The South.

From our Second and Third Editions of yesterday.

BY THE PHILADELPHIA TRAIN.

Further Foreign Details.

From the London Times of May 15th.

Promptness has not ceased to be a quality of the American people. They have organized a war as rapidly as they would supply a market or form a railway company. But a few days have elapsed since Mr. Lincoln issued his proclamation, and already a great army has sprung, as it were, from the earth. More than 140,000 men, besides 18,000 sailors, have been asked for by the government, and it is said they will be furnished within a few weeks. * * * * *

This uprising has, no doubt, startled the seceders; but, as far as we can learn, it has only been to rouse them to extraordinary exertions. Indeed it is pretty clear that the leading men of the South have never for a moment doubted of war. They may find it a hotter and more arduous struggle than they expected; the intensity or the duration of the fighting may exceed their expectations; but, at any rate, for the fact that there was to be fighting, they were fully prepared; they never expected that Mr. Lincoln would give in without a contest. So now there *is no reason to believe that the mere fear of a Northern invasion will induce them to return to their allegiance.* We cannot, therefore, anticipate that the federal preparations will terrify the Confederates into submission. If the new republic be crushed, it must be by conquest, and not by menaces. The North has certainly undertaken a difficult task, of conquering a vast territory inhabited by men of the same race as its own citizens, and even more accustomed to the use of arms.

From New York.

A letter from New York, dated yesterday, says:

The Comptroller, this morning, opened his bids for the $250,000 Central Railroad Improvement stock, drawing 6 per cent. interest—but only two applicants were found to respond, and even these were for beggarly sums—one for $5000 at 1 per cent. over par, and the other for 95. The latter was rejected.

The Prize Commissioners had reported to them, this morning, the bark *Octavia* taken as a prize by the frigate *Cumberland*. The *Octavia* was from Richmond *via* Baltimore, bound to Bremen. She had a double set of clearance papers, representing "Uncle Sam" and "Uncle Sambo" both—thus showing a disposition to carry water on both shoulders, which will scarcely save her from confiscation, however.

Nothing new in "the Street" to-day. Merchants and Bankers are conning over their letters by the New York, from their European correspondents, and answering per Cunarder, from Boston to-morrow. Sterling Exchange at the close was rather more more active than on Saturday; sales of banker's names at 106. At the Banks and discount houses there is but little paper offering, and even that little is difficult to pass, unless at prime grade, in which case it will go up 5a6 per cent. On call, say 4a5, on stock securities and approved collaterals.

Stocks, at the first board, were without much animation, except in Virginia and Missouri Bonds. Of the former the sales foot up $37,000, at 48a47 and of the latter, $50,000, at 41¼a41¾. Governments were a shade lower.

From Washington.

A letter from Washington to the Philadelphia *Inquirer* furnishes the following information:

The Seventh Regiment, of New York, still remain at their encampment, but contemplate leaving here on Friday or Saturday next. Major Shaler, one of the officers, intends organizing a new regiment, and among the members will be between five and six hundred of the Seventh. As soon as the new regiment is formed it will be mustered into service, an arrangement to that effect having been made with the Department. Several of the privates of the Seventh will be selected as officers in the Sickles Brigade. The Seventh have offered their tents to the Government for six thousand dollars, and it is believed the offer will be accepted this afternoon. There are about two hundred and fifty tents in all, and are capable of accommodating over twelve hundred soldiers.

Yesterday and last evening there was considerable activity visible along the whole military line from Philadelphia to Alexandria, and it is surmised that the movement is induced by a purpose to extend our lines in Virginia towards the Manassas Junction. This is done by sending forward troops from the neighborhood of Washington, whose places will be supplied with troops from the North.

Francis Markoe, who was recently removed from the State Department, was escorted down the street this morning by a military guard, for expressing secession sentiments, and was subsequently consigned to durance vile in the Washington jail. Mr. Markoe was born in St. Croix, of American parents, and was appointed to his position, as clerk in the State Department, from Philadelphia.

Some of the New York troops appear to be endowed with an unusual degree of morbid curiosity. The tree opposite Lafayette Square, against which Key was standing when shot by Sickles, has been divested of its bark for eight or ten feet from the pavement, the fragments having been divided among the soldiers as relics. One or more of the members of the New York Regiments may be seen at any hour of the day looking into the tree, with the most anxious curiosity depicted upon their features.

This morning the New York Seventy-first Regiment embarked at two o'clock on the steamers *Philadelphia*, *Powhatan*, and *James Guy*, for Alexandria and Acquia Creek. Three or four companies were landed at Alexandria, and the remainder went on down the river. It is not improbable that an important movement will be made on Acquia Creek, in a few days. The battery there will be demolished, and the plate occupied by United States troops. The position is a most important one, commanding the railroad to Richmond. The *Pocahontas* has gone down the river to aid in the attack.

The New York Seventh Regiment were drawn up in line this morning and addressed by Col. Lefferts. He stated that the War Department desired them to remain a few days longer, in view of apprehended danger. The entire regiment agreed to stay. It is understood that they will be released by Saturday, and leave for home.

The First Ohio Regiment crossed the Long Bridge this evening, into Virginia. The Second will soon follow, and an encampment will be made on Arlington Heights.

Efforts have been made to cut off immediately, the retreat of the Disunion forces from Harper's Ferry. General McDowell will command the Department of Virginia, and will superintend the movement. His Department embraces all that portion of the State east of the Alleghanies (excepting Fort Monroe,) within a radius of sixty miles. This shows that a demonstration on Richmond will be made by land from this direction.—The guards thrown out into Virginia report that the people are all in arms on the border.

More than three hundred men attached to the New York Second Regiment refused to enlist today for three years. It is believed that the whole Regiment will be sent home.

Caleb Lyon, of Lyondale, N. Y.; Col. E. G. Parker, late Gen. Butler's aid, and Col. Mix, and S. P. Hanscom, of the New York *Herald*, made a tour through Virginia to-day. They dashed out five miles beyond the Federal pickets and suddenly came upon the Secession pickets, and were nearly captured, but escaped by aid of a pair of good horses. They were hotly but unsuccessfully pursued.

FROM CALIFORNIA—By Pony Express

FORT KEARNEY, May 28.—The pony express passed here this morning with San Francisco advices to the 18th inst.

The U. S. sloop-of-war St. Mary arrived at San Francisco from Panama, on the 16th.

The St. Louis is anxiously expected from Panama, being now 20 days over due.

Sight exchange on New York for to-day's pony express is 6 a 10 per cent. premium with those who draw at all. The agent of the Rothschilds refuses to sell exchange.

A large auction of real estate, to settle an estate, took place yesterday, when some $100,000 worth of property, in limited quantities brought better prices than have been before realized this season.

Both Houses of the Legislature have decided to adjourn on the 20th, and are rushing through unfinished business.

The most important measure of State policy that has been adopted in the passage of a law offering six million acres of the school lands, belonging to the State, for sale in limited quantities at $1.25 per acre, on liberal credit. A system for reclaiming and bringing into market vast tracts of swamp and overflowed lands belonging to the State has also been entered upon.

A series of Union resolutions, pledging the State fealty to the General Government, and her readiness to comply with any requisition for aid to suppress rebellion, have passed both Houses by large majorities.

There is scarcely a ghost of a chance of the passage of a bill providing for a special election for members of Congress. This inaction is attributable to the schemes of aspirants for Congressional honors, who think that the chances for their election will be better next fall than now.

The Legislature has proposed, for adoption or rejection by the people, several amendments to the State Constitution. One amendment proposes biennial sessions of the Legislature. Another authorizes the election of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, State Comptroller, State Treasurer, Attorney General and Surveyor General for four years.

Both Houses have adopted a resolution calling on the Federal Congress to afford protection to the overland mail and telegraph route.

The New York *Times'* correspondent furnishes the following news from the seat of war:

I am informed by a gentleman who came to-day from his farm beyond Manassas Gap Junction, in Madison county, and a resident of Washington, that the railroad, being entirely destroyed from Manassas Gap to Centreville, he took to the baggage wagons of the First Regiment South Carolina Militia, commanded by Col. Gregg, a distance of eight miles. All the distance on the mountains, pickets are to be seen within hailing distance of each other.

The regiment is one thousand strong, and were accompanied by two hundred negroes, who carried their masters' arms, knapsacks, and in many cases an extra hat. On arriving at the encampment at Centreville, eight miles from Manassas Gap, the Colonel elevated the Confederate flag upon a fence, and ordered the negro band to play Dixie. At Fairfax, there are about twelve hundred Confederate forces. Additional regiments are expected from South Carolina, who will join the First South Carolina Regiment.

Gen. Waldridge has come back to Washington, to urge the Government to increase the number of troops so as to prevent, if possible, the rebel forces, and bring the war to a speedy termination.

The Government has made arrangements for putting the Orange and Alexandria Railroad in operation. The track is being repaired, and rolling stock is to be procured from the Pennsylvania Central—the resources of that road having been placed at the disposal of the Government.

Speaking of the irruption into Western Virginia the *Tribune* says:

This movement will be under the immediate direction of Gen. McClellan, and the importance of the step demands a leader of no less ability. It is not probable that he will enter Virginia with an army of less than 30,000 men. Such a force as this, threatening the rebels at Harper's Ferry in the rear and on the flank, will cause them speedily to evacuate that position and betake themselves southward, this being the only course by which they can avoid total rout. Nothing will then prevent the Federal troops from pushing on to Richmond, the city whither all the movements of the last few days have clearly tended.

We learn, also, that a co-operative movement is to be made from Philadelphia on Harper's Ferry, by way of Harrisburg and Chambersburg, by five regiments under command of Gen. Patterson, and that this expedition is to start to-day.

The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent speaks of a new levy of 100,000 men.

The Tribune Advises the Arrest of Chief Justice Taney.

To-day's *Tribune*, speaking of Judge Taney's action in the case of Merryman, says:

"Let us cite an historic precedent familiar to the country. In the war of 1812-15, when Gen. Jackson was the military commander of New Orleans, an insurrection against his authority was gaining headway. He, like Cadwallader, refused, in a parallel case, to obey the writ of *habeas corpus* issued by one Judge Hall. Thereupon Hall, like Taney, issued his warrant to arrest Jackson for contempt of court. Whereupon Jackson put Hall in prison; and having thus disposed of him, went out and won the victory of New Orleans.

"We hope there will be no occasion for General Cadwallader's following this precedent to its extreme length; for we think Judge Taney, who is very old and feeble, is being used in the matter by younger and bolder Secessionists. Nevertheless, we advise Gen. Cadwallader to maintain his position at all hazards, remembering that the country ratified and applauded the heroic act of Jackson. Let him emulate the example of General Harney, at St. Louis, who, in his recent proclamation, has declared that in such cases he shall obey the "higher law" of self-preservation. When Treason stalks abroad in arms let decrepit Judges give place to men capable of detecting and crushing it.

FROM FORTRESS MONROE.

Wholesale Negro Stealing by the Government Forces.

WASHINGTON, May 29th.—Additional particulars were received here to-day from Fortress Monroe. The movement toward Newport-Newspoint took place on that day as stated.

A force of twenty-five hundred men, embracing the Vermont and Fourth Massachusetts Regiments and the Steuben Guard, from New York, with a few regulars and four pieces of artillery, formed an entrenched camp at the point which is near the mouth of James river and about ten miles from Fortress Monroe up Hampton Roads.

The Steuben Guards did not land at the Fortress. The rebel battery fired four shots at the *Empire City* and the *Quaker City*, when off Sewall Point. Though at a distance of over three miles, the shot fell but little short, indicating that the guns of the battery are of the heaviest calibre. The point of Newport-Newspoint is in plain sight from the ramparts of the Fortress.

The roadstead is there about three miles wide.—One object of the entrenched camp is to command Sand Island, which is about midway between, and completely guard the entrance to James River.—General Butler was fearful that the rebels would take possession of the Island. Newport Newspoint also commands, to a great extent, the peninsula between the James and York rivers.

About one hundred fugitive slaves came in this morning, they were provided with rations and set to work, their services being greatly needed. They represent that they were either to be sent South or put to work on the rebel batteries.

Capture of Secession Soldiers—Arrest of Francis Markoe.

WASHINGTON, May 29.—Eight Secession soldiers, with arms, captured in Virginia, are in jail here. The thirty-five cavalry made prisoners in Alexandria, are to be brought to the same place from the navy yard, to await the action of the military authorities. Francis Markoe, whose case excites unusual interest, from the fact that he but recently occupied a responsible position in the State Department, had a hearing this morning. The principal witness sworn that Markoe informed him that he had a communication from the Southern Commissioners, or one of them, in Europe, who advised him that France and England would recognize the Confederacy. Markoe explained by saying that he had a letter from Colonel Mann containing a statement to that effect, and Col. Mann being an old personal friend, had privately corresponded with him for a quarter of a century past. The testimony will be laid before Gen. Mansfield. The point in the case seems to be whether Markoe is criminally in correspondence with the enemy, apart from a remark of his to a witness who sought to shun his conversation, that the North was unwise to make war on the South, or words to that effect.

The Border State Convention.

FRANKFORT, May 28.—The Border State Convention met at noon. Mr. Wickliffe offered a resolution, which was adopted, for the appointment of a committee to consider the subjects for which the Convention was called, and also the original Crittenden amendment proposed to the Senate of the United States, with such amendments as will secure the Slave States their past and equal rights under the Constitution. Gov. Magoffin was present, and invited to take a seat in the Convention during its session. Full delegates are accredited from Kentucky and Missouri, but from no other States. Mr. John Caldwell appeared from McMinn and Sevier counties, Tennessee, and was received as an adviser and consulting friend.

From Williamsport.

CHAMBERSBURG, May 28.—The Virginia camp opposite Williamsport was reinforced by 500 men on Monday night, and four field pieces. They are without the regular army supplies, and are fed by the secessionists in the neighborhood. On Sunday about fifty of them, under the pretence of bathing, sounded the bottom of the river for a considerable fording it. It is known that the secessionists at Williamsport and Hagerstown are concocting a plan to enable the Virginians to invade Washington county, Maryland. The Second and Third Regiments Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanded by Cols. Stambaugh and Minier, arrived here this morning, and are comfortably quartered in the public buildings.

Wilmington Excited.

WILMINGTON, (Del.) May 28.—The citizens of Wilmington were thrown into intense excitement this afternoon, by the announcement that the four companies from this State, which have been encamped for some days past near this city, had received orders to march immediately. It has since transpired that they are to take the place of Col. Dare's command at Perryville, which has been ordered to Washington.

Ex-Governor Morehead on the War.

LOUISVILLE, May 28.—Ex-Governor Morehead publishes a letter in the *Journal*, in which he says: "Should Mr. Lincoln hereafter assume the aspect of war for overruning and subjugating the seceding States, Kentucky, without counting the cost, ought to take up arms at once against the Government of the United States. She should compel both sides to respect the inviolability of her soil.

Evacuation of Grafton by the Virginia Troops.

CINCINNATI, May 29.—The first Virginia and three Ohio Regiments advanced on Monday towards Grafton. The rebels there evacuated the place, and it is supposed it is now in possession of the federal troops. Gen. McClellan has issued a proclamation to the Union men of Western Virginia, assuring them protection for their homes, property and families.

From Cairo.

CAIRO, May 28.—Three 32-pounders and carriages for three 24-pounders arrived here this evening. No reliable information has been received regarding the movements of Gen. Pillow and the Confederate troops.

More Troops for Fortress Monroe.

NEW YORK, May 28.—The steamer *Costenoceolee* has anchored in quarantine to take aboard Hartlett's Naval Brigade, for Fortress Monroe. The steamer *State of Georgia*, with Col. Allen's Regiment, has sailed for Fortress Monroe.

The Effect of the Blockade.

The New York *Herald* is now engaged in proving that the blockade of Southern ports must prove destructive to European revenues as well as to their business interest. In proof of this it cites the following facts:

Our shipments of tobacco alone to Europe amount to twenty millions annually, upon which some sixty-four millions of revenue are raised, as follows:

British duty on tobacco	$21,000,000
Dutch duty on tobacco	20,000,000
French revenue	18,000,000
Spanish revenue	5,000,000
Total	$64,000,000

Here, then, one of the principal sources of revenue is cut off from the maritime nations of Europe, to say nothing of the multitudes who will be thrown out of employment by the stoppage of the manufactories. The exports of turpentine from North Carolina—an article so necessary to modern civilization—is also debarred. Add to this cutting off of about $150,000,000 worth of cotton, giving employment in England alone to five millions of the population, and an amount of injury—commercial, manufacturing and financial—will be inflicted which the leading maritime Powers of Europe cannot stand.

From Cairo.

Late advices from Cairo, of the 23d, state that the Memphis people were seizing all the boats from below bound North, as fast as they arrived, and would use them to form part of the Southern Navy.

Since the Brigade Hospital was established there have been 776 cases treated at Cairo, during nearly a month, the diseases being most diarrhœa and dysentery.

It was believed at Paducah that the troops at Cairo are about to make a descent upon that place. Many of the citizens are preparing to leave, and the *Herald*, a strong Southern paper, has suspended publication.

It seems probable that Gen. Pillow intends to take possession of Columbus and fortify it, to be prepared to resist any movement from the North. The heights at Columbus are eminently adapted for such a purpose, and the people of that region would undoubtedly favor the step.

Two 32 pounders, which the *Prince of Wales* brought to Memphis from Baton Rouge, are said to be destined for Columbus, also one hundred balls for the same guns.

It is believed that Gen. Pillow will concentrate the Tennessee troops at Jackson and Union city (30 miles from Columbus) and their object, probably, is to prevent a Northern force from taking possession of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

Effect of the Blockade and Privateering on Commerce.

During the first half of this month the number of arrivals from foreign ports at the port of New York was eighty-five larger than for a corresponding period last year. This increase is attributable to the blockade of Southern ports, the masters of vessels warned off generally bringing them to New York. The number of vessels arriving in ballast is also much larger than usual. This fact is explained by the absence of freight caused by the depression of American commerce, and also by the fear, especially felt in South American ports, of attacks by Confederate privateers upon vessels bearing the United States flag. Hence we find the phenomenon recently occurring, of a vessel arriving from Rio in ballast, instead of being laden with coffee, instructions having gone out from this city to ship no more coffee in American bottoms. The same reason also explains the transformation which many United States vessels have suddenly experienced into British merchantmen, by virtue of sales to British subjects in this country, Canada or England. Judging from the recent success of privateering in the Gulf, this metamorphose of nationality will be found a very convenient resort for American shipowners. One of the latest operations of the kind was in the case of a vessel chartered by Redpath to export a second or third cargo of free colored persons to Hayti. In a British vessel, and under the British flag, they could snap their fingers triumphantly at privateers.—*New York Journal of Commerce.*

AN ANECDOTE OF WEBSTER.—The London correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* writes as follows:—The latest American news seems to be regarded as, on the whole, favorable to the possibilities—remote, I fear, at best—of a bloodless settlement of the struggle between North and South. I heard an authentic anecdote, a few days ago, which shows that the probability of violent disruption of the Union was long ago present to the mind of at least one leading American statesman. When Daniel Webster was last in this country, some 15 years ago, he dined one day in society with Sidney Smith. After a good deal of sparring, in which the reverend wit worked the sore subject of repudiation, from which he had suffered heavily, with many of his friends, he asked Webster—abruptly, as it seemed to the gentleman from whom the story comes, and who was present—whether he anticipated a disruption of the Union at no very remote date. Webster's answer was a prompt and unqualified "Most decidedly." "Will it, in your opinion, be accompanied with bloodshed?" was Sidney's further question. "Most probably," was Webster's answer. Indeed, after the "nullification" business the chance of Southern secession must always have presented itself as on the cards to all American minds but those of the optimist order, which is not largely represented among statesmen.

COLONEL ANDERSON'S VISIT TO KENTUCKY.—So many contradictory reports have been in circulation as to the object of Col. Anderson's visit to Kentucky that it affords us great pleasure to be able, on the best authority, to announce that he comes to his native State in no military capacity whatever, but returns to the home of his childhood merely as a private citizen desiring to see his friends of former years and his relatives. His main object is by rest and quiet to recover his health, which has been much impaired by his recent hard service; and not being attached to any command, he expects soon to take advantage of relief from duty to make this visit. He is still at the residence of his brother, Larz Anderson, in Cincinnati, where his health is improving under the grateful change from active service to the quiet of the domestic circle. Col. Anderson will probably, when sufficiently restored to health, take the command at Newport Barracks, to which he was assigned some time since, or be placed on some other duty.—[*Louisville Journal.*]

——Thirty-six young ladies of Moscow, Fayette county, Tenn., have signed a pledge binding themselves "to protect those young men in that vicinity who fear to volunteer their services in defense of their country."

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 that finds itself in such unpropitious circumstances, that prudence may force a wise government to conceal 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 HAPPEN TO ALL, SHALL BRING FORWARD THE FAVORABLE MOMENT, THEN LET THE AVENGING ARM STRIKE HOME. It is only by avowing and maintaining this stern principle of honor, that peace can be preserved.—*Governeur Morris, Speech in the Senate of the U. S., Feb. 24, 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 MADE FAUGHT TREACHERY TO YOUR SLAVES, AND COUNTED 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 self-action 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. I.*

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 POINT, YOU ARE IRRETRIEVABLY RUINED.—*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. This shows that the probability of violent disruption of the Union was long ago present to the mind of at least one leading American statesman. When Daniel Webster was last in this country, some 15 years ago, he dined one day in society with Sidney Smith. After a good deal of sparring, in which the reverend wit worked the sore subject of repudiation, from which he had suffered heavily, with many of his friends, he asked Webster—abruptly, as it seemed to the gentleman from whom the story comes, and who was present—whether he anticipated a disruption of the Union at no very remote date. Webster's answer was a prompt and unqualified "Most decidedly." "Will it, in your opinion, be accompanied with bloodshed?" was Sidney's further question. "Most probably," was Webster's answer. Indeed, after the "nullification" business the chance of Southern secession must always have presented itself as on the cards to all American minds but those of the optimist order, which is not largely represented among statesmen.

"The glorious spirit of liberty is vanquished and left without hope but in a miracle," said desponding patriots. "I confess," said Samuel Adams, "we have, as Wolfe expressed it, a choice of difficulties. Too many flatter themselves that their 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. One 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 the cold adhesion of the timid good, and for himself, trod the thorny path of resistance to the grandeurs of the world—there, there are many who see the right, and set 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. 322.*

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 1776, 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 extremity*, 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 defiance 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 conduced to the greatness of that State, never to despair of the commonwealth. THE WISEST MEN PROVE AS SALUTARY TO US NOW, AS IT DID TO THOSE. 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 conflict, you never will hesitate which a 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, undauntedly, 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 LEAVE IT IN THE POWER OF THE BRITISH KINGS 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 tranquil reconcilement can never exist between these, that treaties can never be of any long duration, and that the former dependence of the latter can be restored only by the sword.—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; ever exposed to the malice of the soldiery, and children 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.*

"Yet the majority of Congress, scrupulous not "to outrun the convictions and sympathies of their "constituents, and pleasing themselves by consoling "ing 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"censed John Adams, who maintained that the "fifty or sixty men composing Congress should at "once form a constitution for a great empire, pro"vide for its defence, and, in that safe attitude, "await the decision of the King. His letters to "New England, avowing these opinions, were in"tercepted; 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 dissension, 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 first, all parties acquiesced in the principle of deriving all power from the people; and the province, however its movement was sometimes retarded, proceeded courageously in an unbroken line. In November, 1774, it adhered to the association, adopted in the general Congress, and its patriotism was confirmed by the austerity of religious zeal. At an adjourned session in December, the Maryland convention, fifty-five members being present from sixteen counties, resolved unanimously to resist to the utmost of their power, taxation by Parliament, or the enforcement of the penal acts against Massachusetts. To this end they voted with equal unanimity a well regulated militia, to be composed of all the freemen of the colony, between fifteen and sixty. They resolved also, that all former difficulties about religion or politics from henceforth should cease, and be forever buried in oblivion; and the benign aurora of the coming republic lighted the Catholic to the recovery of his rightful political equality in the land which a Catholic proprietary had set apart for religious freedom. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who, under the British government, had not had so much as a vote at the polls, was placed unanimously on the committee of correspondence.

"It was through out the continent a subject of regret that the zeal of Dulany had grown cool. As he kept silent, the foremost man in Maryland was Samuel Chase, like Dulany a lawyer; less circumspect and less careful of appearances; but strong, downright, brave and persevering; capable of error from rashness or self-will, but not capable of faltering in the cause which he approved. Vehement even to a fault, he did not always speak softly or shun coarse invective; but his undaunted spirit, his fierce independence of mind, his unbending energy, his scorn of semblance without substance, of servility, of plausible hypocrisy that glossed servility over, his eloquence, which sprung from his heart and expressed the vigor of his nature, his uncompromising energy, justly won for him the confidence of Maryland."—*Bancroft's U. S., vol. 8, p. 75-7.*

Gen. Washington's Advice.

Upon the evacuation of Boston by the British, General, Washington wrote a letter, from which the following is an extract, to his brother, John Augustine Washington. The letter is dated "Cambridge, 31 March, 1776," and is contained in the third volume of Spark's Writings of Washington, p. 339:

"The enemy left all their works standing in Boston and on Bunker's Hill; and formidable they are. The town has shared a much better fate than was expected, the damage done to the houses being nothing equal to report. But the inhabitants have suffered a good deal in being plundered by the soldiery at their departure. All those who took upon themselves the style and title of government-men in Boston, in short, all those who have acted an unfriendly part in this great contest, have shipped themselves off in the same hurry, but under still greater disadvantages than the King's troops, being obliged to man their own vessels, as seamen enough could not be had for the King's transports, and submit to every hardship that can be conceived. One or two have done, what a great number ought to have done long ago, committed suicide. By all accounts, there never existed a more miserable set of beings, than these wretched creatures now are. Taught to believe, that the power of Great Britain was superior to all opposition, and, if not, that foreign aid was at hand, they were even higher and more insulting in their opposition than the regulars. When the order issued, therefore, for embarking the troops in Boston, no electric shock, no sudden explosion of thunder, in a word, not the last trump could have struck them with greater consternation. They were at their wits end, and, conscious of their black ingratitude, they chose to commit themselves, in the manner I have above described, to the mercy of the waves at a tempestuous season, rather than meet their offended countrym