasement of the United States England saw at first only the embarrassment of a republic; in the failure of the American cause, she saw the failure of Mr. Bright and the Radical party. Her sympathies were with the South in this manner through events and by events. The more the embarrassment increased on the other side the Atlantic, the more was the rejoicing, on this side, for having a throne and a House of Lords.

I, without being an Anti-Slavery, feel the regret that the English republicans should receive such a lesson; I know of few enemies more dangerous to liberty. Let the constitutional monarchy be defended against them to another day; let the liberal tendencies of the Manchester school be repelled afar; nothing is better or more lawful. I can even understand how *The Times*, somewhat exaggerating the natural instruction furnished by the American crisis, exclaims by way of consolation, "Let royalty did not exist, we would be forced to create it."

But, this concession once made to an enthusiasm which is far from surprising me, are we not justified in regretting that we could not have wished it possible to be at once strongly attached to English institutions and strongly sympathetic with the American cause?

I seek in vain to discover the incompatibility of the two sentiments. Do not the friends of a constitutional monarchy reduced to living by the failures of the republican system? What! if there should be somewhere a prosperous republic, would constitutional monarchy no longer have a right to subsist? The men who have the most just and sublime in England, thank God! against the fleeting errors of public opinion, are somewhat prouder and surer of their convictions. As much attached as any one to the institutions of their country, they do not admit that any other countries may have other institutions. If republicans succeed in resolving the true problem of liberty in Switzerland or America, they will be rejoiced instead of grieved thereby, and will be only the more proud of their neighbors and Parliament. To them, English institutions are not at the mercy of events, depending on the failure or success of some other form of government. With an assurance that is not devoid of pride, they complain of the rigidity of liberal loyalty, their democracy always ready to sacrifice its prejudices or interests at need, to decree Catholic emancipation or the abolition of their protective system, their powerful nation, in fine, scorning the timidity of public opinion through elections, the press, and the jury, and they challenge the whole world to inspire them with the desire of political revolution.

Such has been the great motive of the English people. Let us add, to render it complete justice, that upon two essential points, sincere prejudices, as unconquerable as sincere, have formed an obstacle hitherto to the sympathies upon which America seemed able to count. These prejudices, the one of which I shall have to weigh carefully in the third part of my work, must be mentioned in this place, in order to take into account the sum total of the motive powers which has determined the attitude of England.

In the first place, the separation of the South was held at once to be definitive and irremediable. This admitted, a practical nation, which makes few concessions to sentiment, thought that it would be led to hold in contempt or even hatred, so many efforts easayed to attain a chimerical end. The way was nothing longer but a criminal and costly folly, in which it was impossible to be interested. "Let them go, let them go!" such was the cracle uttered by *The Times*, that political Bible of so many Englishmen. Thenceforth, all remained convinced that there were two nations in America instead of a single one. The American governments have been in peace in favor of the South; its quality of belligerent appeared reasonable, while waiting till it should be recognized.

We must set out with a conviction like this, we are usually little disposed to accept anything which would call our axioms in question, and force us to recommence our calculations. Here is a fact accomplished; let no one make any change therein, or we shall be disappointed.

A second oracle, no less infallible, was uttered, and its influence has been immense. The North, it was said, is as indifferent to slavery as the South; the point in question between them is supremacy, political dominion.

This once granted, the consequences unfolded of themselves. The great liberal and Christian party remained innovable, the men most known for their abolition sentiments openly refused to call over the side over meetings against the South. This forbearance was carried so far that prayers began to be offered for the success of the most iniquitous compromises, the most conference, and the Tribune, the organ of the abolitionists, approved the attitude of England has ceased to be England.

THE RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND DENMARK.

In acceptance of a proposition made some time since by the Danish government, and communicated by the President to Congress, and to the President to enter into arrangements with one or more foreign governments having possessions in the West Indies or other tropical regions, to receive from the United States all negroes delivered from board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States vessels, and to provide them with suitable instruction, clothing and shelter, and to employ them, at wages, under such regulations as shall be agreed upon, for a period not exceeding five years from the date of their being landed at the place or places agreed upon. In pursuance of this act, the subjoined contract has just been entered into by the Minister of Denmark and the Secretary of the Interior on the part of the United States:

COPY OF AGREEMENT.

This agreement, entered into between Waldemar Rudolph Von Raasloff, Charge d'Affaires, for and on behalf of the government of Denmark, and Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, for and on behalf of the government of the United States, witnesseth:

That the Danish government agrees to receive from the United States, through its duly constituted authorities, for a term of five years, at a landing-place called Westend, on the Danish Island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States armed vessels, and to provide them with suitable instruction, and with comfortable clothing and shelter, and to employ them at wages in conformity with the provisional act issued by the Governor of St. Croix on the twenty-sixth day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-nine, entitled "Provisional act to regulate the relations between the agricultural population of Danish descent and the rural population of free laborers" (a copy of which is hereto annexed) for a period not exceeding five years from the date of their being landed at the aforesaid landing-place, and that the United States shall not be liable to any expenses on account of said negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, after having landed them at the aforesaid landing-place. And the government of the United States agrees to deliver to the government of Denmark, or its duly constituted authorities, at the aforesaid landing-place on the Danish Island of St. Croix, in West Indies, whenever practicable, all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States armed vessels during the five years next succeeding the date of this agreement; and to issue instructions to the commanders of the armed vessels of the United States therein to specify the number of persons in each ship, and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President of the United States, to proceed directly to the aforesaid landing-place on the Danish Island of St. Croix, and there deliver to the commander of the Danish ship of war stationed at Denmark all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States armed vessels during the five years next succeeding the date of this agreement; and to issue instructions to the commanders of the armed vessels of the United States therein to specify the number of persons in each ship, and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President of the United States, to proceed directly to the aforesaid landing-place on the Danish Island of St. Croix, and there deliver to the commander of the Danish ship of war stationed at Denmark all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States armed vessels during the five years next succeeding the date of this agreement; and to issue instructions to the commanders of the armed vessels of the United States therein to specify the number of persons in each ship, and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President of the United States, to proceed directly to the aforesaid landing-place on the Danish Island of St. Croix, and there deliver to the commander of the Danish ship of war stationed at St. Croix, or such other agent as the government of the United States may appoint for that purpose, freely and without hinderance, and at all times, to visit and inspect the condition of the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color that may have been landed on the Island of St. Croix under this agreement.

Signed, sealed and delivered in duplicate at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of July, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-two.

W. RAASLOFF, Charge d'Affaires.
CALEB B. SMITH, Secretary of Interior.

THE DUNKERS.

A WRITER in *The Western Advocate* gives an account of the general meeting of the religious sect known as "Dunkers" which was recently held at Brookville, Ind.:

"From all parts of the United States, except from the rebellious ones, representatives are present, making an assemblage of several hundred persons. For weeks past they have been gathering in from every direction by private and public conveyances in such crowds as to impress the looker-on that the world must shortly be converted to Dunkerism. Yesterday I visited the 'Conference,' as they call their present meeting, which is held septennially, and was much interested in what I saw and heard. An immense tent, capable of seating two thousand Dunkers, was erected on the ground. Between one and two of the brethren were holding forth in the tent, one in a large barn hard by, and another in an orchard. One or two of the preachers that I listened to seemed to be intelligent men, and discoursed as orthodoxly as any. The sum and substance of their religion, in every qualification for the ministry, except zeal and good lungs. They all practise that abominable singsong which was formerly in vogue among the hard-shell Baptists; and in addition to that, they have the equally disagreeable

'Nasal twang,
That spoiled the Psalms when Cromwell's army sang.'

I was struck, however, with their great familiarity with the Scriptures, which they quoted at every sentence. The preachers I have ever heard, and in that respect are worthy of imitation. In doctrine, the Dunkers are rather Arminian than Calvinistic, I inferred from their discourses, though some of them, it is said, regard the doctrine of eternal punishment as false. On the whole, they seem to be a very earnest, pious and exemplary people, of exceedingly strict morals and temperate habits—abstemiousness being, if I mistake not, a part of their religion. I judged so, at least, from the dinner to which I saw them sit down, and them sit down together, and which consisted of boiled beef, bread and butter, and cucumber pickles. At the dinner, by the way, the men and women sit apart. I suppose that there was a long table stretched across the middle of the great tent, which answers the purpose of a dining-hall as well as a chapel. The Dunkers dress very much like the Shakers—that is, in as ugly a costume as their ingenuity can invent."

AN AFRICAN MERCHANT.—In all the money spent by Great Britain in the suppression of the slave trade lost? Let the following fact reply. Years ago, a black boy was stolen from his home in Africa, and carried away captive into the Yorubian country. After enduring much suffering, and narrowly escaping being offered a human sacrifice, he was, when about sixteen years of age, sold as a slave to the Portuguese. No one can describe the horrors of the slave-ship into which the young African was forced, with hundreds of fellow-slaves. After being some days at sea, the slaver was seen by a British man-of-war, and taken in chase, was secured as a prize. The vessel was taken to Sierra Leone, and the slaves were liberated. The poor boy to whom we refer was apprenticed to a European merchant. By diligence, attention, and perseverance, he proved a valuable servant, and on the expiration of his apprenticeship, he was employed in trading on the coast by English merchants. Step by step he advanced. He sought and found Divine help and guidance. Converted to the Church of Thomas Dove, he was enabled to begin business on his own account, and God has prospered the work of his hands. He is now one of the most influential of the Sierra Leone merchants. He is one of England's best customers, imports into Africa, as he does, *many thousands of pounds* worth of our manufactures. John Ezzidio, Esq., of Sierra Leone, for such is the name of the gentleman whose career we have briefly sketched, is not only promoting commerce, but we rejoice to add, is using his influence and his means in extending the blessings of the gospel amongst his countrymen. Let America emancipate her slaves, and we feel assured, that, even in a commercial point of view, she will be the gainer.—*British Workman.*

JENNY LIND'S MUNIFICENCE.—The three oratorio performances lately given by Mr. and Madame Goldschmidt, after deducting the expenses (in each case amounting to £100 and upwards), produced the following results: *Messiah*, May 14, £1,000; *The Creation*, May 28, £899 14s. 7d.; *Elijah*, June 4, £883 16s. 2d.; total, £2,683 2s. 9d. The net proceeds of *The Creation* have been paid to the Hospital for Consumption, at Brompton; of the *Elijah*, one-half equally between the Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain and the Royal Society of Female Musicians. The profits arising from the performance of *The Messiah* were distributed in the following manner: To the rector of Lambeth for the development of Needlewomen, £150; to Miss Stanley's establishment, York street, Westminster, £150; and £600 12s. to the institution for Needlewomen, Hinde street, Manchester Square.

THE LARGEST CITY IN THE WORLD.—A very erroneous idea is indulged in by many people in relation to the largest city in the world—many confidently pronounce that London, or, as it is frequently termed, the Great Metropolis, is far superior both in size and number of inhabitants. But such is not the case. Yeddo, the capital of Japan, is without exception the largest and most populous city in the world. It contains the vast number of 1,000,000 dwellings and 5,000,000 of human souls. Many of the streets are nineteen Japaneseris in length, which is equivalent to twenty-two English miles.

The commerce of Yeddo far exceeds that of any other city in the world, and the sea along its coast is constantly white with the sails of ships and vessels sail to the southern portion of the empire, where they are laden with rice, tea, sea-coal, tobacco, silk, cotton, and tropical fruits, all of which find a ready market in the North; and then return, freighted with corn, salt, oil, isinglass, and various other productions of the North, which have a market in the South."

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