THE PRO-SLAVERY REBELLION.

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE WATER BATTERIES—CASTLE PINCKNEY.

CHARLESTON, Feb. 1, 1861.

I have just returned from a visit—or voyage of discovery—to one of the water batteries spoken of in my last. It lies at the foot of Prichard street—Marsh's dock-yard, I believe. As yet it does not look like a very formidable thing. Its proportions and outlines are not fully developed. You might worship it and run no risk of violating one of the commandments. It is made of sawed Southern pine timber, twelve inches square, green, and much like pig-iron in the water, and liable to be eaten up by the water-grubs in three days. I suppose, however, the projectors know what they are about. They probably intend to give the thing a coating of something or other to protect it from the enemy that is fatal to everything but stone, metal, and Palmetto logs. It would be difficult to describe the thing in its present state. Nor is it easy to see what it is going to be. It is something less than 100 feet long, about 25 feet wide. The bottom is flat into which the side-timbers are framed, which go up not perpendicular, but at an outward inclination of about 40 degrees, presenting an uneven slope on the outside. These side timbers, which are set endways, are about 25 feet long. On the upper end are framed other short timbers, which present the appearance of rafters sawed off at the length of from three to five feet. The idea I get is that another set of timbers are to be framed into these short rafters, reaching downward to the flooring, thus forming a chamber to be filled in with some resisting material, which, with the thickness of the inner and outer frame, will make a wall of at least six feet in thickness. It is simple, and may be practicable. It has been in the course of construction about two weeks. From 50 to 75 hands are employed on it, and the contractor would put on as many more if he could get them. Ship carpenters are scarce. No one is permitted to approach nearer than the street to the thing, a rope having been stretched across the entrance to the yard, and guards stationed there. Your correspondent found no difficulty in the case, however. *The Courier* and *The Mercury* are permitted to make use of this skeleton description of the thing, with the usual comment that your correspondent is not in Charleston but in New-York. By the way, one of those papers this morning intimates that I am in Washington. Suit yourselves, gentlemen.

A numerous gang of carpenters and other mechanics are kept constantly employed at Castle Pinckney, improving and strengthening that fortress. At best it is a shell. For some time past Maj. Wagner has been engaged in constructing a patent sabot at the Castle. Two experiments have been made with it. Its caliber is that of a twenty-four pounder, and the first experiment had a range of 1,900 yards, less than one mile and a quarter. On the second trial, yesterday, the range was increased to a trifle upward of two miles. Still greater improvements are confidently expected; and other guns of the same sort are to be undertaken. The object is to facilitate the siege of Fort Sumter, which is now near at hand. The distance from Castle Pinckney to Fort Sumter is two and five-eighths miles.

The demand which Col. Hayne is known to have made, in the name of the revolutionary authorities, for the unqualified surrender of Fort Sumter, gives universal satisfaction here. Scarcely any one thinks the demand will be complied with. The only remaining idea is to complete the preparations for making good the threat to take the fort. So we do make actual progress in a practical way.

The Mr. Dodge who was sent away for being the correspondent of THE TRIBUNE, writes back, denying the charge, and demands a hearing. Why send people away on mere suspicion, if you are so certain that the correspondent of THE TRIBUNE is in New-York?

The military works on Morris Island, Cumming's Point, and Sullivan's Island, are in an advanced state of preparation, and nearly ready for the siege of Sumter. At Fort Moultrie casemates have been erected for the guns, made by packing barrels with sand, piling them in tiers, filling the spaces with sand firmly pounded in, the whole lashed with iron and other bands. Inclosures like these are believed to be bomb proof. They do not look as though they could withstand the balls that will be sent by the heavy guns which look directly over upon them from Fort Sumter. Palmetto logs have been used for a like purpose on Morris Island and some of the other batteries.

There is a hitch in the recruiting business. The up-country people take it in dudgeon that city aspirants have been commissioned instead of the fighting men in their midst. They therefore, in some localities, refuse to enlist or allow others to do so.

HARBOR DEFENSES.

From Our Special Correspondent.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Feb. 2, 1861.

Work on the Floating Battery is pressed forward as rapidly as possible. Within the last twenty-four hours the features of the thing have been considerably developed. It would appear that the projecting timbers, or short rafters, of which I have spoken, are to form a covering or roof for the men at the guns. The sides are to be timbers bolted together, something in the style of a trestle bridge, and in all will be between three and four feet in thickness. I now understand that it is not the design to roof the structure entirely over, but for the most part, with the exception of the covering I have mentioned, it is to be left open. I understand, also, that the design is to let in six or eight feet of water, above which, around the sides, under the protection spoken of, there will be a raised platform for guns and men. The idea of the water, it is supposed, is to destroy the effect of the bombs which will fall into it. The opening in the roof probably has reference to the effect of the concussion on the men serving the guns.

The utmost precaution has been adopted to prevent the plan of the structure becoming known even to the mechanics any faster than the work goes forward. I will endeavor to send you a drawing of the thing as soon as it shall have become sufficiently developed. It is being pierced for twenty guns of the heaviest description.

The structure would seem to be altogether too light for its purpose, and that it would not long withstand the effect of heavy shot. It would appear evident that the character of the timber of which it will be made would render it extremely liable to be set on fire by hot shot. It was intended to have it in readiness to receive the guns this day; but if a week more brings it to that point, the contractor will do well. The whole structure is strengthened and stiffened by the introduction of rods of iron, though even then it will manifestly lack stiffness, considering the great weight of the peculiar character of the timber used. In this respect it is wholly out of proportion.

The citadel continues to disgorge its heavy guns, and a gang of men are kept employed in mounting them on carriages to be transported to different points. There are now, and for some time have been, from a dozen to twenty ready mounted in front of the citadel. They are mostly twelve-pounders. [If the editors of *The Mercury* and *Courier* think I am in New-York, and only guess at what I have written above, let them go and look for themselves and then say whether I have guessed wrong.]

With reference to the practicability of reinforcing Fort Sumter, I will say that they who know most about it here do not doubt it, though it would be at considerable risk, and perhaps some loss. It must be confessed, however, that the practicability is diminishing every day, in consequence of the perfection to which the harbor defenses are being brought. At the time the Star of the West attempted to come in, the feasibility of the undertaking, if made with a full knowledge of the situation of things, was undoubted. That was bungling affair, at which the Revolutionists will never cease to laugh.

I make the following citation from the Washington letter published in *The Mercury* this morning. It is in the same vein of the editorials of that paper, and matters not whether written in Washington or Charleston. As to the plain duty of the Government, it enforces the same views I have frequently expressed:

"This much is plain. Buchanan ought either to reenforce Anderson or to recall him. He has not yet reenforced him, and he won't recall him. Does any one suppose he means to charge himself with the crime of sacrificing seventy men—to say nothing of the lives of those who will fall in the assault—merely on a point of honor. You Cotonians are deceiving yourselves. Mr. Buchanan is a Northern man—a Union man at all hazards. He intends to hand over Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens to his successor, *cost what it may*. He wants time—desires no collision. But those who expect him to give up these fortifications, do not know the man or his feelings. By postponing the capture of these posts you are only accumulating the chances of failure and compounding interest of your best blood. By delay you afford time for the amplest preparations within the Fort and you stand continually exposed to the dangers of a successful reinforcement from a hostile and treacherous Government. Many military and naval men think that it can be readily affected in boats, despite all your precautions. And depend upon it Scott is no trifler, and will not fail when the next effort is made. South Carolina is drifting into a position where a bloody battle will be inevitable or a disgraceful backing down and reconstruction of the Union."

I will say that this view of the case is now pretty generally concurred in here. Scarcely any one now expects to avoid the impending conflict. I am persuaded, however, that there are in South Carolina a considerable body of men—the most solid of her citizens—who, if opportunity were presented, would do almost anything to preserve the Union; who view this secession business as the greatest folly and crime of which men were ever guilty; who pray that the Border-State movement may succeed; and whose eyes are turned toward Washington, and not toward Montgomery. But the State is in such hands and under such control as completely stifles this sentiment. These men are as nothing in the present state of affairs, and there must be a counter revolution before they can be heard. I meet, daily, men who do not hesitate to speak with some degree of hope of the turning point in this Revolution. If there were anything like free speech, free action, or free anything, the time would not be far off.

I perceive that a writer of letters to *The N. Y. Christian Inquirer* says, that almost everything written to the Northern press concerning the state of affairs in Charleston, is misrepresentation. The writer wears rose-colored glasses, as well as a white cravat. He walked through one of our handsome streets—Calhoun street, by no means the handsomest, seemed to have pleased him most—saw the Asylum and College; and because he saw nobody tearing down dwellings, garroting and robbing men, plundering stores and banks at midday, and a general riot, he therefore concludes that whatever has been said about a mob bearing sway here, is a malicious fabrication. A more observing man, while he will probably see no riot, will see this: the great body of the community at fever heat, armed, rushing everything to a climax without deliberation, permitting no argument, tolerating no difference of opinion, silencing all expressions of doubt however honest, forestalling by power what might otherwise be a healthy public sentiment, and intimidating everybody and everything—even the authorities themselves, into acquiescence. This is the sort of mob—an organized armed mob—that has possession of Charleston and the State, for in this matter Charleston is the State. The writer could not see anything of this sort. Not he. He could see nothing but fine steeples and churches, of which there are so many here; nobody but professors and "institutions," of whom and which probably too many good things cannot be said. As to prostration of business, high prices of provisions, &c., I presume that the business men would be glad to know that business was not at a dead stand-still, and getting worse; and all who go to market and have mouths to feed and bodies to make warm, would be glad to know there were no high prices, every day growing higher, for about everything but rice, which is cheap because there is little or no exportation, in consequence of the striking down of the commerce of the port by the Revolutionary authorities. Let the rose-colored writer pass.

FROM GEORGIA.

A GLANCE AT THE FIELD.

From Our Special Correspondent.

SAVANNAH, Feb. 1, 1860.

After a storm, a calm. Aside from political matters there are good reasons for the general quiet which just now pervades Georgia. In cities the sudden movement of the cotton crop since the first of the year has absorbed the attention and energies of the business public. For the past month cotton has been gorging the warehouses and wharves of inland cities and seaports; and has been sold generally at good prices. Its sudden movement is attributed to fears of coming blockade of the ports, while its advance of price may arise from equal anxiety on the part of Southern creditors to realize their dues in a tangible shape before further complication of existing difficulties. Just now, prices are receding a little. The income from the country, however, is nearly exhausted; and as a general rule, growers have realized paying prices, although suffering considerably from short crops. This present attention, then, to great "King Cotton," serves to engage the thoughts of the denizens of towns. Business men, too, are everywhere suffering under serious difficulties, the causes and effects of which are too obvious to require remark. That large class of poor whites who hang about cities living by odd jobs, and by occasionally "making a rise" at "fighting the tiger" (gambling), and who were fitting auxiliaries in the first furies of secession, have sufficient cause for quietude now, in a condition of affairs for them even more unpromising than usual. Another class, a worthy one, and either not friends to disunion, or else mistaken friends, and whose troubles every humane heart must regard with compassion, are those engaged in manufactories or regular trades. These now wander about, seeking work and finding none; while the gloomy face and dilapidated dress betoken the coming want and the serious apprehension of it. No picture on this earth is sadder than that of the honest man, willing to work, but unable to find any—preferring the hard-wrought independence of his own right hand to dependence, servility, or dishonesty, yet driven to either starvation or stealth. While the wealthy of the South are testifying their sincerity for Disunion by contributing thousands of dollars for the outfit of an artillery company ordered by Gov. Brown to St. Simon's Island, would it not look quite as well for "fair ladies and brave men" to take into consideration the wants of the poor and honest portion of their community? The fact is that the rich of the South are seemingly unaware or contemptuously neglectful of the fact that they have a poor, working, white population of their own. While they are descanting with extravagant earnestness on the wretchedness and want which they suppose to be the normal condition of the poorer classes at the North, and on the antagonism between poor and rich there, which they suppose amounts always to hatred, and is ready in times of unusual depression, such as the present, to break forth into agrarianism or civil war, they seem to be entirely unconscious that at their own doors dwells a population more needy, less capable, with fewer resources of self-help at command, and protected from the urgent ills of physical suffering chiefly by the softness of the climate in which they live. Although those surrounded by plenty may be really ignorant of these things, because the Southern system of labor renders contact with the poorer classes unnecessary, while it serves to inspire rather contempt than sympathy for them—an impartial observer cannot help noting the fact, as being one of far more importance in its present and future bearing upon the action and destiny of the South, than Southern statesmen seem willing to concede it. When T. R. R. Cobb tauntingly sneered at the idea of "waiting to hear from the crossroads and corner groceries;" and when Mr. Toombs characteristically observed that he feared Conventions, they both revealed the true aristocratic character of the present secession movement, which does not propose to take into consideration at all the depressing effects it may have upon these "protetarian" classes; and when Mr. Cobb stated last November that the issue for Georgia now was, "secession or civil war," he spoke no doubt truly; for the hot spirits then urging on the secession movement, would, as Toombs said, "if the sword were not given them, have taken it themselves." But does Mr. Cobb see no "civil war" in the future which the exclusive interests of Slavery will shape for the South? Surely it will be civil war, or the utter downfall of all interests except Slavery—of every thing which requires free labor and free thought in its execution, and the consequent reduction of the South to the condition of a mere agricultural community with its abject dependence on other nations for all the higher wants of civilized life. This class of free laborers, then, are like the rest just now, quiet. Let us turn to another class—the rural population—the small planters—or as some felicitously term them, the "corn folks"—commonly, however, yclept "Crackers." These were for a time vigorous secessionists. Their zeal, however, arose generally from bad information and bad whisky. They are usually, we are informed, an honest and sincere class of people, like all who live in the woods, and have few and simple wants and habits. They were under the impression that the real Abolitionists had got hold of the Government, and were ready to promote servile insurrections and all sorts of trouble at the South. Hence like honest and brave men as they are (when inspired) they rushed into the ranks of the "Minute Men," and stood ready to meet the expected enemy. But since drum-beatings and militia drills seemed to scare away the accustomed annual receipts for crops, and even to put King Cotton, quite as much as "the niggers," out of countenance, and as no enemy has yet appeared, they have seen no harm in staying at home and attending to their private affairs, especially prompted to this wise course by the fact that money was getting scarce with them, and that by the least calculation it was about a year to next Christmas. So they are now pretty busy getting their last year's crop sold as well as may be. The season is opening too for the present year; a little plowing is already done; and corn will be planting in about a month. These people therefore are busy, and don't want to fight, especially at shadows, which have such a queer way of fighting back. A large portion of these people are seriously alarmed, we are told, at the way things are "going on." They expected "they would settle it," and there would be no war. They desire peace. They would not be difficult to conciliate, and to convince of kind intentions, if it were possible to reach them. They would not sneer at the Northern people, as their aristocratic leaders do, for calling them *brethren*, and appealing to them by the common memories of a great Revolution which wrought out blessings to mankind as well as greatness to the American people, not to enter upon a sham revolution, from which no one can foresee aught but evil at home and shame abroad. But they cannot be reached. They have their keepers; and they take such as these give them, nothing doubting.

Everywhere, then, just now, there is a calm. But be not deceived. It may be the calm which forebodes a tempest. Be sure of one thing—and be always ready—every opportunity for increasing the secession fever and for adding to its strength will be improved promptly. As it was simply negligence on the part of the General Government, planned and prepared by themselves, which encouraged the revolutionists to take such prompt and extreme measures in the inception of their movement, so it will continue to be to the end. They now feel strong in their ill-gotten strength. They laugh at compromises and sneer at conciliation. They regard secession as an established fact, and their sole aim now is to extend and dignify it. Those at the North who are foolishly keeping up the cry of "compromise" are only lending encouragement to the seceders by approving their theories, while they have not one iota of influence in retarding their movements or changing their determination. Indeed, are you quite sure that you have no branch-office of conspiracy at the North? The Northern people should not be so foolish as to afford any further opportunity for surprises. When "the great Democratic party," from being the pride of many hearts and the nursery of many great men and true patriots, has been completely degraded and disintegrated, and its last President made the mere tool of treason, no further evidence should be asked for of the willingness, or of the intention, of the revolutionists to take every possible means of advancing their cause. *Is Washington City secure?* Gen. Cass is reported to have said of the proposition to defend the national property, that "it was a Northern sentiment." From all we can gather here, it may be said with equal pith, "*To take Washington City is a Southern sentiment.*" "It is ours," they say. "It is Southern soil. It should be the capital of the Southern Confederacy." Then it is evident, that pride, uneasy at the disgrace of rebellion, which cannot be shaken off, and entirely got rid off, craves to reach a quasi position of "regularity"—to be able to assume to be *the* real Government after all—to lay claim to the nobler attitude of shaking off a usurpation in lieu of the present ungracious one of resisting a Government whose election the South certainly had the power to prevent, but apparently did its best to secure. Let Virginia, then, and the other Border States indicate sympathy with such a movement—let these offer any reasonable prospect of success in the attempt—let the North be deluded again into false security, and the 4th of March next may witness a scene which will horrify the world. I am sorry to say that such a development would meet with sympathy and approbation at the South—especially if successful. It is rumored that companies are ready volunteered for such a service. That it would be a failure may be true; but it is wise to secure before all things, and beyond possibility of disturbance, the peaceable and dignified inauguration of the coming Administration. Such an event will tell powerfully in its favor, while the contrary will set the whole country ablaze with excitement, and create a civil war, the thought of which makes one shudder. There are two classes of people to beware of; the first, the traitors; second, those who are still crying "peace, peace," when there is no *peace*—when the war is actually begun.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BETTER LET THEM GO.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: The following extract from a letter received by the writer hereof from an intelligent gentleman doing business in Texas, dated the 23d ult., will show that the feeling in favor of secession is by no means so universal at the South as is represented in the papers:

"Secession rules the Southern mind so strongly that no compromise will be listened to, though it is my firm belief that the conservative men in all the already seceded States have been regularly *drummed* into silence, and that the prevailing sentiment of these people has not been satisfactorily shown—either this or we must presume that they were laboring under temporary insanity. Our own Convention meets in six days, and we may as well regard ourselves as no longer in the Union. I am sorry for it, for I see no daylight ahead. I cannot imagine what is the future after secession, and would be glad to have some of the rabid ones explain it to me. I look upon it that we are but at the beginning of our troubles."

Now, in view of the repeated statements by Southerners that no concession that we can make will be satisfactory to those States which have or may secede, is the present a proper time for the people of the Free States to abjectly beg the South to accept concessions that would at any time be disgraceful for a really free people to offer?

It is well known that the Fathers of the Republic thought that Slavery was a temporary evil that must of necessity die out of a country which proclaimed to the world in such glowing language that "all men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The great mistake (to call it by no harsher name) that they made, was in allowing Slavery at all under the Constitution. No compromise, in violation of principle can, in the nature of things, result in good; believing this firmly, I cannot look with any degree of favor or patience upon the various plans proposed by timid, unthinking, or unprincipled persons, to pacify the South and induce them to return to the Union.

If we can see that our fathers did wrongly in giving Slavery a foothold in this country, why do we not also perceive that it would be quite as wrong for us to do anything to extend it?

While there may be some excuse for us to permit Slavery to exist in the States, under all the present circumstances, I cannot but think that God will visit us with deserved punishment if, from any *fancied* advantage to the white race, we allow Slavery to be the portion of untold millions who are to inhabit territory now free.

Firmly believing that Slavery is impolitic, as well as sinful, that its influence upon the white race is very injurious, and that it is far from being as profitable to the slaveholders as the same amount of capital would be employed in free labor, I cannot, as a well wisher to the whites and the blacks, but view it with abhorrence.

Now, Sir, will any of your correspondents (I rejoice that you view this question in its true light) inform me why it is so desirable to continue the Union of all the States? As a business man, I am in the habit of *counting the cost of things*, and deciding whether they will *pay* or not; applying this principle to the Union of the Free and Slave States, I find the cost to be in part as follows, viz:

I. A large proportion of the expense of a standing Army and Navy, for the protection and extension of Slavery, conquering new territory, &c.

II. Deficiency in the postal and revenue services.

III. Reign of terror at the South, so that no independent Northern person, white or black, can reside or even travel there in safety.

IV. Free colored persons from the North imprisoned, and if unable to prove their freedom or to pay their jail fees, sold into Slavery.

V. Penalty of death for teaching slaves to read the Bible.

VI. The contempt of all enlightened nations for our hypocrisy, in boasting of our freedom, while more than one-eighth of our whole people are abject slaves.

VII. Constant quarrels between the two sections, growing out of the "irrepressible conflict" between Freedom and Slavery.

VIII. The unjust representation in Congress of Southern property in slaves, while Northern property is not represented.

The value of the Union to the Slave States, if they wish to continue Slavery, cannot be estimated. If the Union is dissolved, every unprejudiced person may see that Slavery cannot exist against the condemnation of every enlightened nation on the globe, and the growing numbers and power of the enslaved.

I am unable to think of any advantage to the Free States from the Union, that they would not have in a much greater degree as a united and really free people without the Slave States. They would then have the respect of all nations whose good opinion is worth having, they would be relieved from a thousand expenses that now grow out of the present Union, they would be honored by the Slave States as a foreign nation more than they ever can be as nominally brethren, the rights of so powerful a people as we should be would then be viewed in the same light as those of England or any other great nation.

Being rid of all the troublesome questions that have disturbed our peace for years past, being really as well as in name a free people, the future would open upon us with prospects of true greatness, such as no nation has never seen since the world was created.

Does all this sound like favoring Disunion? I think it does, or, at any rate, unless the Union is more than a name, unless I shall have free speech, free locomotion and all the rights that the Constitution guarantees to me, I hope the present Union will be dissolved—not by the voluntary secession of any State or States, but by a general convention of all the States.

It is useless to cry peace, when there is no peace; we have got to take things as they are, and do the best that we can. If the Slave States will not be satisfied with Slavery undisturbed in the States as they now have it, but insist upon its unlimited extension, and for its protection by further guaranties, then, in the name of liberty and all that is right, let them withdraw from the Union peaceably; give them their share of the public property, provided that they will pay their proportion of the public debt, and dissolve the copartnership in an amicable manner.

All the Slave States undoubtedly mean to withdraw from the Union, unless we pay them such a price as would disgrace us in the eyes of every respectable nation in the world. God forbid that we should, from *fear*, or any other unworthy motive, endeavor to avoid the responsibility that rests upon us, and thus entail upon our descendants additional trouble in settling this great strife between Freedom and Slavery. Now that the issue is before us, let us quit ourselves like men; and while we seem to be obliged, under existing circumstances, to ignore the rights of four millions of our fellow-beings that are now in bondage, let us firmly resolve that no act of ours shall help to extend the curse of Slavery.

H. T. C.

Providence, R. I., Feb. 2, 1861.

ORGANIZE TO PRESERVE THE CAPITAL.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 4, 1861.

Is Washington to be defended or retaken? Should the Southern States secede in a body, seize upon the Capital and the archives of Government, would they not have a very fair claim to the title of *the* United States? Do not the conspirators design to prevent the counting of the Electoral votes at the legal hour, and thus claim to have prevented, once and forever, Lincoln's becoming the legal President; and are not these same conspirators well aware that, should this nefarious programme be carried out, the hesitating Southern border States would immediately wheel into line, the voice of Southern Union men be hushed, and Southern Government officers declare the old Government dead, and proceed at once to swear allegiance to the new.

Shall the North defend or retake the Capital? Washington belongs to the Nation; nine tenths of the people of the United States would, if freed from the influence of ambitious demagogues, vote that the Union must be preserved; at the South, a reign of terror makes conservative men powerless. The North must, then, take up the cause of the people; it has a constitutional right to defend the Capital, inaugurate Lincoln, and thus preserve the Constitution and the Union; for, if this inauguration is prevented, the prestige and dignity of the nation will have departed, the reign of the people be over, and our boasted Republic sink into a military despotism.

Can the conspirators obtain possession of Washington? Yes. For as things now are, the national steed is within their reach, the door unbolted and invitingly open. What are its defenses? Most of the militia in the District are Southern men, and half its officers at heart Secessionists. How long could 800 regulars contend with the 20,000 armed traitors who, at 48 hours' notice, could be precipitated upon it? Is not every railroad, steamboat, and telegraph-line south of the Potomac under the control of the Secessionists? Are not their "Minute Men" and "Knights of the Golden Circle" already mustered and waiting but the click of the "operators'" instruments at Washington, to set their faces and feet Washington-ward?

Can the North preserve the capital to the nation? Yes: by presenting to the eyes and the fears of the Catalines of the South an avalanche of 200,000 armed freemen, its edge resting on Maryland and Virginia, and so poised that a motion of Gen. Scott's finger would bring it with a resistless sway to the rescue of the people's property and the people's rights.

What is now the duty of the North? Manifestly to organize a force for the defense of the capital. The Governors of the Free States should at once contract with the railroad and steamboat lines on the routes to Washington, for the exclusive use at an hour's notice of all means of transportation the exigency may require; and the drilled troops of these States should be ready at a moment's warning to proceed by land or water, from New-York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, upon the Federal City. And if the crisis came, every citizen who could show a musket should be accepted as a volunteer, and moved forward as one of the army of reserve. This entire force should be organized by the second in command to Gen. Scott. So much for the power at call; but to sustain Gen. Scott at Washington against the first attack, there should be ten thousand strong-nerved Union men at the Federal city, ready to be enrolled as a Government Police for the maintenance of law and order inside and outside of the halls of Congress; and these tried men should take their valises and start at once for the capital.

It is only by such a vigorous manifestation on the part of the people that the conspirators can be held in check, the capital preserved, and Lincoln constitutionally seated in the Presidential chair. Shall Washington be defended or retaken? Shall we wait until the steed is stolen, or seasonably and effectually slam the door in the face of the Secessionists? A BOSTONIAN.

FEELINGS OF THE WORKINGMEN OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

DUNCANNON IRON WORKS, Feb. 4, 1861.

There has been so much misrepresentation in the Southern papers about the starving condition and gloomy prospects of Northern workmen that, having an opportunity of informing myself upon these points, I am induced to offer you a statement concerning the men interested in the iron concerns of Pennsylvania, and of their views of the impending political troubles; and, first, I would have you believe that the workmen of Pennsylvania are generally intelligent men, well informed as to the politics both of Europe and America. You will not find the same extent of information among the shopkeepers and dealers of the large cities. In this old Democratic county of Perry alone, nearly 100 copies of THE TRIBUNE are either subscribed for, or purchased and circulated.

Pennsylvania was never richer in resources than at present; her farms are filled with grain and her manufacturing establishments with merchandise, awaiting a market. Of all the extensive iron mills in Pittsburgh and its vicinity not one has suspended operations, nor has a single workman been discharged, so far as I am informed; and I am satisfied that the same remarks apply to the cotton and woolen mills of that section of the country, while the recent discoveries of immense oil fields in the north-west portion of the State has opened a new resource for the capital and energy of Pennsylvania workmen. It is true that the iron interests of this State were never more prostrated than at present; but for the causes you must look beyond this panic, as British iron has been selling at prices below our cost of manufacture for eighteen months past, and though I hear of preparations for stopping from various quarters, in preference to running without profit, I am satisfied that very few works have adopted that alternative. The Duncannon Works, from which I write, is one of the oldest and staunchest concerns in Pennsylvania, having passed unscathed through a dozen panics. The establishment is in full operation, giving employment to several hundred workmen.

While the people of Pennsylvania are of every diversity of political doctrine, there is a universal feeling of condemnation of the course pursued by the imbecile Administration in permitting a few perjured traitors to bring the nation to its present deplorable condition, and a burning desire to resent the insults which the country and its flag has received at their hands. At one establishment on the Susquehanna, where 400 workmen are profitably employed, three-fourths of them recently expressed not only a willingness, but a determination to unite their interests with those of their country, whenever her voice may call them to duty; and such sentiments pervade the minds of hundreds of thousands in Pennsylvania. As a man of peace I dislike to see this war feeling, but give it as a matter of fact rather than of speculation.

At the same time, a revolution is being effected in the minds of these people as to the morality of Slavery. The Southern periodicals are filled with vindications of the institution, chiefly on Scriptural grounds, and these men are beginning to consider seriously how far such principles accord with Christianity. If Benevolence and Love are the foundation of all religion, the cynosure around which all the Christian graces revolve, how can the horrors of the slave-trade, or the domestic slave auction, be reconciled therewith?

If the degraded wretch who steals the negro from his African home and takes him to Savannah, or some other port in the South, is regarded as a monster of iniquity, his actions receiving the condemnation alike of reason and Revelation, how much less is that man a criminal who, with sensibilities more refined, will purchase this negro, in derogation of every principle of justice and humanity, with the certainty that in a few years, at most, the slave must again be torn from home and wife and children, scattering them to the winds. Here is the slave-holders' golden rule carried into practice, the men who sit down to the Communion table, in memory of one who, while on earth, proclaimed as the substance of all his teachings that we must love our neighbors as ourselves, and "as ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." There is a passage of Scripture which the men of the North have heretofore been conscientious about observing, but with the establishment of a Slave Confederation they will fulfill to the letter. You will find it in Deut. xxiii. 15: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee."

If I understand the feeling of the working classes in Pennsylvania, they believe:

First: That there is no right of secession under the Constitution, and those who carry the heresy into effect are traitors and rebels until successful in destroying the Union. You might as well talk about peaceful murder as peaceful secession.

Second: No compromise can be made with perjured traitors until they make restitution of the property plundered from the Government; but the people desire some settlement by act of Congress, something similar to the mode adopted by the caucus of Border States, but no tinkering with the Constitution should be tolerated.

Third: If a war should commence between Freedom and Slavery, it will probably be a protracted and perhaps sanguinary one, but it will never terminate till Slavery is subjugated, and the freedom of every slave north of the Gulf is provided for.

Fourth: That Slavery is morally wrong, but inasmuch as the present owners generally inherited their "property," no disposition is manifested toward interfering with their constitutional rights. Abolitionism proper has heretofore never had a foothold in this State, but there is an increasing disposition to adopt the doctrines of that party.

Fifth: Is it not believed that the border States will secede; or, if they do, it will be with the intention of returning under additional guaranties? Whether the North can grant this, without too great a sacrifice of cherished principles, is doubtful; and what new complications may arise from such action is a question which involves the future in great uncertainty.

Sixth: After diplomacy is exhausted, the workmen of Pennsylvania are ready to be led to the battle-field in defense of their rights under the Constitution, that the majority shall rule; or in support of the Government in any attempt; it may make looking at the overthrow of traitors and to the support of the integrity of the Union.

Seventh: It should not be overlooked that the stately steppings of Him whose thoughts are above our thoughts, and whose ways are incomprehensible to finite minds, are unquestionably in our midst; and what *His* designs may be, we cannot even form a conjecture. Is it the overthrow of domestic Slavery, and if so, can that only be effected by baptizing the nation in blood? With a firm reliance on the wisdom of the dread Sovereign of the Universe, we must submissively await the issue.

A.

THE TERRORISM IN MISSISSIPPI.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

NEW-HAMBURG, N. Y., Feb. 2, 1861.

I received yesterday a letter from Clinton, La.—a town near the Mississippi line—which gives information that might be interesting to some of your numerous patrons. The author states that "the people in that neighborhood were exceedingly terrified lately by a dispatch, stating that Gen. Scott was sailing from St. Louis to take Baton Rouge by surprise. A gentleman who returned from there yesterday says that most of the people are in favor of a dictator." He adds, also: "A short time since the military company of Clinton numbered sixty members, but, fearing lest they should be called to leave the State, their number has dwindled down to twenty men." I speaking of Mississippi, he says: "There seems to be a perfect reign of terror all through the State. A slaveholder was recently whipped publicly in Jackson; another was whipped by two Vigilance Committees, and then shot by a third and thrown into Pearl River. Another influential slaveholder has been threatened with hanging for expressing sentiments in favor of the Union." He remarks further: "Gov. Moore of Louisiana is the most frightened man in all the State since he has begun to comprehend the consequences of his late act of high treason in taking United States property at Baton Rouge."

This information is strictly reliable. It was not given with a view to publication, and therefore I will not mention the author's name. It is but a few days since I was compelled to leave the same town under severe threats; and my exit was made privately through fear of the commotion, which, if it were known, it would excite. The rabble were thus foiled of the inhuman pleasure which a rail ride to an innocent victim would afford. The crimes charged against me were two; one for having been caught smiling the day after Lincoln's election (and to answer for which, by the way, I was brought before an inquisition, composed of ministers, judges, and editors, to the number of nine); the other, that I belonged to the M. E. Church North, which in their estimation was a very grave offense. It is scarcely credible that a Northerner in the South now feels more uncomfortable and uncertain of his safety, though nothing valid may be alleged against him, than he could feel among positive savages; but nothing is truer than this. I would not live in such society, in such dread and fear again, for the wealth of a whole State. It is a life of living martyrdom.

M. L.

"A FALLING OFF" IN NEW-JERSEY.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

NEWARK, N. J., Feb. 4, 1861.

If there is any one in this country who has had the opportunity of acquiring wisdom from experience in the matter of "Compromise," the Hon. Wm. L. Dayton of New-Jersey is the man. Mr. Dayton and his colleague, Mr. Miller, refused in 1850 to give their votes to the compromise scheme of that year. The Union saving agitation that ensued enabled the Democrats to carry and retain the New-Jersey State Legislature for several successive years, and Messrs. Dayton and Miller were both ousted. This was the first stage in their experience. The second was somewhat different—so far as concerns Mr. Dayton—Mr. Miller having since remained in private life. The results of the measures of 1850 were developed in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the outrages in Kansas, and the Republican party sprang into being fully matured and panoplied. The Convention of the party at Philadelphia, in 1856, chose as its candidate for the Vice-Presidency the same Hon. Wm. Dayton, who had been sacrificed for his action in 1850. Thus did he have ample recompense.

Mr. Dayton was accredited with the possession of a disinterested devotion to freedom, exercised within constitutional limits, a determination not to extend the area of Slavery, and a prescience of the futility of compromises. In his speech at Trenton, accepting the nomination for the Vice-Presidency, he tersely expressed his views in the phrase, "The Constitution protects Slavery were it is, but carries it no where—in the language of the day, Freedom is national, Slavery is sectional." The party, then temporarily defeated, has now achieved a triumph, and the verdict of the people has set aside all the palliatives and adjustments of twenty years.

Thus, in one decade Mr. Dayton has witnessed the rise and fall of the measures which deluded the wisest statesmen of the country, and were fondly eulogized as a final settlement of difficulties. Would it be supposed that now, when his wisdom should have been confirmed by experience, he is ready to violate the maxims of his previous course, and be drawn into the interminable series of deflections from principle, to meet momentary exigencies, which have proved the ruin of so many statesmen, and mere irretrievably complicated the perplexities of the country?

Yet so it is. Mr. Dayton has given his assent to a movement in New-Jersey, designed to induce Congress to enact the Border State plan, which proposes to postulate the Constitution by an insertion of a perpetual guaranty of Slavery where it exists, and to establish it south of 36° 30' in our present territory. Once Mr. Dayton said that "Slavery is sectional." Now he does what he can to make it an institution of national extent.