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Smethport, Pa.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Back of the error that slavery is the cause of the rebellion and that its removal is necessary to a cure, lies the grave and terrible mistake which has been made by those who have supposed the slave to be the grand object of sympathy and of benevolent consideration, and who have regarded slavery as the subject of most political importance, when in reality the negro, the colored race, is the true subject of national and charitable effort. It was long ago plain that it was not half so important to consider how to remove slavery as how to remove the negro. The great problem toward which men should have directed their labors and investigations, was how to treat a race that is among us and not of us, that mixes with our populaiion, but cannot mingle with our blood. This subject involves to some extent the general subject of slavery, but only as the greater includes the less. For years the earnest, active mind of the nation, not the fitful and passionate mind of radical reforms, but the intellectual force which formed and which has directed the course of the government, in its great work of benefit to mankind, has regarded this question as connected with the nation, and has attempted to keep the national counsels directed toward it, instead of toward the inferior question of the position of a portion of the race while among us. It is conceded everywhere that the race is inferior; whether by reason of its long experience in barbarism, and its transfer to a position of subjection in a civilized land, or whether by nature, it does not concern us at present to inquire. The race is now of of a lower order, and the exceptional cases which are from time to time brought forward only serve to show more distinctly the sad truth in relation to the whole negro family.—Being inferior they demand our sympathy and our aid. They cannot be made citizens, of equal rights with the whites, unless we overthrow the order of nature and at once adopt amalgamation. This may possibly be disputed but there is no dividing line. For example, if the law should declare the negro entitled to equal rights, he may not only demand admission to the same hotel (for the law compels the hotel to receive the decent guest,) but if it be crowded, and in a place where it is the custom to put two or more in a room, he may demand admission to the same room with the white citizen, to the same table, to the same steamboat state room, the same sleeping car, in short he may by law demand everything that a white man may demand. If he may rightfully demand all this, it would be absurd and impossible to deny his social equality, even to the extent of intermarriage. We do not dwell on the argument, which must be plain. The instant a distinction is drawn between the races, as to marriage, tables, hotels, railway cars or elsewhere, that instant a superiority and inferiority of races is declared. No man can consistently advocate the equality of the negro and the white man in political rights, without advocating social equality also. Whether a decent negro is not a better companion than a dirty white man has nothing to do with the question. We are not discussing matters of taste. Personal preferences have nothing to do with general principles. We have ourselves no prejudices on the subject whatever, and that our motives may not be misrepresented, it is proper to say that there are colored men to whom we are personally attached with very great affection, and who are better fitted to be companions and friends, than a vast number of nominally respectable white persons. But these very persons are most firmly convinced of the dependent character of their people, and most anxious for the opportunity of trying, on a national scale, the question whether the inferiority is natural or the result of circumstance.

The problem, then, is what to do with an inferior race, thrown among us by the will of God, and given by Him to our care. "Make them all free to begin with," says the philanthropic anti-slavery man. But what is freedom? Is the poor starving negro in new York, or in Canada, really much more free than a slave in Virginia? Take a case. We know a colored man with a family, who was an honest intelligent man, with good wages in a mechanical employment a year or so ago, who was thrown out of work, has been most of the year dependent on charity for his family, and is now laboring eighteen hours a day, in a low hole where no white man would do the work for twice the pay, and is earning a miserable pittance, wholly insufficient to keep life in his children. He is a broken down man, anxious to work, but compelled to lead a life of want. He would not exchange his present life for slavery, perhaps, but would a well cared-for slave exchange with him? Would any one advise the slave to make the exchange to-day? The result of the comparison is simply this, that to remove all the slaves from the present restraint of masters, must be considered instead of a mere change to freedom, as a change accompanied with a removal of the master's obligation to take care of the servant and his family.—While, therefore, the servant is thrown on the world, free to choose his course, he is thrown into the novel position of being compelled to work at anything that turns up for a living, and is not certain of obtaining the work that will earn the living. From a state of forced work and certain wages, he is suddenly transferred to a state of uncertain work, uncertain wages, and his life has in it *a possibility of starvation, which it never had before*, in sickness or weakness, or any other contingency.

We do not state this as an argument in favor of the perpetuation of slavery, but solely as a reason against its abolition, unless accompanied by a provision for the protection of the poor inexperienced race suddenly confronted with the possibility of perishing from want.—Before abolishing slavery, means must be taken to provide for the colored race. With every plan of emancipation should be connected a plan of taking care of the negro. To propose emancication without providing colonization, is to destroy the negro race, and to injure the race at the same time. From all this it is plain enough that the disposition of the negro race is the main question preceding and controlling the question of slavery.

In former years, the best men of the South were agreed with those of the North on this subject. When the agitation of the minor question made the discussion of the whole subject unprofitable, they fell back to the true ground of reasonable men, that abolitionism was a dangerous principle, dangerous to the white race as to the black, and the grand question of all, the fate of the colored race, was suffered to drop, in the presence of the fierce discussion of abolition.

We are now on the verge of a period when the minds of the North and the South must be harmonized in some way, if the country is to be one. On the subject of the negro race, if the discussion of abolitionism continues, the hatred of North and South will be eternal.—The abolitionists can never make unity out of discord by any of their mad schemes. Their success would be public and private ruin, to black and white. Proclamations of freedom casting millions of free negroes on the charities of the country, would perpetuate this negro question and make it more impossible of solution than ever. The Northern mind must therefore abandon abolitionism, and, as the future of the nation calls for some disposition of the colored race, the Northern portion of the country owe it, to themselves, to the world, to the negro who is oppressed and ground down in New York as much as in Charleston, to provide a refuge for the free negro, in some acceptable country.

The real question before the nation to-day is not how to remove slavery as the supposed cause of the war, but how to reconcile Massachusetts and South Carolina, one a free and the other a slave State. This is the grand problem of the day. Will Massachusetts live in the Union with a slave State? Will South Carolina live in the Union with a State which refuses to return fugitive slaves, and whose citizens preach that slavery is the sum of all villanies? Will either State accept the negro as a social equal? How shall the opposing elements be reconciled, and the oil and water mingled? It is easy to say, Let South Carolina give up her slaves and the cause of disagreement is removed. It is just as easy to say let Massachusetts restore slavery to her soil and the two States can agree. Neither will do it, and one is just as difficult of accomplishment as the other. This may be doubted, but the remark is true. South Carolina can no more get rid of slavery at once, than Massachusetts can restore slavery at once. Either, then, the negro question must be dropped entirely, which cannot perhaps be expected after the events of the past year, or Northern and Southern minds unite on a reasonable and conservative view of it, which will remove it wholly from the arena of party politics.—Within the past few weeks the North has with singular unanimity assented to the President's plan of Emancipation by compensation, with colonization. This ancient plan of the Colonization Society, may yet become the intermediate ground on which men will meet and agree to dispose of the negro question.

In this connection we notice with interest the speech of Mr. Blair of Missouri, in the House, April 11th, and we regard it as more important because we have reason to suppose that it gave expression in some degree to the views of the President. Without designing to affirm the truth of all Mr. Blair's statements, we invite a careful perusal of this extract from his speech, as representing the policy of Mr. Lincoln, and also as indicating the superior importance of the *negro question*, to the *slavery question*:—

"To superficial observers who believe that the rebellion grew out of slavery, and is, as they term it, a slaveholder's rebellion, and when it is known to be true that the non-slaveholding regions of the South are for the Union, it is natural that it should occur to them that the proper course to carry all the non-slaveholders against the rebellion would be to decree emancipaiion. But a closer scrutiny demonstrates the contrary to be true; such a scrutiny demonstaates that the rebellion originated chiefly with the non-slaveholders resident in the strong-holds of the institution, not springing however, from any love of slavery but from an antagonism of race and hostility to the idea of equality with the blacks involved in simple emancipation. This idea among non-slaveholders was naturally of greater intensity in proportion to the number of slaves about them and its force in extinguishing Union feeling diminished as we approached the high and mountain regions where the slaves are few.

"*Every man acquaintad with the fact knows that it is fallacious to call this a 'slaveholders' rebellion.*' If such was the fact, two divisions of our army could have suppressed it without difficulty, the negroes themselves could easily put down the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders; but *it is a matter of history that the slaveholders, as a body, were the last and most reluctant to join the rebellion.* The representative men of that interest, like Badger of North Carolina, Aiken of South Carolina, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, struggled as long as there was hope against the rebellion, and for the obvious reason that the entire interests of the slaveholdder were put in extreme jeopardy. *It was the negro question, and not the slavery question, which made the rebellion*,—questions entirely different, and requiring entirely different treatment, and it is as necessary to understand the distinction to enable us to deal with it successfully, as it is that the physician should know the disease which he is called on to treat and to cure. If the rebellion was made by two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, for the sake of perpetuating slavery, then it might be a complete remedy to extirpate the institution; but if the rebellion has grown out of the abhorrence of the non-slaveholders for emancipation and amalgamation, and their dread of 'negro equality,' how will their discontent be cured by the very measure the mere apprehension of which has driven them into rebellion?

"No wise man desires to increase the number of enemies to the State within the hostile regions, or divide its friends outside. Mr. Lincoln knew that a decree of emancipation simply would certainly have this effect. Such an act he knew was calculated to make rebels of the whole of the non-slaveholders of the South, and at the same time to weaken the sympathy of a large number of the working men of the North, who are not ready to see their brethren in the South put on an equality with manumitted negroes.

"In accordance with this view of the subject, proclaimed before he was named for the Presidency, he has acted since he has been President. To disarm the jealousy of race, which he knew lay at the bottom of the rebellion, he recommended in his first annual message that homes should be provided in some neighboring county for such of the blacks as should be made free by the events of the contest. While we art that the chief cause of the rebellion was the antagonism of race, stimulated by the disappointed and defeated politicians who had made it the source of their power over the Government, he also saw that the progress of events had affected and would still further affect the class who had property interests in the subject. And while it was true that that class had not originated the policy which culminated in the rebellion, they were now involved in it, many of them actually engaged, and all, whether sympathizing with it or not, having their property staked on it, and therefore in danger of being drawn into it. To do justice to those not engaged in the rebellion, and to prevent them from being drawn into it by their property interest, and invite their co-operation in ridding the pountry of this disturbing elemen, he now proposes a measure of compensation for their interests."—*Journal of Commerce.*

REBELS.

"Those who, in times like the present, talk of the right of habeas corpus, sympathize with the rebls."

Sad indeed is the condition of the contry, that such an utterance could be heard in the Senate of the United States It emanated, of course, from a member of that *radical* faction, whose object seems to be the systematic undermining and destroying of the Constitution. And yet, Ben Wade, who, with the above words, attempted to intimidate the patriotic senator from California, McDougall, is not even one of the worst of his kind.

In order to be able to fully appreciate the audacity of those who try to establish an actual terrorism against such members of Congress as still cling faithful to the Constitution, it must be recollected that McDougall was one of the first prominent Democratic leaders who came to the aid of the new Republican Administration, during the time of its greatest distress and embarrassment, and, forgetful of party limits gave it the most unconditional support. Not even a shadow of a suspicion of "disloyalty." can rest upon him; and that such an insinuation could be hurled against such a man, demonstrates the degree of impudence which has been reached by the *Abolition junta* in Congress.

True, when McDougall and others put themselves at the disposition of their former political enemies, they cherished a hope that the latter likewise would act as patriots, and, dropping party perjulices and fanaticism, keep in view only the one great aim—the restoration of the *old Union*. In this they have been disappointed. They are now wanted to believe in the *new Union*—the Sumner-Trumbull-Lovejoy Union, wherein the old Constition, with all the rights it guarantees to individual States and citizens, has been abolished, and replaced by the arbitrariness of a despotic military rule:

Whosoever does not subscribe to this new programme, which would pervert the war for the Union into a reckless party-struggle, is being denounced, calumniated and terrorized—attacked with the most galling insults and persecuted by the most infamous intrigues. This has been the lot of the patriotic Senators and Representatives of the Border States, the lot of the Commander-in-Chief of the army; and with such means it has been tried even to force the President over to the *radical* side.

It is time that the people should understand what is going on in Washington, and what efforts are made to deprive them of the fruits of their enormous sacrifices. The people have quietly submitted to everything, even to a temporary and partial abridgment of their liberties; but they have not done this for the purpose that their delegates in Congress should proclaim the whole Constitution void, and stamp as treason the respect for the supreme laws of the country.

It would appear that the demagogues in Washington have quite misunderstood the *leniency* of the people in judging about certain extraordinary actions of the Government. While making allowance for the existing difficulties, and being inclined to *exceptionally excuse* the assumption of certain doubtful functions on account of the embarrassed condition of the Government, they never thought of *absolving* any of their functionaries or representatives from a due regard to the fundamental law of the land. The people demand, now as ever, that the work of the fathers, which they still hold sacred, shall be treated with reverence, and have authorized none of their *servants* and *agents* to trample upon it.

If the legitimate Government, either through actual necessity and embarrassment, or, as has happened no less frequently, through merely imaginary dangers, through awkwardness and want of judgment, has been driven to transgress in certain cases its strictly constitutional limits, it does not follow that *he* is no longer a traitor and an enemy to his country who systematically and deliberately strives to remove the Constitution and to open the gates to an irresponsible tyranical away.

What is the meaning of the insulting sentence with which it was intended to deter a loyal Senator from the defense of consititutional rights, if not the same theory also avowed by Fremont, that "*there is no more a legitimate government*"—nothing but a sort of oligarchical dictatorship, that may dispose as it pleases of the liberties, the rights, the blood and the property of the people? If you do not submit, if you dare to raise your voice in favor of Right and Law and the old Union, you are accused of sympathy with its armed enemies, and, if possible, reduced to silence by force.

The term "*rebels*" begins to be rather indefinite. There are *two* kinds of rebels we have to deal with: those who, bearing arms, openly refuse the recognition of the old Union and those who have chosen the safer and more cowardly way of perfidiously destroying it with plots and intrigues and insidious attacks. The *one* we meet on the battle-field; but what would be the result of all the bloody strife, if in the meantime the *other* should succeed in depriving us of the prize for which we are fighting? The dangers threatening from the *one* are known; but if the people do not soon realize the more concealed dangers arising from the *other*, and do not in time put an end to the work of these traitors in the mask of unionism, the Republic is hopelessly doomed.—*Staats-Zeitung.* (German.)

Mr. Weed's Letters from Europe.

Paris, April, 1862.

The bright sun and spring-like weather render Paris very beautiful. The Champs Elysees and wood of Boulogne attract crowds of every rank and class, from the Emperor to the peasant. I should fail in any attempt to describe the beauties of the wood of Boulogne, a forest four or miles in circumference, laid out and adorned at great expense and exquisite taste.

The First Napoleon's tastes were more mental. He adorned Paris with trophies of victory such as the Column of Vendome, the Arch of Triumph, the Obelisk of Luxor, &c. Napoleon III. is more practical, seeking to improve as well as adorn Paris. His reign will be distinguished by Reforms and Progress. France, under his auspices, has been rising and improving in its Agriculturrl, Manufacturing and Commercial pursuits and resources; while Paris is becoming the most beautiful city in the world. The opening and improvement of streets is progressing upon a scale of magnitude peefectly bewildering. For example the Boulevard Sebastopol, cut through the heart of the city, extends from the Port St Denis to Ru Rivoli, and is already built up with palatial grandeur. This broad avenue is connected with the Boulevard Strasbourg, equally magnificent, ending at the Strasbourg Railway station. On the Boulevard Italian, a new Hotel covering more than an acre and a half, and casting the Hotel Louvre into the shade, has risen almost as by magic. Perhaps the best idea may be given of this Hotel by saying that it is larger than the "Astor," the "St. Nicholas" and the "Metropolitan," together would be! Adjoining this Hotel, three acres of buildings have been demolished, preparatory to the erection of an Opera House.

Around the Hotel de Ville, more than two acres of buildings are being demolished, the ground on which they stood to be thrown into a Park. This will include the site of the "Morgue," a place of so many unwritten histories of misery and death. I looked into this receptacle of the unknown Dead yesterday. The bodies of two wretched beings who had "shuffled off this mortal coil" lay there, waiting to be identified and claimed by some of the hundreds who were constantly looking into the Dead House.

Nearly opposite the "Morgue," on the other side of the Seine, and facing it, stands the house long occupied by Voltaire, and near it, that in the fifth story of which the First Bonaparte resided when he was a Captain of Artillery, in 1785. The present Emperor has placed a tablet in the wall recording this incident in the life of his Uncle.

We went this morning to pay a tribute of affection and gratitude, to the tomb of La Fayette, who reposes in the cemetery of the "Sacred Heart of Mary." This cemetery is but a short distance from the site of one of the guillotines, in the days of blood; and the spot consecrated by the remains of the good La Fayette contains the headless bodies of thirteen hundred and sixty victims of the Revolution, that were thrown into a pit dug for the occasion.—It is now the abode of penitence, piety and peace. Some of the Nuns were at their devotions in the chapel, and others were walking through the beautiful Gardens. T. W.

THE CONSTITUTION REPEALED.

The following excellent article is taken from the New York *Observer*, a religious journal of large circulation, and great influence. It inculcates sound constitutional doctrines:

In the Senate of the United States, last week, when the arrest and imprisonment of General Stone were under discussion, Senator Wade's reply to the argument that Gen. Stone's rights, under the Constitution, the common law and the military law of the country, had been violated, was, that the Government, in this great exigency, is bound to protect itself, and that the Constitution is virtually repealed until the Government has become able to restore its authority in the rebellious States.

We find this in the report of the debates in Congress—it has been before the public for a week or more without contradiction—we copy it to fasten the eyes of the nation upon it, as the highest avowal yet made of a doctrine that is working a radical change in the theory of our Government, and rapidly transforming it into a despotism of the worst possible type and form. If this doctrine, so distinctly set forth by Senator Wade, and which has been with equal boldness avowed by Senator Sumner and other distinguished abolition leaders, becomes the policy and creed of the country, our Government, like "the baseless fabric of a dream" is gone, and only a miserable wreck is left behind.

Before this theory of Senator Wade is submitted to, we would do well to try the question before the Supreme Court, and if that judicatory affirms it as the law of the land, it will be our privilege to choose between submission to it, and voluntary exile to Siberia or Japan. We frankly confess that we would prefer the despotism of a pagan prince to that of a mob. If Mr. Wade's doctrine is sound, we have no Government but the will of the man who wields the army and navy, regardless of the Constitution which he is set and sworn to uphold by those powers.

Mr. Thomas, of Massachusetts, has ably and nobly risen up, in the spirit and with much of the power of Webster, to throttle this heresy. He has maintained the supremecy of the Constitution and the subordination of the governing power to that sovereign and sacred instrument; and with equal eloquence and truth he significantly points to the authors of this new revolutionary doctrine and declares: "In seeking to change the Constitution by force of arms we become the rebels we are striving to subdue."

The Constitution was not made for fair weather only. It is good for time of peace and better still for time of war. There is little need of law when men are willing to obey; but when war breaks the peace and security of society, when the passions of men are lashed into rage, and the nation is suddenly plunged into the vortex of civil strife, then the rights of communities and individuals are in danger, and the only protection which the loyal citizens enjoys, is in the Constitution of his country. It is a grand mistake, which even good men sometimes make, that the arparent *necessity* of the hour justifies a ruler in the usurpation of illegal power. This fallacy is the universal apology which tyrants plead. By this abuse of power the liberties of nations have been blotted out, and the lives of thousands sacrificed.

What we want now in Congress, is a spirit of devotion to the laws and principles of the government; a spirit of patriotism rising far above the behests of party prejudice, and ignoring utterly all schemes of President making or unmaking, while the energies of mind and the material resources of the country are summoned to the single purpose of restoring the Union to the basis of the Constitution.

If Senator Wade's theory becomes the theory of the war, there will be no more constitutional liberty in the Republic at the West.

A Sad Case.—On Wednesday last, as Lieut. Nan Arman, of the Fifty-eight Illinois, was passing near the Post office, he was accosted by a youthful woman, who said that, seeing the figures "58" on his hat, she hoped he might be able to tell how she could get a letter to an officer in that regiment. He said he would be happy to oblige her if he could. She said she had written several letters and received no answer. "What is the name?" inquired Lieut Van Arman. "Lieut. Fife," answered the lady. "I am sorry to say that Lieut. Fife is dead; he was killed at Pittsburg," said Van Arman. The effect was terrible. Almost instantly the lady sank to the ground, fainting, when restored her grief was most distressing. Lieut. Fife was her husband. But unfortunately the sad budget of news was not all told. It appears that her father was Captain Kurth, of Co. F. Fifty-eighth Regiment, and her uncle was First Lieutenant Kurth, and her husband Second Lieutenant of the same Regiment. Her father is now a prisoner, with the most of his regiment in the hands of the rebels, and her uncle was wounded severely in the engagement. It is rarely that such a concentration of misfortune falls upon a single family.—*Chicago Journal.*

Soldiers in Disgrace.—Gen. Halleck has sent the 59d, 43d, 54th and 77th Ohio regimen ts, who ran away in a panic from the field at Pittsburg Landing, in disgrace, to garrison Fort Donelson.

The Sorrows of War.—Three and a half closely printed columns of the Missoura *Republican*, of last Monday, are filled with the names of sick and wounded soldiers, recently arrived at that city and at Cincinnati Louisville and Cairo, mostly from the battle-field of Pittsburg.

Dr. Reilly, who was wounded at Pittsburg by a Minie ball, says the sensation was similar to that of a smart blow. There is nothing of a piercing, cutting or tearing pain, the swift missiles taking the nerves entirely by surprise, and deadening the adjacent parts before sensation can begin.

"Shiloh Field."—The late battle at Pittsburg Landing, or the hardest part of it, was fought upon a large field on which a house of worship called "Shiloh Church" stands. The ground in that vicinity is known as "The Field of Shiloh" by the inhabitants. Hence the historic name give this battle.