The Polynesian.

VOL. XIX. HONOLULU, JUNE 28, 1862. No. 9.

The Polynesian:

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT HONOLULU, Hawaiian Islands.

Abraham Fornander, ... Editor.

Business Cards.

CHAS. R. BISHOP. WM. A. ALDRICH.

BISHOP & CO.,
BANKERS,

Office in the East corner of 'Makee's Block,' on Kaahumanu street, Honolulu.

Draw Bills of Exchange on Messrs. Grinnell, Minturn & Co., New York; Henry A. Peirce, Esq., Boston; and Messrs. Morgan, Stone & Co., San Francisco.
Will receive deposits,
Discount first class business paper,
Attend to collecting, &c. &c. 3-tf

W. A. Aldrich. J. S. Walker. S. C. Allen.

ALDRICH, WALKER & Co.,

Importers and Commission Merchants—Dealers in General Merchandise, and Agents for the Sale of Island Produce.
—ALSO—
Agents for the Lihue, Metcalf, and Princeville Plantations. 86-1y.

JOHN THOMAS WATERHOUSE,
Importer and Dealer in General Merchandise,
Honolulu, H. I.
—REFERENCES.—
His Ex. R. C. Wyllie,.....Honolulu.
B. F. Snow, Esq.,..... do
C. A. Williams & Co.,..... do
Chas. Brewer, Esq., ... do
Wilcox, Richards & Co.,..... do
Dimond & Son,..... do
Thos. Spencer, Esq.,.....Hilo.
H. Dickinson, Esq.,.....Lahaina.
B. Pitman, Esq.,.....San Francisco.
McRuer & Merrill,..... do do
C. W. Brooks & Co.,..... do do
G. T. Lawton, Esq., ... do do
Tobin, Bros. & Co.,.....[276 ly] ..... do do
Field & Rice,.....New York.

SHERMAN PECK. CHAS. H. LUNT.

C. BREWER & CO.
Commission and Shipping Merchants,
Honolulu, Oahu, H. I.
—REFER TO—
JOHN M. HOOD, New York.
JAMES HUNNEWELL, Esq., CHARLES BREWER, Esq., H. A. PIERCE, Esq., } Boston.
MESSRS. MCRUER & MERRILL, CHAS. WOLCOTT BROOKS, Esq., } San Francisco.
MESSRS. WM. PUSTAU & CO., Hongkong.
MESSRS. PEELE, HUBBELL & Co., Manila. 20-tf

MELCHERS & CO.,
Importers and Commission Merchants
Stone Store, Kaahumanu Street, Corner Merchant,
AGENTS FOR THE
Hamburgh-Bremen Fire Insurance Company;
Pioneer Flour Mills, San Francisco;
Sale of Asegut & Reinhardt's salt beef;
Sale of sugar, molasses and other Hawaiian produce.

Consignments respectfully solicited, and all orders from the other islands and abroad promptly executed.
GUST. C. MELCHERS, Bremen;
J. D. WICKE, Honolulu;
18-tf F. A. SCHAEFER, Honolulu.

JANION, GREEN & CO.,
Commission Merchants,
Fire Proof Buildings, Queen Street,
HONOLULU, OAHU, S. I. 52-tf.

B. F. SNOW,
DEALER IN GENERAL MERCHANDISE,
Honolulu, Oahu, H. I.

H. VON HOLT, C. TH. HEUCK.
Von HOLT & HEUCK,
General Commission Merchants,
Honolulu, Oahu, S. I 35-tf

H. HACKFELD & CO,
General Commission Agents,
Honolulu, Oahu, H. I. 35-tf

SAM'L. N. CASTLE. AMOS S. COOKE.
CASTLE & COOKE,
Importers & Wholesale and Retail Dealers in General Merchandise.
Agents for Dr. Jayne's Medicines.

C. BREWER 2d,
General Merchant and Agent for the sale of the products of the Brewer Plantation. 14-1y

A. S. GRINBAUM & Co.,
Importers, and Wholesale and Retail Dealers in
FASHIONABLE CLOTHING, HATS, CAPS, BOOTS and SHOES!
And every variety of Gentlemen's superior Furnishing Goods. Store in Makee's Block, formerly occupied by W. A. Aldrich, Esq., fronting on Queen street, Honolulu, Oahu.

JOHN RITSON,
DEALER IN WINES, SPIRITS, ALE & PORTER,
14-tf **Honolulu.**

WM. WEBSTER,
Land Agent to His Majesty.
Office in the King's Garden, Beritania Street tf 4

GODFREY RHODES,
WHOLESALE DEALER IN
WINES and SPIRITS, ALE and PORTER,
4] **Near the Post-Office. Honolulu.** [tf

SAM'L H. DOWSETT,
LUMBER MERCHANT,
Will furnish Building Material of every description, at low prices.
☞ Orders from other Islands solicited. Yard on corner of Fort and Queen streets. 38 tf

GEORGE G. HOWE,
Lumber Merchant,
Lumber Yard Corner of Queen and Nuuanu Sts on the Punchard Premises. 34 tf

UTAI & AHEE,
Wholesale Merchants,
AND
Agents for the Aiko and Iwo Sugar Plantations, Hilo, Hawaii.
33] **KING STREET, HONOLULU.** [tf

C. H. LEWERS,
Lumber and Building Materials, Fort st., Honolulu. 14-tf

D. N. FLITNER,
CONTINUES his old business at the new store on Kaahumanu street.
Chronometers Rated by observations of the sun and stars with a transit instrument accurately adjusted to the meridian of Honolulu. Particular attention given to fine watch repairing. Sextant and Quadrant glasses silvered and adjusted. Charts and Nautical instruments constantly on hand and for sale. 28-tf

W. FISCHER,
Cabinet Maker and French Polisher,
Hotel street, opposite the Government House
48—tf

Business Cards.

THOMAS SPENCER,
SHIP CHANDLER,
DEALER IN GENERAL MERCHANDISE,
Island Produce, &c., &c.,.....and.....Commission Merchant,
BYRON'S BAY, HILO, H. I.
Will keep constantly on hand, an extensive assortment of every description of goods required by Ships and others.
☞ The highest price paid for Island Produce.
☞ Money advanced for Bills of Exchange at reasonable rates. 41 tf

CALIFORNIA LLOYDS.
MARINE INSURANCES.
OFFICE, Southwest corner of Washington and Battery Streets.

THE UNDERSIGNED ARE PREPARED TO issue "Marine Insurance Policies," each being responsible for the sum written on the Policies against his own name only, and for himself and not for others or any of them.

JOHN PARROTT,	JAMES DONAHUE,
GEORGE C. JOHNSON,	WILLIAM E. BARRON,
N. LUNING,	JAMES OTIS,
JAMES PHELAN,	JAMES B. HAGGIN,
LAFAYETTE MAYNARD,	J. MORA MOSS.

ALDRICH, WALKER & CO., Agents,
51 tf Honolulu, H. I.

F. S. PRATT & Co.,
IMPORTERS AND WHOLESALE DEALERS IN
WINES, SPIRITS, MALT LIQUORS,
TOBACCO and CIGARS,
HONOLULU, S. I.
REFER BY PERMISSION TO
Messrs. C. A. WILLIAMS & Co.,.....Honolulu.
" WILCOX, RICHARDS & Co.,..... "
C. BREWER 2D, Esq.,..... "
A. J. CARTWRIGHT, Esq.,..... "
J. D. RICHARDS & SONS,.....Boston, U. S.
H. WEBSTER & Co.,..... San Francisco.
J. SPALDING, Esq.,..... Salem, U. S.

GEORGE CLARK,
BOOT AND SHOE MANUFACTURER!
Hotel Street, between Nuuanu and Mauna Kea Sts.

CHUNG HOON,
WHOLESALE & RETAIL MERCHANT,
Importer of China and other Goods; dealer in Sugars, Molasses, Coffee, Rice, Fungus, &c. On King street, next door to Messrs. Castle & Cook. 49y

Chas. F. Guillou, M. D.,
LATE SURGEON UNITED STATES NAVY
Late Consular Physician to American Seamen,
AND GENERAL PRACTITIONER.
OFFICE corner of Kaahumanu and Merchant streets
Residence at Dr. Wood's mansion, Hotel street.
☞ Office hours from 11 A. M. to 2 P. M., at other hours inquire at his residence. 26-tf

R. E. WAKEMAN.
Contractor of Building and Jobbing.
☞ ALSO—Wheelright, Carriage Making and Repairing.—King street, Honolulu, opposite the City Market.
43 tf

B. F. EHLERS,
DEALER IN DRY GOODS, SILKS, &c.
FORT STREET, HONOLULU. 50y

J. O'NEILL,
Painter, Paper-Hanger, &c.
Opposite Lewis & Norton's Cooperage, King st. 50

ALLEN & BERRILL,
SUCCESSORS TO
GEORGE W. MACY,
Kawaihae, Hawaii.
Will continue the General Merchandise and Shipping business at the above port, where they are prepared to furnish the justly celebrated Kawaihae Potatoes, and such recruits as are required by Whale Ships, at the shortest notice and on the most reasonable terms. 9 tf

J. WORTH,
AUCTION & COMMISSION MERCHANT,
AND DEALER IN
GENERAL MERCHANDISE.
☞ Ships supplied with Recruits and money advanced on Bills of Exchange.
HILO, Hawaii. 43 y

CALIFORNIA MUTUAL
MARINE INSURANCE COMPANY,
SAN FRANCISCO.

THE UNDERSIGNED **having been appointed** Agents for the above Company, beg leave to inform the public that they are now prepared to issue
MARINE INSURANCE POLICIES
On cargo, freight and treasure to all parts of the world.
H. HACKFELD & CO.
Honolulu, Aug. 21, 1861. 17-tf

LUMBER!
THE Cargo of the barkentine "Constitution,"
NOW LANDING,
CONSISTING OF
40,000 feet tongued and grooved Boards,
30,000 feet assorted Boards,
100,000 feet assorted Scantling,
7,000 five feet pickets,
50,000 Cedar Shingles.
For sale by
23 tf GEO. G. HOWE.

Sisterhood of the Sacred Hearts.
HONOLULU,
Fort St., near the Catholic Church.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION of this Institution will commence on August 2d, 1862.

Young Ladies of every religious denomination will be admitted, provided it be previously agreed that they will conform to the general regulations of the house.

The course of Education for Boarders will comprise Reading, Writing, Grammar, Composition, Elocution, Arithmetic, Geography, use of Globes, History (sacred and profane), Chronology, Mythology, Logic, French and German Languages, Book-Keeping, Music (Vocal and Instrumental), Drawing, Painting, and all kinds of Fancy Needle-Work.

The Sisters being aware that all education is imperfect without the knowledge of the Law of God, will devote themselves with the most sedulous care, to the religious instruction of their Catholic pupils, without neglecting to inculcate in the minds of the others the general principles of Christian morality. The most conscientious attention will be given to form their manners and to train them up to habits of order, neatness and industry.

The diet will be wholesome and abundant.

The health of the pupils will be the object of constant and maternal solicitude, and at all times they will be under the immediate superintendance of their teachers.

TERMS.

BOARD & TUITION, per Quarter of Twelve Weeks, $45.

Music, Drawing, Painting, German Language, and Artificial Flowers, will form extra charges.

☞ No extra charge for the French Language.

Payments to be made quarterly in advance. Persons residing at a distance are requested to have a responsible agent in the city of Honolulu.

No reduction made in case of children being withdrawn before the expiration of the quarter.

Tuesdays and Saturdays will be the appointed days for parents to visit their children.

On the first Saturday of each month the Boarders will be allowed to go out with their parents or guardians, but never with any other, without a written permission from said parents or guardians. They must return to the establishment before 6 o'clock, P. M., the same day.

Postage, stationery, washing and mending, Doctor's fees and medicines, will be chargeable to the parents.

For further particulars, application may be made to Sister MARIA JOSEPHA. 40 y

Foreign Advertisements.

CHAS. WOLCOTT BROOKS, W. FRANK LADD, EDWARD F. HALL, JR

CHAS. W. BROOKS & Co.,
Shipping and
COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
128 SANSOME St.,
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

☞ Particular attention given to the purchase, shipment and sale of Merchandise, to forwarding and transhipment of goods, the chartering and sale of vessels, the supply-ing of whaleships, and the negotiation of Exchange.
☞ EXCHANGE ON HONOLULU in sums to suit.
ADVANCES MADE ON CONSIGNMENTS.
—REFER TO—
B. F. SNOW,.....Honolulu.
C. BREWER & Co., ... "
J. S. WALKER,..... "
H. HACKFELD & Co., ... "
B. PITMAN,..... Hilo.
JAMES HUNNEWELL, ... Boston.
HENRY A. PEIRCE,..... "
CHAS. BREWER, ... "
THAYER, BRIGHAM & FIELD,..... "
SUTTON & Co.,.....New York.
SWIFT & ALLEN,.....N. Bedford.
33 tf

D. C. McRUER, J. C. MERRILL.

McRUER & MERRILL,
COMMISSION MERCHANTS
AND
AUCTIONEERS!
AGENTS OF THE
REGULAR DISPATCH LINE
OF
HONOLULU PACKETS

Particular attention paid to forwarding and transhipment of merchandise, sale of whalemen's bills, and other exchange, insurance of merchandise and specie under open policies, supplying whaleships, chartering ships, etc.

117 and 119 California-street,
SAN FRANCISCO Cal.

REFER TO—
Messrs. D. C. WATERMAN & Co., ...Honolulu
" C. BREWER & Co.,..... "
Capt. B. F. SNOW, ... "
A. P. EVERETT, Esq., ... "
Messrs. GILMAN & Co.,.....Lahaina.
B. PITMAN, Esq. .....Hilo. [23-tf

A. P. EVERETT,
COMMISSION MERCHANT!
VICTORIA, V. I.
..... REFERENCES: .....
Messrs. MCRUER & MERRILL, ...San Francisco.
" C. W. BROOKS & Co.,..... "
His Ex. R. C. WYLLIE,.....Honolulu, H. I.
B. F. SNOW, Esq., ... "
Messrs. ALDRICH, WALKER & Co., ... "
48 tf

RICE & Co.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants,
DEALERS IN
SHIP CHANDLERIES, &c.,
HAKODADI, JAPAN,

WILL ATTEND TO THE sales of Merchandise, as also to the purchase and shipment of all kinds of Goods exported from that country. Mr. RICE is the Commercial Agent for the United States at that port, and having already resided there for about five years, is enabled by his acquaintance with the country, to offer many advantages in the discharge of any business that may be entrusted to their House.

..... REFER TO .....

WM. T. COLEMAN & Co., ...New York.
JOHN H. ALDRICH, Esq.,..... "
I. HOWLAND, JR., & Co.,.....New Bedford.
CHARLES SCUDDER & Co.,.....Boston.
ALDEN SAMPSON, Esq.,.....Augusta, Me.
RICHARD D. RICE, Esq., ... "
McCONDRY & Co.,.....San Francisco, Cal.
C. WOLCOTT BROOKS & Co.,..... "
D. C. WATERMAN & Co.,.....Honolulu, S. I.
ALDRICH, WALKER & Co., ... "
49 tf

MESSRS. C. A. FLETCHER & CO.
COMMISSION MERCHANTS
AND
GENERAL AGENTS
HAKODADI, JAPAN,

BEG TO INFORM OWNERS AND MASTERS OF SHIPS about to visit the port of Hakodadi, that they are prepared to take Consignments and do business on the usual terms.

☞ By arrangements with Home Insurance Offices, Messrs. FLETCHER & CO. can take risks on Oil, or other shipments of Produce hence.

Hakodadi, Yesso, Japan, 4th July, 1859. 18 tf

CHARLES BREWER,
COMMISSION MERCHANT,
Boston, U. S. 35 tf
☞ Refer to R. W. WOOD and C. BREWER 2D.

WM. FAULKNER & SON,
131 SANSOME ST., SAN FRANCISCO,
AGENT FOR JAMES CONNER & SONS, U. S. Type Foundry, and Dealers in all kinds of Printing Materials.
☞ Printers will find it to their advantage to call on us before purchasing. 8 1y

On Sale;
EX RECENT ARRIVALS!
THE FOLLOWING CHOICE ASSORTMENT OF GROCERIES, at the store of the undersigned:

Preserves	Fresh oysters
Fresh apples	do lobsters
do quinces	Sardines
do peaches,	French capers
do Pears	English pickles
Raspberry jam	do pie fruits
Cranberry jam	do sauces
Strawberry do, &c, &c, &c.	do mustard
Mince meats	French mustard
Sage	Hops
Sweet savory	Soap
Summer savory	Tins of water, butter, sugar,
Curry powder	oyster, soda and wine crack
Ground cassia	ers
do black pepper	Smoked hams
Whole do	do herrings
Pimento	Best Oolong tea
Ground cloves	Preserved salmon
do ginger	Green corn
Cream Tartar	Crushed sugar
S. C. Soda	Loaf do
Fresh raisins	Haxall flour
currants in tins	&c. &c. &c.

N.B. Fresh Island Butter and Ground Coffee always on hand.
17 tf H. McINTYRE.

100 BARRELS ONLY ON HAND!
Of the well known
KAUAI BEEF!
PACKED BY E. KRULL, at Kealia.
For sale by
VON HOLT & HEUCK,
83tf Corner Fort and Merchant streets.

NOTICE.

ALL PERSONS ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED THAT THE privilege of gathering Pulu, Fungus and Arrowroot on all the Government lands on the Island of Hawaii (with the exception of those lands which may be sold or leased during the continuation of this privilege), has been this day granted to Mr C. C. Harris. L. KAMEHAMEHA.
Home Department, 30th July, 1859. 15 tf

Advertisements.

POLYNESIAN

BOOK & JOB
Printing Office!
ABRAHAM FORNANDER, - - PROPRIETOR.

BOOK AND JOB PRINTING
IN EVERY
VARIETY OF STYLE,
Executed promptly and neatly
ON THE MOST FAVORABLE TERMS.

WE HAVE A MOST VARIED
assortment of material appertaining to a complete Printing Office, and we would particularly call the attention of our friends and the public generally, to our large and beautiful assortment of Plain, Ornamental and Illuminated

CARD STOCK!

And Plain and Fancy NOTE and other Papers, which those desiring a really good article, neatly printed, are especially invited to call and examine.

POSTERS,	BLANKS,
BILL HEADS,	BILLS LADING,
CONSULAR BLANKS,	BLANK RECEIPTS,
BUSINESS CARDS,	ADDRESS CARDS,
CIRCULARS,	BILLETS.

In fact, any kind of Printing, either Plain or Ornamental, on any quality of Stock that may be desired, on terms as reasonable and in a style equal to anything ever executed in Honolulu. Our specimen books are open to the inspection of the Public, who are respectfully invited to call and examine for themselves.

☞ N. B. All kinds of FANCY PRINTING in Colors and in Bronze, done with care and in a style not to be surpassed on these Islands.

JUST RECEIVED!
4-4 BEST FAMILY COTTONS;
American Prints (asst'd patterns,)
Ladies Congress Boots,
" Calf do,
" Buff do,
" Jenny Lind do,
P. R. Denims,
Extra heavy Tickings,
Fancy Ribbons,
Black and colored Silk Velvets,
Lining Cambrics,
Ladies' and Gent's Linen and Silk Handkerchiefs,
Sup'r assortment of Neck Ties,
American Saddles and Bridles, &c, &c.
50 tf A. S. CLEGHORN.

Boots and Shoes.
OF BEST German and French manufacture,—
Gent's calf Boots,
" Riding Boots,
" calf Shoes, different patterns and make,
" " Congress Gaiters,
" " Elastic Ties,
" Patent Leather do do,
" Lasting Gaiters,
☞ Strong and comfortable Boots and Shoes for mechanics.
For sale by [33] VON HOLT & HEUCK.

HAIKU SUGAR COMPANY!
The undersigned offer for sale the
Sugar and Molasses!
Of their FIRST CROP, now coming in!
ED. HOFFSCHLAEGER & STAPENHORST,
38 tf Agents H. S. CO.

Sugar and Molasses!
FROM the Lihue Plantation. For sale by
ALDRICH, WALKER & Co.
March 28, 1862. 48

Peanut Oil! Peanut Oil!
THIS OIL can be used for any kind of Lamps, burns with a white and brilliant light, and emits no smoke. In quantities to suit for sale at MELCHERS & CO.
24-tf

JUST RECEIVED!
AND FOR SALE BY THE UNDERSIGNED,
Dr. S. P. Townsend's Compound Fluid Extract of Sarsaparilla. [38 tf] JANION GREEN & CO.

Firewood! Firewood!!
FOR SALE at very reasonable rates, at
47 MELCHERS & Co.

NOTICE.

WHEREAS THE UNDERSIGNED HAS BEEN INFORMED on good authority that great irregularity exists in the taking and killing of the wild cattle on the mountains on Hawaii, belonging to His Majesty and to the Government, by parties who claim or pretend to claim right under bills of sale from His Majesty or from the Government, and whereas, from the nature of the country and other causes it is almost impossible to place agents to guard the interests of His Majesty and of the Government, and whereas all parties having legal claims on the said wild cattle have already had time sufficient, if they have used due diligence to remove the same:

Now therefore, the undersigned hereby gives notice to all parties who purchased wild cattle running on the mountains on Hawaii, previous to the 1st day of January 1857, to remove the same if not already removed, on or before the 1st day of May next, after which time, parties taking wild cattle will be prosecuted
Interior Office, } L. KAMEHAMEHA.
Jan. 24, 1858. } 48-tf

NOTICE!

THE undersigned beg to inform their friends that they have established a branch of their house at VICTORIA, V. I., under the management of Mr. Henry Rhodes and under the style of JANION & GREEN, for the transaction of a general Commission business. Particular attention will be paid to consignments of Sandwich Island produce.
JANION, GREEN & CO.
Honolulu, May 10, 1859. 2-tf

The Polynesian.

[From Frazer's Magazine for February, 1862.]

J. S. Mill on the Contest in America.

But we are told, by a strange misapplication of a true principle, that the South had a *right* to separate; that their separation ought to have been consented to, the moment they showed themselves ready to fight for it; and that the North, in resisting it, are committing the same error and wrong which England committed in opposing the original separation of the thirteen colonies. This is carrying the doctrine of the sacred right of insurrection rather far. It is wonderful how easy and liberal and complying people can be in other people's concerns. Because they are willing to surrender their own past, and have no objection to join in reprobation of their great-grandfathers, they never put themselves the question what they themselves would do in circumstances far less trying, under far less pressure of real national calamity. Would those who profess these ardent revolutionary principles consent to their being applied to Ireland, or India, or the Ionian Islands? How have they treated those who did attempt so to apply them? But the case can dispense with any mere *argumentum ad hominem*. I am not frightened at the word rebellion. I do not scruple to say that I have sympathized more or less ardently with most of the rebellions, successful and unsuccessful, which have taken place in my time. But I certainly never conceived that there was a sufficient title to my sympathy in the mere fact of being a rebel; that the act of taking arms against one's fellow-citizens was so meritorious in itself, was so completely its own justification, that no question need be asked concerning the motive. It seems to me a strange doctrine that the most serious and responsible of all human acts imposes no obligation on those who do it of showing that they have a real grievance; that those who rebel for the power of oppressing others, exercise as sacred a right as those who do the same thing to resist oppression practised upon themselves. Neither rebellion, nor any other act which affects the interests of others, is sufficiently legitimated by the mere will to do it. Secession may be laudable, and so may any other kind of insurrection; but it may also be an enormous crime. It is the one or the other, according to the object and the provocation. And if there ever was an object which, by its bare announcement, stamped rebels against a particular community as enemies of mankind, it is the one professed by the South. Their right to separate is the right which Cartouche or Turpin would have had to secede from their respective countries, because the laws of those countries would not suffer them to rob and murder on the highway. The only real difference is that the present rebels are more powerful than Cartouche or Turpin, and may possibly be able to effect their iniquitous purpose.

Supposing, however, for the sake of argument, that the mere will to separate were in this case, or in any case, a sufficient ground for separation, I beg to be informed *whose* will! The will of any knot of men who, by fair means or foul, by usurpation, terrorism, or fraud, have got the reins of government into their hands? If the inmates of Parkhurst Prison were to get possession of the Isle of Wight, occupy its military positions, enlist one part of its inhabitants in their own ranks, set the remainder of them to work in chain gangs, and declare themselves independent, ought their recognition by the British Government to be an immediate consequence? Before admitting the authority of any persons, as organs of the will of the people, to dispose of the whole political existence of a country, I ask to see whether their credentials are from the whole, or only from a part. And first, it is necessary to ask, Have the slaves been consulted? Has *their* will been counted as any part in the estimate of collective volition? They are a part of the population. However natural in the country itself, it is rather cool in English writers who talk so glibly of the ten millions (I believe there are only eight), to pass over the very existence of four millions who must abhor the idea of separation. Remember, *we* consider them to be human beings, entitled to human rights. Nor can it be doubted that the mere fact of belonging to a Union in some parts of which slavery is reprobated, is some alleviation of their condition, if only as regards future probabilities. But even of the white population, it is questionable if there was in the beginning a majority for secession anywhere but in South Carolina. Though the thing was pre-determined, and most of the States committed by their public authorities before the people were called on to vote; though in taking the votes terrorism in many places reigned triumphant; yet even so, in several of the States, secession was carried only by narrow majorities. In some the authorities have not dared to publish the numbers; in some it is asserted that no vote has ever been taken. Further (as was pointed out in an admirable letter by Mr. Carey), the Slave States are intersected in the middle, from their northern frontier almost to the Gulf of Mexico, by a country of free labor—the mountain region of the Alleghanies and their dependencies, forming parts of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, in which, from the nature of the climate and of the agricultural and mining industry, slavery to any material extent never did, and never will, exist. This mountain zone is peopled by ardent friends of the Union. Could the Union abandon them, without even an effort, to be dealt with at the pleasure of an exasperated slave-owning oligarchy? Could it abandon the Germans who, in Western Texas, have made so meritorious a commencement of growing cotton on the borders of the Mexican Gulf by free labor? Were the right of the slave-owners to secede ever so clear, they have no right to carry these with them; unless allegiance is a mere question of local proximity, and my next neighbor, if I am a stronger man, can be compelled to follow me in any lawless vagaries I choose to indulge.

But (it is said) the North will never succeed in conquering the South; and since the separation must in the end be recognized, it is better to do at first what must be done at last; moreover, if it did conquer them, it could not govern them when conquered, consistently with free institutions. With no one of these propositions can I agree.

Whether or not the Northern Americans *will* succeed in reconquering the South, I do not affect to foresee. That they *can* conquer it, if their present determination holds, I have never entertained a doubt; for they are twice as numerous, and ten or twelve times as rich. Not by taking military possession of their country, or marching an army through it, but by wearing them out, exhausting their resources, depriving them of the comforts of life, encouraging their slaves to desert, and excluding them from communication with foreign countries. All this, of course, depends on the supposition that the North does not give in first. Whether they will persevere to this point, or whether their spirit, their patience, and the sacrifices they are willing to make, will be exhausted before reaching it, I cannot tell. They may, in the end, be wearied into recognising the separation. But to those who say that because this may have to be done at last, it ought to have been done at first, I put the very serious question—On what terms? Have they ever considered what would have been the meaning of separation if it had been assented to by the Northern States when first demanded? People talk as if separation meant nothing more than the independence of the seceding States. To have accepted it under that limitation would have been, on the part of the South, to give up that which they have seceded expressly to preserve. Separation, with them, means at least half the Territories; including the Mexican border, and the consequent power of invading and overrunning Spanish America for the purpose of planting there the "peculiar institution" which even Mexican civilization has found too bad to be endured. There is no knowing to what point of degradation a country may be driven in a desperate state of its affairs; but if the North *ever*, unless on the brink of actual ruin, makes peace with the South, giving up the original cause of quarrel, the freedom of the Territories; if it resigns to them when out of the Union that power of evil which it would not grant to retain them in the Union—it will incur the pity and disdain of posterity. And no one can suppose that the South would have consented, or in their present temper ever will consent, to an accommodation on any other terms. It will require a succession of humiliations to bring them to that. The necessity of reconciling themselves to the confinement of slavery within its existing boundaries, with the natural consequence, immediate mitigation of slavery, and ultimate emancipation, is a lesson which they are in no mood to learn from anything but disaster. Two or three defeats in the field, breaking their military strength, though not followed by an invasion of their territory, may possibly teach it to them. If so, there is no breach of charity in hoping that this severe schooling may promptly come. When men set themselves up, in defiance of the rest of the world, to do the devil's work, no good can come of them until the world has made them feel that this work cannot be suffered to be done any longer. If this knowledge does not come to them for several years, the abolition question will by that time have settled itself. For assuredly Congress will very soon make up its mind to declare all slaves free who belong to persons in arms against the Union. When that is done, slavery, confined to a minority, will soon cure itself; and the pecuniary value of the negroes belonging to loyal masters will probably not exceed the amount of compensation which the United States will be willing and able to give.

The assumed difficulty of governing the Southern States as free and equal commonwealths, in case of their return to the Union, is purely imaginary. If brought back by force, and not by voluntary compact, they will return without the Territories, and without a Fugitive Slave Law. It may be assumed that in that event the victorious party would make the alterations in the Federal Constitution which are necessary to adapt it to the new circumstances, and which would not infringe, but strengthen, its democratic principles. An article would have to be inserted prohibiting the extension of slavery to the Territories, or the admission into the Union of any new Slave State. Without any other guarantee, the rapid formation of new Free States would ensure to freedom a decisive and constantly increasing majority in Congress. It would also be right to abrogate that bad provision of the Constitution (a necessary compromise at the time of its first establishment) whereby the slaves, though reckoned as citizens in no other respect, are counted, to the extent of three-fifths of their number, in the estimate of the population for fixing the number of representatives of each State in the Lower House of Congress. Why should the masters have members in right of their human chattels, any more than of their oxen and pigs? The President, in his Message, has already proposed that this salutary reform should be effected in the case of Maryland, additional territory, detached from Virginia, being given to that State as an equivalent; thus clearly indicating the policy which he approves, and which he is probably willing to make universal.

As it is necessary to be prepared for all possibilities, let us now contemplate another. Let us suppose the worst possible issue of this war—the one apparently desired by those English writers whose moral feeling is so philosophically indifferent between the apostles of slavery and its enemies. Suppose that the North should stoop to recognize the new Confederation on its own terms, leaving it half the Territories, and that it is acknowledged by Europe, and takes its place as an admitted member of the community of nations. It will be desirable to take thought beforehand what are to be our own future relations with a new Power, professing the principles of Attila and Genghis Khan as the foundation of its Constitution. Are we to see with indifference its victorious army let loose to propagate their national faith at the rifle's mouth through Mexico and Central America? Shall we submit to see fire and sword carried over Cuba and Porto Rico, and Hayti and Liberia conquered and brought back to slavery? We shall soon have causes enough of quarrel on our own account. When we are in the act of sending an expedition against Mexico to redress the wrongs of private British subjects, we should do well to reflect in time that the President of the new Republic, Mr. Jefferson Davis, was the original inventor of repudiation. Mississippi was the first State which repudiated, Mr. Jefferson Davis was Governor of Mississippi, and the Legislature of Mississippi had passed a Bill recognizing and providing for the debt, which Bill Mr. Jefferson Davis vetoed. Unless we abandon the principles we have for two generations consistently professed and acted on, we should be at war with the new Confederacy within five years about the African slave trade. An English Government will hardly be base enough to recognize them, unless they accept all the treaties by which America is at present bound; nor, it may be hoped, even if *de facto* independent, would they be admitted to the courtesies of diplomatic intercourse, unless they granted in the most explicit manner the right of search. To allow the slave ships of a Confederation formed for the extension of slavery to come and go free, and unexamined, between America and the African coast, would be to renounce even the pretence of attempting to protect Africa against the man-stealer, and abandon that continent to the horrors, on a far larger scale, which were practiced before Granville Sharp and Clarkson were in existence. But even if the right of intercepting their slavers were acknowledged by treaty, which it never would be, the arrogance of the Southern slaveholders would not long submit to its exercise. Their pride and self-conceit, swelled to an inordinate height by their successful struggle, would defy the power of England as they had already successfully defied that of their Northern countrymen. After our people by their cold disapprobation, and our press by its invective, had combined with their own difficulties to damp the spirit of the Free States, and drive them to submit and make peace, we should have to fight the Slave States ourselves at far greater disadvantages, when we should no longer have the wearied and exhausted North for an ally. The time might come when the barbarous and barbarizing Power, which we by our moral support had helped into existence, would require a general crusade of civilized Europe, to extinguish the mischief which it had allowed, and we had aided, to rise up in the midst of our civilization.

For these reasons I cannot join with those who cry Peace, peace. I cannot wish that this war should not have been engaged in by the North, or that being engaged in, it should be terminated on any conditions but such as would retain the whole of the Territories as free soil. I am not blind to the possibility that it may require a long war to lower the arrogance and tame the aggressive ambition of the slave-owners, to the point of either returning to the Union, or consenting to remain out of it with their present limits. But war, in a good cause, is not the greatest evil which a nation