AN APPEAL FOR THE UNION.

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LETTER FIRST.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 28, 1862.

Whilst our great rebellion attracts the attention of the world, with us it is a question of existence. Our armies, eventually, must triumph, but then remains the difficult task of restoring, throughout the revolted States, the supremacy of the Constitution. We must not only continue to maintain the just distinction between the loyal and disloyal, the deluded masses and the rebel leaders, but we must also remember, that the reign of terror has long been supreme in the South, and that thousands have been forced into apparent support of the rebellion, by threats, by spoliation, by military force of conscription, and not a few, driven out as mendicants, by the ruin of their homes, and the loss of their means of subsistence.

With the exception of South Carolina, whose normal condition for more than thirty years before she struck down our flag at Sumpter, would seem to have been that of incipient treason and revolt, no other State really desired to destroy the Union. A secret association and active armed conspiracy in the South, aided by traitor leaders, North and South, and an organized system of falsehood and misrepresentation, drove the masses, by sudden action, violence, and terror, into this rebellion. And yet, under all these circumstances, the aggregate popular vote of the South exhibited a large majority against Secession.

Nor should we forget that it was a Northern President, yielding to Secession leaders, in opposition to the patriots of the South, who, by the whole power of Executive influence and patronage, attempted to force slavery into Kansas, by the crime, heretofore without a name or an example, the FORGERY OF A CONSTITUTION. This was the tolling of the first bell, alarming to patriots, but the concerted signal for the grand movement of the assassins, then conspiring the death of the Union. We should also remember, that, although a Northern President urged the Lecompton forgery upon Congress, thus mainly contributing to the downfall of the Union, yet, when the vote was taken in the fall of 1860, a majority of the popular suffrage of the South was given to those candidates for the Presidency who had denounced and opposed this measure, over the candidate, (now in the traitor army), who gave it his support. Thus, on this, as on every other occasion, where the people of the South have not been overborne by violence and terror, they have rejected at the polls the action of the Secession leaders.

But the disaster was precipitated, when the same President, rejecting the advice of the patriotic Scott, refused to reinforce our forts, when menaced or beleaguered by traitors, and announced, in his messages, to our country and all the world, the Secession heresy, fatal to all government, that we had no right to repel force by force, on the part of a State, seeking by armed secession, to destroy the Union. In other words, that we must, under such circumstances, would be the traitors, and the South the defenders of the Constitution. It was then that the absurd political paradox was announced by the President, that a State has no right to secede, but that the Government has no right to prevent its secession. It was this wretched dogma that paralyzed our energies when the rebellion was in its incipient form, gave immunity to treason, and invited rebellion, rendered our stocks unsaleable, and induced thousands, at home and abroad, to believe that the Federal Government was an unreal phantom, which existed in name only.

Who does not know that if Andrew Jackson, a Southern man, had then been President, the rebellion would have been crushed by him in embryo, as it was in 1833, and all the blood and treasure, now expended, would have been saved to our country and mankind?

Surely, it is some palliation of the course of the deluded masses of the South that they heard such pernicious counsels, and from such a source.

If, as our army advances, there has not been an open, general return of the masses to the Union, we must recollect that when we did occupy parts of the South, and then withdrew, how soon the resurging tide of treason swept over the devoted region, what scenes of horror and desolation ensued, how the homes of those who had welcomed our flag were given to the flames, whilst death was the portion of others. But let us crush out the very embers of this rebellion, drive out to other lands the rebel leaders, give to the ruined and deluded masses ample assurance of permanent protection, and they will resume their allegiance to the Union. As to those brave and devoted patriots at the South, who, throughout the Secession frenzy, maintained, at the risk of life and fortune, the cause of the Union, the resolve of the Government to protect and cherish them is manifest.

As a final result, we should not desire to hold the Southern States as provinces, for that would fatally exasperate, and tend to perpetuate the contest, increase our expenses, destroy our wealth and revenue, render our taxes intolerable, and endanger our free institutions. When the rebellion is quashed, we should seek a real pacification, the close of the war and its expenses, a cordial restoration of the Union, and return of that fraternal feeling, which marked the first half century of our wonderful progress, enabling us, with one-fourth of our present population, to defy the world in arms. To insure these great results, the policy of the Government must be *firm, clear, unwavering*, and marked by discriminating justice and perfect candor. The country is in imminent peril, and nothing but the truth will avail us. *The North and South must understand each other.* The South must know that we realize the evident truth that slavery caused the rebellion. Efforts were made on other questions to shake the Union, but all had proved impotent in the past, as they must in the future, until we were divided by slavery, the only issue competent to produce a great rebellion. Nor will angry denunciations of the discordant elements of slavery and abolition now save us, for still the fact recurs, that without slavery there would have been no abolition, and, consequently, no secession. Slavery, therefore, was the cause, the *causa causans*, and whilst we should use all wise and *constitutional* means to secure its gradual disappearance, yet we should act justly, remembering how, when, and under what flag slavery was forced upon the protesting and opposing South, then feeble colonies of England. And yet, for nearly thirty years past, England has constantly agitated this question here, with a view to dissolve our Union, and thus has been mainly instrumental in sowing here the seeds of discord, which fructified in the rebellion.

And then, when the tide of battle seemed adverse, England, giving her whole moral aid to the rebellion, demanded from us restitution and apology in the case of the Trent, for an act which had received the repeated sanction of her own authority. Her press then teemed with atrocious falsehoods, insulting threats, and exulting annunciations of our downfall. Her imperious demand was accompanied by fleets and armies, her cannon thundered on our coast, and she became the moral ally of that very slavery which she had forced upon the South, and which, for nearly thirty years past, she made the theme of fierce denunciation of our country, and constant agitation here, with one ever-present purpose, *the destruction of this Union.* And now let not England suppose that she is an American, who does not feel the insult, and understand the motive. England behold, in our wonderful progress, the ocean's sceptre slipping from her grasp, our grain and cotton almost feeding and clothing the world, our augmenting skill and capital, our inventive genius, and ever-improving machinery, our educated, intelligent, untaxed labor, the marvellous increase of our revenue, commerce, tonnage, and our stupendous internal communications, natural and artificial, by land and water. The last census exhibited to her our numbers increasing in a ratio, making the mere *addition*, in the next twenty-five years, equal to her whole population, and our wealth augmenting in a far greater proportion. She saw our mines and mountains of coal and iron (her own great element of progress,) exceed hers nearly a hundred fold, our hydraulic power, in a single State, greater than that of Great Britain; a single American river, with its tributaries, long enough to encircle the globe, and that England might be anchored as an island in our inland seas. She witnessed Connecticut, smaller than many English counties, and with but one-sixth the population of some of them, appropriating more money for education in that State than the British Parliament for the whole realm; that we had more heads at work among our laboring classes than all Europe, and she realized the great truth that knowledge is power, reposing on common schools for the whole people. She mused our continental area, laved by two oceans, as also by the lakes and the gulf, with a more genial sun, and a soil far more fertile and productive than that of England, and nearly thirty times greater in extent. She saw us raise within the loyal States a *volunteer* army of three-fourths of a million, without a conscript, the largest, and far the most intelligent and effective force in the world, and millions more ready, whenever called, to rush to the defence of the Union, whilst a great and gallant navy rose as if by enchantment from the ocean. She marked the rapid transfer of the command of the commerce of the world from London to New York. She observed the transcendent success of our free institutions, and, with that "fear of change perplexing monarchs," she realized the approaching crash of thrones and dynasties under the moral influence and advancing march of our republican empire. To insure our permanent division was to destroy us. Hence, she encouraged the South, acknowledged her as a belligerent, welcomed the rebel flag and war vessels into her ports, protected them there, enabled them to elude our cruisers, and prepared to aid and sustain a navy. For a time, with the exception of Cobden, and the immortal John Bright, we seemed to have had scarcely an influential friend in England. Her masses favored us, but four-fifths of them are excluded from the polls by restricted suffrage. For a time, king cotton never had more loyal subjects than those who then controlled the press and Government of England. Our Union was to be severed, the Southern Confederacy acknowledged, the blockade broken, free trade between the South and England established, cotton given her, and manufactured us; we were to be forever cut off from the Gulf and the Lower Mississippi; Portland (the Star of the East) was to become a British city, and Maine, always loyal and patriotic, was to be wrested from us and reannexed to the British crown. It was the carnival of despots, exulting over our anticipated ruin, in our death struggle in the great cause of human liberty and human progress.

And yet it was England that forced slavery upon the South against its earnest protest, and colonial acts vetoed by the British crown. Then, during our colonial weakness and dependence, the kings and queens and parliaments of England, not only legalized and encouraged the African slave trade, but gave charters and monopolies for the wretched traffic. Then the lords and noble ladies, the blood royal, the merchant princes, and even the mitred prelates of England, engaged most extensively in this accursed commerce, and thousands of the rich and noble of England enjoy now, by inheritance, fortunes thus accumulated. British vessels, sailing from British ports, openly displayed there upon their decks the shackles that were to bind the victims, thousands of whom, in the horrors of the middle passage, found unchrouded in an ocean grave a happy escape from sufferings and misery indescribable. It was to these, our then infant, feeble, and dependent, but protesting, colonies of the South, most of these slaves were forced by British avarice, and royal vetoes on colonial acts of the South prohibiting the traffic. Most justly, then, did Mr. Jefferson, in the original of our Declaration of Independence, announce the terrible truth as follows:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another."

The flag of England was then the flag of slavery, and not of slavery only, but of the African slave trade: and wherever slavery now exists, England may look upon it and say, This is the work of my hands; mine was the price of blood, and mine all the anguish and despair of centuries of bondage.

This war, then, is mainly the work of England. She forced slavery here, and then commenced and inflamed here the anti-slavery agitation, assailing the Constitution and the Union, arresting the progress of manumission in the Border States, and finally culminating in the rebellion. Here, then, in the South are slavery and rebellion, branches of that Upas tree, whose seeds were planted in our soil by England.

England, then, should never have reproached us with slavery. The work was hers, and hers may yet be the dread retribution of avenging justice. Had the contest she provoked in the Trent affair then happened, the result might have been very different from her expectations. Instead of a ruined country, and divided Union, and God save the King played under the cross of St. George in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, she might have heard the music of Yankee Doodle, Hail Columbia, and the Star Spangled Banner, on the heights of Quebec, re-echoed in fraternal chorus over the Union intended by God, under one government, of the valley of the lakes and the St. Lawrence. Looking nearer home, she might have beheld that banner, whose stars she would have extinguished in blood, floating triumphantly in union with the Shamrock, over that glorious Emerald Isle, whose generous heart beats with love of the American Union, and whose blood, now as ever heretofore, is poured out in copious libations in its defence. Indeed, but for the forbearance of our Government, and the judgment and good sense of Lord Lyons, the conflict was inevitable.

The hope was expressed by me in England that "those glorious isles would become the breakwater of liberty, against which the surges of European despotism would dash in vain." This was her true policy, justice to Ireland, successive reforms in her system, a further wise extension of the suffrage, with the vote by ballot, a cordial moral alliance with her kindred race in America, and a full participation, mutually beneficial, in our enlarging commerce. But her oligarchy has chosen coalition with the South and slavery and war upon our Union and the republican principle. *Divide and conquer* is their motto, SUICIDE will be their epitaph.

I have stated that the South must know what course we intend to pursue in regard to slavery. But not only the South, but our friends and enemies, and *all the world* must also know, that the AMERICAN UNION SHALL NEVER BE DISMEMBERED. It is the great citadel of self-government, entrusted to our charge by Providence, and we will defend it against all assailants until our last man has fallen. The lakes can never be separated from the Gulf, nor can the Eastern from the Western ocean. As the sun high advanced in the heavens, illumes our flag on the Atlantic, its first morning beams shall salute our kindred banner stars on the shores of the Pacific, the present western limit of this great Republic. Already the telegraphic lightning flashes intelligence from ocean to ocean, and ocean to the lakes, starting from the Atlantic on his continental tour, shall herald his own advent on the shores of the Pacific. The lakes of the North are united by railroads and canals with the Atlantic, the Gulf, the Ohio, and Mississippi, and our iron gunboats, bearing aloft in war and in peace the emblems of our country's glory, are soon to perform their great circuit from the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and the Hudson, to the Lakes and the Mississippi. Above all, the valley of the Mississippi was ordained by God as the residence of a united people. Over every part of it this sun must forever float the banner of the Union, and all its waters as they roll on together to the Gulf, proclaim, that what "God has joined together, man shall never put asunder." No line of latitude or longitude shall ever separate the mouth from the centre or sources of the Mississippi. No, all the waters of the imperial river, from their mountain springs and crystal fountains, shall ever flow in commingling currents to the Gulf, uniting overmore, in one undivided whole, the blessed homes of a free and happy people. The Ohio and Missouri, the Red river, and the Arkansas, shall never be dissevered from the Mississippi, Pittsburg and Louisville, Cincinnati and St. Louis, shall never be separated from New Orleans, or mark the capitals of dissevered and discordant States. That glorious free trade between all the States, (the great cause of our marvelous progress,) shall in time, notwithstanding the present suicidal folly of England, go on in its circuit among accordant peoples throughout the globe, the precursor of that era of universal and unrestricted commerce whose sceptre is peace, the fusion and free fraternity of nations, as foretold by the holy prophets in the Scriptures of Truth.

This great valley, one mightly plain, without an intervening mountain, contains, west of the Mississippi, seven States and Territories of an area sufficient for thirteen more of the size of New York. East of the Mississippi, it embraces all the remaining States except New England, New Jersey, Delaware, South Carolina, and Florida. New York is connected with the great valley by the Allegheny river; and Maryland by the Castleman's river and the Youghiogeny, and Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia by the Tennessee and its tributaries. One-half the area of Pennsylvania and Virginia is within its limits. Michigan is united with it by the navigable rivers, and Texas by the Red river, whilst Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, Wisconsin, Illinois, Tennessee, and Mississippi, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Louisiana, and Arkansas own almost exclusively its waters.

And who will dare erect the feeble barriers designed to seclude the great valley and its products from either ocean, the lakes, or the gulf, or persuade her to hold these essential parts of her domain by the wretched tenure of the will of any seceding State? No line but one of blood, of military despotism, and perpetual war, can ever separate this great valley. The idea is sacrilege. It is the raving of a maniac. Separation is death. Disunion is suicide. If the South presents the issue that the Union or slavery must perish, the result is not doubtful. The Union will still live. It is written on the record of destiny, by the finger of God, that "neither principalities nor powers" shall effect its overthrow, nor shall "the gates of hell prevail against it."

Nor will we ever surrender the grave of Washington. There, upon the Potomac, on whose banks he was born and died, the flag of the Union must float over his sacred repulchre, until the dead shall be summoned from their graves by the trump of the resurrection.

The 4th of July, 1776, when our name was first inscribed upon the roll of nations, shall be forever commemorated under one flag, and as the birthday of one undivided Union. The memorable declaration of American Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States, all subscribed upon that consecrated ground at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where the bell which proclaimed the union of Pennsylvania as the keystone of the arch of a perpetual and unbroken Union.

Nor shall any but the same banner be unfolded over the graves of the patriots and statesmen of the Revolution, or the battle-fields of the mighty conflict.

And oh! around the graves of Washington and Jackson, and in memory of their solemn farewell appeals in favor of the Union, how could Virginia or Tennessee ever have been disloyal? No, they were not disloyal, but were torn, by rebel fraud and violence, from that banner, round which they will again rejoice to rally.

We must not despair of the Republic. All is not lost. The Union yet lives. Its restoration approaches. The calm will soon follow the storm. The golden sunlight and the silver edging of the azure clouds will be seen again in the horizon. The bow of promise will appear in the heavens, to mark the retiring of the bitter waters, proclaiming, from on high, that now, henceforth, and forever, no second Secession deluge shall ever disturb the peace, and unity, and perpetuity of our Republic.

Having stated the course of England on the slavery question and rebellion, gladly would I rest here; but, as a Northern man by parentage, birth, and education, always devoted to the Union, twice elected by Mississippi to the Senate of the United States as the ardent opponent of nullification and secession, and, *upon that very question*, having summoned in my first address, of January, 1838, the right of the Government by "*coercion*," if necessary, to suppress rebellion or secession by any State, truth and justice compel me to say, that to of the North, next to England, are responsible for the introduction of slavery into the South. Upon a much smaller scale than England, but, under her flag, which was then ours, and the force of colonial tradition, we followed the well-established example of England, and Northern vessels, sailing from Northern ports, and owned by Northern merchants, brought back to our shores from Africa their living cargoes.

These slaver, in small numbers, were brought from their tropical African homes to the colder North, where their labor was unprofitable, but to the South, and against their earnest protest, forced upon them. It was not the South that engaged in the African slave trade. It was not the South that brought slavery into America. No, it was forced upon the South against their protest, mainly by England, but partly, also, by the North. Believing, as I do, that this war was produced by slavery, I must still remember by whom the slaves were imported here. If, as I have ever believed, and distinctly averred over my own signature, in the Texas letter of the 5th January, 1844, (republished in the *Daily Globe* of 3d February, 1844,) when a Senator from Mississippi, that slavery, by wise, just, gradual, and constitutional means, should be extinguished, it should not be in blood, nor without consideration, nor by sudden action, accompanied as all such action would be, by scenes of ruin, death, and desolation.

Nor should we forget how zealously, from first to last, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, in framing the Federal Constitution, sustained by Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, and by New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, opposed the continuance, for a day, of the African slave trade, and how they were overborne by the unfortunate coalition of the Eastern States with Georgia and the Carolinas, legalizing the execrable traffic for twenty years, and how fearfully the predictions of those great prophet statesmen, George Mason, of Virginia, and Luther Martin, of Maryland, have been fulfilled, that this fatal measure, by the force of its moral influence in favor of slavery, and by the rapid population of species here, would menace the peace and safety of the Union.

As the North, next to England, was mainly responsible for forcing slavery upon the South, honor demands that the whole nation, as an act of justice, and as a measure that would greatly exalt the character of the country, should bear any loss that may arise from a change of system by any State. Indeed, under all the circumstances, the nation cannot afford to leave all the sacrifice, and all the glory of such an achievement, to the South only. It will be a grand historical fact in the progress of humanity, an moral sublime, in the annals of the nation. Especially, let it never be said that we of the North first aided in forcing slavery upon the South, and then, by one sudden act, extinguished it in blood and the total ruin of our country. Whilst the census and other statistics show that one-sixth of the free blacks of the North are supported at the public expense, (see tables of my Texas letter), and whilst the North is closing her doors more and more every day against the further introduction of negroes, if the slaves are to be manumitted, their number being four millions, it can only be gradually, by successive State action, aided by Congress, and colonization abroad, so as to remove this discordant element and ultimately leave our country, as free and happy homes, for the white race only.

It is in vain to deny the prejudice in the North against the negro race, constantly increasing as the numbers multiply, accompanied by the stern refusal of social or political equality with the negro, and the serious apprehension among their working classes of the degradation of labor by negro association, and the reduction of wages to a few cents a day by negro competition, all demonstrating, as a question of interest, as well as of humanity, that it is best for them, as for us, that the separation, though necessarily gradual, must be complete and eternal.

Whenever the vote of the people of any State of the North has been taken on this question, it has been uniformly for the exclusion of the free negro race. In the midst of the excitement of the slavery question in Kansas, when the Republicans acted alone upon the question of the adoption of their celebrated Topeka Constitution, they submitted the free negro question to a distinct vote of the people, who, by an overwhelming majority, voted for their exclusion. The recent similar overwhelming vote, to the same effect, of the people of Illinois, is another clear test of the present sentiment of the nation. That sentiment is this, that the negro, although to be regarded as a man, and treated with humanity, belongs, as they believe, to an inferior race, communion or association with whom is not desired by the whites. Those who regard the slavery question as the only, or the principal difficulty, are greatly mistaken. The negro question is far deeper. It is not slavery, as a mere political institution, that is sustained in the South, but the great question of the intermingling and equality of races. In this aspect, it is far more a question of race than of slavery. If, as among the Greeks and Romans, the white race were enslaved here, the institution would instantly disappear.

Among the many millions of the population of the South, less than a tenth are slaveholders. Why, then, is it, that the non slaveholding masses there support the institution? It is the instinct, the sentiment, the prejudice, if you please, of race, almost universal and unalterable. It is the fear that if the slaves of the South were emancipated, the non-slaveholding white would be sunk down to their level. But let the non-slaveholders of the South know that colonization abroad would certainly accompany gradual emancipation, and they would support the measure. They do not wish the Africans among them, but if that must be the case, then they desire them to remain as slaves, and not to be raised to their own condition, as freemen, to degrade labor, and reduce its wages, as they believe. Having made numerous oral addresses to the people of Mississippi on this question, and discussed the whole subject in this *very aspect*, as their Senator, in my published letter of the 5th of January, 1844, I speak advisedly of the sentiment of the people of that State, at that time, on this subject. Abolition alone touches, it is merely the surface of this question. It lies far deeper in the antagonism of race and the laws of nature. Abolition then, now, as ever heretofore, only aggravates the evil. The true remedy is separation and colonization abroad, of course, preceded by gradual emancipation. Under this banner, we can settle this question and save the Union; whereas, immediate and unconditional emancipation involves the destruction of the Union, and the ruin of the whole country. Disastrous as this would be to the white race, North and South, to the blacks it would be death by starvation or the sword, and never-ending war between the North and the South. Colonization, then, voluntary but effective, is the only remedy for the terrible evil of slavery, and the only basis of the peaceful and permanent restoration of the Union.

Should the slaves be thus gradually manumitted and colonized, with their consent, abroad, and the North be thereafter reproached with aiding to force slavery upon the South, we could then truly say that we had finally freely united with the South in expending our treasure to remove the evil. The silence of our forefathers would then be gloriously redeemed by the justice and generosity of their children, and made instrumental in carrying commerce, civilization, and Christianity to the benighted regions of Africa. Nor should the colonization be confined to Africa, but extended to "Mexico, Central, and Southern America," as proposed in my Texas letter, and to the West Indies, or such other homes as might be preferred by the negro race.

I am quite sure there is no Abolitionist who has a more sincere regard for the real welfare of this dependent race than myself, or who would make greater sacrifices to promote their interests. In 1838 I emancipated, by deed of gift, all my own slaves, and aided in the support of several of them, to the extent of my limited means, in their new homes. From my youth upwards, at all times, and under all circumstances, whether residing North or South, whether in public or in private life, I have ever supported gradual emancipation, accompanied by colonization, as the only remedy for the evil of slavery. In my letter, published at its date, over my signature, of the 8th of January, 1844, before referred to, being then a senator from Mississippi, I expressed the following opinions on this great question:

"Again the question is asked, is slavery never to disappear from the Union? This is a startling and momentous question, but the answer is easy and the proof is clear—*it will certainly disappear if Texas is reannexed to the Union*, not by abolition, but in spite of all its frenzy, slowly and gradually, by diffusion, as it has thus nearly receded from several of the more northern of the slaveholding States, and as it will recede more rapidly to recede by the re-annexation of Texas, into *Mexico and Central and Southern America*. Providence * * * * thus will open Texas as a safety-valve, into and through which slavery will slowly and gradually recede, and finally disappear into the boundless regions of Mexico, and Central and Southern America. Beyond the Del Norte *slavery will not pass*; not only because it is forbidden by law, but because the colored races there preponderate in the ratio of ten to one over the whites, and holding as they do the Government and most of the offices in their own possession, they will never permit the enslavement of any portion of the colored race which makes and executes the laws of the country. In Bradford's Atlas the facts are given as follows:

"Mexico, area 1,690,000 square miles; population eight millions, one-sixth white, and all the rest Indians, Africans, Mulattoes, Zambos, and other colored races. Central America, area 185,000 square miles; population nearly two millions, one-sixth white, and the rest Negroes, Zambos, and other colored races. South America, area 6,500,000 square miles; population fourteen millions, one million white, four millions Indians, and the remainder, being nine millions, blacks and other colored races. The outlet for our negro race through this vast region can never be opened but by the re-annexation of Texas; but, in that event, there is a certainty that slavery, bordering on our negro population, and four times greater in area than the whole Union, with a sparse population of but three to the square mile, where nine-tenths of the people are of the colored races, there must that fertile soil, and in that delicious climate, so admirably adapted to the negro race, as all experience has now clearly shown, the free black would find a home. There also, as the slaves, in the lapse of time, from the density of population, and other causes, are *emancipated*, they will disappear from time to time west of the Del Norte, and beyond the limits of the Union, and among a race of their own color will be diffused through this vast region, where they will not be a *degraded caste*, and where as to climate, and social and moral condition, and all the hopes and aspirations of life, they will be under more equals, a position they can never attain in any part of this Union."

This, it is true, was a slow process, but it was peaceful, progressive, and certain. Especially when Texas should have been checkered by railroads, and her system connected with that of the South, and with Mexico. I desired, then, however, to accelerate this action, by making it the duty of the commander of Texas with the Federal Government, that the proceeds of the sales of her public lands, exceeding two hundred millions of acres, should be devoted in aid of the colonization described in that extract. The principle, however, was adopted of State action by irrevocable *compact* with the Federal Government, by which, provision therein was made for abolishing slavery in all such States north of a certain parallel of latitude, (embracing a territory larger than New England,) as might be thereafter admitted by subdivision of the State of Texas. The power of action on this subject, by compact of a State with the General Government, was then clearly established, in perfect accordance with repeated previous acts of Congress then cited by me. The doctrine rests upon the elemental principle of the national authority of the nation, and a State, acting by compact within its limits, and will be fully discussed by me before the close of these letters.

It is stated in this letter of January 8th, 1844, that "beyond the Del Norte slavery will not pass," and this prediction is fully realized.

Whilst I would not confine negro colonization to "Mexico, Central and Southern America," yet the facilities and economy of the process there would be very great, and no objection would be interposed by the people of any of those countries. The statements of my letter are true, that there, the "free blacks and emancipated slaves" would find a home" *without being exposed to the negro race*," among a people "*of their own color*," and "where they will not be a *degraded caste*," and "where they can occupy, *amid equals*, a position they can never attain in any part of this country." Even where emigration to some of the Northern States is not yet prohibited, nor exclusion from the right of suffrage ordained, yet the social ban is complete, not only as to marriage, but they are kept, as a class, in inferior offices in the North, and even upon juries, nor in the militia, nor do they mingle with the whites in society, nor in the churches, schools, or colleges. Surely, then, it is not for their benefit that it is desired to retain them here, where, as the tables show, one-sixth of their number, in the North, are supported at the public expense.

It being clearly our interest and duty to adopt this system of gradual emancipation by State authority, with colonization abroad, aided by Congress, and the expense being comparatively small, less than a few months' cost of the war, it is a signal mark of that special Providence, which has so often guided our legislators, when from imminent peril, that the President of the United States should have recommended, and Congress should have adopted, by so large a majority, this *very system*, which alone can finally, justly and wisely effect the object, relieving cordially reunite the North with the South, remove the cause of the war, and save the country.

In a former letter, published over my signature, of the 30th September, 1856, called, like this, "AN APPEAL FOR THE UNION," I said: "*I have never believed in a peaceable dissolution of the Union.* * * *No, it will be war*, CIVIL WAR, *of all others the most sanguinary and ferocious. It will be marked by the burning of frowning fortresses, by opposing batteries, by gleaming sabres, by bristling bayonets, by the tramp of contending armies, by towns and cities sacked and pillaged, by dwellings given to the flames, and fields laid waste and desolate. It will be a second fall of mankind, and while we shall be performing here the bloody drama of suicide, from every nation throughout EUROPE will arise the exulting shouts of despots, and upon their gloomy banners shall be inscribed, as they believe never to be effaced, their motto,* MAN IS INCAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT." Allusion to the prospect of the present discussion, I then, also, said: "*I see, too, what, in this probable crisis of my country's destiny, it is my duty again to repeat from my Texas letter.* * * "This, then, is the crisis *threatening and disconcerting from our borders, passing, in part, out of our limits to Mexico, and Central and Southern America, and in part returning to the shores of their ancestors, there, it is hoped, to carry Christianity, civilization, and Freedom, throughout the benighted regions of the sons of Ham.*" My views, then, of 1844, were thus distinctly referred to in 1856, in favor of the gradual extinction of slavery, accompanied by colonization.

I shall continue, in subsequent numbers, the discussion of this great question, involving the destiny of our country, and of mankind, demonstrating, by reference to other statistics, the fatal effects of slavery upon our whole country, and especially the *Border States of the South*, arresting their progress in wealth, population, power, and intellectual development, and showing, as a position they can never attain in any part of this Union."

This, it is true, was a slow process, but it was peaceful, progressive, and certain. Especially when Texas should have been checkered by railroads, and her system connected with that of the South, and with Mexico. I desired, then, however, to accelerate this action, by making it the duty of the commander of Texas with the Federal Government, that the proceeds of the sales of her public lands, exceeding two hundred millions of acres, should be devoted in aid of the colonization described in that extract. The principle, however, was adopted of State action by irrevocable *compact* with the Federal Government, by which, provision therein was made for abolishing slavery in all such States north of a certain parallel of latitude, (embracing a territory larger than New England,) as might be thereafter admitted by subdivision of the State of Texas. The power of action on this subject, by compact of a State with the General Government, was then clearly established, in perfect accordance with repeated previous acts of Congress then cited by me. The doctrine rests upon the elemental principle of the national authority of the nation, and a State, acting by compact within its limits, and will be fully discussed by me before the close of these letters.

It is stated in this letter of January 8th, 1844, that "beyond the Del Norte slavery will not pass," and this prediction is fully realized.

Whilst I would not confine negro colonization to "Mexico, Central and Southern America," yet the facilities and economy of the process there would be very great, and no objection would be interposed by the people of any of those countries. The statements of my letter are true, that there, the "free blacks and emancipated slaves" would find a home" *without being exposed to the negro race*," among a people "*of their own color*," and "where they will not be a *degraded caste*," and "where they can occupy, *amid equals*, a position they can never attain in any part of this country." Even where emigration to some of the Northern States is not yet prohibited, nor exclusion from the right of suffrage ordained, yet the social ban is complete, not only as to marriage, but they are kept, as a class, in inferior offices in the North, even upon juries, nor in the militia, nor do they mingle with the whites in society, nor in the churches, schools, or colleges. Surely, then, it is not for their benefit that it is desired to retain them here, where, as the tables show, one-sixth of their number, in the North, are supported at the public expense.

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LEGAL.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, That a Certificate, No. 811, for two shares of the capital stock in the Bank of Germantown, in the name of Mary Sexton, has been lost or mislaid, and that an application has been made for a new certificate in lieu of the one so lost or mislaid.

THOMAS TIERNAY, Administrator of Mary Sexton, dec'd.
jo14-s6t*

IN THE ORPHANS' COURT FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Estate of EDWARD BANCROFT, deceased.

The Auditor appointed by the Court to audit, settle, and adjust the second account of JOSEPH BANCROFT, acting executor and trustee of EDWARD BANCROFT, deceased, and to make distribution of the balance in the hands of the accountant, will meet the parties interested for the purposes of his appointment on SATURDAY MORNING, July 19th, at 11 o'clock, at No. 258 South FIFTH Street, in the city of Philadelphia. jy9-wfm3t

MARSHAL'S SALE.—By virtue of a Writ of Sale, by the Hon. JOHN CADWALADER, Judge of the District Court of the United States, in and for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, in admiralty, to me directed, will be sold at public sale, to the highest and best bidder, for cash, at SAMUEL C. COOK'S Auction Store, 124 South FRONT Street, on MONDAY, July 21st, at 12 o'clock M., the cargo of the schooner SUSAN JANE, consisting of nails and spikes, salt, candles, soap, axes, steels, glue, sole leather, crushed sugar, coffee, sulphur, boots, shoes, hats, copper kettles, blankets, carpeting, wrappers, sheets, cloth, satinets, rugs, sheeting, coats, gold cord, vulcanized coats, ladies' dress goods, gold braid, hemp carpeting, jewelry, stationery, ink, mucilage, soda ash, &c. The goods can be examined on the morning of sale.

WILLIAM MILLWARD, U. S. Marshal E. D. of Pennsylvania.
PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1862. jy12-8t

MARSHAL'S SALE.—By virtue of a Writ of Sale, by the Hon. JOHN CADWALADER, Judge of the District Court of the United States, in and for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, in admiralty, to me directed, will be sold at public sale, to the highest and best bidder, for cash, at CALLOWHILL-STREET WHARF, on THURSDAY, July 22, 1862, at 12 o'clock M., the schooner LA GIOULIA, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, as she now lies at said wharf; also, the cargo laden on board, consisting of candles, soap, and provisions. The goods can be examined on the morning of sale.

WILLIAM MILLWARD, U. S. Marshal Eastern District of Penna.
PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1862. jy12-6t

GROCERIES AND PROVISIONS.

TO FAMILIES RESIDING IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

We are prepared, as heretofore, to supply Families at their country residences with every description of

FINE GROCERIES, TEAS, &c., &c.

ALBERT C. ROBERTS,
je21-tf CORNER BEVENTH AND VINE STS.

VERY CHOICE OOLONG TEA at 75 cents per pound.

JAMES HOMER & SON, SEVENTH and NOBLE, and SIXTH and WOOD.
jy2

FINE OLD JAMAICA COFFEE—Fresh roasted every day.

JAMES HOMER & SON, SEVENTH and NOBLE, and SIXTH and WOOD.
jy2

NEW MACKEREL.
150 Bbls New Large No. 3 Mackerel.
100 Half Bbls " " "
In store and and for sale by

MURPHY & KOONS, No. 146 North WHARVES.
jo14-tf

MACKEREL, HERRING, SHAD, &c., &c.
2,500 Bbls Mass Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Mackerel, late-caught fat fish, in assorted packages.
2,000 Bbls New Herring, Eastport, Fortune Bay, and Halifax Herring.
2,500 Boxes Lubec, Scaled, and No. 1 Herring.
150 Bbls New Mess Shad.
250 Boxes Herkimer County Cheese, &c.
In store and for sale by

MURPHY & KOONS, No. 146 North WHARVES.
jo14-tf

RHODES & WILLIAMS, No. 107 South WATER Street, offer for sale the following:
75 cases assorted Jellies.
100 cases American Pickles, pints and quarts.
50 cases American Pickles, gallons and half gallons.
50 cases French Brandied Cherries.
75 cases French Brandied Peaches.
40 cases Lewis & Bros.' Condensed Milk.
50 cases Bordeaux Olive Oil, in black bottles.
20 cases Virgin Oil of Aix.
50 cases Bacalapui Oil, pints and quarts.
Also, a well-assorted stock Crosse & Blackwell's Celebrated English Pickles. je18

CARTER'S CELEBRATED NEW JERSEY SUGAR CURED HAMS, just received.

JAMES HOMER & SON, Seventh and Noble and Sixth and Wood sts.
je20

SARDINES.—A very superior brand for sale by CHARLES S. OARSTAIR