

slavery as their instrument. I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition: I grant further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still, some additional strength would be added in that way to the war. And then unquestionably it would weaken the rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance. But I am not so sure we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far, we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops.

*Mr. Lincoln Fears the Border Slave States.*

I will mention another thing, though it meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the Border Slave States. It would be a serious matter, if, in consequence of such a proclamation as you desire, they should go over to the rebels. I do not think they all would—not so many, indeed, as a year ago, or as six months ago—not so many to day as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride enlisted, and want to beat the rebels. Let me say one thing more:—I think you should admit that we already have an important principle to rally and unite the people in the fact that constitutional government is at stake. This is a fundamental idea, going down about as deep as anything.

Do not misunderstand me, because I have mentioned these objections. They indicate the difficulties that have thus far prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement. And I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will I will do.

These are the sentiments which we have uniformly held and expressed, and now that the President has reached a determination contrary to his previous convictions of duty, let us hope and pray that God will disappoint his previous expectations of evil to result from the proclamation, and overrule it to the suppression of the rebellion and the re-establishment of the Government over the whole country.

ITS EFFECT ABROAD.

Strong hopes were felt that the proclamation would be hailed in England as evidence that the war here is, in fact, a war against slavery, and the decree would, therefore, secure the sympathy for the North of all foreign powers. The *New York Daily Times*, a warm Republican paper, gives the following sentiments from the *London Times*, from which we may infer the effect of the proclamation abroad:

The *London Times* earnestly denounces the policy of the abolitionists of the North in seeking to raise the negroes of the South against their masters. It says that the idea of the abolitionists is to organize a series of Cawnpore massacres as legitimate devices of warfare; but it thinks they will not succeed in the attempt. It adds: "Indeed, it is difficult to see how a proclamation by a besieged or fugitive President can have any greater effect than the documents issued by such Generals as Hunter and Phelps, inciting the negroes to revolt."

It insists that President Lincoln will refrain from an act which will be at once a crime and a blunder, which will in no way advance the Federal cause, but only deepen and make eternal the hatred between the two sections.

The Republican papers of the North, with entire unanimity, approve of the proclamation. We gather the following extracts to show

ITS EFFECT IN THE SOUTH.

The Washington correspondent of the Commercial Advertiser says that the proclamation will have good effect. Gov. Stanley is believed to have left here fully satisfied with the emancipation proclamation, as he is confident that before the 1st day of next January, North Carolina will "be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States," which (so the document goes on to say,) shall "be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States." It is expected that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Louisiana will also thus be exempted from the proclamation of liberation, with which the new year is to be ushered in.

THE BORDER STATE VIEW.

From the Louisville, (Ky.,) Democrat, Sept. 21.

On what shadow of authority can the President rest this proclamation? Will military necessity cover an act of this sort? If it will, then may not State organizations be abolished, and State lines be obliterated, by a military proclamation? May not political rights be conferred on slaves by proclamation in all the States, free as well as slave? May not Indiana and Illinois be compelled to allow negroes to make their homes in those States? May not all provisions of State constitutions be overridden by a simple proclamation of the President? Slaves cannot be set free in this State, unless they are removed from our limits; that is a constitutional provision—can it be overridden by a proclamation? If a State cannot nullify a plain right of the federal government, where does the federal government get the power to nullify the right of a State? In our opinion the President has as much right to abolish the institution of marriage, or the laws of a State regulating the relation of parent and child, as to nullify the right of a State to regulate the relations of the white and black races. This attempt to execute laws, by trampling laws equally valid under foot, is absurd. By all true interpretations of military necessity, the power dies with the necessity—it has no permanent vitality.

And what are you going to do about it? Give up the Union and join the rebellion, because Abraham Lincoln has issued a mischievous, pestilent proclamation? If Mr. Lincoln were the Union, we should give it up, and then we should ask no favors and no justice from that source; but this Union belongs to thirty millions of people—not to the President. They will control its destiny, not any President. Nor will his conduct alter our determination to fight forever for the Union of these States. Dissolve the Union, and then—what? Do you escape emancipation? Would not war come? And would it not then be a crusade against slavery? The rebellion has brought all this upon us. It can bear no other fruit. The more power it gets the more calamities it will inflict. Let the rebels now lay down their arms, and obey the laws of the federal government, and this proclamation of the President is a nullity. They can relieve the country of any dangers or injustice from such a source. They will not do that: not an iota of their pride and ambition will they sacrifice. We can only say to them what we have always said:—Obey the laws and drop this rebellion, or we shall compel you; and when that is done, we shall settle the account with the President for this proclamation.

The measure is wholly unauthorized and wholly pernicious. Though it cannot be executed in fact, and though its execution probably will never be seriously attempted, its moral influence will be decided and purely harmful. So far as its own purpose is concerned, it is a mere *brutum fulmen*, but it will prove only too effectual for the purposes of the enemy. It is a gigantic usurpation, unrelieved by the promise of a solitary advantage however minute and faint, but, on the contrary, aggravated by the menace of great and unmixed evil. Kentucky cannot and will not acquiesce in this measure. Never! As little will she allow it to chill her devotion to the cause thus cruelly imperilled anew.

THE ABOLITION VIEW.

From the Boston Liberator, September 25.

Though we believe that this proclamation is not all that the exigency of the times and the consequent duty of the Government require—and therefore are not so jubilant over it as many others—still, it is an important step in the right direction, and an act of immense historic consequence, and justifies the almost universal gladness of expression and warm congratulation which it has simultaneously elicited in every part of the free States. It calls for the prompt and efficient enforcement, by the army and navy, of the Confiscation act, as passed by Congress, whereby the slaves of all rebels who may be captured, or who may seek protection under the national flag, are to be liberated unconditionally; and as the great mass of the slaveholders are in furious rebellion, it emancipates more than three-fourths of the entire slave population, as fast as they shall become accessible. It also forbids any person connected with the military or naval service to arrest or send back any fugitive slave whatever. These commands, if faithfully executed by the army and navy, will speedily give a staggering blow to the rebellion. The objectionable features of the proclamation are its avowed readiness to return to bloody stripes and horrible torture and lifelong servitude (if he be not killed outright) any hunted bondman on the mere oath

of the villain claiming him that he is loyal to the Government—its seemingly contradictory talk (for the first portion of it is a characteristic jumble of words) about emancipating the slaves in all existing rebel States, on the 1st of January, 1863 (a time sufficient to enable Jeff. Davis and his traitorous Confederates to anticipate that measure themselves, and thus secure their independence by foreign intervention)—its proposition to make a new overture to the slave States to sell their slave system at a bargain—and its mean, absurd and proscriptive device to expatriate the colored population from this, their native land.

ON THE WHOLE,

we find reason to believe that the President's first impression will express the sentiment of conservative men generally, while the patriotic spirit of the country will acquiesce in any measures which the Government may adopt to disarm the rebellion.

THE PRESIDENT'S OPINION

OF THE WISDOM AND EFFECT OF HIS EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

It has been our good fortune, and we have had much satisfaction in it, to agree, in great measure, with the President of the United States in his opinions as to men and measures in the conduct of the war. We have seen him beleaguered by violent men who have sought to drive him into schemes that he could not approve, and we have seen him steadily resisting them, resolved to seek the good of his country and the salvation of the Union, rather than the favor of friends or the interests of party.

Last week we published the proclamation which the President has issued respecting the future emancipation of slaves in the revolted States. This week we have the official report of the President's previous convictions as to the expediency and probable effect of the measure. His views were formally conveyed by him to a deputation from a Chicago meeting, and were delivered by the President Sept. 13th.

The Chicago delegation, being introduced to the President, submitted a memorial, calling on him to issue an immediate proclamation of emancipation. The President listened with attention to the arguments by which the memorial was supported, and replied:

The subject presented in the memorial is one upon which I have thought much for weeks past, and, I may even say, for months. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men, who are equally certain that they represent the Divine will. I am sure that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps, in some respects, both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that, if it is probable that God would reveal his will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed he would reveal it directly to me. For, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And, if I can learn what it is, I will do it. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain, physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible, and learn what appears to be wise and right.

*Differences of Opinion on the Subject.*

The subject is difficult, and good men do not agree. For instance, the other day four gentlemen of standing and intelligence from New York called, as a delegation, on business connected with the war; but, before leaving, two of them earnestly beset me to proclaim general emancipation, upon which the other two immediately attacked them. You know, also, that the last session of Congress had a decided majority of anti-slavery men, yet they could not decide on this policy, and the same is true of the religious people. Why, the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and expecting God to favor their side; for one of our soldiers, who had been taken prisoner, told Senator Wilson, a few days since, that he met with nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers. But we will talk over the merits of the case.

*Why an Emancipation Proclamation should not be Issued.*

What good would a proclamation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual, that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced, by a proclamation of freedom from me, to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? Gen. Butler wrote me, a few days since, that he was issuing more rations to the slaves who have rushed to him than to all the white troops under his command. They eat, and that is all; though it is true, Gen. Butler is feeding the whites also by the thousands, for it nearly amounts to a famine there.

*What is to Prevent the Rebels from Enslaving the Negroes again.*

If now, the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masters from reducing the blacks to slavery again, for I am told that whenever the rebels take any blacks prisoners, free or slave, they immediately auction them off. They did so with those they took from a boat that was aground on the Tennessee River a few days ago.

*How Mr. Lincoln is Blamed.*

And then I am very ungenerously attacked for it. For instance, when, after the late battles at and near Bull Run, an expedition went out from Washington under a flag of truce to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and the rebels seized the blacks who went along to help, and sent them into slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper that the Government would probably do nothing about it. What could I do?

*What Good would an Emancipation Proclamation do?*

Now, then, tell me, if you please, what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire? Understand, I raise no objection against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy. Nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South. I view the matter as a practical war measure, to be decided upon according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion.

*Mr. Lincoln would not like to Trust the Slaves with Arms.*

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act, but they would have been impotent without