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CARRIER'S ADDRESS.

As Phœbus o'er the teeming Earth The glory of his presence brings, To hail the New Year's happy birth, The Carrier Boy his greeting sings:

Good friends and patrons, once again, As custom rules, I take my pen, And send you all my best regards; May fortune deal you winning cards In all the games of life, and bless With health, wealth, and contentedness.

Above there hangs a stormy sky, Around war's lurid lightnings fly, Our Ship of State hath felt a shock; It may be wave—it may be rock—

Secession pirates crowd the sea, False lights are raised along the shore, Our ship hath suffered grievously, Say, shall it live? Aye, evermore!

Shall the efforts of rebels and traitors be feared, Who would make our great Nation a scuff and a hiss? Shall the Union of States which our fathers upreared

From its glorious height plunge in ruin's abyss? Forbid it, ye powers Supernal, who wait To cut short the life of a man or a nation, Doom us not in our youth to so dreadful a fate,

Spare, spare us at least this last degradation! Let us fall, if we must, by the hand of a friend, And not by the stroke of a treacherous foe!

If foreign invaders should o'er lay us low, Their sprites to the shades in troops should attend. Our republic of States as a Union creates

What we all may be proud of, a magnificent nation, But broken in twain, with what feelings of Would Americans look on their own degradation—

Then swear that the Star-Spangled Banner Till rebellion be crushed, or their land made a grave. It is not South, it is not North, Contending in the present strife,

But Freedom battling for its life, For all that gives existence worth. FREEDOM and UNION, what can give A guardian, if these be lost?

Dismembered, broken, who would live On anarchy's will ocean tossed? Proud Freedom, from her mountain height, Has hitherto looked coldly down

EMANCIPATION.

LETTER FROM HON. ROBERT DALE OWEN. The Conditions of Lasting Peace.

To the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury—Sir: In briefest terms I state the propositions which, as the subject of our recent conversation, I promised to reduce to writing.

What are the reasonable hopes of peace? Not that within the next fifty days the South, availing herself of the term of grace offered in the President's proclamation, may, to save her favorite institution, return to her allegiance.

Are we likely to obtain peace by conquest? In search of an answer, let us look closely at a few statistical facts. By the census of 1860, the number of white males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five is, in the loyal States, about 4,000,000; and in the disloyal States, about 1,300,000; a little upward of three to one.

Out of the above four millions the North has to provide soldiers, and (with considerable exceptions, not usually extending to field labor) laborers also. But of the three millions and a half of slaves owned in the rebel States, about two millions may be estimated as laborers.

Supposing the negroes are loyal to their masters, it follows that the true proportion of strength available in this war—that is of soldiers to fight and laborers to support the nation while fighting—may fairly enough be taken at three in the South to four in the North.

Such a wholesale transfer is, of course, impossible in practice. But in so far as the transfer is possible, and shall occur, we approach the above results.

How much wisdom, under these circumstances, is there in the advice that we should put down the rebellion first and settle the negro question afterward? What shall we say of their statesmanship who, in a war like this, would leave out of view the practical effects of emancipation?

On the other hand, however, it is to be admitted that African loyalty in this war will little avail us, if we have not good sense and good feeling enough properly to govern the negroes who may enter our lines. To render their aid available, in the first place we must treat them humanely; a duty we have yet to learn, and secondly, both for their sakes and our own, we must not support them in idleness.

Have we philanthropy and discretion enough wisely to administer such a change of system? Possibly not. Administrative capacity in public affairs is not our strong point. We would do well to bear in mind, however, that, without such capacity, not this war only, but our entire governmental experiment, will prove a failure at last.

Do other objections hold against the plan? Does humanity forbid us to accept the aid of an enslaved race? In so far as humanity can ever enjoy war at all, she enjoins the employment, by us, of the African in this; first, because his employment may shorten, by years, the fratricidal struggle; and then because, if he is not permitted to assist in civilized warfare under arms, and if, without his aid, we fail to effect his liberation, and thus disappoint his hopes, he may be overtaken by the temptation to seek freedom and revenge in his own wild way. In accepting the liberated slave as a soldier we may prevent his rising as an assassin. By the creation of negro brigades we may avert the indiscriminate massacre of servile insurrection.

Or take, even, the alternative of recognition—recognition of an independent Confederacy, still slaveholding. Are we, then—becoming the sole exception among the nations of the earth—to make ourselves aiders and abettors of the slave system of a foreign nation, by agreeing to return to her negro refugees seeking liberty and an asylum among us? National self respect imperatively forbids this. Public sentiment would compel the rejection, as a base humiliation, of any proposed treaty stipulation, providing for rendition of runaway slaves. Yet the South would regard such rejection in no other light than as a standing menace—a threat to deprive her of what she regards as her most valuable property. Coterminous as her boundaries—possibly thousands—of miles our boundaries would be, must not the South, in common prudence, maintain all along that endless border line an armed slave police? Are we to consent to this? And if we do, shall we escape border raids after fleeing fugitives? No sane man will expect it. Are we to suffer these? We are disgraced. Are we to resent them? It is a renewal of hostilities.

State elections may go as they will—Their results can never change the fact that any party obtaining the control of the Government and adopting the policy that the settlement of the emancipation question is to be postponed till the war shall be

closed, will never, while it pursues that policy, see this war permanently closed—not even by accepting a shameful disruption of our country.

But if emancipation is to avail us as a peace measure, we must adopt it boldly, resolutely, effectually. It must be general, not partial; extending not to the slaves of rebels only, but to every slave on this continent. Even if it were practicable, which it is not, with slavery non-existent in the Northern States and abolished in those which persist in rebellion, to maintain it in the narrow border strip, it is precisely there where negro fugitives can the most readily escape, that its maintenance would the most certainly lead to war.

Can this great peace measure be constitutionally enacted? A proclamation or (the more appropriate form) an Act of General Emancipation, should, in its preamble, set forth in substance that the claims to service or labor of which it deprives certain persons having been proved by recent events to be of a character endangering the supremacy of the Union, and incompatible with the permanent peace of the country, are taken by the Government, with just compensation made. Under circumstances far less urgent than these, the law or custom of civilized nations, based on considerations of public utility, authorizes such taking of private property for public use. We ourselves are familiar with its operation—When a conflagration in a city threatens to spread far, houses in the line of its progress may legally be seized and destroyed by the authorities in order to arrest it; and the owners are not held to have been wronged if they are paid for such losses under an equitable appraisement. But it is not the existence of part of a city that is now endangered; it is the integrity of one among the first powers in the world that is menaced with destruction.

The truth of the preamble suggested has become, in my judgment, incontrovertible. It will receive the assent of an overwhelming majority of the people of the loyal States. The public sentiment of Europe will admit its truth.

Let us confess that such a preamble, as preface to Act or proclamation, could not have commanded the assent of more than a small fraction of our people, only two short years ago—two years, as we reckon time; a generation, if we calculate by the stirring events and far-reaching upheavals that have been crowded into the eventful months. In such days as these abuses ripen rapidly. Their consequences mature. Their ultimate tendencies become apparent. We are reminded of their transitory character. We are reminded that, although for the time, and in a certain stage of human progress, some abuses may have their temporary use, and for this, under God's economy, may have been suffered to continue, yet all abuses have but a limited life. The Right only is eternal.

The rebellion, teacher and creator as well as scourge and destroyer, by sternly laying bare the imminent dangers of slavery, has created the constitutionality of emancipation. It has done more. It has made emancipation a burden political duty, as well as a strictly constitutional right.

Can we, in declaring emancipation, legally avoid the payment, say \$200,000,000, in the shape of compensation to loyal slaveholders? Not if a slaveholder's right to service and labor from his slaves, when not forfeited by treason, is legal. On humanitarian grounds the legality of that right has been denied. But a construction of the Constitution adverse to such denial, and acquiesced in by the nation throughout more than two generations, is held by most men to be reason sufficient why the right in question should be regarded as private property—If it be private property, then, except by violating the fifth article of the amendments to the Constitution it cannot be taken for public use without just compensation. To violate any article of the Constitution is a revolutionary act; but such acts cost a nation more than a few hundred thousand dollars.

The risk that a future decision of the Supreme Court might declare emancipation without compensation to be unconstitutional, is of itself sufficient justification of the President's policy, corresponding to the above suggestions, in this matter.

Such compensation will be unpopular with many. Wise and just acts, when they involve sacrifices, frequently are. A wrong long tolerated commonly entails a penalty, which is seldom cheerfully paid—Yet even on other grounds we ought not in this case to begrudge the money. Who deserves better of their country than those brave men who, in the border States, have clung to their loyalty through all the dark hours of peril ever to life?

Precautions rationally suggest themselves against false pretences of loyalty. It seems expedient that he who shall have proved that he is the legal owner of certain slaves, and also that he has ever been loyal to the Union, should receive a certificate of indebtedness by the Government, not transferable, to be paid at some fixed time subsequent to the termination of the war, being made contingent on the fact that the claimant shall not, meanwhile, have lapsed from his loyalty.

Every such claimant, once recognized, would feel himself to be, by his own act, the citizen of a free State; one of us, detached forever from the Southern league. A Government stockholder, he would become peculiarly interested in the support of the Government and the restoration of peace.

Even if the Legislatures of the border States should not initiate such policy, the loyal men of these States will accept it.

Such a measure does not involve expense in conveying the liberated negro to other countries. It has hitherto, indeed, been usual policy in slave States to discourage, as dangerous, the residence there

of free blacks; and hence an idea that colonization should be the concomitant of emancipation. Of general emancipation there is no need whatever that it should be. Those who take up such an idea forget that the jealousy with which slaveholders regard the presence of free negroes, springs out of the dread that these may infect with a desire for freedom the slaves around them, thus rendering them insubordinate. But when all are free there will be no slaves to incite, nor any chains to be broken by resort to insurrection.

It is no business of ours either to decide, for the liberated negro, where he shall dwell, or to furnish his traveling expenses. Freemen, black or white, should select their own dwelling place and pay their own way.

As to the fears of competition in labor, sought to be excited in the minds of the Northern working man, they have foundation only in case emancipation be refused, for such refusal would flood the North with fugitives. If, on the contrary, emancipation be carried out, the strong local attachments of the negro will induce him, with rarest exceptions, to remain as a hired laborer where he works as a slave. Thus humane masters will not lack sufficient working hands, of which colonization would deprive them. And if, notwithstanding the probable rise of Southern staples, profits, at first, should be less, the security of the planter will be greater. He will no longer lie down at night uncertain whether the morning's news may not be that his slaves have risen against him.

This is the proper view of the question. But all edicts, all proclamations, how wise and righteous soever, are but idle announcements now, if we lack courage and conduct to enforce them.

Courage we have. Raw levies behave like veterans. The skeletons of regiments reduced to one-tenth their original number, attest the desperate valor with which they confronted death. Not with the rank and file is the blame. The leaders! There has been the secret of failure.

With all the advantages of a just cause over our enemies, we have suffered them to outdo us in earnestness. We lack the enthusiasm which made irresistible the charge of Cromwell's Ironsides. We need the invincible impulse of a sentiment. We want, above all, leaders who know and feel what they are fighting for. This is a war in which mercenaries avail not. There must be a higher motive than the pay of a Swiss—a holier duty urging on, than the professional pride or the blind obedience of a soldier. By parliamentary usage a proposed measure is intrusted, for fostering care, to its friends. So should this war be. Its conduct should be confided to men whose hearts and souls are in it.

Again, it has long been one of our national sins that we pass by, with scarcely a rebuke, the gravest public offenses—We utterly fail in holding to a strict accountability our public men. The result of such failure, in peace, had almost escaped our notice. In war we have not beheld its effects, flagrant and terrible.

It was not to be expected that among so many thousands of officers suddenly appointed there should not be some hundreds of incompetents. Such things must be—No one is to blame if, in field or garden, weeds spring up. The blame rests with him who leaves them there to choke the crop and cumber the ground.

Accountability—that should be the watchword—accountability, stern, unrelenting! Office has its emoluments; let it have its responsibilities also. Let us demand, as Napoleon demanded, success from our leaders. The rule may work harshly. War needs harsh rules. Actions are not to be measured in war by the standard of peace. The sentinel, worn by extreme fatigue, who sleeps at his post, incurs the penalty of death. There is mercy in Courts-martial—drumhead Courts-martial. A dozen officers shot, whenever the gravity of the offense demands it, may be the saving of life to tens of thousands of brave men.

Eighteen months have passed. Eight hundred millions have been spent. We have a million of armed men in the field—More than a hundred thousand rest in soldiers' graves. And for all this what result? Is it strange if sometimes the heart sinks and resolution fails at the thought that, from sheer administrative infirmity, the vast sacrifice may have been all in vain?

But let the past go! Its fatal faults (difficult, perhaps, to avoid, under an effort so sudden and so vast,) can never be recalled. Doubtless they had their use. It needed the grievous incapacity we have witnessed, the stinging reverses we have suffered, the invasion of free States we have lived to see commenced; it needed the hecatombs of dead piled up unavailingly on battle field after battle field—the desolate hearths, the broken hearted survivors—it needed all this to pave the way for that emancipation which is the only harbinger of peace.

The Future! that is still ours to improve. Nor, if some clouds yet rest upon it, is it without bright promise. Signs of nascent activity, energy and a resolution to hold accountable for the issue the leaders of our armies, are daily apparent. Better than all, the initiative in a true line of policy has been taken. The 22d of September has had its effect. The path of safety is before us; steep and rugged indeed, but no longer doubtful nor obscure. A lamp has been lit to guide our steps; a lamp that may burn more brightly before a new year dawns upon us. The noble prayer of Ajax has been vouchsafed in our case. At last we have light to fight by.

We shall reach a quiet haven if we but follow faithfully and perseveringly that guiding light.

There is, at this moment, in the hearts of all good men throughout the length and breadth of the land, no deeper feeling, no more earnest longing, than for peace; peace not for the day, not to last for a few years;

but peace, on a foundation of rock, for ourselves and for our children after us. May the hearts of our rulers be opened to the conviction that they can purchase only a shambling counterfeit except at one cost! God give them to see, ere it be too late, that the price of enduring peace is general emancipation!

I am, sir, your obedient servant, ROBERT DALE OWEN. NEW YORK, November 10, 1862.

Work of the s. Alabama.

Capture of the Vanderbilt steamer, Ariel, en route from New York to Aspinwall.

At about 2 o'clock p. m., on Saturday, the 7th Dec., a "bark in sight" was reported to Capt. Jones. The Captain immediately left the dinner table for the deck. The vessel was just coming out of the sun glare, close to Cape Maza, when Captain Jones made her out to be English built, and saw she was a propeller. He immediately ordered all steam to be put on. The propeller hoisted the American flag and gave chase. The Ariel, a slow craft, was going only about 8 knots an hour, and the Alabama, under steam alone, at 11 knots. When she gave chase she was only about four miles off. She soon got close to the Ariel, when she hoisted the Confederate flag, and fired a blank shot. The Ariel paid no attention, but kept on, when she fired two shells simultaneously one a steel-pointed one, which explodes immediately on striking an object, and the other a common fuse shell. Fortunately the steel-pointed shell passed over the vessel, but the round one struck the foremast above the hurricane deck, cutting away nearly the size of the shell. The 140 marines and officers on board the Ariel at this time were drawn up for resistance, which Capt. Jones insisted upon making; but Com. Sartori and Maj. Garland, seeing the futility of defense, ordered the men to be disarmed and sent below. The Ariel then how to and hauled down her flag.

Soon Lieut. Low, a young officer, came on board and called for the ship's papers, manifests, etc., which were given very much frightened, that not a hair of their heads should be despoiled, and not a dollar of their property touched. Finding there were 140 marines on board, he communicated with Capt. Semmes, who ordered that they and all officers should be paroled "not to serve against the Confederate States, nor in any manner serve the United States during the war," which, of course, had to be agreed to. The money on board the ship was then demanded, and \$8,000 in Treasury Notes, belonging to Wells Fargo & Co., and \$1,500 in coin, belonging to other parties, was taken. Being assured that the Ariel had no letter mail the sacks were not overhauled. The sacks of Wells Fargo & Co., those of the Panama Railroad Company, and the State Department sacks for the U. S. Consul at Aspinwall, all came safe to hand.

The sails of the Ariel were cut away and thrown overboard, and that was all the injury done to the vessel. At dark a valve of the Ariel was taken out and carried to the Alabama, thus disabling her. The Alabama then left her and cruised about for other vessels. Next morning she restored the valve and kept company as before, only the Alabama would occasionally dart off at the sight of a sail, and finding her not American, would return to the charge of her game, which she had plenty of time to do, going, as she did, two knots to the Ariel one.

On the 8th Monday, stood for Jamaica, chasing vessels occasionally as before, and so up to Tuesday night, at 10 1/2 o'clock, when a light was made near Kingston. All this time, Capt. Semmes seemed at a loss to know what to do with the Ariel with her 800 souls, as if he had won an elephant in a raffle. He finally let go his hold on her and she proceeded on her voyage.

Capt. Jones bonded the vessel and cargo to the Confederate Government—the vessel for \$125,000, cargo \$128,000, freight 12,000, payable thirty days after the independence of the Confederate States.

The Washington Republican says: The removal of Gen. McClellan occasions little surprise, being regarded as the natural sequence of the Northern elections.—"Imbecility" (we use John Van Buren's word) in the conduct of the war having been the great point made by the democracy, their partial success on that issue could be construed in no other way than as an indication of a popular wish that there should be a change in the command of our principal army. To this wish the President has promptly and patriotically responded, and the democratic party may be assured that they are now to have that "more vigorous" prosecution of the war for which they have clamored. Whether they will relish it, or not, after they get it, is another matter.

REBEL OUTRAGE.—Rev. Mr. Owen, a fugitive from the rebel power in Mississippi, in a recent speech related the following outrage as having come to his knowledge: "A Union man in Mississippi, named Newman was seized by a party of rebel cavalry. They debated how they would dispose of him. Some were in favor of hanging, and some advocated shooting; but finally they procured scalding water and scalded him to death. They then hung up the corpse and put a label on its breast, stating that whoever should take it down and bury it, would be served in the same way. The men who aided in his (Mr. Owen's) escape, did, however, come by night and cut down and bury the corpse."

Lord Palmerston, on the 29th Oct., entered his 70th year.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.—The Episcopal Convention of the Northern States have been giving themselves a good deal of trouble lately over the church affairs of our States. The Confederate Episcopalians have completed the organization of a communion of their own, and will save the northerners the trouble. The first General Council will meet in Augusta, Ga., on the 12th of Nov.—Richmond Eqg.