Civilian and Telegraph.

CUMBERLAND, MD., THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1862. NUMBER 19.

MEDICAL HOUSE,

11 South Frederick St.,

Baltimore, Maryland.

Established in order to afford Sound and Scientific Medical Aid, and for the suppression of Quackery.

DOCTOR SMITH

HAS for many years devoted his whole attention to the treatment of private complaints, in all their varied and complicated forms. His great success in those long standing and difficult cases, such as were formerly considered incurable, is sufficient to commend him to the public as worthy of the extensive patronage which he has received. Within the last eight years, Dr. S. has treated more than 29,500 cases of Private Complaints in their different forms and stages; a practice which no doubt exceeds that of all the physicians now advertising in Baltimore, and not a single case is known, where directions were strictly followed, and medicine taken at reasonable time, without effecting a radical and permanent cure; therefore, persons afflicted with diseases of the above nature, "no matter how difficult or long standing the case may be, would do well to call on Dr. SMITH, at his office, No. 11, South Frederick Street.

The afflicted should bear in mind that *Dr.* S. who is the only regular physician advertising, as for many years devoted his whole attention to the treatment of this class of Diseases.

His medicines are free from Mercury and all mineral poisons; put up in neat and compact form, and may be taken in public or private house, or while travelling, without exposure or hindrance from business, and except in cases of violent inflammation, no change of diet is necessary.

Let the unfortunate bear in mind when affliction overtakes them, that no time should be lost in making application to a competent physician, for they would not only obtain relief from painful mortification through exposure and elude that constitutional injury, but enable their medical assistant to be moderate in his charges rather than he could justly be, where symptoms have become confirmed or the disease more widely diffused. The rapid advance of this truly terrifying disease, is sufficient to alarm the boldest heart. When ulceration and discolored Plotches with racking pains, betray to the unhappy victim the deadly poison preying upon his vitals, then, "and not till then," do many awake to a full sense of their danger.

We are called upon every few days to cure Chronic Diseases, which were supposed to have been cured years ago, but instead of which, were only checked, driven into the system by mercury or copavia and therefore seems to be well but in a longer or shorter time, by some slight cause, break out in its worst and most difficult forms, producing ulcers in the throat, nose or roof of the mouth, eruptions of the skin, pains or swelling of bones, etc. On account of the number of such which have lately come under my care, and the immense suffering which a little neglect or improper treatment in the first stages of the diserse may cause, Dr. Smith thinks it his duty to advise the unfortunate, *particularly strangers*, to be careful that they are not deceived by *false advertisements of boasting quacks* who make promises which could not be fulfilled even by the most experienced physicians. By neglect or improper treatment, the patient is often reduced to a state which makes the case extremely difficult to cure. Therefore he should be aware of the importance of consulting a skillful physician in the early stage of the disease.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEBILITY.

Young men! beware of the pernicious indulgence and most fatal injury you inflict upon your constitutions, by evil examples and the morbid influence of the passions.

How many young persons do we daily behold, whose countenances and debilitated constitutions depict disease arising from that horrible and devastating vice.

It could be shown how attenuation of the frame, palpitation of the heart, derangement of the nervous system, cough, indigestion and a train of symptoms, indicative of consumption, are often ascribed to wrong causes, when in reality, they are the consequences of an alluring and pernicious practice alike destructive to the mind and body.

You who have brought this affliction upon yourselves, why embrace the secret to your hearts and vainly attempt to cure yourselves, instead of making immediate application to a skillfull physician, who in a short time, would restore you to perfect health and save you from exposure which the fatal consequences render it enviable.

☞ Dr. Smith gives his special attention to the treatment of this destructive malady. Patients can be cured at home by addressing a letter to Dr. Smith, describing symptoms, and receive medicine securely packed from observation forwarded by express or otherwise to any part of the country.

N. B.—Persons afflicted with any of the above complaints will do well to avoid *boasting impostors* whether foreign or native, as also the numerous Societies advertised as a certain cure for every disease. These preparations are put up to sell and not to cure, and often do more harm than good, therefore avoid them.

"A word to the wise is sufficient."

Address, DR. J. B. SMITH.

No. 11, S. Frederick Street., Baltimore, Md.

☞ No letters will be answered unless they contain a remittance or Postage Stamp to pay postage on the answer.

Jan. 1st. 1861.—1y.

they were ordered to be ..... expired.

INSOLVENT NOTICES, cash in advance.

PATENT MEDICINES, one half in advance and the balance in six months.

ALL JOB WORK, CASH.

The losses we have sustained compel us to adopt this course. It will be strictly adhered to in all cases, and no advertisement will be inserted unless accompanied by the cash.

COUNTY DIRECTORY.

Judge of Circuit Court—Hon. D. WEISEL.
Clerk of Circuit Court—HORACE RESLEY.
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Sheriff—THOS. G. McCULLOH.
State's Attorney—C. B. THRUSTON.
Surveyor—WILLIAM BRACE.
Clerk to County Comm'ners—JACOB BROWN.
Judges of the Orphans' Court—
MOSES RAWLINGS,
ALEXANDER KING,
FRANCIS MATTINGLY.

Business Directory,

CUMBERLAND, MD.

DENTISTRY.

DR. HUMMELSHIME, DENTIST, Corner of Baltimore and Liberty Streets, over Read's Grocery Store, and opposite Campbell's Drug Store, Cumberland, Md.

ANDREWS & SWARTZWELDER,
Wholesale & Retail Dealer in
Books and Stationery, Periodicals,
Useful and Fancy Articles, Baltimore Street, in the room under the Museum. Also, Book Binders and Blank Work Manufacturers at city prices.

M. RIZER & BRO.
Manufacturers and Dealers in
Cabinet Furniture of all kinds,
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WILLIAM R. BEALL, & CO.,
Wholesale & Retail Dealers in
GROCERIES, TEAS, LIQUORS &c.
near the Depot, Balto. Street.

H. D. CARLETON,
MERCHANT TAILOR,
deKalg's New Block, Baltimore Street, keeps on hand and makes to order all kinds of Gent's and Boys' wearing apparel.

JOHN JOHNSON,
Tin and Sheet-Iron Worker.
Respectfully asks a share of public patronage. Tin and Sheet-Iron ware always on hand and for sale low. McCleary's Row, Baltimore St.

WATCHES AND JEWELRY.
CHEAP FOR CASH.
Repairing of every description done with Neatness and Dispatch.
CALL AT
J. H. KELENBECK'S,
Next to Post Office, Baltimore Street
July 19, 1860.

CUMBERLAND FOUNDRY,
TAYLOR & CO.,
Iron and Brass Founders,
George's street, CUMBERLAND, MD,
Manufacturers of
Steam Engines, Boilers, Railroad and Mine Cars, Mining Machinery, Furnaces, Stoves, Grates, Mill-Irons, Plows, Agricultural Implements, &c.
March 17, 1859—y.

CLOTWORTHY & FLINT,
WHOLESALE
DRUGGISTS,
and dealers in
Paints, Glass & Oil.
No. 339 Balt. St.,
Baltimore.
BEST COAL OIL and BURNING FLUID on hand. ☞ Orders filled with great care, and at the lowest rates. April 11, '61—y.

Nails! Nails!
A GENERAL assortment of NAILS on hand and for sale by
Nov. 21 WM. R. BEALL & CO.

Flour! Flour!
A LOT of Family and Extra FLOUR just received and for sale by
Nov. 21 WM. R. BEALL & CO.

Coal! Coal! Coal!
10,000
Bushels of FINE COAL
For sale in my yard at the low rate of 3 cents per Bushel, delivered in any part of the city by the Cart load, FOR CASH.
Nov. 28—3m. H. FLURY.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY EXPLAINED.

SPEECH OF COL. BLAIR,

OF MISSOURI,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, April 11, 1862.

Mr. Blair, of Missouri. The charge has frequently been heard here and elsewhere that the President is without a policy in his administration. I shall endeavor to show that this imputation is unfounded, to explain my conceptions of his policy, and to demonstrate that it is wise in every respect, and commends itself to the lovers of the Union and of freedom. There can be no dispute with respect to the object of the war so far as he is concerned. He says in his annual message that he has been anxious that it "shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore," he adds, "in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent *as the primary object of the contest.*" No one can refuse belief to this utterance. If the President stood on his mere declaration, his life has been so marked by integrity that all men yield implicit faith to his words as the true index of his heart. But the language truly characterizes his conduct. It has not been attempted to show that he has not endeavored in every way to prevent the struggle from degenerating into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle, and, as its first great object, to maintain the integrity of the Union.

But it is objected by some of those who aided in his election that he has not in aid of this object made the war upon the cause of the war, and decreed emancipation by an order as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, as an effective agency in suppressing the rebellion.

This measure might unquestionably be justified if it were deemed necessary or expedient for the purpose of accomplishing his object, and if it could be shown that he knew this to be true, he might be arraigned for failing to use this means. But when the record of his opinion is examined, it is easy to understand that he does not consider the measure, which is regarded as so omnipotent by a portion of his friends, as likely to be effective for the purpose, and I think it can be shown that his judgment is probably the most correct.

In his canvass for the Senate with Mr. Douglas, his views respecting the subject of slavery were very fully developed, and though not speaking with reference to the present aspect of affairs, his position then led logically to his present attitude, and shows a far deeper insight into the relations of the subject than any other man of the day had then attained. In his declaration, that above all things he desired "a separation of the black and white races," he showed that he knew that the excitement occasioned at the South by the idea of emancipation was not due to the fears of the loss of property it would occasion to those holding slaves. His birth in a slave State, and subsequent residence in Indiana and Illinois, among a people a large proportion of whom also sprung from the slave States and from the non-slaveholders of the slave States, taught him that the greatest repugnance to this measure was to be found among men who had no such property interest at stake. He knew, also, that these men were for the most part, and the best part, ardently attached to the Union, and especially in those regions of the country where military operations would be difficult.

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 emancipation. But a closer scrutiny demonstrates the contrary to be true; such a scrutiny demonstrates that the rebellion originated chiefly with the non-slaveholders resident in the strongholds 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 neutralizing Union feeling diminished as we approach the high and mountain regions where the slaves are few.

Every man acquainted with the facts 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 N. Carolina, Aiken of S. 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 slaveholders 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 country for such of the blacks as should be made free by the events of the contest. But this did not complete his view of the subject.

While aware 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 who were not engaged in the rebellion, and to prevent them from being drawn into it by their property interest, and incite their co-operation in ridding the country of this disturbing element, he now proposes a measure of compensation for their interests.

If we were called on to consider this policy, simply upon its reasonableness abstractedly considered, and were devising a scheme for future events, its wisdom would be apparent to all practical men; but it does not rest on such grounds. It is fully vindicated by the condition of things by which we are surrounded. The North is a unit and the South is divided on the question of the Union. Would the gentlemen who are advertising for a policy for the Administration improve by a policy which would divide our friends and unite the South? They imagine, indeed, that by decreeing emancipation they could get more efficient help from the negroes. If they could show any reason for supposing that the negroes would run away in any greater numbers than they now do, under such a decree, there might be some ground for debate; but there is not the slightest reason for supposing this. All run away now, I believe, who can get away. It is only when our armies invade the slave regions that they can get away, and it would still require that the forts they are compelled to build should be taken by our armed men. We could not strengthen ourselves at the North by the measure certainly; we have already the whole force of that region; and we could not strengthen ourselves at the South, for we cannot reach the slaves by such a proclamation except by force, and we should add to the force of the free men to oppose us.

These considerations demonstrate that, in a military calculation, the policy to which the President is invited by a portion of his original friends is erroneous.

But many reject arithmetic in considering this policy, and imagine that the inscription of emancipation on our banners would be a talismanic word which would carry victory with it. I doubt whether any better conquering words could be invented than those we now conquer by: the Union, the flag, the Government founded by Washington, maintained by Jackson; language which speaks to the hearts of our soldiers, and to the world, of the nationality of the great Republic. I am for the freedom of all races and creeds, and look for the day to come, and that not far distant, when the flag of the Union shall float over no slave, and our country shall be absolutely the land of the free; but the battle now is for the country, and the gallant men who day by day find a bloody winding sheet, give their lives for this cherished idea, and not for the emancipation of the African race.

Having considered the President's policy on the subject of slavery as a military policy, let us view it in its bearings on the extinction of the institution itself. A brief retrospect is necessary to its comprehension in the present state of the question. It is important, in the first place, to see what was the essential issue in the last presidential election. I think that it was in effect, whether the minority should govern by making use of *the passions* connected with the institution of slavery. I say the *passions* connected with the institution, and not merely the passions connected with the institution as property or the property interest; and it is all-important to a successful treatment of the subject that the distinction should be heeded. It was not, as is sometimes supposed, a slaveholder's rebellion in its origin, for it is a matter of fact, that the party at the South to which slaveholders as a class were attached was not the disunionist party there.

The sensitiveness which enabled the leaders of the Democratic party in the South at any time to unite the South, by playing on the slavery chord, was not in the property nerve. It was caused by that morbid condition inseparable from the presence of diverse races in the same community.

To the people of the Union, however, it was not so important how the result was produced, the effect was to disfranchise them. The people had no share in the Government. All power was vested in the clique which dominated in the South. It was to put down this dominion that the organization which elected Mr. Lincoln was formed. It was, therefore, against slavery as the governing power of the country, that the Republican party rose as a national party, and not to abolish slavery as a local institution. This was not only avowed in the platform of the party, but it is manifest that whether the leaders of that party were sincere or not, the people who gave them power were sincere. We have but to consider their conduct to see that they at least were sincere, and it is of no moment to consider whether the leaders were so or not.

There is no mistaking their purpose in the matter. This is demonstrated by their action in relation to the compromise of 1850. The terms of that compromise were not satisfactory to the North. But as by common consent, it was understood to have settled all slavery questions, they accepted it as a means of preventing slavery issues, and thereby to put down slavery as a governing power of the Federal Government. That this is true, is demonstrated by the fact that their public men, who truly represented the public will, in contesting the terms of the compromise, were not countenanced in attempting to disturb the compromise, and lost their positions, and both parties were obliged to proclaim adherence to it in the contest of 1852. So strong was this feeling that the main reason for the success of the Democrats in that contest was that, being the chief authors of the compromise, they were with reason believed to be more friendly to it than their antagonists.

I had been a proviso man myself from the start, and opposed the dominion of slavery, but believed that Gen. Pierce, who had been a close friend of Silas Wright, would have sense and patriotism enough to oppose any measure intended to make the slavery question so as to enable the Southern clique to rule the nation. I was deceived, and the country was deceived. The universal discontent manifested at his breach of faith to the nation in the repeal of the Missouri compromise every one remembers; and if I refer to his unenviable position now before the country, it is not in any unkindness of spirit, but for the purpose of vindicating the public judgment upon great public measures.

I knew that some persons would explain the acquiescence of the people in the compromise measures of 1850, and their indignation at the repeal of the compromise measure of 1820, by assuming that the people were fickle and deficient in judgment, thinking that those only were logical and consistent who resisted both these measures, and who would have persisted in making issues on these measures after they were passed.

But it is just that difference between the people and that class of persons which marks the difference in the objects of the people and the objects of this class.

The people of the Union have been willing to leave it to the people of the States affected by it to deal with the institution, but unwilling that it should be extended, and unwilling to have the institution made use of to control the Federal Government. The ultra anti-slavery men go further, and co-operate with the slave interest in making questions affecting slavery, but for directly the contrary purpose. Now, the masses of the people do not participate in the objects either of those who wish to make the Government of the Union the active agent to extend or to abolish slavery, not because they are indifferent whether the institution continues to exist or not; on the contrary, they are most anxious to see slavery extinguished, and are ready to co-operate generously in the work, but they are law-abiding, and know that by law it belongs to the governments of the States to decide that question.

The slavery government was broken down by the election of Lincoln by the people of the North, and they had a right to break it down; and, in my judgment, the effect will be to extinguish slavery, not because the General Government can or will be used to decree abolition. The effect, however, will follow, because it will work a complete change in the tactics of the ambitious men of the South. No sane man believes slavery a good thing, and the revolution in opinion on this subject which Mr. Hunter said in one of his last speeches in the Senate had taken place there within the last twenty years, does not prove, to my mind, that he or the people have had a new revelation and a new code of ethics, or different consciences than the fathers whose teachings they have come to disregard. An examination of the facts will show only this, that the Calhounites discovered, not that slavery was the moral and economical blessing they professed to believe it, but that the morbid feeling engendered by it might be turned to their account in securing them political power. That was the good and the only good there was in it; and this being the only consideration with them, it came to be regarded as the only true basis of government; and this theory, which was boldly announced by Mr. Calhoun in 1837, was confirmed by the success which attended them till 1860.

Nor are they a peculiar class of politicians in thinking that an institution which gives them political power is a divine institution. All the aristocrats of England, with rare exceptions, think that primogeniture is divine; and it was argued in Parliament, with more eloquence, learning and earnestness, to show that the rotten borough system was the source of English power and prosperity, than was ever exhibited in Congress to show that slavery was the secret of the marvelous greatness and growth of America. The source of these strange perversions of reason is obviously the same. It was merely because slavery, in the one case, and the rotten borough system in the other, gave the orator or his party political power. But now the sceptre of slavery is broken, and its empire can never be restored. Even as a personal relation, it is out of date in this age of the world, and strangely out of place in America, and nothing but the despotism it temporarily possessed could have prevented its destruction by the enlightenment and moral pressure of the age. But when to the catalogue of wrongs inflicted by it upon the nation, and especially upon the laboring millions of our own race in the midst of whom it exists, is added the crime of this rebellion, no one can doubt that its doom is decreed.

But the question comes, by whom is this decree to be executed? I reply, it can only be done by the constitutional authorities. But will they do it? I have already said they would; and my belief is, that any assumption of authority to expediate it may stay the work, and might restore the slave dynasty again temporarily to power; and, indeed, the talk of such usurpation has already given hopes of restoration, and lead, I hear, to what may be called a Jacobite conference in these Halls. It was not love for the king, but impatience engendered by the senseless rigor of the Puritans, that brought back Charles II to England. If the pro-slavery Democracy is restored to power, it will be by similar folly on the part of the most extreme opponents of slavery. It is a local institution; and while opinion and external power can and must aid in its eradication, yet from the very nature of the subject, it is only by the co-operation of the local authorities it can be effectively dealt with; and the rebellion, though it intensifies and consolidates opinion against the constitution, does not remove the necessity for this co-operation. But this co-operation is easily secured. It needs only the will to secure it to find the way to secure it. A manfestation of the spirit of justice on the part of the nation, and a disposition to do unto the people of the South as the people of the North would be done by under similar circumstances, is all that is necessary. If I am asked to be more specific in defining the policy this spirit would beget, I point you to the policy of Abraham Lincoln. If the Republicans had proclaimed that policy, I verily believe we should not have had this rebellion; and if it can even now be recognized by Congress, I believe it will save the blood of many of our soldiers, and soon bring us peace and good will, and speedy emancipation besides.

Many assume that Mr. Lincoln's programme of conciliation by separation of the races is inadequate, because the blacks are so numerous that they cannot all be removed, and time will be required to remove even a small portion of them. They argue that because the Liberian colony has failed to attract the freed negro population in any considerable numbers, that any scheme of colonization must also be a failure. There is a vast difference, however, between the idea of being colonized on our own continent, under our own flag, and being buried in Africa. It is the difference between life and death, home and banishment.

The fact that even now many of these persons are going to Hayti, and that multitudes of them have for years been looking out for an asylum in some neighboring country, has not attracted the attention of those who have not been interested in the subject. They do not know that a delegate convention was held at Cleveland by them in the year 1857, to consider the subject, and a committee appointed to examine and report.

I was not aware of this myself when I made my first speech in the House in 1858, on the subject. That and other speeches attracted the attention of these people, and I have since been furnished with copies of their proceedings, and received letters from their leading men, evincing not only the deepest interest in the subject, but displaying a comprehensive knowledge of it, which shows that they have men among them fitted to be the founders of a new nationality. I was assured by the organ of this convention that if the Government would act on any proposition, he was already authorized to speak for five thousand persons who had some means, who would embrace it in the first year. I do not myself doubt that ten times that number would be found in the first year, and that the establishment of such a colony would be followed by an outpouring of this population like the outpouring of the Mississippi when a crevasse is opened. It is indeed so manifest that this population tends by nature to that region, that I could as soon doubt that water would seek its level when permitted to flow, as that this race would not seek its natural home when at liberty to go there.

The census shows that it gravitates to the tropics, so that, even under existing conditions, it is but a question of time; and that it will free itself when it gets there, we also have seen, so irresistible is natural law. Mr. Lincoln only proposes to obey this natural and irresistible law and facilitate its operation. It is the disregard of it which has created the disorder under which the body politic is now suffering. Can it be doubted that the fever will abate rapidly when his policy is adopted? And, indeed, such is the nature of the case that I feel warranted in saying that the disturbance will cease as soon as it is known that the nation has accepted Mr. Lincoln's policy, and before a single negro has left the Union. The outbreak, as I have already said, sprang from the convictions in the common mind in the disturbed region that the negroes were to be liberated and put upon an equal footing with the whites. The mere idea of this amalgamation was instrumental in producing the rebellion. There was no actual emancipation. The idea of the separation of the races is a complete antidote to that poison.

It is the duty of the national Government to make the provision Mr. Lincoln recommends. That Government alone has the control of our external relations, and therefore the States could never be relieved of this race without the action of the Federal Government. And I will take the occasion to say that, in my judgment, the Representatives of the North will very soon find that they will be called on to act by their own people. The contrabands are going North, and it will soon be demonstrated, I think, that the working men of the South do not differ from their brethren of the North, in desiring that this population shall be provided with a more suitable home than is to be found among the white population. The wisdom of Mr. Lincoln's policy will vindicate itself then, if not before.

The efficacy of Mr. Lincoln's proposition to give pecuniary aid to such of the States as may wish to embrace the emancipation policy, is also questioned. If that proposition stood alone, there would be reason for this. And it is because the venerable gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. Wickliffe,] who, I believe, truly reflects the feelings of the Union slaveholders of his State and section, did not consider it only as a part of the President's policy, that he regarded it with disfavor. I judge so, indeed, without having conferred with him upon the subject; but I feel some confidence in the opinion, because while he differed on other points of public policy with his distinguished brother, the late Robert Wickliffe, upon matters pertaining to slavery, there was, I believe, an accordance of views.

If I am right in this impression, then I am authorized to say that the views of the President, taken as a whole, will be accepted by that gentleman; for I received a letter from his brother in 1858, warmly sustaining those views as explained by me in my speech of that year; and I will take occasion to say, that although Mr. Robert Wickliffe was never a member of Congress, or otherwise engaged in administering the Federal Government, yet he was among the foremost of those extraordinary statesmen and lawyers who have rendered the State of Kentucky so illustrious in the history of the Union. He was the compeer of the great John Breckinridge, Henry Clay, Hardin Bledsoe, and other great minds who have passed from the scene.

I am not of those who believe it is impossible for this Government to put down this rebellion and emancipate the slaves, or make any other disposition of them which may seem good. That opinion has been put forward generally by those who did not wish to see the rebellion put under foot. I observe that much has been said by the English press to the effect that this Government could never subjugate the seceded States, and we can appreciate the sincerity of their declarations when we consider that the British Government itself holds nearly two hundred millions of people in the very condition to which some of its public men declare that this Government cannot subject the seceded States. As far as physical power is concerned, I have never doubted the ability of this Government to reduce the seceded States and subject them to any terms we may choose to dictate; but I contend that we cannot subjugate them without maintaining a vast army and without changing the very form of our Government.

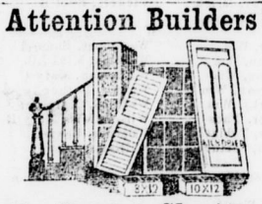
We cannot emancipate the slaves of the South and maintain them in the condition of freemen upon the soil of those States without the presence of an immense force equal to that which is required to set them free. It cannot be done because no law can be executed which is against the sense of the people of a community without the application of force. This is illustrated by the fugitive slave law, which has been held to be constitutional, and which is acquiesced in by a very large majority of the people of the North, and yet it has been evaded and resisted, and its execution in almost every given instance costs the Government more than the value of the slave rendered up under it. This is because the law is repugnant to the moral sense of a large body of the northern people. How will you execute a decree of emancipation which will set free the slaves of the South upon the soil and among a people the whole body of whom are opposed to it, and who have taken up arms in rebellion against this very idea of negro equality?

It can only be done by the presence of an immense army, sufficient to prevent the white race from re-enslaving the black, and by waging a constant war upon the people of our race for the protection of the black race. How long would it be endured by the northern people that a war should be waged upon the people of their own race at the South to make the blacks their equals? I do not believe that any party could retain power at the North upon such an issue. We should not overlook another consideration in dealing with this subject. Our armies are composed of men, and men act alike under similar circumstances.—Northern men in the South are not noted for any particular prejudice against slavery, and the soldiers whom it will be necessary to maintain at the South in order to secure the freedom of the enfranchised slaves, may come to look upon the matter in a different light, and the result may be simply a change of masters for the slaves. It is notorious that the contrabands are now the servants of our soldiers.

We can make emancipation acceptable to the whole mass of the non-slaveholders at the South by coupling it with the policy of colonization. The very prejudice of race which now makes the non-slaveholders give their aid to hold the slave in bondage will then induce them to unite in a policy which will rid them of the presence of the negroes; and, as nine out of ten of the white people of the South are non-slaveholders, and, as the right of suffrage is almost unlimited, it is easy to see what will be the result.

It is objected, however, that we have no right to remove the negroes from their own country against their will. I do not believe that compulsory colonization is necessary to the ultimate success of this plan but nei-

Attention Builders!



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