The South.

From our Second and Third Editions of yesterday.

BY THE PHILADELPHIA TRAIN.

The Views of the English Press.

The news by the *Etna*, we learn, is very discouraging to the Government. The Southern Commissioners had been very favorably received, both in Downing and Lombard streets, the headquarters respectively of the leading politicians and bankers. The Manchester *Guardian*, the organ of the manufacturers, declares that the Union is destroyed, and that the sooner peace is restored by the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, the better.

The *Money Market Review*, a journal recently started in London, as an organ for the bankers, (in opposition to the economists,) says that the sympathies of the commercial and business classes of England are with the Confederacy, and talks about the progress towards completion of steamers to run to their ports from Liverpool.

From New York.

A letter from New York, dated yesterday, says:

Simeon Draper, the leading man of the Union Defence Committee, started off in a great hurry to Washington this afternoon. At about the same time the Governor (Morgan) was rushing off to Albany by the Hudson River Rail Road. Can't say what is in the wind.

The telegraphic despatches seized by the United States Marshal, a few days since, by order of the Government, are still in the custody of that official unopened, as likewise are the boxes containing General Lee's baggage.

This afternoon, David R. Miller, Captain of the bark "*Sirah*," was arrested on a charge of being engaged in the African slave trade. He was committed for examination. The U. S. authorities complain that the federal laws are so lax that they really favor the slavers, and afford them loopholes of escape. They (the authorities,) talk about "agitating" a revision of said laws.

The week opens with a quiet money market, and without noticeable change in the rates of interest.

The new loan has been selling during the day at 1¼ per cent. advance.

The Condition of the Pennsylvania Troops.

A Washington correspondent of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* says:

To show to what an infamous extent we have been wronged, I give the following incident that took place on Friday last. A number of Pennsylvanians noticing that no troops from their State were ordered to Virginia with those who crossed the Potomac on Thursday night, visited General Mansfield in a body, and asked why the neglect had occured. The General replied, "Because, gentlemen, there is not a single regiment from Pennsylvania now in Washington ready to go into the field." He was then asked relative to the condition of Colonel Patterson's regiment, and answered, "No, not even that, as they have no facilities for transportation.

The Ringgold Artillery, the first corps in Washington, is unable to go into active service with their battery, as they have neither horses nor harness.

Future Operations of the Government.

The Philadelphia *Inquirer* of yesterday says:—

Dr. Storer, Acting Assistant Surgeon of the United States Army, passed through this city yesterday. On Sunday afternoon he visited the encampments and forces at Alexandria and its vicinity. He informs us that it is the intention of the Government to station a large force at Manassas Gap Junction, with the view of intercepting the Confederate troops on their way from Richmond to Harper's Ferry. Dr. Boyle was not caught in Alexandria, notwithstanding the newspaper paragraphs to that effect. The United States force in and near Washington, is now about 38,000. In Virginia there are about 12,000 Federal troops.

The Pennsylvania Troops.

The Pennsylvania troops, though among the first to reach Washington, are not heard of in any of the movements recently undertaken in Virginia. They are so badly provided, that General Mansfield said they were not fit to take the field. Gov. Curtin sent a citizen of Schuylkill county to Washington to learn the true condition of the Fourth and Fifth Regiments. Mr. Hayworth has transmitted a report to Gov. Curtin, in which details are given of the condition of the regiments, the substance of which is reported as follows:

"The 25th, Col. Cake, quartered at the Arsenal at Fort Washington, are not badly off, having United States uniforms. The 4th, Col. Hartranft, and the 5th, Col. McDowell, are suffering greatly. The blouses and pants are of all colors, and made of damaged goods of inferior quality, mostly of 'shoddy,' and some of 'Kentucky jean.' The blankets are of the quality of ice blankets, not fit for horses. The shoes are of wretched material. The heels come off, and they are constantly ripping. Many are almost barefoot. The underclothing is tolerable, but there is an insufficient supply."

From Washington.

The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Inquirer* says:

Upon the high hill immediately opposite the Georgetown Aqueduct, the Sixty-ninth of New York are erecting an extensive fortification, and pickets from that regiment extend along the hill tops for many miles to the southward.

At the Georgetown terminus of the Aqueduct is a formidable battery, which, it is understood, will be permanently stationed at that point.

The Case of the Texas Officers.

Col. Waite, Major Nichols, Capt. Granger and Dr. Smith, army officers, who were compelled to succumb to the superior force of Major Van Dorn, in Texas, have arrived here, and expect to have the decision of the Secretary of War, as to the position they must occupy hereafter, at an early moment.

It will be recollected that they were released upon their parole not to serve against the South during the war. It is reported that the War Department are in favor of recognizing the parole given by our officers in Texas, but that General Scott and Adjutant General Thomas are opposed to such a recognition where the parties receiving the pledge are rebels.

A large number of Pennsylvanians may be seen daily on the avenue, many of them already interested in contracts, while others are endeavoring to make an honest penny at the expense of the Government.

The "Pet Lambs."

The New York Zouaves are in a state of insubordination approximating to mutiny, and I fear several of the privates will have to leave this earthly sphere before the regiment can perfectly understand their positions as members of the great United States Army. A private, who had been guilty of "insubordination," and who had subsequently been rescued from durance vile by his comrades, was re-arrested and sentenced to be shot this morning. Four of the others have been arrested, and two of the number will also probably be shot. It is believed here that the majority of the regiment will be compelled to return home, as it is impossible to retain them under the slightest control.

The Condition of Affairs on the Border.

The impression is very erroneous that our troops extend into Virginia as far as the Manassas Junction (28 miles from Alexandria.) The lines do not reach out of Alexandria to the Potomac more than three miles, and not more than five miles to the West. Between Alexandria and Manassas Junction the rebel troops have destroyed the track of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, connecting with the camp at Culpepper Court House and Richmond, while the United States troops have destroyed the bridges on the Alexandria, Hampshire and Loudon Railroad, which runs parallel with the Potomac eighteen miles to Leesburg.

Hon. Jno. McClernand, of Illinois, is here, urging the prompt assembling of a very large force by the Government, on the line of the proposed military operations; and also to have the Government promptly purchase a large quantity of provisions and grain.

Important Strategetic Movement.

On Saturday and yesterday, three thousand Virginia troops, with some light artillery and howitzers, were distributed along the country roads north of Harper's Ferry, leading to Sharpsburg and Boonsborough, and on the northern approaches to the Maryland Heights, where the country is rather open. None of these forces are posted more than a mile north of the Heights, but outposts and picket guards are thrown much further forward. General Johnson superintended these movements in person. Twenty-two additional pieces of cannon arrived from Winchester on Saturday, six of them were brass howitzers and two were 32-pounders.

From the South.

Henry S. Foote, Jr., son of the ex-Senator, has been appointed Second Lieutenant in the Confederate States Army. He is a resident of Nashville, Tennessee.

The Nashville *Banner*, of Wednesday last, says that 7,500 Enfield rifles had been received by the proper authorities.

On Monday of last week, Gov. Pettus, of Miss., received a requisition for five additional regiments from that State to rendezvous at Corinth, armed and equipped, and there to await further orders. By Tuesday morning the requisite number of companies, already organized, were designated to fill the requisition, and ordered to the rendezvous. These will make up eleven full regiments from Mississippi in the field; and the *Mississippian* says there are remaining seventy-five organized companies of infantry and seventeen of cavalry and artillery now anxiously awaiting orders.

The Latest News.

Mr. Henry Taylor, Sun Building, and Mr. Umbaugh, with their usual promptitude have placed us in possession of New York papers of this morning, from which we make the subjoined extracts.

The Latest War News.

Under this head the *Tribune* says:—

Our Washington correspondents give us a shadowy hint of a movement now under way in Western Virginia, which is to have an important effect upon the position of affairs. Though the particulars of the movement cannot be given, it is stated that it is not to be on Harper's Ferry, though that point is expected to come again into our hands by a flank movement.

Advices from Richmond confirm the report of our special correspondent that troops to the number of 500 a day arrive at that city.

Gov. Banks will be tendered a Brigadier-Generalship, and then be detailed to the Bureau of the Quartermaster-General. This is regarded by the President and the high officers of the army as one of the most important positions connected with the service.

The Zouaves in Trouble.

I have just been told by two independent visitors to the Navy Yard this evening that two Zouave deserters will be shot to-morrow morning by a file of marines, and that they would have been shot this morning had not the soldiers detailed from the Zouave companies for the purpose refused to perform this painful duty. One of my informants states that he shook hands with the condemned men, who were aware of the fate which awaited them, at sunrise.

Three or four Zouaves were caught attempting to leave in the Baltimore cars, hence. Only one having taken the oath of service, the others were discharged. He is still in custody. They talk of shooting him, which is improbable.

From Alexandria.

The Alexandria newspapers have stopped publication. The *Sentinel's* last issue said: "We are able to meet our foe eye to eye, front to front, column to column, and chase them back from our soil. We shall gloriously triumph over them.—We can't be conquered. Our foes may come in as a flood. They shall be broken as upon a rock."

It turns out that the intended invasion of Alexandria was not unknown beforehand to the citizens. I am informed that messengers from the *Pawnee* came ashore at 4 o'clock in the morning and demanded unconditional surrender. It is declared that Jackson knew of the movement, but refused to withdraw, and still maintained his determination to shoot any man who should assail his flag. This premonition by the *Pawnee* would seem to be in opposition to the idea of surprise by our troops.

There are continual reports of encounters between our pickets and Rebel scouts. Rumor predicts a speedy advance of Beauregard to retake Alexandria with an army more or less numerous. Many of the inhabitants are quietly moving from the town and going southward. An advance picket was yesterday fired upon by a party of Alexandrians in citizens' dress.

Russell's Latest Letter.

The next in the series of letters from Mr. Russell to the London *Times*, has been received by the *Etna*, and bears date Charleston, April 21st. He expresses regret at having arrived too late to witness the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and greatly compliments the military genius of Gen. Beauregard. He states the actual number of men in service at the time to have been 12,002. He continues:

The *physique* of the troops is undeniably good. Now and then undersized, weakly men may be met with, but the great majority of the companies consist of rank and file exceeding the average stature of Europeans, and very well built and muscular. The men run very large down here. Nothing, indeed, can be more obvious when one looks at the full-grown, healthy, handsome race which develops itself in the streets, in the barrooms and in the hotel halls, than the error of the argument, which is mainly used by the Carolinians themselves, that white men cannot thrive in their State. In limb, figure, height, weight, they are equal to any people I have every seen, and their features are very regular and pronounced. They are, indeed, as unlike the ideal American of our caricaturists and our stage, as *unlike* of the Porte St. Martin to the English gentleman.

Many of those who serve in the ranks are men worth from £5,000 to £10,000 a year—at least, so I was told—and men were pointed out to me who were said to be worth far more.

Mr. Russell next describes his visit to General Beauregard, thus:

Any one accustomed to soldiers can readily detect the "real article" from the counterfeit, and when Gen. Beauregard stood up to welcome us it was patent he was a man capable of greater things than taking Sumter. He is squarely built, a lean man, of about 40 years of age, with broad shoulders and legs "made to fit" a horse, of middle height, and his head is covered with thick hair, cropped close, and showing the bumps, which are reflective and combative, with a true Gallic air at the back of the skull; the forehead broad and well-developed, projects somewhat over the keen, eager dark eyes; the face is very thin, with very high cheek bones, a wellshaped nose, slightly aquiline, and a large, rigid, sharply cut mouth, set above a full fighting chin. In the event of any important operations taking place, the name of this officer will, I feel assured, be heard often enough to be my excuse for this little sketch of his outward man. He was good enough to detail his chief engineer officer to go with me over the works, and I found in Major Whiting a most able guide and agreeable companion.

Mr. Russell next describes Fort Sumter, Morris Island, &c., and concludes thus:

A week hence and it will be impossible for a fleet to do any thing except cover the descent of an army here, and they must lie off, at the least, four miles from the nearest available beach.

FROM CALIFORNIA—By Pony Express.

FORT KEARNEY, May 27.—The pony express passed here at twelve o'clock on Friday night.—

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

The market is unusually excited this week. There is a good country demand, and both city and country trade are supplying themselves liberally. Candles are very firm, with an improved tendancy. Manilla Cordage advanced to 11½c. Raw and refined Sugar have improved. Manufactured Tobacco is selling very freely, and the market is buoyant. Provisions and liquors are dull and unchanged. There is some tendency to speculation, but the principal business is for the legitimate trade.

GENERAL NEWS.

The rates of insurance on treasure eastward have been increased to 10 per cent.

There has been but little of incident in California this week, except the Union meetings, which continue to be held almost nightly in the principal towns and cities.

The speck of war in Santa Clara county, in which the only question involved was the title to six leagues of land, has disappeared, through a compromise, in which the settlers agree to submit their cause to the Supreme Court, and abide the result. Several lawyers have agreed to plead their cause without charge.

An effort is being made in San Francisco to organize a company of volunteers to tender their services to the General Government, on the supposition that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company will give them a free passage to the East. A similar organization has been commenced in Sacramento, the members holding themselves in readiness to obey the first call of the President.

The Republican State Central Committee have issued a call for a convention composed of delegates of Union men, irrespective of party, to meet at Sacramento on the 18th of June.

A resolution has been offered in the Assembly, instructing our Senators in Congress, and requesting our Representatives, to offer California as a mediator in the present difficulties, and in favor of a convention to revise the Constitution of the United States.

An exciting canvass for local officers in San Francisco is progressing. The municipal election takes place on the 22d inst. The only tickets in the field are known as the People's Union ticket and the Republican Union ticket. The latter comprises partisan Republicans, while the former is irrespective of national politics, embracing men of all political parties, who are sound on the Union question. The People's ticket will probably triumph.

Burial of Ellsworth.

MECHANICSVILLE, N. Y., May 27.—On the arrival of the train to-day which conveyed the remains of Ellsworth to his home, minute guns were fired and the entire population of the surrounding country assembled. The procession was then formed, embracing a number of military and fire companies. Along the route many buildings were shrouded in black, and all flags were at half-mast. The roads were crowded with spectators. After the customary funeral services at the grave, in which several clergymen assisted, the face of the deceased was uncovered, and the people passed in procession, to obtain a glance. The body was then lowered into the grave, the men of the company formerly drilled by him, the Chicago Zouaves, firing a volley over it. Then, grounding their arms, they took shovels and filled in the grave. Three volleys were subsequently fired, and the multitude dispersed.

The Virginia Troops at Manassas Gap.

WASHINGTON, May 27.—A gentleman, who left Richmond yesterday, arrived here this morning, coming by the way of Manassas Gap. He says the train in which he traveled brought a thousand South Carolina troops to the Gap, and that the entire number there was estimated at about five thousand.

The Brig Elisha Doane.

BOSTON, May 27.—The brig *Elisha Doane*, of Boston, Capt. Loring, arrived to-day from Sallitta river, Georgia. She reports that she was captured by a privateer schooner and taken to Brunswick, where, after eight days' detention, Governor Brown ordered her release.

Washington Items.

WASHINGTON, May 28.—The belief that the President has determined to tender Col. Fremont a Major General-ship elicits much gratification. Ex Governor Banks is here by invitation of the Secretary of War. The City Councils of Washington have passed a resolution of respect to Col. Ellsworth.

The Border State Convention.

FRANKFORT, KY., May 27.—The Border State Convention met to-day. John J. Crittenden was appointed Chairman, and Orlando Brown elected Secretary. Delegates from Missouri and Kentucky were present. The Convention adjourned until to-morrow, to await the arrival of delegates on their way hither.

The American Medical Association.

CHICAGO, May 27.—The annual meeting of the American Medical Association, which was to have been held in this city on the first Tuesday in June, has been postponed for one year, by order of the Committee of Arrangements.

More Reinforcements for Fort Pickens.

BOSTON, May 27.—The armed steamer Massachusetts, Commander Smith, sailed to-day for Fort Pickens. She takes a crew of 124 men, and 100 seamen for the fleet, together with a large amount of munitions of war.

The Blockade of Charleston.

WASHINGTON, May 27.—It was expected that the steamer *Minnesota* was to leave Fortress Monroe to-day for blockade service at Charleston harbor.—She is to be followed by two or three other vessels.

How they make Union Men in Massachusetts.

The Boston *Advertiser*, an organ of "free soil, free speech, and free men," narrates the following incident which occurred in Chelsea, a suburb of the American Athens:—

Last evening it was reported that Rev. Mr. Palmer, an Episcopal clergyman of Chelsea, had uttered sentiments against Col. Ellsworth and the war. Accordingly, at about ten o'clock last evening, a crowd of forty or fifty men proceeded to Mr. Palmer's residence and rang his door bell with considerable violence, which roused his wife, who came to the second-story window to see what was wanted. The spokesman of the party stated that they had heard that Mr. Palmer had expressed a hope that every man who went to fight the South would meet with the fate of Ellsworth, and they desired to know if this was true. Mrs. Palmer, after parleying some time about calling her husband, being evidently considerably frightened by the formidable assemblage, replied that her husband had always been a Union man, and that they had a flag in the house. This did not satisfy the visitors, who called for Mr. Palmer. The spokesman guaranteed his personal safety if he would come out, but the reverend gentleman complied by coming to the window.

He was then asked whether he had uttered traitorous sentiments, as has been charged against him. He replied that he did make a remark when he heard of the news from Alexandria, but that it was said in pleasantry without any disloyal intention—and that he had always been a Union man and as a minister of the Gospel had always preached for the Union and peace everywhere.—Some one in the crowd called upon him to show his flag. Mr. Palmer said that he had none but a small one which he exhibited. The spokesman then replied, "well—you, don't ever run against that flag, however small it may be, for if you do you can never live in this or any other civilized society." The first speaker, who appeared to be the leader, then called upon Mr. Palmer to join in giving three cheers for the Union, which request was complied with and the crowd dispersed.

SOUTHERN POWDER MILLS.—It seems that the impression that there are no powder mills in the seceded States is incorrect. We gather the following from our exchanges:

The Jacksonport (Ark.) *Herald* says a powder mill has commenced operations on White river, turning out 2,000 pounds daily. Two good powder mills are in operation in Pickens District, S. C. The powder mill near Nashville, Tenn., is in vigorous operation. The Memphis *Appeal* notices the receipt of a fine specimen of gunpowder from a mill at Panola, Miss.

A SCRAP FROM HISTORY.—It is a circumstance somewhat remarkable that Virginia was the eighth State of the thirteen to give in its adhesion to the Federal Constitution in 1787, and is now the eighth State of the South to secede from it. But what is more, her reluctance to leave the Union was only equalled by her original aversion to becoming a part of it, under the Constitution that was presented for ratification. The Convention of 1787 was composed of members, a majority of whom were elected to reject the Federal Constitution; and it was only after the clause declaring that "the power granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury and oppression, and that every power not granted thereby, remains with them at their will," was inserted in the ordinance of ratification, that six or more of the majority opposed to the measure consented to vote for it. Even with this accession of strength, the Constitution was carried only by a vote of 89 to 79.—*Charleston Courier.*

WATERPROOF CLOTH FOR SOLDIERS' OVERCOATS.—Twenty thousand tunics, rendered waterproof, and yet porous, were served out to the French army during the late war with Russia. They were prepared after the following recipe:

Take 2 lbs. 4 oz. of alum, and dissolve it in 16 gallons of water; in like manner dissolve the same quantity of sugar of lead in a similar quantity of water, and mix the two together. They form a precipitate of the sulphate of lead. The clear liquor is now withdrawn, and the cloth immersed for one hour in the solution, when it is taken out, dried in the shade, washed in clean water and dried again. This preparation enables the cloth to repel water like the feathers of a duck's back, and yet allows the perspiration to pass somewhat freely through it, which is not the case with gutta percha or India rubber cloth.

SAILING OF STEAMERS.—The steamer *Kangaroo*, for Liverpool, took out 60 cabin passengers and 261 in the steerage. The *Arago*, for Southampton and Havre, took 194 passengers and $1,500 in specie. The *Great Eastern*, also for Liverpool, had 194 passengers. The cargo of the steamship *Great Eastern* comprises 64,000 bushels of wheat, 4,500 bbls. of flour, 177 tons of lard and bacon, 62 pkgs. of furs, and 4 cases of machinery.

HISTORICAL PARALLELS.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."—*Declaration of Independence.*

Yes, sir, we wish for peace, but how is that blessing to be preserved? I shall repeat here a sentiment I have often had occasion to express. In my opinion there is nothing worth fighting for but national honor; for, in the national honor is involved the national independence. *I know that a State may find itself in such unpropitious circumstances, that prudence may force a wise government to conceal patiently the sense of indignity. But the insult should be engraven on tablets of brass, with a pencil of steel.* AND WHEN THAT TIME AND CHANCE, WHICH HAPPENS TO ALL, SHALL BRING FORWARD THE FAVORABLE MOMENT, THEN LET THE AVENGING SWORD STRIKE HOME. It is only by avowing and maintaining this stern principle of honor, that peace can be preserved.—*Gouverneur Morris, Speech in the Senate of the U. S., Feb. 21, 1803.*

"Countrymen! the men who now invite you to surrender your rights into their hands, are the men who have let loose the merciless savages to riot in the blood of their brethren—WHO HAVE TAUGHT TREACHERY TO YOUR SLAVES, AND COMPELLED THEM TO ASSASSINATE YOUR WIVES AND CHILDREN."—*Samuel Adams, Speech in Philadelphia, 1st August, 1776.*

"A town meeting of Boston had been called at the Old South Church, in consequence of some new aggression upon the rights of the people. The different orators of the patriot party had in turn addressed the meeting, loud in complaint and accusation, but guarded and cautious on every point which might look like an approach towards treasonable expressions, or direct exhortations to resistance. Adams placed himself in the pulpit, and sat quietly listening to all their harangues; at length he rose and made a few remarks, which he closed with the following pithy apologue: "A Grecian philosopher who was lying asleep on the grass, was suddenly roused by the bite of some animal on the palm of his hand. He closed his hand quickly as he awoke, and found he had caught in it a small field mouse. As he was examining the little animal which had dared to attack him, it bit him unexpectedly a second time; he dropped it, and it escaped. Now, fellow citizens, what think you was the reflection which this trifling circumstance gave birth to, in the mind of the philosopher? It was this: *That there is no animal, however weak and contemptible, which cannot defend its own liberty, if it will only* FIGHT FOR IT."—*Samuel Adams, Memoir in American Eloquence, Vol. 1.*

Guard with jealous attention the public liberty. Suspect every one who approaches that jewel. *Unfortunately, nothing will preserve it but downright force.* WHENEVER YOU GIVE UP THAT FORCE, YOU ARE INSTANTLY CLAPPED.—*Patrick Henry, Speech in the Virginia Convention, June 4, 1788.*

The honorable gentleman who presided, told us, that to prevent abuses in our government we will assemble in convention, recall our delegated powers, and punish the servants for abusing the trust reposed in them. Oh, sir, we should have fine times, indeed, if to punish tyrants it were only sufficient to assemble the people. *Your arms wherewith you could defend yourselves are gone; and you have no longer an aristocratical, no longer a democratical spirit.* Did you ever read of any revolution in any nation brought about by the punishment of those in power, inflicted by those who had no power at all? You read of a riot act in a country which is called one of the freest in the world, where a few neighbors cannot assemble without the risk of being shot by a hired soldiery, the engines of despotism. *We may see such an act in America. A standing army we shall have also, to execute the execrable commands of tyranny*, and how are you to punish them? Will you order them to be punished?—Who shall obey those orders? Will your mace-bearer be a match for a disciplined regiment? In what situation are we to be?—*Patrick Henry, Speech in Virginia Convention, June 6th, 1788.*

Where are your checks in this government?—Your strongholds will be in the hands of your enemies. *It is on the supposition that your American Governors shall be honest that all its good qualities are founded, but its defective and imperfect construction puts it in their power to perpetrate the worst of mischiefs should they be bad men.* And, sir, would not all the world, from the Eastern to the Western hemisphere, blame our distracted folly in resting our rights upon the contingency of our rulers being good or bad? Show me that age and country where the rights and liberties of the people were placed on the sole chance of their rulers being good men without a consequent loss of liberty. I say that the loss of that dearest privilege has ever followed, with absolute certainty, any such mad attempt. If your American chief be a man of ambition and abilities, how easy will it be for him to render himself absolute! The army is in his hands, and, if he be a man of address, it will be attached to him; and it will be the subject of long meditation with him to seize the first auspicious moment to accomplish his design. And, sir, will the American spirit solely relieve you when this happens? I would rather, infinitely, and I am sure most of this convention are of the same opinion, have a king, lords and commons, than a government so replete with such insupportable evils. If we make a king, we may prescribe the rules by which he shall rule his people, and interpose such checks as shall prevent him from infringing them: *but the president in the field, at the head of his army, can prescribe the terms on which he shall reign master so far that it will puzzle any American ever to get his neck from under the galling yoke.* I cannot, with patience, think of this idea. If ever he violates the laws, one of two things will happen: he will come at the head of his army to carry every thing before him; or, he will give bail, or do what Mr. Chief Justice will order him. If he be guilty will not the recollection of his crimes teach him to make one bold push for the American throne? Will not the immense difference between being master of every thing, and being ignominiously tried and punished, powerfully excite him to make this bold push? But, sir, where is the existing force to punish him? Can he not, at the head of his army, beat down every opposition?

Away with your fears, we shall have a king; the army will salute him monarch; your militia will assist in making him king, and fight against you; and what have you to oppose this force?—What will then become of you and your rights?—WILL NOT ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM ENSUE?—*Patrick Henry, in the Virginia Convention, June, 1788.*

"The glorious spirit of liberty is vanquished and left without hope but in a miracle,"—and despending patriots, "I confess," said Samuel Adams, "we have, as Wolfe expressed it, a choice of difficulties. Too many flatter themselves that this pusillanimity is true prudence; *but in perilous times like these, I cannot conceive of prudence without fortitude.*" He persevered; but John Adams retired from the service of the people, and devoting himself to his profession, for a time ceased even to employ his pen in their defence. Otis who had returned to the Legislature, disordered in mind, and jealous of his declining influence, did but impede the public cause. In Hancock, also, vanity so mingled with patriotism, that the Government hoped to separate him from its uncompromising opponents."—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 6, page 402, year 1771.*

"'Here,' said Mayhew, as he lamented with cold head on the timid good, and for himself, trod the thorny path of resistance to the grandeurs of the world—'here, there are many who see the right, and yet the wrong pursue. But it is my fixed resolution, notwithstanding many discouragements, in my little sphere, to do all I can for the service of my country, that neither the republic nor the churches of New England may sustain any injury. And every where men began to enter into a solemn agreement not to use a single article of British manufacture; not even to wear black clothes for mourning. To encourage the growth and manufacture of wool, nearly all Boston signed a covenant to eat no lamb."—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 5, p. 206, year 1771.*

The King, in his reply, pledged himself *speedily and effectually to enforce "obedience to the laws and the authority of the supreme legislature."* His heart was hardened. *Having just heard of the seizure of ammunition at the fort in New Hampshire*, he intended that his language should "open the eyes of the deluded Americans." "If it does not," said he to his faltering minister, "it must set every delicate man at liberty to avow the propriety of the most coercive measures." "*The New England governments are now in a state of rebellion. Blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or to be independent.*"—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 7, p. 177-227.*

They rushed on with headlong indiscretion, thinking not to involve the empire in a civil war, but to subdue the Americans by fear. The first step towards inspiring terror was, to declare Massachusetts in a *state of rebellion*, and to pledge the parliament and the whole force of Great Britain to its reduction; the next, by prohibiting the American fisheries, *to starve* New England; the next, to call out the savages on the rear of the Colonies; the next, *to excite a servile insurrection.*—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 7, p. 372.*

In the Congress of 1774, there was not one member, except Patrick Henry, who appeared to me sensible of the precipice, or rather the pinnacle on which we stood, and had candor and courage enough to acknowledge it. America is in total ignorance, or under infinite deception concerning that assembly. To draw the characters of them all would require a volume, and would now be considered as a caricatured print. One-third Tories, another Whigs, and the rest mongrels.

There was a little aristocracy among us of talents and letters. Mr. Dickinson was *primus inter pares*, the bell-wether, the leader of the aristocratical flock.—*John Adams, Letter to Jefferson, Nov. 12, 1813.*

As to the history of the Revolution, my ideas may be peculiar, perhaps singular. What do we mean by the Revolution? The war? That was no part of the Revolution. It was only an effect and consequence of it. *The Revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years, before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington.* The records of thirteen Legislatures, the pamphlets, newspapers, in all the colonies, should be consulted during that period, to ascertain the steps by which the public opinion was enlightened and informed concerning the authority of Parliament over the colonies. *The Congress of 1774 resembled, in some respects, though I hope not in many, the Council of Nice in Ecclesiastical history.* It assembled the priests, from the east and the west, the north and the south, who compared notes, engaged in discussions and debates, *and formed results by one vote and by two votes which went out to the world as unanimous.*—*John Adams, Letter to Jefferson, August 14, 1815.*

Truth, being known, will prevail over artifice and misrepresentation. In such case *no man, who is worthy of life, liberty or property, will or can refuse to join with you in defending them to the last*; disdaining every sordid view, and the mean, paltry considerations of private interest and present emolument, when placed in competition with the liberties of millions; *and, seeing that there is no alternative but absolute, unconditional submission, and the most abject slavery, or a defence becoming men born to freedom, he will not hesitate about the choice.* Although superior force may, by the permission of Heaven, lay waste our towns and ravage our country, it can never eradicate from the breasts of freemen, those principles which are ingrafted in their very nature. *Such men* WILL DO THEIR DUTY, NEITHER KNOWING NOR REGARDING CONSEQUENCES; but submitting them, with humble confidence, to the omniscient and omnipotent Arbiter and Director of the fate of empires, and trusting that his Almighty arm, which has been so signally stretched out for our defence, will deliver them in a righteous cause.—*John Rutledge, in the South Carolina Assembly, April 11th, 1776.*

It was a maxim of the Roman people, which eminently contributed to the greatness of that State, never to despair of the commonwealth. THE MAXIM WAS PROVED AS SALUTARY TO US NOW, AS IT DID TO THEM. Short-sighted mortals see not the numerous links of small and great events which form the chain on which the fate of kings and nations is suspended.—Ease and prosperity, though pleasing for a day, have often sunk a people into effeminacy and sloth. Hardships and dangers, though we for ever strive to shun them, have frequently called forth such virtues as have commanded the applause and reverence of an admiring world. Our country loudly calls you to be circumspect, vigilant, active and brave. Perhaps, (all gracious heaven avert it,) perhaps the power of Britain, a nation great in war, by some malignant influence, may be employed to enslave you; but let not even this discourage you. Her arms, 'tis true, have filled the world with terror; her troops have reaped the laurels of the field; her fleets have rode triumphant on the sea; and when, or where, did you, my countrymen, depart inglorious from the field of fight? You, too, can show the trophies of your forefathers' victories and your own; can name the fortresses and battles you have won; and many of you count the honorable scars of wounds received, whilst fighting for your king and country.—*Joseph Warren, Boston, March 6th, 1775.*

But, pardon me, fellow-citizens. I know you want not zeal or fortitude. *You will maintain your rights, or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat, you never will decline it when freedom is the prize.* An independence of Great Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is, that Britain and the colonies may, like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together. *But whilst the infatuated plan of making one part of the empire slaves to the other is persisted in*, the interest and safety of Britain, as well as the colonies, require that the wise measures recommended by the honorable the Continental Congress be steadfastly pursued; whereby the unnatural contest between a parent honored and a child beloved, may probably be brought to such an issue, as that the peace and happiness of both may be established upon a lasting basis. *but if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will, undaunted, press forward, until tyranny is trodden under foot.*—*Joseph Warren, Boston, March 6th, 1775.*

Upon the whole it has been the policy of the British authority to oblige us to supply our wants at their market, which is the dearest in the known world, *and to cramp and confine our trade so as to be subservient to their commerce, our real interest being ever out of the question.*—*Chief Justice Drayton, Charge to the Grand Jury, Charleston, May 23, 1776.*

Our liberties and safety cannot be depended upon if the King of Great Britain should be allowed to hold our forts and cannon, or to have authority over a single regiment in America or a single ship of war in her ports. For if he holds our forts he may turn them against us, as he did Boston against her proprietors; if he acquires our cannon he will effectually disarm the colony; if he has a command of troops among us, even if we raise and pay them, shackles will be fixed upon us—witness Ireland and her national army. The most express act of Parliament cannot give us security, for acts of Parliament are as easily repealed as made. Royal proclamations are not to be depended upon, witness *the disappointments of the inhabitants of Quebec and St. Augustine.* Even a change of ministry will not avail us, because, notwithstanding the rapid succession of ministers, for which the British Court has been famous during the present reign, *yet the same ruinous policy ever continued to prevail against America.* In short, I think it my duty to declare, in the awful seat of justice and before Almighty God, that in my opinion the Americans can have no safety but by the Divine favor, their own virtue, and their being so prudent as NOT TO HAVE IT IN THE POWER OF THE BRITISH KILLERS TO INJURE THEM. *Indeed the ruinous and deadly injuries received on our side, and the jealousies entertained, and which in the nature of things must daily increase against us, on the other, demonstrate to a mind the least given to reflection upon the rise and fall of empires, that true reconciliation can never exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former.*—*Chief Justice Drayton, Charge to the Grand Jury, Charleston, April 23, 1776.*

"Of the inhabitants of Boston, six thousand seven hundred and fifty three still remained in the town, pining of sorrow; deprived of wholesome food, confined to their houses after ten o'clock in the evening; liable to be robbed without redress; exposed to the malice of the soldiery, and chidden for tears as proofs of disloyalty. *Bancroft's U. S., vol. 8, p. 42, year 1775.*

"They closed their statement in the words of their new member, Jefferson: 'These Colonies now feel the complicated calamities of fire, sword and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.'"—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 8, p. 36, year 1775.*

"The loss of officers was observed to be disproportionably great; and the gloom in the quarters of the British was deepened by the reflection that they had fought not against an enemy, but against their fellow subjects and kindred; not for the promotion of civil or religious freedom, *but for the supremacy of one part of the empire over another.*"—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 8, pp. 25 26, Battle of Bunker Hill.*

"Here too, as every where else, preparations for resistance had been deferred; no more than four barrels of powder could be found in the city. Which Washington was borne toward Cambridge on the affectionate confidence of the people, Congress which had as yet supported its commander in chief with nothing beyond a commission," &c., &c.—*Bancroft U. S., vol. 8, p. 24, "Not Prepared for Resistance."*

The wife of Colonel Pinckney is distinguished as one of those heroic and self sacrificing women of the revolution, "whose intrepidity and fortitude but so able a support to the cause of their country. An incident in her life is recorded in Gordon's interesting *Anecdotes of the Revolution.* "A British officer of rank once said to Mrs. Pinckney—'It is impossible not to admire the intrepid firmness of the ladies of your country. Had your men but half their resolution, we might give up the contest. America would be invincible.'"—*American Eloquence, Vol. 1.*

"But in truth the cry of Dunmore did not rouse among the Africans a passion for freedom. To them bondage in Virginia was not a lower condition of being than their former one; they had no "regrets for ancient privileges lost; their memories prompted no demand for political changes; no struggling aspirations of their own had invited Dunmore's interposition; no memorial of their grievances had preceded his offers."—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 8, p. 225—year 1775.*

"When Washington learned the fate of the rich emporium of his own 'country,' for so he called Virginia, his breast heaved with waves of anger and grief; 'I hope,' said he, 'this and the threatened devastation of other places will unite the whole country in one indissoluble bond against a nation which seems lost to every sense of virtue and those feelings which distinguish a civilized people from the most barbarous savages.'"—*Bancroft U. S., 8 vol., 232—Burning of Norfolk.*

"Yet the majority of Congress, scrupulous not to outrun the convictions and sympathies of their constituents, and pleasing themselves by confiding in the speedy restoration of peace, not only made no adequate preparations for resistance, but would not even consent to relieve the states from anarchy by sanctioning the institution of Governments in the several colonies. The hesitancy of so many members, especially of Dickinson, in consed John Adams, who maintained that the fifty or sixty men composing Congress should at once form a constitution for a great empire, provide for its defence, and, in that safe attitude, await the decision of the King. His letters to New England, avowing these opinions, were intercepted; and so little were the central colonies prepared for the bold advice, they were published by the royalists as the surest way of destroying his influence, and heaping obloquy on his name."—*Bancroft U. S., 8 vol., 55—year 1775.*

"The people of Maryland, happier than that of Pennsylvania, escaped intestine dissensions and insured unanimity, by passing over the proprietary government, and intrusting the conduct of resistance to a series of conventions. The prudent, the slow, the hesitating were allowed an influence; but from the