always for Slavery. If Abraham Lincoln would be re-elected President, he must secure the vote of Slavery; for he does not, somebody else will by its aid be elected over him. And it follows, as the night the day, if Abraham Lincoln secures the Vote of Slavery, that Abraham Lincoln secures the Vote of Abraham Lincoln.

Indeed, the tendency of the Government, upon the principles which now control its action with respect to the war, is irresistibly toward such a transmutation of political elements as will restore the slave power to its wonted supremacy in the Union, with the Administration for its representative and agent, however reluctant the latter might be to perform so ignominious a part.

There are two classes of slaveholders, who, though divided on the particular question of Secession, are yet one and indivisible on the permanent question affecting the power and prestige of Slavery; namely, Unionists and Secessionists. One is as to the Union, with us, the other against; both, however, having a common purpose with respect to Slavery, to wit, its domination.

It is the determination of the Secessionists to dissolve all political relations with Anti-Slavery people of every class, and to establish a Government into which no insidious foe shall be permitted to enter, but through which Slavery shall reign forever, undisputed and indisputable sovereign lord. On the other hand, those slaveholders who cling to the Union propose to accomplish precisely much the same thing by a different process: namely, by bringing all the slaveholders back to their loyalty, and employing the power which will thereby accrue to them jointly to regain control of the Federal Government.

It is but a difference of choice among the slaveholders as to the kind of mansion they will inhabit; whether they will come home to dwell in the old establishment which their fathers built and consecrated to Slavery; or, abandoning that to the heathen, erect for themselves a new edifice, plaster it all over with fresh stucco, and make its walls, like their arid dreams as one which no rude tempest shall assail, nor the winds of heaven visit too roughly; with foundations of tried steel, pillars of alabaster, halls of precious marble, and pavements of gold.

The slaveholders of the Union party, more practical and less imaginative than their Secession brethren, prefer to carry it into the old place, proposing to themselves to convert the latter from the arrow of their way by convincing them that Secession is a mistake; that Southern Independence is a delusion, fraught with manifold and terrible woes; that the safety, the stability, the dignity, the power, the grandeur and the glory of Slavery are all fixed in the Union, and not to be enjoyed out of it. They plead in the house which their fathers built which is theirs by imprescriptible right; a glorious inheritance, "the fairest fabric of government ever erected by man."

Let us appeal to the masses of the South to abandon their present leaders and fly to them, crying out that to follow the Confederate flag along the "perilous edge" of a sword, will lead them to swift and through storm and battle, and then to rally to their standard will be restoration; but that to rally to their standard will be destruction; but that to rally to their standard will take them back to the old homestead, where, in the afflicting pictures they draw, the pastures are ever green, and the streams are ever bright; the skies always blue; and the shade of the sycamore ever inviting; and here they tell them, flowers blooming perennial; and here they tell them, they may forever repose, under their own vine and fig tree, with no one to make them afraid.

Their desire is that we should not be precipitate in moving forward the grand army of the Union, but should hold it up as a gigantic instrument of chastisement in the terrorem over their erring brethren, that they may see time enough for repentance and absolution. Hence we betore using it for execution, the harmless evolutions of dress parade in order to their views than frequent encounters on the field of battle.

Yet they require that our army should be advanced.—It must occupy each rebellious State. Our standard must be unfurled, as a rallying point. A center of operations must be established, from which missionary enterprises might be successfully prosecuted. To convert the sinning sons of Belial into righteousness, there must be a Jerusalem at each convenient locality, up to which the Southern Israel may repair, to offer sacrifices of penitence and be again admitted into the fold of the Union. To illustrate the Government utterly to cast away, as an abomination, and renounced for ever and forever from Slavery as void be its first and paramount object." To accomplish this it is only necessary to discard an attenuated abstraction, and avail itself of opportunities which God has brought to our very doors. The simple act of changing in practice its relationship to the Slaveholders, from one precisely the same footing with secession. Secession repudiates the Federal authority within a State through State forms, and State forces, while this repudiates the State authority through Federal forms and forces. They are both revolutionary. Nor can the plea of necessity be interposed to extenuate it. No necessity exists for anything but a military occupation in a rebellious State until the rebellion is subdued. And this is precisely what should take place, and in this case. These skeleton State organizations are nothing but the machinery of political artificers for monopolizing power; and it is a shameful and most pernicious abuse of the Executive trust to recognise them as valid.

The wish of the masses of our people is to conquer the Seceded States to the authority of the Union, and hold them as subject provinces. Whether this will ever be accomplished no one can, of course, confidently foretell; but, in my judgment, until this purpose is avowed, and the war assumes its true character, it is mere jugale, to be turned this way or that—for Slavery or against it—as the varying accidents of the hour may determine.

It is well that the nephew of Disunion has passed away, and can be no more to frighten timid souls from their propriety. Every one now sees that there cannot be any permanent separation of the States of the South from those of the North; that they are wedded by ties of nature, destined to triumph over all disintegrating and explosive forces.

Should the belligerent sections settle down upon existing boundaries into separate political commonalties, the States in the Southern section, along the Northern line, would speedily become free, and eager to reunite with the North. Such slaves as could escape across the line would do so, and the rest would be conveyed by their owners to the distant South, and as these States become free, they would become antagonistic to the Confederate States, and reconstitute to the old Union; and no obstacle could prevent their return. Thus the southern line of the United States would be brought down to the northern of slave States, upon which the same effect would be wrought, and thus the process continued until the national centre would again float unchallenged on the bosom of the Gulf. This would effect a restoration of the Union on an Anti-Slavery basis.

So that, even if the present war should cease, a new one would immediately begin. Moral forces would take the place of physical ones, and the Anti-Slavery editor and lecturer would appear instead of the dragoon and sharpshooter. The center of Abolitionism would be in time transferred from Boston to Richmond, and we should see in Virginia "Liberator," in the person of some new Garrison, come forth to break the remaining fetters from the slave, and "inaugurate with bell"

The question may be fairly regarded, however, as in fact become a question of union. Estrangement and war will always exist while Slavery survives. The extinction of this evil is the only final end of Disunion. The cause in which God has enabled us to secure our Union shall be a real or a pretended one; whether freedom shall be its law and peace its fruit, or Slavery its law and war its baleful offspring. A system based on Slavery is essentially one of despotism. The war must, therefore strike for freedom, or its professions about Union are delusive, and its end will be naught but evil.

Should it fail to do so, then let us cast it out as a wicked and an abomination, and trust the cause of Union to other preservatives—in God's providence rather than to man's imbecility and treachery. War is chameleon on its banner, which changes to suit the ground on which it stands. Let it be such as to make it conducive to right as to the earth, burying beneath the rules of our constitutional liberty the hopes of mankind.

Eight hundred thousand strong men, in the prime of life, sober and industrious, are abstracted from the laboring population of the country to consume and be a tax upon those who remain to work. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury lately is a fearful tale. Nearly $2,000,000 per day will hardly more than suffice to cover existing expenditures; and in one year and a half our national debt, if the war continues," will amount to the sum of $3,000,000.

This is the immense sacrifice we are making for freedom and Union; and yet is it not to be squandered on a subordinate object, and a fraud? For one I shall not vote another dollar or man for the war, until it assumes a different standing, and tends directly to an anti-slavery result. Millions for freedom, but not one cent for Slavery.

Lord Lyons could afford to despise the opinion of the civilized world in this matter. Our present policy narrows our cause down to an ignoble struggle for mere physical supremacy, and for this the world can have no genuine sympathy. Our claim of authority, based on a trivial technicality about the proper distinction between a Federal Government and its mere subsidiary, amounts to both. Government and its mere subsidiary, amounts to both. Government and its mere subsidiary, amounts to both.