

# Advocate.

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given by President Lincoln, yielded him their ready and efficient support. What were some of those pledges? First in his oath of office: "I will support the Constitution of the United States, so help me God." Then in his Inaugural Address, and with this solemn adjuration fresh from his lips, he said:

I do but quote from one of my speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I BELIEVE I HAVE NO LAWFUL RIGHT TO DO SO AND I HAVE NO INCLINATION TO DO SO." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowl-

to amend the Crittenden proposition by striking out all the material provisions—certainly all that contained the olive branch of peace, and inserting a single resolution breathing war and threats toward the South. This amendment was carried by a vote of 25 in favor, all Republicans, against 23 Democratic votes. But, says the address of the Republican Committee—"six Southern Senators refused to vote at all on the proposed amendment;" and then, with a degree of cool assurance remarkable even in these times, it goes on to tell the people of Pennsylvania "that had these six Southern members voted against the Clarke amendment, it would have been defeated, and the Crittenden Compromise might have been taken up and carried by the same majority." General Cameron, who puts forth this address, cannot be very proud of his own share in this record, or he would not have out of view the fact that he himself voted for this very Clark amendment, and the same day moved a reconsideration; and then, when this question was called up only three days afterwards, he voted against his own motion to reconsider. It was carried however with the aid of at least two (Johnson and Slidell) of the "six" named, and the Compromise was again *in statu quo* before the Senate. It was finally taken up on the 3d of March, and defeated—many of the Southern Senators having withdrawn from the Senate in the interim, their States having seceded from the Union.

Now, General Cameron, who issued the address, knows just as well as did Senator Cameron, who sustained the Clark amendment, that it required a two-thirds vote to give vitality to the Crittenden Compromise. He knows too, that every Republican vote, including his own, in the Senate, was given against the measure, in effect from first to last. He knows further that the Republican Senators refused Senator Bigler's proposal to submit this question to a vote of the people as instructive of Congress. He knows also that Mr. Clemens, of Virginia, on the 17th of February, before that State adopted secession, endeavored in the House of Representatives at Washington, to obtain a similar arrangement in that body to test the question of compromise before the people, and it was voted down by 112 Republicans against 89 Democrats—every Republican in the House voting in the negative. They would not—they did not *dare* to trust the people, the legitimate source of power, on this question!

At the hazard of furnishing unnecessary proof on this point, we beg attention to the clear and explicit evidence of Senator Pugh a cotemporary of the author of the Address, in the Senate of the United States. In the course of his speech in the Senate, in March, 1861, he says:

The Crittenden proposition has been endorsed by the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky: It has been endorsed by the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a larger number of the electors of the United States than any proposition that was ever before Congress. I believe in my heart to-day that it would carry an overwhelming majority of the people of my State, aye, sir, of nearly every State in the Union. Before the Senators from the State of Mississippi left this Chamber, I heard one of them, who assumes at least to be President of the Southern Confederacy, propose to accept it, and maintain the Union, if that proposition could receive the vote it ought to receive from the other side of the chamber. Therefore, all of your propositions, all of your amendments, knowing as I do, and knowing that the historian will write it down—at any time before the first of January, a two-thirds vote for the Crittenden resolutions in this chamber would have saved every State in the Union except South Carolina. Georgia would be here by her representatives, and Louisiana—those two great States—which at least would have broken the whole column of secession.—*Globe, page 1300.*

Upon the same point, on the same day, the clarion voice of the patriot Douglas bore testimony as follows:

The Senator [Mr. Pugh] has said that if the Crittenden proposition could have been passed early in the session, it would have saved all the States except South Carolina. I firmly believe it would. While the Crittenden proposition was not in accordance with my cherished views, I avowed my readiness and eagerness to accept it in order to save the Union, if we could unite upon it. I can confirm the Senator's declaration that Senator Davis himself, when on the Committee of Thirteen, was ready at all times to compromise on the Crittenden proposition. I will go further, and say that Mr. Toombs was also.—*Globe, page 1301.*

How propitious at this day then, this attempt of one of the leading actors in that eventful drama thus to suffer conscience, and so seek to reach his co-conspirators from the recorded verdict of

history, and the deserved and inevitable condemnation of a betrayed people! The controlling spirits of the Republican party never meant peace—never sought peace from first to last, at any time or in any form, save upon the one drear and devilish condition of turning loose upon our land three and a half millions of black semi-barbarians under the specious pretense of freedom; while in reality, it was only to tear so many of these poor creatures away from their homes of comparative happiness and peace, to find starvation, misery and death in an inhospitable clime!

President Lincoln has but recently declared, in very definite terms, he will listen to no proposition of peace which does not include this African millennium, notwithstanding those plain constitutional prohibitions of all right on the part of the General Government thus to intervene, which he himself, with the oath of office fresh upon his lips, declared he "had no legal right and no intention" to disregard.

If we were to credit the ravings of the chief advisers of the President, or, at least, those who seem to influence him most fully—Sumner, Beecher and Phillips—human reason has been making such rapid progress in these latter days, that the haven of human perfection must be near at hand. But alas! when we look hopefully for the blessed gale which is to bear us onward in its course, we hear nothing but the loud breath of the tempest; see nothing all around us but the angry and troubled sea, everywhere sparkling with foam and surging in its madness; and we are tempted to ask, can this indeed be—

"The wind and the storm fulfilling his word!"

These men are mistaken and mad, or are traitors of the deepest dye, deserving a traitor's darkest doom. This equality of the black and white races which they are seeking to establish in this country is an absurd and idle dream, which a brier contrast of their progress and peculiarities must dispel from every thoughtful mind.

A little more than two centuries since, when our fathers first planted a few germs of our race at scattered points along the North American coast, the whole number of that race in the old world did not exceed six millions. England, Scotland and Wales then numbered fewer inhabitants than New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio do now. Mark the progress in North America at this time (including a wholesome Celtic infusion,) there are at least thirty millions, and in the whole world (confessing there also the same infusion) from eighty to ninety millions of people, substantially Anglo-Saxon in their origin. We are everywhere thus displacing the more sluggish races, or hewing them in on every side; and at this current rate of increase in one hundred and fifty years from this time, will run up to eight hundred millions of human beings—all speaking the same language, rejoicing in the same high intellectual culture, and exhibiting the same inherent and inalienable characteristics!

On the other hand, the African race has never, anywhere, given any proof of its capacity for a self-sustained civilization. Since the sun first shone on that continent it has remained in the same state of mental gloom. Cruel, brutal, voluptuous, and indolent by nature, the African has never advanced a single step beyond his own savage original. *Slavery has ever been, and to this hour continues to be, his normal condition, throughout every clime he can call his own!* And yet they have had as many opportunities of improvement as the inhabitants of Asia or of Europe. Along the shores of the Mediterranean was once concentrated the Literature and Science of the world; Carthage, the rival of imperial Rome in all the arts of commerce and civilization, existed for many years on the African border. The Saracens, the most polished race of their time, founded and maintained for centuries a contiguous empire. Still, for all this, the African has continued to prowl on through his long night of barbarism; and thus, in all human probability, he will continue forever. Tell us not that his want of progress in civilization is the result of long established bondage. So, for centuries, was our own race bound to earth under various modifications of predial vassalage. But the white soul expanded, and mounted above all its burthens and trammels, and finally, in this country, reached the full fruition of republican freedom.

We grant this mental inferiority of the African—(we forbear, in the spirit of sobriety, any physical contemplation or contrast)—does not give a dominant race the right to convey him from his own beauteous land to a foreign bondage, even under the form of a purchase from his African master. But this natural inferiority must be considered by the statesman in framing laws and adopting Constitutions for human government. In Pennsylvania we have always affirmed this inferiority in our fundamental laws; and the same has been done in almost all the free states of the Union—generally excluding the African from the right of suffrage. This necessity of duly regarding the law of races, is thus forcibly commented upon by Lamartine (a scholar and a statesman, always in favor of man's largest liberty) in a recent work:

The more I have traveled, the more I am convinced that races of men form the great secret of men and manners. Man is not so capable of education as philosophers imagine. The influence of government and laws has less power, radically than is supposed, over the manners and instincts of any people. While the primitive constitution and blood of the race have always their influence, and manifest themselves thousands of years afterwards in the physical