The South.

HABEAS CORPUS.

"Next to personal security," says Mr. Justice Blackstone, "the law of England regards, asserts and preserves the personal liberty of individuals. "This personal liberty consists in the power of "locomotion, of changing situation or moving "one's person to whatsoever place one's own "inclinations may direct, without imprisonment "or restraint, unless by due course of law.

"By the Petition of Right, 3 Car. 1st, it is enacted that no person shall be imprisoned or detained without cause shown, to which he may "make answer according to law. By 16 Car. 1st, "ch. 10, if any person be restrained of his liberty "by order or decree of any illegal court, or by "the command of the King's Majesty in person, "or by warrant of the council board, or of any "of the privy council, he shall upon demand of "his counsel, have a writ of *habeas corpus* to "bring his body before the Court of King's Bench "or Common Pleas, who shall determine whether "the cause of his commitment be just, and here"upon to do as to justice shall appertain.

"To bereave a man of life or by violence to "confiscate his estate without accusation or trial "would be so gross and notorious an act of des"potism as must at once convey the alarm of "tyranny throughout the whole kingdom, but "confinement of the person by secretly hurrying "him to jail where his sufferings are unknown or "forgotten is a less public, a less striking and "*therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary "government.* And yet sometimes, when the State "is in real danger, even this may be a necessary "measure. BUT THE HAPPINESS OF OUR OWN CON"STITUTION IS THAT IT IS NOT LEFT TO THE EXECU"TIVE POWER TO DETERMINE WHEN THE DANGER OF "THE STATE IS SO GREAT AS TO RENDER THIS MEASURE "EXPEDIENT; FOR IT IS THE PARLIAMENT ONLY, OR "LEGISLATIVE POWER THAT WHENEVER IT SEES PRO"PER CAN AUTHORIZE THE CROWN, BY SUSPENDING "THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT FOR A SHORT AND LIMI"TED TIME, TO IMPRISON SUSPECTED PERSONS WITH"OUT GIVING ANY REASON FOR SO DOING."—*Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. 1. pp.* 135—136.

So our own Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of Bollman, 4 *Cranch*, 100, says: "If at any time "the public safety should require the suspension "of the power vested by this act (the power to "grant writs of *habeas corpus*) in the Courts of "the United States, *it is for the Legislature to say* "so. That question depends on political consid"erations on which the Legislature is to decide. "Until the Legislative will be expressed, this "Court can only see its duty and *must obey the* "*Laws.*" This was in a case of Treason.

So Judge Story in his *Commentaries on the Constitution*, sec. 1336, says: "It would seem as the "power is granted to Congress to suspend the "writ of *habeas corpus* in case of rebellion or inva"sion, that the right to judge whether the exigency "had arisen must exclusively belong to that body."

So in 1807, when great alarm existed as to Burr's conspiracy, a bill was brought before the Senate in secret session to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. When brought into the House of Representatives, that body refused to consider it in secret session, and by a vote of 113 to 19 rejected the bill on its first reading. On that occasion Mr. Dana of Connecticut used the following language: "This bill authorizes the arrest of persons not merely by the President or other high "officers, but by any person acting under him. "*I owe it to this to be wholly without precedent. If "a person was marching to force us from our seats, I "would not agree thus to destroy the fundamental "principles of the Constitution, or commit such an "act either of despotism or pusillanimity.*"

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 cap ras. In my opinion there is nothing worth fighting for but national honor: for, on 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 "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. 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 THE TOMAHAWK TO YOUR SLAVES, AND COURTED 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, but 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 sea-side, 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 INEVITABLY 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 your rights 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 these 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 4th,* 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 his subject of long meditation how 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 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 president, 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,' 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 those, 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 the cold adhesion of 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 "*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* 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 "grow to say it, 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 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* 11*th,* 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 MAXIM MAY PROVE 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* 6*th,* 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* 6*th,* 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 the object of the question.*—*Chief Justice Drayton, Charge to the Grand Jury, Charleston, May* 22, 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, with these garrisons, as he did last year, seize our property; 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 so 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 true reconcilement 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* 22, 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 their insolence by their disloyalty."—*Bancroft's U. S., vol.* 8, *p.* 43, *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. While 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 lent so able a support to the cause of their country." An incident in her life is recorded in Garden'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 condi"tion of being than their former one; they had no "regrets for ancient privileges lost; their memo"ries 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 offices."—*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 threat"ened 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 Govern"ments 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., Vol. 8, *p.* 75—*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 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 by 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 throughout 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. 329:

"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 find 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, candidates of their black ingratitude, they chose to commit themselves, to the mercy of the waves at a tempestuous season, rather than meet their offended countrymen."

FROM OUR SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS OF YESTERDAY.

BY THE PHILADELPHIA TRAIN.

From Washington.

The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Enquirer* says:

Fifty thousand cartridges were sent from this city to the Relay House to-day.

Governor Geary, of Pennsylvania, ex-Governor of Kansas, was appointed Colonel to-day, and was authorized to raise a Pennsylvania regiment forthwith.

Speaking of the Great Bethel Battle, the same correspondent says:

General Butler had directed all the troops who went out on the expedition to wrap a piece of white material around their arms, so that they might know each other, but in the excitement, and the darkness of the night, the sign of recognition was not seen. An officer informs me that the Federal troops engaged in the battle were provided with 170,000 cartridges, and that the men as soon as they fired, fell to the ground and reloaded. They were compelled to dodge the fire of the Rebels, in all directions, and only retreated when they ran out of ammunition.

[If 170,000 cartridges are too small a number to dislodge a little body of 500 "rebels," how many will be required in a general engagement?]

Lieut. Butler brings with him, as a contraband, an ebony black individual, who came into camp about three weeks since, and said his master had gone to "de wars." He was subsequently sent out to scout, and reported the Bethel batteries to General Butler. He remained in the bushes 24 hours watching the rebels, and then started for the Fortress with the information obtained. As soon as he started he was discovered and fired upon, one ball going through his coat sleeve and one through his pistol belt, carrying away his pistol. He acted as guide for the troops when sent out to the battery, and Major Winthrop left him in charge of his horse at the time that he was last seen.

The Southern mails were received at the Post Office in this city to-day. Many of the letters bear the mark, "ten cents paid." This carries them to the borders of the Secession States, and three cent Federal stamps are also attached, in order to ensure mail transportation in the loyal States. They have all been sent to the dead letter office, as the Department refuses to recognize Federal stamps from Seceded States, presuming that they are stolen. One letter postmarked Louisville, is directed to "President Davis, Washington." It will remain in the post office here subject to Jeff's personal application for it.

It is reported here that the Rebels at Harper's Ferry have been reinforced by fifteen hundred Georgia troops. A fight is daily expected at that point, as the Rebels seemed determined not to evacuate their position.

From New York.

The correspondent of the Philadelphia *Ledger* says:

The foolish report, in some of the morning papers, that Gen. Butler had captured the Confederate batteries at Bethel, taking a thousand prisoners, etc., etc., is strongly suspected to have been a stock jobbing trick. Certain it is, the effect of the contradiction to-day has been to knock down some of the fancies 1 a 1½ per cent. This mung news created much excitement all the forenoon, and when its exposure came along, much indignation was expressed against the concocters of it whoever they are.

The practical effect of the favorable news from England on the "privateer question" is already apparent; The Board of Underwriters, at a special meeting, this afternoon, reduced the war rate to one per cent. on all vessels from New York to European ports.

There is a deal of speculation afloat as to the destination of that peculiar corps, "Billy" Wilson's New York (Sixth) Regiment of Volunteers; but it is now certain that they will embark on board the steamship Vanderbilt on Thursday or Friday, and sail for the Gulf—perhaps to reinforce Fort Pickens, perhaps to pay a visit to some place nearer New Orleans.

Our domestic troubles bid fair to kill off the European immigration business. The screw steamer Glasgow, from Liverpool, this morning, brought out 131 in the steerage, whereas, on the corresponding trip last year, she had between 400 and 500. According to the Castle Garden record, the whole number of arrivals for the week ending to-day, was 3,786, making a total of 37,960, from 1st of January up to date—against 4,113, corresponding period in 1860.

The "National Hymn Committee" have already received nearly three hundred manuscripts, and the "cry is still they come." It is expected the Committee will have to pass judgment on about nine hundred different manuscripts when they meet on the 20th. Unhappy Committee!

Effect of the Great Bethel Defeat in Washington.

A letter from Arlington Heights to the Philadelphia *Inquirer* says:

The news of the discomfiture of a number of our troops below Old Point Comfort, which reached us yesterday, is no doubt officially before you. It had a dampening effect on the spirits of our men. I learn that it was deeply felt in Washington city.

I learn from a gentleman from Manassas Gap, who has been detained for the last three weeks, that the enemy are heavily fortified at this point, and great care and a large force will be necessary to dislodge them. He represents that, by all the calculations of leading men, there are at least one hundred and forty thousand soldiers in Virginia. The opinion is also expressed that the great stand by the Secessionists will be made at Richmond; that the Congress, and the head and front of the Secession Government and forces will be centered there; that numerous fortifications will be at once thrown up, and as far as human agencies are concerned, it will be made impregnable.

It is now believed that the grand movement of the army will be delayed for days beyond the time first stated. Much greater preparation is necessary than many at first supposed, and it is hardly worth while for a Government so ample in its resources to do things by halves. The South, it is said, calculate to make a grand attack upon us when the seventy-five thousand soldiers enlisted for three months are discharged. They think this will be a favorable opportunity.

The Latest News.

Mr. Henry Taylor, Sun Building, having supplied us as usual with the latest Northern papers, we append the following Extracts. The special Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* says:

An agent of Gov. Wise, who was in the city today, says that there are 160,000 troops under arms in the Old Dominion now, and that 200,000 will be within a week. Of these 16,000 are at Harper's Ferry, and 63,000 at Manassas Junction. Harper's Ferry is surrounded by masked batteries, and the spy thought it certain that any attacking force would suffer, as at Great Bethel. Gov. Wise's man saw on paper 137 of these batteries, between Harper's Ferry and Winchester. Gov. Wise has not been ill, but is at his head-quarters as commanding officer of the Western Division.

A special messenger has just returned from Great Falls, which are two or three miles above the Chain Bridge, with the following intelligence, which he obtained from persons who spoke of their own knowledge: Col. Stone started from the encampment near Great Falls, which he occupied last night, at an early hour this morning.—Capt. Owen's cavalry proceeded in the line of march, and was followed by the infantry, who will encamp to-night at Poolesville, which is four miles north of Edward's Ferry, and some ten miles from Leesburgh. The cavalry will probably make a dash on Seneca Mills, a settlement consisting of one mill and two houses, situated on the Virginia bank of the Potomac, not far from Edward's Ferry, for the purpose of releasing one of their number who had been taken prisoner.

The other division which encamped beyond Rockville, consisting of Capt. Magruder's battery of United States artillery, with several companies of district volunteers, followed by the New York Ninth and Pennsylvania First, took the river route, which diverges from the road to Frederick, and passes through Poolsville. This division will probably encamp there also. Edward's Ferry has heretofore been used for the transportation of provisions and munitions of war into Virginia.

Henceforth this route will be blocked.

All the boats in Georgetown were sent up the canal not long since, and can carry the whole force across Leesburgh, 15 miles the other side, is some 40 miles from Winchester, and some 25 miles from Harper's Ferry. Last night, the First Lieutenant and 18 privates of Anderson's Rifle Company, stationed at Magazine Dam, 7 miles from Georgetown, refused to march out of the District. They were dismissed from the company and returned to Georgetown, where our informant saw the Lieutenant.

At Alexandria the pickets of the Michigan and Zouave regiments continue to be attacked nightly by roving rebels. No regular assault is now apprehended.

General McClellan will, within a week, attend to Charlestown, Va. Fifteen hundred troops are said to be stationed there, behind intrenchments, on which 6-pounders are mounted. They have in jail two or three members of the Wheeling Convention, seized en route.

Thirteen miles of track have been put down on the Orange and Alexandria Road, and cars were run over seven miles of it to-day. The road will be under the management of Thomas A. Scott, of the Pennsylvania Central, who has and will continue to have charge of all the military roads.—More cars will be put on to-morrow.

The *Herald* says:

General Butler's command is to be reinforced immediately by ten additional regiments from the Eastern States.

The *Herald* publishes the official report of the battle at Great Bethel, made by General Butler to Gen. Scott. It contains nothing new, nor does it state the casualties in full, but closes with this sentence:

Our troops have learned to have confidence in themselves under fire, the enemy have shown that they will not meet us in the open field, and our officers have learned wherein their organization and drill are idefficient.

The *Herald* has the following dispatches from Annapolis, concerning another invasion of the Eastern Shore:

Major J. S. Morgan, of the Thirteenth regiment, Brooklyn, has arrived from Queenstown and Centreville, with one hundred and sixty men. They had a skirmish, and captured from the enemy five hundred stand of arms and one prisoner. They were fired into from the bushes. No lives lost.

A traveler gives the *Herald* the following information from the West:

There are between fifty-five and sixty thousand secession soldiers in Tennessee. About 6,500 were at Camp Jackson, on the railroad between Memphis and Columbus. These troops had at least twenty thirty-two pounders, eight of which were not mounted.

There are five batteries on the Mississippi between Memphis and Columbus, one of which is a concealed battery. It is on the Arkansas side.

D. C. Crandel, of Memphis, has received an order from the rebel government for 8,000 tents. Between two and three hundred men and women are constantly employed by Mr. Crandel, making tents, and large orders for duck have been sent to Virginia for that purpose.

He thought that there were no rifled cannon in Tennessee.

There is a large encampment of secessionists on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, of about 30,000 men. These, he thought, were not for defence, but for supplying and equipping the soldiers.

Secession Flag Captured in Kentucky.

CAIRO, June 12.—The steamer *City of Alton*, with two companies of Col. Ogelsby's regiment and a squad of artillery, with two field pieces, made an excursion down the Mississippi five miles below Columbus, Ky. Some of the machinery of the boat broke, and the boat drifted ashore. While the machinery was being repaired the captain of the boat, with three of the crew, went ashore and cut down the secession flag which was flying on the shore, and brought it to this city. No attempt was made to prevent their taking it, but it was reported by passengers who have arrived from Columbus since the *City of Alton* left, that a great excitement prevailed among the citizens, and that locomotives and cars were immediately despatched to Union City to convey the rebel troops to Columbus. No rebel troops were seen by the excursionists between here and Columbus.

Movements of the Western Division of the Federal Army.

CINCINNATI, June 13.—A special telegram to the *Gazette*, from Grafton, states: Eighty army wagons and 150 horses were sent from this point to Webster, about six miles distant on the Parkersburg road, intended for the Federal troops at Phillippi. All is quiet at Cumberland. Colonel Wallace's expedition against the Confederate Camp at Romney, (on the east side of the South Branch of the Potomac, Hampshire county,) has not yet been heard from. Trains cannot run beyond Cumberland, owing to the bridges being burnt. A forward movement, therefore, cannot at present be made by way of Cumberland. Col. Stedman's command move to Buchanan to-morrow. Capt. Crawford, of the Fourteenth Ohio Regiment, was shot last night by a sentry, who fired without calling for the countersign. The unfortunate man died instantly.

Latest from Harper's Ferry.

FREDERICK, June 13.—A returned Baltimorean from Harper's Ferry informs me that the number of troops there has been rather under-estimated than over-stated. Additional numbers arrive by every train, and were so distributed that their presence could scarcely be detected fifteen minutes after their arrival. The probability is that they are forwarded to other points. The Confederates have an abundance of artillery, he states, which are so posted as, in his estimation, to render the place impregnable. He says that two thousand troops were expected there to-day and to-morrow. The Baltimore regiment is encamped at Bolivar, and is armed with Tennessee rifles. The destruction of the bridge at Point of Rocks was unauthorized, and the officer by whom it was ordered has been severely reprimanded.

Advance of Federal Troops from Rockville.

WASHINGTON, June 13.—Information from Rockville shows that a portion of the New York Ninth, Pennsylvania First, and the New Hampshire Regiments, together with the President's Guard, and part of Magruder's Battery, yesterday made an advance movement from that town. It was expected in camp that two additional regiments from Washington would immediately join the forces under Col. Stone. The strict rules prescribed by this officer governing correspondence has discouraged reporters for the press from proceeding further with the expedition.

The Confederate Account of the Battle of Great Bethel.

LOUISVILLE, June 13.—The Nashville papers of yesterday report that in the battle of Great Bethel 1,200 Confederate troops, under Col. Magruder, repulsed 3,000 Federal troops, who left 100 dead on the field.

Naval Intelligence.

BOSTON, June 12.—The ten officers of the *Susquehanna* who resigned on their return to this port learned to-day that their names have been stricken from the rolls. It is reported that Capt. Chauncey has been appointed commander of the *Susquehanna*. That vessel is now coaling, and will sail in a few days. The *Colorado* has received her ordnance and stores, and will sail soon.

Return of Mr. Motley—Heavy Failure in Edinburgh.

BOSTON, June 12.—J. Lothrop Motley, the historian, was a passenger by the *Arabia*, from Liverpool to Boston. The great house of Brandt & Co., St. Petersburgh, had failed. The *America* sailed at 10 o'clock this morning with 83 passengers for Liverpool and 11 for Halifax. She took no specie and but little freight.

Business Affairs at Louisville.

LOUISVILLE, June 13.—Our markets here are bare, arms and provisions having been interdicted from shipment from the North, our previous supplies were all sent South. In consequence business here is completely prostrated.

The Sloop-of-War Jamestown.

LEWES, Del. June 12.—The U. S. sloop-of-war *Jamestown*, Commander Green, from Philadelphia, passed here this morning in tow of the steamer *J. F. Shaw*. She is understood to be bound for the Gulf of Mexico.

Appointment of a U. S. Senator.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., June 12.—O. H. Browning has been appointed Senator by Gov. Yates, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Senator Douglas.

Congressional Election in Massachusetts.

BOSTON, June 12.—The vote in the Third Congressional District yesterday was very light. Judge Thomas was elected by about ten to one.

DIVINE SERVICE, according to the forms of the PROTES