

"The Crisis and Its Responsibilities," New York (NY) *Herald*, June 7, 1861  
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**The Crisis and Its Responsibilities—The Union or the Destruction of Our Country.**

The dark and portentous storm cloud of our Southern rebellion, which but a few months ago was an insignificant speck in our political horizon, to-day overshadows both hemispheres. The threatening attitude of England, under her hypocritical pretences of neutrality, can no longer be doubted. The alternative thus presented before us is one of those short, quick and overwhelming campaigns with which the First Napoleon so repeatedly baffled the hostile coalitions of Europe, or a protracted and world-wide war, menacing the absolute destruction of our national independence, our political and social institutions North and South, our present resources of power and prosperity, and our hopes of the future.

Having at length succeeded in dividing our country against itself through her anti-slavery teachings and machinations, England casts aside her disguises, and discloses the objects of her affected philanthropy. They comprehend the dismemberment of the United States, the destruction of our commercial power and rivalry, and a death blow to our popular institutions, which have been steadily undermining that monopolizing landed aristocracy which lords it over the British empire. On the other hand, while the domestic and the foreign policy developed by our present federal administration are up to the exigencies of the crisis, we conceive it to be our first and highest duty to admonish Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet that their only course of positive safety and success is the immediate concentration of an overwhelming army force in front of the enemy, and a rapid, energetic and crushing campaign.

It is evident that Jefferson Davis has accepted Virginia as his battle ground—the Crimea of this war. It is reported that his forces already assembled in the State, doubtless much exaggerated, amount to some ninety-three thousand men, including a column of twenty thousand within thirty miles of Washington. That our War Department, on the other hand, considers itself strong enough for its present purposes, we think is evident, from General Cameron's

notification that no more regiments can now be accepted from New York. We are thus encouraged to anticipate a line of decisive operations on the part of General Scott in Virginia during the present month, which will materially simplify the attitude towards us of the Western Powers of Europe, in putting an end to any schemes of English intervention in behalf of the hopeless revolutionary cause of our revolted States.

But if, with the meeting of Congress on the 4th of July, Jefferson Davis should still be issuing his proclamations from Richmond, and England should still be giving him her moral aid and comfort, the policy of Congress, in reference to this rebellion, will have to be addressed to the possible contingencies of a rupture with England. In this view all our Northern seaboard fortifications and defences should be strengthened, armed with rifled cannon, and garrisoned with bodies of men undergoing a regular course of training for the infantry as well as the artillery service. A similar system of defensive works and military camps should also be established along the line of our Northern frontiers, embracing every available strategic point along the great lakes and the St. Lawrence. In the meantime all our arsenals and cannon foundries should be worked to their utmost capacities in the production of the most efficient small arms and artillery, and beautiful supplies of gunpowder should be provided and stored away for the possible necessities of a world-wide war. Our navy, too, should be increased, more in the number of ships than in the number of its guns, and each vessel should be provided at once with rifled cannon, and every sailing vessel-of-war, capable of the transformation should be changed to a steamer, swift and strong.

All this vast schedule of warlike preparations can be accomplished within a few months if the government shall so decree. We have the materials, the means and the men, and they are all at the service of the government. Let us enter partially now upon these defensive preparations, and fully, should the crooked counsels of the

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British Cabinet suggest their expediency, with the meeting of Congress; and then let our desperate Southern insurgents beware of making England their ally in this contest. At present this war against them is to save them and their institution of slavery, in restoring them to the protection of the Union; but let England interfere in this quarrel, and there will be an end to her Southern cotton. Her Southern supplies will be instantly and permanently cut off at all hazards, as a stroke of defensive war, which will soon divert her attention to a rebellion at home, and as a war measure which cannot fail to bring our Southern rebels to their senses.

Manifestly Jeff. Davis and his Confederates fully appreciate the dangers of a Northern invasion among the densely populated slave districts of the cotton States. The danger has been disclosed in the stampede of the slaves from Norfolk and that neighborhood to the camp of General Butler. Hence our belief that if Davis and his secession cohorts are driven from Virginia there will be an end of this rebellion; for they will surely find that they are paying too dearly for their whistle of a Southern confederacy, in a war which is risking the total loss or demoralization of their twenty-five hundred millions of dollars invested in slaves. We are therefore in favor of and hope for a decisive Napoleonic campaign in Virginia, in order to save the Union, to save the North and the South, and also to save England from the sweeping consequences of a lingering contest, which may invite her to a fatal interference for the sake of her cotton.

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