NASHVILLE DAILY UNION.

VOL. I. NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1862. NO 202

Davidson County Directory.

CITY GOVERNMENT.

JOHN HUGH SMITH, *Mayor.*
WILLIAM SHANE, *Recorder.*
JOHN CHUMBLEY, *Marshal.*

Deputy Marshals—W. H. Wilkinson, A. C. Tucker, and James A. Steele.

Clerks of the Market—John Chumbley, *ex-officio*, first; Jos. L. Ryan, second; and John Reddick, third.

Tax Assessor—William Driver.

Revenue Collector—A. B. Shankland.

Water Tax Collector—E. B. Garrett.

Treasurer—R. Henry.

Wharf Master—Thomas Leake.

Superintendent of the Workhouse—J. Q. Dodd.

Superintendent of the Water Works—James Wyatt.

Chief of the Fire Department—John M. Seabury.

Sexton of the Cemetery—T. H. McBride.

Street Overseer—J. L. Stewart.

City Attorney—John McPhail Smith.

CITY COUNCIL.

Board of Aldermen—M. M. Brien, President; J. E. Newman, G. A. J. Mayfield, H. G. Scovel, Wm. S. Cheatham, J. C. Smith, M. G. L. Claiborne, and Jas. Robb.

Common Council—W. P. Jones, President; William Roberts, T. J. Yarbrough, Wm. Driver, Wm. Stewart, Louis Hough, W. Mullins, James Turner, G. M. Southgate, A. J. Cole, Jas. Davis, Andrew Anderson, J. B. Knowles, and John Cready.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

Finance—Knowles, Scovel and Cole.

Water Works—Anderson, Smith and Claiborne.

Streets—Yarbrough, Turner, Southgate, Davis, Brien, Mayfield, Cheatham and Claiborne.

Wharf—Newman, Stewart and Turner.

Hospital—Jones, Mayfield and Sloan.

Schools—Cheatham, Mayfield and Knowles.

Fire Department—Cready, Driver and Newman.

Gas—Driver, Cheatham and Davis.

Cemetery—Smith, Stewart and Newman.

Market House—Roberts, Stewart and Turner

Slaves—Hough, Claiborne and Davis.

Police—Cheatham, Brien and Anderson

Springs—Hough, Claiborne and Brien.

Workhouse—Cheatham, Mayfield and Knowles.

Improvements and Expenditures—Cole, Scovel and Cready.

Public Property—Brien, Cheatham and Turner.

Poor House—Mayfield, Jones and Roberts.

☞ The Board of Aldermen meets the Tuesdays preceding the second and fourth Thursdays in each month, and the Common Council the second and fourth Thursdays in each month.

NIGHT POLICE

Captain—John Baugh.

First Lieutenant—Wm. Yarbrough.

Second Lieutenant—John H. Davis.

Policemen—Wm. Jackson, John Cavender, Nich Davis, Joel Phillips, Wm. Baker, John Cottrell, William Dyer, John Englen, J. W. Wright, John Puckett, Peter Scott, W. C. Francis, Thomas Francis, Andrew Leech, David Yates, and Charles Hulitt.

☞ The Police Court is opened every morning at o'clock.

COUNTY OFFICERS.

Sheriff—James M. Hinton. *Deputies*—Thomas Hobbs and J. K. Buchanan.

Trustee—Phineas Garrett.

Register—W. Jasper Taylor.

Coroner—N. H. Belcher.

Ranger—John Corbitt.

Revenue Collector—J. G. Briley.

Railroad Tax Collector—W. D. Robertson.

Constables for the Nashville District—John D. Gower and J. E. Newman.

COUNTY COURT.

Probate Judge—Hon. James Whitworth.

Clerk—P. Lindsley Nichol.

☞ The Judge's Court meets the first Monday in each month, and the Quarterly Court, composed of the Magistrates of the County, is held the first Monday in January, April, July and October.

CIRCUIT COURT.

Judge—Hon. Nathaniel Baxter.

Clerk—David C. Love.

☞ The Court meets the first Monday in March and September.

CRIMINAL COURT.

Judge—Hon. William K. Turner.

Clerk—Charles E. Diggons.

☞ The Court meets the first Monday in April August and December.

CHANCERY COURT.

Chancellor—Hon. Samuel D. Frierson.

Clerk and Master—J. E. Gleaves.

☞ The Court meets the first Monday in May and November.

I. O. O. F.

GEO. F. HIDE, Grand Secretary, should be addressed at *Nashville, Tenn.*

Tennessee Lodge, No. 1—Meets every Tuesday Evening, at their Hall, on the corner of Union and Summer streets. The officers for the present term, are: S. Leaueur, N. G.; J. E. Mills, V.G.; J. L. Weakley, Secretary; L. K. Spain, Treasurer.

Tyrone Lodge, No. 10—Meets at the same place every Monday Evening. The officers are: R. A. Campbell, N. G.; Henry Apple, V.G.; J. L. Park, Secretary; B. F. Brown, Treasurer.

Henry Lodge, No. 99—Meets at their Hall, on South Cherry street, every Friday Evening. The officers are: C. Covert, N.G.; Frank Harman, V.G.; James Grant, Secretary; W. M. Mallory, Treasurer.

Aurora Lodge, No. 105, (German)—Meets at the old corner of Union and Summer streets, every Saturday Evening. The officers are: Charles Rich, N.G.; Friedman, V.G.; —— Bitterlich, Secretary; Geo. Merle, Treasurer.

Holly Encampment, No. 1—Meets at the above Hall the first and third Wednesdays of each month. The officers are: J. E. Mills, C.P.; T. H. McBride, H.P.; F. Eiller, S.W.; Peter Harris, Jr., J.W.; John F. Wade, Scribe; R. R. Cutter, Treasurer.

Olive Branch Encampment, No. 4—Meets at the above hall on the second and fourth Wednesday nights of each month. The officers are: Jas. T. Bell, C.P.; Henry Apple, H.P.; L. Moker, S.W.; B. Friedman, J.W.; Charles Kircher, Scribe; J. N. Ward, Treasurer.

DAVIDSON COUNTY DIRECTORY—*Continued.*

MILITARY QUARTERS AND OFFICERS.

Post—Headquarters on High street. Gen. Negley, commanding.

District—Headquarters on Summer street (Dr. Ford's residence.) W. H. Sidell, Maj. 15th U. S. Infantry, A. A. A. G.

Provost Marshal—Headquarters at the Capitol. A. C. Gillem, Col. 1st Tenn. Infantry.

Chief Assistant Quartermaster—Headquarters on Cherry street; No. 10, (Judge Catron's residence.) Capt. J. D. Bingham.

Assistant Quartermaster—No.—Cherry street. Capt. R. Stevenson.

Assistant Quartermaster—Vine street, near Mrs. Polk's residence. Capt. R. N. Lamb.

Assistant Quartermaster—No. 37, Market street.—Capt. J. M. Hale.

Chief Commissary—Headquarters, No 10, Vine st. Capt. R. Macfeely.

Commissary of Subsistence—Broad street. Capt. S Little.

Acting Commissary of Subsistence—Corner of Broad and College streets. Lieut Charles Allen.

Medical Director—Summer street. (Dr. Ford's old residence.) Surgeon, E. Swift.

Medical Purveyor's Office—Church street, Masonic Building. J. R. Phillips, Surgeon, 8th Kentucky Infantry, Acting Medical Purveyor.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

NASHVILLE UNION.

THE NASHVILLE UNION was commenced a few weeks since, for the purpose of opposing the Rebel Southern Confederacy, and of advocating the restoration of Federal authority, without any abatement, over all the States which have attempted to secede. It holds as friends all who support, and as foes all who oppose the Union of the States. It has no watchword but FREEDOM AND NATIONALITY.

With rebels and traitors it has no compromises to make. It contends for the Federal Constitution and the Laws made in pursuance thereof as the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND, anything in the Constitution and Laws of any of the States to the contrary notwithstanding.

It contends for the Union of the States, because without it the preservation of our liberties and institutions and the organization of society itself are wholly impossible. Therefore, whatever stands in the way of crushing out the rebellion and restoring the Union must perish, no matter by what name it be called.

To the people of Tennessee, ever renowned for their devotion to Liberty and Union, until they were betrayed to the rebel despotism at Richmond by a perfidious Governor and corrupt Legislature, and who have felt so heavily the awful curse of treason and anarchy, we appeal for support. Let the names of rebel office-holders, Vigilance Committees, and Minute Men, who have filled our borders with mourning, be gibbetted before the world. Let those ambitious and avaricious men who have plotted our ruin for their own aggrandizement be fastened to the pillory of shame, no matter how high their position in society. Let it be shown how the self-styled defenders of "Southern Rights" are now leading marauding bands of free-booters and moss-troopers over our State, kidnapping negroes, stealing horses and cattle, breaking into houses, burning railroad bridges and cars, and murdering unarmed citizens in cold blood. Let the truth, so long excluded by the Southern conspirators, now circulate freely through every neighborhood, and our cause will assuredly triumph. Will not loyal men everywhere aid us in the dissemination of facts and the advocacy of Free Government?

Terms of Subscriptions in Par Funds.

Daily Union, single copy, per annum	$8 00
" " clubs of ten, each	7 00
Tri-weekly, single copy	5 00
" clubs of ten, each	4 00
Weekly, single copy	2 00
" clubs of ten, each	1 50

☞ All communications on business with the Office, will be addressed to the PUBLISHERS of the UNION, and all communications to the Editor will be addressed to S. C. MERCER

Editors of loyal newspapers will do us a great kindness by re-publishing the foregoing or its substance

The current transactions in Tennessee for months to come will be highly interesting to all lovers of their country and her free institutions, and the columns of the Union will furnish the earliest and most reliable history of these events.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

(TEN LINES OR LESS TO CONSTITUTE A SQUARE.)

1 Square,	1 day,	$1 00	each additional insertion			$ 50
" "	1 week,	3 00	each additional square			1 50
" "	2 "	4 50	"	"	"	2 00
" "	1 month,	6 00	"	"	"	3 00
" "	2 "	9 00	"	"	"	4 50
" "	3 "	12 00	"	"	"	5 00
" "	6 "	18 00	"	"	"	8 00
" "	12 "	25 00	"	"	"	10 00

To ADVERTISERS in DETAIL

THE RATES WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:

Quarter Column,	1 month	$15 00
" "	2 "	20 00
" "	3 "	25 00
" "	6 "	40 00
" "	12 "	60 00
Half Column	1 month	20 00
" "	2 "	30 00
" "	3 "	35 00
" "	6 "	55 00
" "	12 "	85 00
One Column	1 "	30 00
" "	2 "	40 00
" "	3 "	45 00
" "	6 "	70 00
" "	12 "	110 00

Advertisements occupying any special position *inside*, 20 per cent. additional; special position outside, 10 per cent.

☞ Advertisements inserted in the Local Column charged at the rate of twenty cents per line.

Changes may be made periodically when agreed upon; but every such change will involve extra expense, to be paid for by the advertiser.

☞ *Advertisers exceeding the space contracted for will be charged for the excess.*

Marriage and Funeral Notices,

When exceeding five lines, will be charged at the usual advertising rates.

Announcements of Candidates.

FOR STATE OFFICERS	$15 00
" COUNTY "	5 00
" CITY "	5 00

Cash required in advance for all advertisements, unless by special agreement.

We, the undersigned, have this day adopted the above rates, to which we bind ourselves strictly to adhere.

WM. CAMERON, for the *Union.*
JOHN WALLACE, for the *Dispatch*

NASHVILLE, Tenn., July 12, 1862.

Nashville Union.

Published by an Association of Printers.

Office on Printers' Alley, between Union and Deaderick Streets.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, DEC. 3, 1862.

THE COST OF PEACE.

Letter from Robert Dale Owen to Secretary Chase.

The Conditions of Lasting Peace.

To the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury:

SIR: In briefest terms I state the propositions which, as the subject of our recent conversation, I promised to reduce to writing.

What are the reasonable hopes of peace?

Not that, within the next fifty days, the South, availing herself of the terms of grace offered in the President's proclamation, may, to save her favorite institution, return to her allegiance. Let us not deceive ourselves. There are *no* conditions, *no* guarantees—no, not if we proffer her a blank sheet on which to set them down, with unrestricted pen, in her own hand—under which she will consent to runion, except in one contingency—conquest, more or less complete, by force of arms.

Are we likely to obtain peace by conquest?

In search of an answer, let us look closely at a few statistical facts.

By the census of 1860 the number of white males between the ages of 18 and 45 is, in the loyal States, about four millions; and in the disloyal States, about one million three hundred thousand; a little upward of three to one. The disproportion seems overwhelmingly great.

But this calculation, as a basis of military strength, is wholly fallacious, for it includes persons of one color only.

Out of the above four millions the North has to provide soldiers and (with inconsiderable exceptions, not usually extending to field-labor) laborers also.

But of the three millions and a half of slaves owned in the rebel States, about two millions may be estimated as laborers. Allow three hundred thousand of these as employed in domestic services and other occupations followed by women among us, and we have seventeen hundred thousand plantation hands, male and female, each one of which counts against a Northern laborer on farm or in work shop.

Then of that portion of population whence soldiers and out-door laborers and mechanics must chiefly be taken, the Northern States have four millions and the Southern States three millions.

Supposing the negroes all loyal to their masters, it follows that the true proportions of strength available in this war—that is, of all soldiers to fight and laborers to support the nation while fighting—may fairly enough be taken at three in the South to four in the North.

Under the supposition of a South united, without regard to color, in an effort for recognition, shall we obtain peace by subduing her? If history teach truth, we shall not. Never, since the world beggan, did nine millions of people band together, resolutely inspired by the one idea of achieving their independence, yet fail to obtain it. It is not a century since one-third of the number successfully defied Great Britain.

But let us suppose the negroes of the South loyal to the Union instead of to their masters, how stands the matter then?

In that case, it is not to a united people, but to a Confederacy divided against itself, that we are opposed; the masters on one side; the laborers, exceeding them in number, on the other.

Suppose the services of these laborers transferred to us, what will then be the proportion, on either side of forces available, directly and indirectly, for military purposes?

As about five and three-fourths to one and a third: in other words, nearly as nine to two.

Such a wholesale transfer is, of course, impossible in practice. But in so far as the transfer is possible, and shall occur, we approach the above results.

How much wisdom, under these circumstances, is there in the advice that we should put down the rebellion first and settle the negro question afterwards? What shall we say of their statesmanship who, in a war like this, would leave out of view the practical effects of emancipation?

On the other hand, however, it is to be admitted that African loyalty in this war will little avail us, if we have not good sense and good feeling enough properly to govern ther negroes who may enter our lines.

To render their aid available, in the first place we must treat them humanely; a duty we have yet to learn; and secondly, both for their sakes and for our own, we must not support them in idleness. Doubtless, they are not efficient as laborers, as domestics in camp, as teamsters, or employed on intrenchments and fortifications, or in ambulance corps, or as sappers and miners; or, as fast as Southern plantations shall fall into our possession, as field hands. But if all these posts become over-filled, better do away with the necessity for further draft in the North by putting muskets in the hands of able-bodied men, colored differently from ourselves, than to delude their ignorance into the opinion that among the privileges of freedom is food without work.

Have we philanthropy and discretion enough wisely to administer a change of system. Possibly not. Administrative capacity in public affairs is not our strong point. We would do well to bear in mind, however, that without such capacity not this war only, but our entire governmental experiment, will prove a failure at last.

Do other objections hold against the plan? Does humanity forbid us to accept the aid of an enslaved race? In so far as humanity can ever enjoin war at all, she *enjoins* the employment, by us, of the African in this; first, because his employment may shorten, by years, the fratricidal struggle; and then, because, if he is not permitted to assist in civilized warfare under us, and if, without his aid, we fail to effect his liberation and thus disappoint his hopes, he may be overtaken by the temptation to seek freedom and revenge in his own wild way. In accepting the liberated slave as a soldier we may prevent his rising as an assassin. By the creation of negro brigades we may avert the indiscriminate massacres of servile insurrection.

Or is there an insuperable difficulty of caste in the way? In a contest likely to eventuate in securing to another race than ours the greatest of temporal blessings, are we determined to shut out that race from all share in its own liberation? Are we so enamored of the moloch, war, that we will suffer none but our sons to pass through the fire? Terrible penalty to pay, with life and death at stake, for a national prejudice against the Southern Pariah!

As to the duty of our rulers in the premises, I cannot see according to what principle of ethics a Government, charged with the lives of five millions, the putting down of a gigantic rebellion and the restoration of tranquility to the land, has the right, in the hour of its utmost need, to scorn a vast element of strength placed within its reach and at its disposal; nor why, if it refuses to avail itself of such an element, it should not be held responsible for the lives it sacrifices and the hopes it blights.

But we need emancipation far less for the material aid it affords—great, even indispensable, though it be—than because of other paramount considerations.

We have tried the experiment of a Federal Union, with a free-labor system in one portion of it and a slave-system in another, for eighty-years; and no one familiar with our affairs for a quarter of century past is ignorant that the result has been an increase—embittered year by year in ever-accelerated ratio—of dissensions, of sectional jealousies, of national heart-burnings. When, eighteen months since, these culminated in war, it was but the issue which our ablest statesmen, looking sorrowingly into the future, had long since foretold. But if, while yet at peace, and with all the influence of revolutionary reminiscences pleading the cause of the Union, this diversity of labor systems, producing variance of character and alienation of feeling, proved stronger to divide than all past memories and present interests to unite, what chance is there that its baneful power for evil should cease, now, when to thoughts of fancied injuries in other years are added the recollections of the terrible realities enacted on a hundred bloody battlefields, from which the smoke has scarcely passed away.

None—the remotest!

A suspension of hostilities we can purchase; a few years' respite, probably, in which to return to our money getting, before the storm bursts forth anew with gathered force; but if we look beyond selfishness and present; if our children are in our thoughts; if we are suffering and expending now, that they, in a land of prosperity, may live and die in peace, then must we act so that the result shall endure. We must not be content to put off the evil day. The root of the evil—the pregnant cause of the war—that must be eradicated.

Report has it that a Western politician recently proposed, as the best solution of our difficulties, the recognition of Slavery in all the States. Such an idea has a basis of truth: namely, that a state of war is, among us, the necessary result of conflicting labor systems. Such an idea might even be carried out and lead to peace but for that progressive spirit of Christian civilization which we dare not openly outrage, how imperfectly soever we obey its humane behests.

There are a thousand reasons—geographical, commercial, political international—why we should not consent to a separation into two confederacies; it is a contingency not to be thought of or entertained; but *if we look merely to the conditions of lasting peace*, the chance of maintaining it would be far better if the independence of the South were to be recognized with her negroes emancipated, than if she were to return to her allegiance, retaining her slave system.

For in the former case, the cause of dissension being uprooted, the tendency would be to reunite, and a few years see us a single nation again, while, in the latter a constantly active source of irritation still existing, three years of breathing time would not elapse without bringing endless quarrels and a second rebellion.

Conceive reunion with Slavery still in existence. Imagine Southern sympathizers in power among us, offering compromises. Suppose the South, exhausted with military reverses and desiring a few years' armistice to recruit, decides to accept it under the guise of peace and reconstruction? What next? Thousands of slaves, their excited hopes of emancipation crushed, fleeing across the border. A Fugitive Slave law, revived by peace, demanding their rendition. Popular opinion in the North opposed to the law, and refusing the demand. Renewed war the certain consequence.

Or take, even, the alternative of recognition—recognition of an independent Confederacy, still slaveholing. Are we, then—becoming the sole exception among the nations of the earth—to make ourselves aiders and abetters of the slave system of a foreign nation, by agreeing to return to her negro refugees seeking liberty and an asylum among us? National self-respect imperatively forbids this. Public sentiment would compel the rejection, as a base humiliation, of any proposed treaty stipulation providing for rendition of runaway slaves. Yet the South would regard such rejection in no other light than as a standing menace—a threat to deprive her of what she regards as her most valuable property. Coterminous as for hundreds—possibly thousands—of miles of our boundaries would be, must not the South, in common prudence, maintain all along that endless border-line an armed slave police? Are we to consent to this? And if we do, shall we escape border raids after fleeing fugitives? No sane man will expect it. Are we to suffer these? We are disgraced. Are we to resent them? It is a renewal of hostilities.

State elections may go as they will. Their results can never change the fact that any party obtaining the control of the Government and adopting the policy that the settlement of the emancipation question is to be postponed till the war shall be closed, will never, while it pursues that policy, see this war permanently closed—not even by accepting a shameful disruption of our country.

But if emancipation is to avail us as a peace measure, we must adopt it boldly, resolutely, effectually. It must be general, not partial; extending not to the slaves or rebels only, but to every slave on this continent. Even if it were practicable, which it is not, with Slavery nonexistent in the Northern States and to abolish it in those which persist in rebellion, to maintain it in the narrow border-strip, it is precisely there, where negro fugitives can the most readily escape, that its maintenance would the most certainly lead to war.

Can this great peace measure be constitutionally enacted?

A proclamation or (the more appropriate form) an act of general emancipation, should, in its preamble, set forth, in substance, that the claims to service or labor of which it deprives certain persons having been proved, by recent events, to be of a character endangering the supremacy of the law, jeopardizing the integrity of the Union, and incompatible with the permanent peace of the country, are taken by the Government, with just compensation made. Under circumstances far less urgent than these, the law or custom of civilized nations, based on considerations of public utility, authorizes such taking of private property for public use. We ourselves are familiar with its operations. When a conflagration in a city threatens to spread far, houses in the line of its progress may legally be seized and destroyed by the authorities in order to arrest it, and the owners are not held to have been wronged if they are paid for such losses under an equitable appraisement. But it is not the existence of part of a city that is now endangered. It is the integrity of one among the first powers of the world that is menaced with destruction.

The truth of the preamble suggested has become, in my judgment, incontrovertible. It will receive the assent of an overwhelming majority of the people of the loyal States. The public sentiment of Europe will admit its truth.

Let us confess that such a preamble, as preface to act or proclamation, could not have commanded the assent of more than a small fraction of our people, only two short years ago—two years, as we reckon time; a generation, if we calculate by the stirring events and far-reaching upheavals that have been crowded into the eventful months. In such days as these abuses ripen rapidly. Their consequences mature. Their ultimate tendencies become apparent. We are reminded of their transitory character. We are reminded that although for the time, and in a certain stage of human progress, some abuses may have their temporary use, and for this, under God's economy, may have been suffered to continue; yet all abuses have but a limited life. The right only is eternal.

The rebellion, teacher and orator as well as scourge and destroyer, by sternly laying bare the imminent dangers of Slavery, has created the constitutionality of emancipation. It has done more. It has made emancipation a bounden political duty, as well as strictly constitutional right.

Can we, in declaring emancipation, legally avoid the payment, say of two hundred millions, in the shape of compensation to loyal slaveholders?

Not if a slaveholder's right to service and labor from his slaves, when not forfeited by treason, is legal. On humanitarian grounds the legality of that right has been denied. But a construction of the constitution adverse to such denial, and acquiesced in by the nation throughout more than two generations, is held by most men to be reason sufficient why the right in question should be regarded as private property. If it be private property, then, except by violating the fifth article of the amendments to the Constitution, it cannot be taken for public use without just compensation. To violate any articles of the Constitution is a revolutionary act; but such acts cost a nation more than a few hundred millions of dollars.

The risk that a future decision of the Supreme Court might declare emancipation without compensation to be unconstitutional is, of itself, sufficient justification of the President's policy, corresponding to the above suggestions, in this matter.

Such compensation will be unpopular with many. Wise and just acts, when they involve sacrifices, frequently are. A wrong long tolerated commonly entails a penalty, which is seldom cheerfully paid. Yet, even on other grounds, we ought not, in this case, to begrudge the money. Who deserve better of their country than those brave men who, in the border and other slave States, have clung to their loyalty through all the dark hours of peril even to life?

Precautions naturally suggest themselves against false pretenses of loyalty. It seems expedient that he who shall have proved that he is the legal owner of certain slaves, and also that he has ever been loyal to the Union, should receive a certificate of indebtedness by the Government, not transferable, to be paid at some fixed time subsequent to the termination of the war; payment being made contingent on the fact that the claimant shall not, meanwhile, have lapsed from his loyalty.

Every such claimant, once recognized, would feel himself to be, by his own act, the citizen of a free State; one of us, detached forever from the Southern League. A Government stockholder, he would become pecuniarily interested in the support of the Government and the restoration of peace.

Even if the Legislatures of the Border States should not initiate such a policy, the loyal men of these States will accept it.

Such a measure does not involve expense in conveying the liberated negro to other countries. It has hitherto, indeed, been the usual policy in slave States to discourage, as dangerous, the residence there of free blacks, and hence an idea that colonization should be the concomitant of emancipation. Of general emancipation, there is no need whatever that it should be. Those who take up such an idea forget that the jealousy with which slaveholders regard the presence of free negroes springs out of the dread that these may infect with a desire for freedom the slaves around them, thus rendering them insubordinate. But when all are free there will be no slaves to incite, nor any chains to be broken by resort to insurrection.

It is no business of ours either to decide, for the liberated negro, where he shall dwell, or to furnish his traveling expenses. Freemen, black or white, should select their own dwelling place and pay their own way.

As to the fears of competition in labor sought to be excited in the minds of the Northern working man, they have foundation only in case emancipation be refused; for such refusal would flood the North with fugitives. If, on the contrary, emancipation be carried out, the strong local attachments of the negro will induce him, with rarest exceptions, to remain as a hired laborer where he worked as a slave. Thus humane masters will not lack sufficient working hands, of which colonization would deprive them. And if, notwithstanding the probable rise of Southern staples, profits at first, should be less, the security of the planter will be greater. He will no longer lie down at night uncertain whether the morning's news may not be that his slaves have risen against him.

This is the paper view of the question. But all edicts, all proclamations, how wise and righteous soever, are but idle announcements now if we lack courage and conduct to enforce them.

Courage we have. Raw levies have behaved like veterans. The skeletons of regiments reduced to one-tenth their

[CONTINUED ON FOURTH PAGE.]