THE DAILY BEE
PUBLISHED DAILY (SUNDAY'S EXCEPTED) AT
No. 73 Chartres street.

Any subscriptions taken by the week, at the rate of Twenty-five Cents for the six numbers, payable to the Carriers.

Daily Paper, one year (in advance).....$12
Country Paper, semi-weekly.....5
In all cases, subscribers must give one week's notice in writing before they can be allowed to discontinue.
Any person receiving the paper through error of the carrier, or otherwise, will be considered as a subscriber, and obliged to pay, unless due notice is given of the fact to the office.

NEW ORLEANS:
THURSDAY MORNING, OCT. 9, 1862.

Sales at Auction To-Day.

By D. E. Morphy, at 10 o'clock, in the Mississippi Warehouse, beef; at 10 o'clock, at No. 47 Magazine street, lard.

By Hanlon & McLean, at their auction store, No. 19 Magazine street, French crackers, flour, cheese, hams, pilot bread, &c.

By R. T. Montgomery, at 10 o'clock, at Club Room on St. Charles street, opposite the St. Charles Hotel, furniture, and a splendid copy of Shakspeare; at 10½ o'clock, at the Gothic Warehouse, hams, sides and shoulders, and flour.

By McCerren & Landry, at 11 o'clock, at their auction mart, furniture.

By E. M. Jacobs, at 10 o'clock, at Nos. 55 and 57 Bank street, furniture.

The peremptory sale by R. T. Montgomery, this day, the 9th instant, at half-past 10 o'clock, at the Gothic Warehouse, No. 39 Perdido street, is very important to produce dealers, grocers and bakers, as there will be disposed of, without any limit or reserve, to close balance of consignments, large and desirable lots of shoulders, sides, hams of extra quality, and sundry brands of flour, the above sale should ensure a large attendance. At 10 o'clock, will be the private club-room on St. Charles street, opposite the St. Charles Hotel, comprising many articles of fine furniture and a splendid copy of "Boydell's" illustrated Shakspeare. At 11 o'clock, at the old auction mart, 87 Camp street, the usual sale of furniture and various merchandise. See advertisements.

Furniture of various descriptions, carpets, &c., &c., will be sold at auction, at 11 o'clock to-day, by McCerren & Landry, at their auction mart.

BRIGADIER GENERAL STARKE.—The General of that name who is numbered among the slain at the battle of Sharpsburg, is Brigadier General Wm. E. Starke, of this city, who was in command of the Second Brigade Louisiana troops.

The *Delta* published the following last evening:

Terrible Steamboat Accident—Destruction of the U. S. Transport Ceres—From Ten to Fifteen Lives Lost.

The U. S. steam transport Ceres, Captain George W. Kendall, exploded her boiler on Tuesday night, off St. Joseph's Island, by which and catastrophe ten of the passengers and crew are known to be lost, and several others so badly injured as to render their recovery almost impossible.

Among the lost was Lieut. Sherburne, of the 12th Maine, who fell from a raft and was drowned, while making the most strenuous and during efforts to save others; also, Mr. Alexander, the pilot, and Mr. Brown, the Captain's clerk.

The Ceres was loaded with commissary stores, hay, etc., all of which was burned, and the boat is a total wreck.

The U. S. gunboat Calhoun, Capt. Buchanan, happened to be cruising in the vicinity at the time of the accident, and went promptly to the assistance of the sufferers, picking up and bringing in all that it was possible to save. A list of those rescued will, we expect, be furnished us in the course of the day.

We also understand that Capt. Butler, who was on the way to Ship Island, seeing the explosion, was soon at the scene of desolation and destruction.

Capt. Kendall, who received an injury by a fall on Sunday, was not on board at the time of the disaster.

Interesting from Washington.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *World* writes as follows:

FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

Washington, September 25.—It is rumored in the highest official circles that the recent Emancipation Proclamation was precipitated upon the country by reason of intimations received within a very few days of the imminent intervention of a great continental power. The fact that up to the recent period the President has declared his opposition to the issuance of such a proclamation—that his argumentate to the Chicago delegation show him *to be* convinced of its utter uselessness as a practical measure, and that his speech to the serenaders last night shows him to be by no means sanguine of the success of the grounds upon which he was at last led to issue it—(i. e. the grounds in domestic policy,) all lend color to the statement. It is, as I have assured you, repeated in the highest official circles that nothing but the pressure of a fear of foreign intervention could have extorted such a document from Mr. Lincoln's unwilling pen. It is alleged, on the other hand, by the Radicals, who believe that the proclamation will have some practical effect in arousing the North and in crippling the South, that Mr. Lincoln has issued it because the conquest of the rebellion by force of arms impossible, and plays this as his last card, like a desperate gambler whom good fortune has utterly forsaken and who stakes all upon the hazard of a single move. Men of all parties feel that a few weeks more will solve many problems which have so long puzzled cool heads, show who is right and who is wrong, what is practicable and what is impracticle, what is to be feared from abroad and what not. But the enormous weakness of the Administration is that which most oppresses every true patriot, whether our enemies are to be found only at the South or also over the water. Were not this the case, all feel that we should long since have conquered the rebellion, and might now hurl defiance at the world in arms.

THE CABINET ON THE PROCLAMATION.

Notwithstanding the generally accepted statement that all the members of the Cabinet, save Mr. Blair, assented to the necessity of the President's emancipation proclamation, it is worthy of note that Judge Bates carefully refrained from alluding to it in his speech at the serenade, while Mr. Seward declined to speak at all, although the crowd clamored for him to do so. Secretary Smith also was out of the way. It is more than suspected that the proclamation was not quite so unanimously endorsed by the Cabinet as has been represented.

RUMORED CABINET CHANGES.

There is a rumor on the street this evening that Secretary Seward will resign the charge of the State Department in consequence of the overruling of his views on the question of issuing an emancipation proclamation. It is further said that Mr. Seward will be tendered the position now held by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, and that he will be recalled from the Court of St. James to take the place in the Cabinet previously held by Mr. Seward.

Perhaps, however, these rumors originate in the clamor of the Radicals for a complete reorganization of the Cabinet, by which nearly all the present members shall be dismissed and their places filled by such men as Sumner, Fremont, Phillips, and Beecher and Lovejoy.

Position of the Two Armies.

We clip the following from the New York *Tribune* of the 26th ult.:

FROM HARPER'S FERRY.

THE ARMIES STILL FACING EACH OTHER—LEE'S PLANS—THE ATTEMPT TO TAKE MARTINSBURG—THE OPPORTUNITY TO CRUSH THE REBEL ARMY GONE.

[From our special correspondent.]

Harper's Ferry, Wednesday, September 24, 1862.—The two armies lie fronting each other on either side the Potomac, on a line stretching from Williamsport to Harper's Ferry; neither McClellan nor Lee wishing or daring to make anything like an offensive movement on a large scale. Instead of pursuing its retreat toward Richmond, as seems to have been expected, the rebel army halted in a position of strength, not many miles from the river bank, and waited the approach of the Union forces, instead of crossing the Potomac in pursuit. McClellan has warily posted his troops at Williamsport, at Sharpsburg, and at Harper's Ferry, in positions which, a glance at the map will show, look toward Winchester by converging lines. Nevertheless, it is understood that McClellan will not open a Virginia campaign from either of his three points of occupation.

Lee, with his usual sagacity, has left to McClellan only the choice of invasion or of attack with their positions reversed. If he pursues the rebels, he must fight as they fought last Wednesday, with the Potomac in his rear. If he does not pursue, the rebels are still close to Maryland borders, still threatening invasion, retaining the offensive, and parading the policy imposed on them from Richmond. In the rear of the rebel army is the Shenandoah Valley, their amplest depot of supplies, and their readiest line of retreat. Unless they are again to abandon Northern and Eastern Virginia, *they* are in the most central strategic position; for they not only hold every thing east of the Alleghenies; but they threaten, and, if surrendered, will certainly enter Western Virginia.

When Fitz John Porter's corps attempted the Shepherdstown ford last week, and were driven back, that commander had been ordered by McClellan to move his corps to Martinsburg and made the attempt in pursuance of that order. In the light of the facts above stated it is difficult to see what value or security Martinsburg could have. A single corps in the experiment showed could neither attack the enemy nor defend itself.

It only remains then to suppose that with the expulsion of the rebels from Maryland the campaign of McClellan is at an end. Whether offensive movements are hereafter made must be, on this theory, from a different base, and by a different line. Yet it is impossible not to see that by way of Thoroughfare and Manassas Gaps, a route to the rebel rear is still open to another force. The once offered providential, manifest, opportunity to annihilate the rebel army at a blow has been suffered to pass. When and how the next shall arrive may even yet be profitably considered.

The New York *Herald* of the 26th publishes the following:

Mr. Lincoln on his Proclamation.

The President and the Chicago Delegation—The President's Views of an Emancipation Proclamation—The Absurdity of Issuing One—The Popular Hall—The President Fears to Trust the Slaves, &c.

The undersigned, appointed (with two other gentlemen who were unable to act) to present to President Lincoln the memorial in favor of national emancipation adopted by the public meeting of Christians of all denominations held in Bryan Hall, Chicago, on Sabbath evening, September 7th, 1862, would respectfully report:—

We reached the city of Washington on Thursday morning, September 11th, but were detained two days before arrangements could be made for a suitable interview with the President, which was at last accomplished through the kind services of Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.

The President received us courteously, and gave the fullest opportunity to discharge the duty assigned. He listened with close attention while the memorial was read by the chairman of the delegation, who added a few words to express the deep interest felt in the President by the religious community, as manifested in the many prayers offered in his behalf from the day of his election to the present hour, and to explain the presence of feeling that caused those prayers to be followed by a memorial expressive of their solemn conviction of national duty and necessity. He observed that in doing this the memorialists believe that they discharge their solemn obligation as Christian citizens, which is all they seek, having no desire to dictate to their Chief Magistrate, who has his own responsibility to God, the nation and the world. The time of presenting the memorial might seem unsuspicious, in view of recent disasters, which make the authority of the Government seem unusually feeble and its resources extensive and influential than before. But the memorialists believe these disasters to be tokens of Divine displeasure, calling for new and advanced action by the President in behalf of the country, such as would indicate national repentance for the sin of oppression; and he must see that, if success in our military affairs was supposed to render such action unnecessary, and defeat to make it unavailing, then duty becomes an idle word, and God's voice of remonstrance and warning are an unmeaning utterance.

The delegation presented, at the same time, a memorial of similar import, drawn in German and in English, and signed by a number of our German citizens, which was placed in their hands on leaving home.

After a moment's silence the President answered, and, as we waited upon him in a public capacity, as a delegation from a large body of the people, to learn his views on a grave political and moral subject which is profoundly agitating the nation, we suppose the reply belongs as properly to those whom we represented as to ourselves. We give it, therefore, with some degree of fulness, accurately in substance, and often in the very words which fell from his lips. The President made his observations deliberately and with well chosen language, speaking in an earnest and often solemn manner, as one impressed with the weight of the theme, yet at times making a characteristically shrewd remark with a pleasant air.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER — DIVINE REVELATIONS.

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

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE SUBJECT.

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

WHY AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION SHOULD NOT BE ISSUED.

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

WHAT IS TO PREVENT THE REBELS FROM RESUMING THE NEGROES AGAIN?

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

HOW MR. LINCOLN IS PLAGUED.

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

WHAT GOOD WOULD AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION DO?

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

THE REPLY OF THE DELEGATION.

Thus invited, your delegation very willingly made reply, to the following effect, it being understood that a portion of the remarks were intermingled by the way of conversation with three of the President just given:

We observed (taking up the President's ideas in order) that good men indeed differed in their opinions on this subject, nevertheless the truth was somewhere, and it was a matter of solemn moment for him to ascertain it, that we had not been so wanting in respect alike to ourselves and to him as to come a thousand miles to bring merely our opinion to be set over against the opinion of other parties; that the memorial contained facts, principles and arguments which appealed to the intelligence of the President and to his faith in Divine Providence; that he could not deny that the Bible denounced oppression as one of the highest of crimes, and threatened Divine judgment against nations practicing that practice it; that our country had been exceedingly guilty in this respect, both at the North and South; that our just punishment has come by a slaveholders' rebellion; that the visitation of secession is found wherever the virus of slavery extends, and no further; so that there is the simplest reason for expecting to avert Divine judgments by putting away the sin, and for hoping to remedy the national troubles by striking at their cause.

We observed, further, that we freely admitted the probability, and even the certainty, that God would reveal the path of duty to the President, as well as to others; provided he sought to learn it in the appointed way; but as, according to his own remark, Providence wrought by means and not miraculously, it might be God would use the suggestions and arguments of other minds to secure that result. We felt the deepest personal interest in the matter as of national concern, and, by communicating the convictions of the Christian community from which we came, with the ground upon which they were based.

That it was true he could not now enforce the Constitution at the South; but we should see in that fact no reason whatever for not proclaiming emancipation, but rather the contrary. The two appealed to different classes; the latter would aid, and, in truth, was necessary to re-establish the former, and the two could be made operative together, as fast as our armies fought their way southward; while we had yet to hear that he proposed to abandon the Constitution because of the present difficulty of enforcing it.

As to the inability of Congress to agree on this policy at the late session, it was quite possible, in view of subsequent events, there might be more unanimity at another meeting. The members have met their constituents and learned of marvellous conversions to the wisdom of emancipation, especially since late reverses have awakened thought as to the extreme peril of the nation, and made bad men as well as good men realize that we have to deal with God in this matter. Men of the most opposite previous views were now uniting in calling for this measure.

That to proclaim emancipation would secure the sympathy of Europe and the whole civilized world, which now saw no other reason for the state than national pride and ambition, an unwillingness to abridge our domain and power. No other step would be so potent to prevent foreign intervention.

Furthermore, it would send a thrill through the entire North, firing every patriotic heart, arming the people a glorious principle for which to suffer and to fight, and assuring them that the work was to be so thoroughly done as to leave our country free forever from danger and disgrace in this quarter.

We added that, when the proclamation should become widely known as the law of Congress has not been it would withdraw the slaves from the rebels, leaving them without laborers, and giving us both laborers and soldiers. That the difficulty experienced by General Butler and other generals arose from the fact that half way measures could serve no avail. It is the inherent vice of half-way measures that they create as many difficulties as they remove. It is folly merely to receive and feed the slaves. They should be welcomed and fed, and then, according to Paul's doctrine, that they who eat must work, be made to labor and to fight for their liberty and ours. With such a policy, the blacks would be no encumbrance, and their rations no waste. In this respect we should follow the ancient maxim, and learn of the enemy. What the rebels most fear is what we should be most prompt to do, and what they most fear is evident from the hot haste with which, on the first day of the present session of the rebel Congress, bills were introduced threatening terrible vengeance if we used the blacks in the war.

THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE—MR. LINCOLN WOULD NOT LIKE TO TRUST THE SLAVES WITH ARMS.

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated it to some capacity, as a delegation from a large body of the people, to learn his views on a grave political and moral subject which is profoundly agitating the nation, we suppose the reply belongs as properly to those whom we represented as to ourselves. We give it, therefore, with some degree of fulness, accurately in substance, and often in the very words which fell from his lips. The President made his observations deliberately and with well chosen language, speaking in an earnest and often solemn manner, as one impressed with the weight of the theme, yet at times making a characteristically shrewd remark with a pleasant air.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER — DIVINE REVELATIONS.

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

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE SUBJECT.

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

WHY AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION SHOULD NOT BE ISSUED.

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

WHAT IS TO PREVENT THE REBELS FROM RESUMING THE NEGROES AGAIN?

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

HOW MR. LINCOLN IS PLAGUED.

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

WHAT GOOD WOULD AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION DO?

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

THE REPLY OF THE DELEGATION.

Thus invited, your delegation very willingly made reply, to the following effect, it being understood that a portion of the remarks were intermingled by the way of conversation with three of the President just given:

We observed (taking up the President's ideas in order) that good men indeed differed in their opinions on this subject, nevertheless the truth was somewhere, and it was a matter of solemn moment for him to ascertain it, that we had not been so wanting in respect alike to ourselves and to him as to come a thousand miles to bring merely our opinion to be set over against the opinion of other parties, that the memorial contained facts, principles and arguments which appealed to the intelligence of the President and to his faith in Divine Providence; that he could not deny that the Bible denounced oppression as one of the highest of crimes, and threatened Divine judgment against nations practicing that practice it; that our country had been exceedingly guilty in this respect, both at the North and South; that our just punishment has come by a slaveholders' rebellion; that the visitation of secession is found wherever the virus of slavery extends, and no further; so that there is the simplest reason for expecting to avert Divine judgments by putting away the sin, and for hoping to remedy the national troubles by striking at their cause.

We observed, further, that we freely admitted the probability, and even the certainty, that God would reveal the path of duty to the President, as well as to others; provided he sought to learn it in the appointed way; but as, according to his own remark, Providence wrought by means and not miraculously, it might be God would use the suggestions and arguments of other minds to secure that result. We felt the deepest personal interest in the matter as of national concern, and, by communicating the convictions of the Christian community from which we came, with the ground upon which they were based.

That it was true he could not now enforce the Constitution at the South; but we should see in that fact no reason whatever for not proclaiming emancipation, but rather the contrary. The two appealed to different classes; the latter would aid, and, in truth, was necessary to re-establish the former, and the two could be made operative together, as fast as our armies fought their way southward; while we had yet to hear that he proposed to abandon the Constitution because of the present difficulty of enforcing it.

As to the inability of Congress to agree on this policy at the late session, it was quite possible, in view of subsequent events, there might be more unanimity at another meeting. The members have met their constituents and learned of marvellous conversions to the wisdom of emancipation, especially since late reverses have awakened thought as to the extreme peril of the nation, and made bad men as well as good men realize that we have to deal with God in this matter. Men of the most opposite previous views were now uniting in calling for this measure.

That to proclaim emancipation would secure the sympathy of Europe and the whole civilized world, which now saw no other reason for the state than national pride and ambition, an unwillingness to abridge our domain and power. No other step would be so potent to prevent foreign intervention.

Furthermore, it would send a thrill through the entire North, firing every patriotic heart, arming the people a glorious principle for which to suffer and to fight, and assuring them that the work was to be so thoroughly done as to leave our country free forever from danger and disgrace in this quarter.

We added that, when the proclamation should become widely known as the law of Congress has not been it would withdraw the slaves from the rebels, leaving them without laborers, and giving us both laborers and soldiers. That the difficulty experienced by General Butler and other generals arose from the fact that half way measures could serve no avail. It is the inherent vice of half-way measures that they create as many difficulties as they remove. It is folly merely to receive and feed the slaves. They should be welcomed and fed, and then, according to Paul's doctrine, that they who eat must work, be made to labor and to fight for their liberty and ours. With such a policy, the blacks would be no encumbrance, and their rations no waste. In this respect we should follow the ancient maxim, and learn of the enemy. What the rebels most fear is what we should be most prompt to do, and what they most fear is evident from the hot haste with which, on the first day of the present session of the rebel Congress, bills were introduced threatening terrible vengeance if we used the blacks in the war.

THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE—MR. LINCOLN WOULD NOT LIKE TO TRUST THE SLAVES WITH ARMS.

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated it to some capacity, as a delegation from a large body of the people, to learn his views on a grave political and moral subject which is profoundly agitating the nation, we suppose the reply belongs as properly to those whom we represented as to ourselves. We give it, therefore, with some degree of fulness, accurately in substance, and often in the very words which fell from his lips. The President made his observations deliberately and with well chosen language, speaking in an earnest and often solemn manner, as one impressed with the weight of the theme, yet at times making a characteristically shrewd remark with a pleasant air.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER — DIVINE REVELATIONS.

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

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE SUBJECT.

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

WHY AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION SHOULD NOT BE ISSUED.

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

WHAT IS TO PREVENT THE REBELS FROM RESUMING THE NEGROES AGAIN?

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

HOW MR. LINCOLN IS PLAGUED.

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

WHAT GOOD WOULD AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION DO?

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

THE REPLY OF THE DELEGATION.

Thus invited, your delegation very willingly made reply, to the following effect, it being understood that a portion of the remarks were intermingled by the way of conversation with three of the President just given:

We observed (taking up the President's ideas in order) that good men indeed differed in their opinions on this subject, nevertheless the truth was somewhere, and it was a matter of solemn moment for him to ascertain it, that we had not been so wanting in respect alike to ourselves and to him as to come a thousand miles to bring merely our opinion to be set over against the opinion of other parties, that the memorial contained facts, principles and arguments which appealed to the intelligence of the President and to his faith in Divine Providence; that he could not deny that the Bible denounced oppression as one of the highest of crimes, and threatened Divine judgment against nations practicing that practice it; that our country had been exceedingly guilty in this respect, both at the North and South; that our just punishment has come by a slaveholders' rebellion; that the visitation of secession is found wherever the virus of slavery extends, and no further; so that there is the simplest reason for expecting to avert Divine judgments by putting away the sin, and for hoping to remedy the national troubles by striking at their cause.

We observed, further, that we freely admitted the probability, and even the certainty, that God would reveal the path of duty to the President, as well as to others; provided he sought to learn it in the appointed way; but as, according to his own remark, Providence wrought by means and not miraculously, it might be God would use the suggestions and arguments of other minds to secure that result. We felt the deepest personal interest in the matter as of national concern, and, by communicating the convictions of the Christian community from which we came, with the ground upon which they were based.

That it was true he could not now enforce the Constitution at the South; but we should see in that fact no reason whatever for not proclaiming emancipation, but rather the contrary. The two appealed to different classes; the latter would aid, and, in truth, was necessary to re-establish the former, and the two could be made operative together, as fast as our armies fought their way southward; while we had yet to hear that he proposed to abandon the Constitution because of the present difficulty of enforcing it.

As to the inability of Congress to agree on this policy at the late session, it was quite possible, in view of subsequent events, there might be more unanimity at another meeting. The members have met their constituents and learned of marvellous conversions to the wisdom of emancipation, especially since late reverses have awakened thought as to the extreme peril of the nation, and made bad men as well as good men realize that we have to deal with God in this matter. Men of the most opposite previous views were now uniting in calling for this measure.

That to proclaim emancipation would secure the sympathy of Europe and the whole civilized world, which now saw no other reason for the state than national pride and ambition, an unwillingness to abridge our domain and power. No other step would be so potent to prevent foreign intervention.

Furthermore, it would send a thrill through the entire North, firing every patriotic heart, arming the people a glorious principle for which to suffer and to fight, and assuring them that the work was to be so thoroughly done as to leave our country free forever from danger and disgrace in this quarter.

We added that, when the proclamation should become widely known as the law of Congress has not been it would withdraw the slaves from the rebels, leaving them without laborers, and giving us both laborers and soldiers. That the difficulty experienced by General Butler and other generals arose from the fact that half way measures could serve no avail. It is the inherent vice of half-way measures that they create as many difficulties as they remove. It is folly merely to receive and feed the slaves. They should be welcomed and fed, and then, according to Paul's doctrine, that they who eat must work, be made to labor and to fight for their liberty and ours. With such a policy, the blacks would be no encumbrance, and their rations no waste. In this respect we should follow the ancient maxim, and learn of the enemy. What the rebels most fear is what we should be most prompt to do, and what they most fear is evident from the hot haste with which, on the first day of the present session of the rebel Congress, bills were introduced threatening terrible vengeance if we used the blacks in the war.

THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE—MR. LINCOLN WOULD NOT LIKE TO TRUST THE SLAVES WITH ARMS.

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated it to some capacity, as a delegation from a large body of the people, to learn his views on a grave political and moral subject which is profoundly agitating the nation, we suppose the reply belongs as properly to those whom we represented as to ourselves. We give it, therefore, with some degree of fulness, accurately in substance, and often in the very words which fell from his lips. The President made his observations deliberately and with well chosen language, speaking in an earnest and often solemn manner, as one impressed with the weight of the theme, yet at times making a characteristically shrewd remark with a pleasant air.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER — DIVINE REVELATIONS.

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

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE SUBJECT.

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

WHY AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION SHOULD NOT BE ISSUED.

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

WHAT IS TO PREVENT THE REBELS FROM RESUMING THE NEGROES AGAIN?

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

HOW MR. LINCOLN IS PLAGUED.

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

WHAT GOOD WOULD AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION DO?

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

THE REPLY OF THE DELEGATION.

Thus invited, your delegation very willingly