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Selections.

THE COUNSEL OF A STATESMAN.

SPEECH OF HON. CARL SCHURZ,

At the Cooper Institute, New York, March 6th, 1862.

I HAVE not come here to plead the cause of a party, for in looking around me, I become doubtful whether I belong to any; nor with a desire to gain the favor of those in power, for in this respect I have nothing to gain and much to lose; nor to flatter the multitude, for I know well that much of what I am going to say will expose me to acrimonious obloquy and vituperation; nor do I even think that the remarks I am going to make will exactly fit the line of argument followed in the resolutions presented to your consideration. I mean to speak the truth as I understand it; I shall give you my own ideas, such as they are. I have travelled far to obtain this audience of the people, for your invitation encountered my desire, and shunned no inconvenience, sacrifice, or responsibility. So you may conclude that I am in earnest. Of you I ask to lay aside to-night your party prejudices and passions; for this hour let your preconceived opinions be silent. I shall speak to you from the very depth of my profoundest convictions; listen to me as one sincere patriot will listen to another (cheering). Many of us will have to confess that the present state of things is contrary to their first anticipations. Eighteen months ago we did not expect that the people of the South would be so ready to rush into the suicidal course of open rebellion; nor did the people of the South, when they took the fatal step, expect that the people of the North would resist the treasonable attempt with so much determination and unanimity. In this respect the calculations of leading men on both sides proved erroneous. But this lies behind us, and we have to deal with the nature and exigencies of the actual situation as it is. We are in open civil war. A numerous population, holding a very large portion of our country, is in arms against the government; the rebellion against the constitutionally established authorities is organized on the largest scale. The avowed aim and object is to disrupt the Union of these States, and to secure for the people of some of them a separate national existence. The first steps taken in that direction were successful; a separate government, claiming to be independent of the Union, was established; it now defends itself with armed force against the lawful authorities of this Republic. This is, in a few words, the actual situation of things. It presents us a twofold problem: first, to put down the rebels in arms, and then to restore the Union. The first is a military problem, the second a political one. They are, in my opinion, so distinct from each other that I can well conceive how the first can be successfully solved, and how, at the same time, in attempting to solve the second, we can completely fail. As to the first, I will say but little. After serious disasters and a long period spent in preparation, our brave armies have achieved great successes, which, by some, are considered finally decisive. I have heard it said that the war is practically ended. I must confess I am not of that opinion; but although I might endeavor to show you that the rebels, however severely pressed at the present moment, have an immense country to fall back upon, in which their armies, if they succeed in escaping from the border States, may prolong the struggle for a considerable period; that difficulties of which at present we form no adequate idea await our victorious columns as they advance upon the soil of the enemy; that this prolongation of the war may bring great embarrassments upon us, financial distress, and, in case of a serious reverse to our arms, even difficulties with foreign Powers, and that, in such an emergency, all the energy and patriotism which live in this American people will be put to the severest test—although I might show you all this, and warn you not to abandon yourselves too securely to deceitful illusions, yet I will drop this subject. It would, perhaps, be useless in this hour of triumph to speak of apprehensions which, indeed, may and may not be justified by coming events. I am willing to suppose for the present, that fortune will smile upon us as constantly as many seem to anticipate, and that a speedy and complete military success will be gained, even if we confine ourselves strictly to the ordinary means of warfare. But the nearer we approach this end the greater are the proportions to which rises before my mind the other problem which this very victory thrusts upon us. To a despotic government, the suppression of a rebellion and the reëstablishment of the old order of things is one and the same. It sends its armies into the field, it beats the insurgents, disperses them, captures them, forces them to lay down their arms; now the military power of the rebellion is crushed, and the second part of the task begins, which consists in maintaining the authority so established; the despotic government prevents and suppresses the utterance of every adverse opinion; it executes or imprisons every refractory individual; it encounters by summary proceedings every hostile intention, and while establishing, by a system of constant and energetic pressure, a state of general and complete submission, it restores at the same time the condition of things originally existing before the rebellion broke out. It can do all this without changing its attributes in the least, for the means it uses for suppressing the rebellion, and afterward for crushing out the rebellious spirit, are in perfect consonance with the fundamental principles upon which its whole system of policy rests. It is the rule of absolute authority and force on one side, and absolute submission to this rule on the other. The same agencies which put down the rebellion, the same operate in maintaining the reëstablished authority, and all this in perfect keeping with the original nature of the whole political system. But our case is widely different. Our system of government does not rest upon the submission of the people, but upon the free and independent coöperation of the individual. We have, indeed, a supreme authority, but this authority proceeds directly from the people, and works through the people. Our government may indeed suppress a rebellion by force, but in order to restore the working of the original agencies upon which it rests, it is obliged to restore the individual to his original scope of self-action. If it attempted, after having suppressed a rebellion, to maintain its authority permanently by the same means by which it reëstablished it; that is to say by a constant and energetic pressure of force, it would not restore the old order of things, but completely subvert its original basis; for the means by which it was obliged to suppress the rebellion are in direct contradiction to the fundamental principles of our government. In order to restore these principles to life, the government is obliged to trust its authority to the loyal action of the people. There is the embarrassment which a rebellion in a democratic republic will necessarily produce. What does it mean, the restoration of the Union? It means the restoration of individual liberty in all its parts, and of that ramification of political power in which self-government consists. If it meant anything else, if it meant the permanent holding in subjection of conquered provinces, if it meant the rule of force, if it meant the subversion of those principles of individual liberty which are the breath of our political life, would it then not be best to let the rebels go? Would it not be preferable to be content with the modest proportions to which the development of things has reduced us, to foster the principles and institutions which have made this people great and happy for so long a time with conscientious care, and to trust to the expansive power of liberty to restore this Republic in some more or less remote future to its former measure of greatness. And yet, looking at things as they are, how can we expect to restore the Union but by the rule of force—that is to say, by a military occupation of the rebel States? But you will tell me that this will not last long. Well, and what will determine this period? The disappearance of the rebellious spirit; the return of sincere loyalty. But when and how will the rebellious spirit cease and loyalty return? True, if this rebellion were nothing but a mere momentary whim of the popular mind, if its causes could be obliterated by one of those sudden changes in popular opinions, which, in matters of minor importance, occur so frequently with our impressionable people, then a short military occupation might answer, and pass over without any serious effect upon our future development. But is it this? Look the fact square in the face. This rebellion is not a mere momentary whim, and although but a few men seem to have prepared its outbreak, it is not the mere upshot of a limited conspiracy. It is a thing of long preparation; nay, more than that: it is a thing of logical development. This rebellion did not commence on the day that the secession flag was hoisted at Charleston; it commenced on the day when the Slave Power for the first time threatened to break up this Union (applause). Slavery had produced an organization of society strongly in contradistinction with the principles underlying our system of government—the absolute rule of a superior class, based upon the absolute subjection of the laboring population. This institution, continually struggling against the vital ideas of our political life, and incompatible with a free expression of public opinion, found itself placed in the alternative of absolutely ruling or perishing. Hence our long struggles, so often allayed by temporary expedients, but always renewed with increased acrimony. And as soon as the slave interest perceived that it could no longer rule inside of the Union, it attempted to cut loose and to exercise its undisputed sway outside of it. This was logical; and as long as the relation of interests and necessities remains the same, its logical consequences will remain the same also. This is not a matter of doctrine or party creed, but of history. Nobody can shut his eyes against so plain and palpable a fact. How is it possible to mistake the origin of this struggle? I ask you, in all sincerity, Would the rebellion have broken out, if slavery had not existed? ("No, no, no.") Did the rebellion raise its head at any place where slavery did not exist? Did it not find sympathy and support wherever slavery did exist? ("Yes, yes, yes.") Is anybody in arms against the Union but who desires to perpetuate slavery? What else is this rebellion but a new but logical form of the old struggle of the slave interest against the fundamental principles of our political system? Do you not indulge in the delusion that you can put an end to this struggle by a mere victory in the field. By it you may quench the physical power of the slave interest, but you cannot stifle its aspirations. The slave interest was disloyal as long as it threatened the dissolution of the Union; it will be disloyal as long as it will desire it (cheers). And when will it cease to desire it? It may for a time sullenly submit to the power of the Union, but it will not enter into the harmonious coöperation with you, as long as it has aspirations of its own. But to give up its aspirations would be to give up its existence; it will therefore not cease to aspire until it ceases to live (applause). Your President has said it once, and there is far-seeing wisdom in the expression: This country will have no rest until slavery is put upon the course of ultimate extinction (great and continued applause). But if the slave interest, as such, cannot return with cordial sincerity to its allegiance, where will the suppression of this rebellion lead us? Mark my words: Not only is the South in a state of rebellion, but the whole Union is in a state of revolution. This revolution will produce one of three things; either complete submission of the whole people to the despotic demands of the slave interest, or a radical change in our Federal institutions, that is to say, the establishment of a strong, consolidated, central government, or such a reform of Southern society as will make loyalty to the Union its natural temper and disposition (cheers). The old Union, as we have known it, is already gone; you can restore it geographically—yes; but politically and morally, never (applause). And if Jefferson Davis would come to-morrow and give up his sword to President Lincoln, and all the rebel armies were captured in one day, and forced to do penance in sackcloth and ashes at the foot of Capitol Hill, the old Union would not be restored (cheers). That circle of ideas in which the political transactions of the old Union moved is forever broken (sensation); it cannot be restored. The mutual confidence on which the political transactions of the old Union rested has been discovered to be illusory; it is irretrievably gone (applause). I repeat, either you will submit to the South, or you will rule the South by the force of a strong central government, or Southern society must be so reformed that the Union can safely trust itself to its loyalty. Submit to the rebellious South! Submit after a victory! (No, no, no.) You will tell me that this is impossible. Is it, indeed? There are those in the South who have fought and will fight the Union as long as the rebellion has a chance of success, who will apparently come over to our side as soon as our victory is decided, and who will then claim the right to control our policy ("That's it"). And there are those in the North, who, either actuated by party spirit, or misled by shortsightedness, stand ready to coöperate with the former (sensation). The attempt will be made—whether it will succeed—who knows? But if it does succeed, it will lead to new struggles ("John Brown") more acrimonious, dangerous and destructive in their nature, but also more radical and permanent in their result (cheers, "That's it"). The second possibility I indicated is the establishment of a strong, consolidated, central government. Look at the course you have taken since the outbreak of the rebellion. It was natural that, when the necessity of vigorous action pressed upon us, the government was clothed with extraordinary powers. As its duties and responsibilities increased, its hands had to be strengthened. But it might indeed have been expected that the people as well as the government would treat with scrupulous respect those fundamental guarantees of our rights and liberties, the achievement or the preservation of which were so often in the history of the world bought at the price of bloody revolutions. Outside of this republic, and, I have no doubt, inside of it also, it was remarked with some surprise, that the writ of *habeas corpus*, the liberty of the press, the authority of the civil courts of justice, were in some cases rather cavalierly dealt with. How easily is it forgotten that you cannot permit another's rights to be infringed without paving the way for a violation of your own! I do not mean to exaggerate the importance of these occurrences. I can well understand the violence of popular resentment, as well as the urgent necessities pressing upon those who stood at the helm. But I most earnestly warn you that a condition of things producing such necessities must not last too long, lest it create bad habits (applause)—the habit of disregarding these fundamental rights on one side, and the habit of permitting them to be violated on the other. In my opinion the manner of treating its enemies is the true test of the tendency of a government. It may be questionable whether we can afford to suppress a rebellion in the same way and with the same means in and with which the King of Naples was in the habit of suppressing them; but it is certain that we can *not* afford to imitate him in his manner of *maintaining* the reëstablished authority of the government (cheers). But now look at the task before you. I am willing to suppose that the rebel armies will be beaten and dispersed with greater ease and facility than I at present deem it possible. Then the *spirit* of disloyalty must be extinguished, the source of the mischief must be stopped. This cannot be done by strategic movements and success in battle. How, then, is it to be done? Take the State of South Carolina: you beat the rebels defending its soil and occupy the whole State with your troops. Armed resistance to the authority of the United States becomes impossible, but you want to restore the active coöperation of the people of South Carolina in the government of the United States, without which the restoration of the old order of things is impossible. Now, you either call upon the people of South Carolina to elect new State authorities of their own, or you impose upon them a Provisional government, appointed by the President at Washington. In the first place, the people of South Carolina—a large majority of whom are disloyal, and those who are not disloyal are not loyal either (applause), and to a certain extent seem to be incorrigible—are most likely to elect a new set of secessionists to office. It will be a reorganization of treason and conspiracy; for you must know that conspiracies do not only precede rebellious, but also follow unsuccessful ones. The new State government is at once in conflict with the Federal authorities. The latter find themselves counteracted and clogged in every imaginable way; and after a series of unsuccessful attempts to secure a cordial and trustworthy coöperation, after a season of tiresome and fruitless wrangles, they find themselves obliged to resort to sterner measures; then forcible suppression of every combination hostile to the Union; close surveillance of press and speech; martial law where the civil tribunals are found insufficient; in one word, a steady and energetic pressure of force, by which the Federal government overrules and coerces the refractory State authorities. You will see at once that if this pressure be not strong enough, it will not furnish the government of the United States the necessary guaranties of peace and security; and if it be strong enough to do that, it will not leave to the State government that freedom of action upon which our whole political fabric is based. Or you follow the other course I indicated—institute Provisional governments by appointment from the President, in a manner similar to that in which territories are organized. Then the General government enters into immediate relation with the people of the rebellious district. While it leaves to the people the election of the Territorial Legislature, if I may call it so, it controls the action of that Legislature by the veto of the Executive, and the rulings of the Judiciary in a regular and organic way. Thus mischief may be prevented, the execution of the laws secured, and the supremacy of the General government maintained by the government's own agents, until the States can be reorganized with safety to the Union. This plan may be preferable to the other, inasmuch as it will prevent the continuation of rebellious intrigues and facilitate the repression and punishment of disloyal practices without a conflict with lawfully instituted authorities; but it is evident that such a condition of things cannot last long without essentially changing the nature of our general system of government. In either case it will be the rule of force modified by circumstances, ready to respect individual rights wherever submission is complete, and to overrule them wherever necessity may require it. Do not say that these things are less dangerous because they are done with the assent of the majority; for the assent of the people to a consolidation of power is the first step toward subversion of liberty (applause). But is indeed this government, in struggling against rebellion, in reëstablishing its authority, reduced to a policy which would nearly obliterate the line separating Democracy from Absolutism? Is it really unable to stand this test of its character? For this is the true test of the experiment. If our Democratic institutions pass this crisis unimpaired, they will be stronger than ever; if not, the decline will be rapid and irremediable. But can they pass it unimpaired? Yes. This Republic has her destiny in her hands. She may transform her greatest danger and distress into the greatest triumph of her principles (cheering). There would have been no rebellion, had there not been a despotic interest incompatible with the spirit of her democratic institutions (cheers); and she has the glorious and inestimable privilege of suppressing this rebellion, by enlarging liberty instead of restraining it (great cheering), by granting rights, instead of violating them ("Good." Applause). I shall have to speak of slavery, and I wish you would clearly understand me. I am an anti-slavery man (cheering). All the moral impulses of my heart have made me so, and all the working of my brain has confirmed me in my faith (loud applause. "Hear, hear"). I have never hesitated to plead the cause of the outraged dignity of human nature. I could not do otherwise; and whatever point of argument I might gain with any one, if I denied it, I would not deny it, I shall never deny it ("Good, good." Applause). And yet, it is not my lifelong creed, which would make me urge the destruction of slavery *now*. As an anti-slavery man, I would be satisfied with the effect the course of events is already producing upon slavery. When formerly I argued in favor of its restriction, I knew well and clearly that as soon as the supremacy of the slave interest in our political life was destroyed, the very life of slavery was gone, and the institution would gradually disappear. For many reasons I would have preferred this gradual and peaceful process. I never was in favor of precipitate measures, where a quiet and steady reform was within the limits of practicability (cheers). But the rebellion, which placed slavery in a direct practical antagonism with the institutions most dear to us, has prodigiously hastened this development. I said already that I do not deem another victory of slavery over the National conscience impossible; but this reaction will produce new struggles, with passions more fierce, with resentments more acrimonious and reckless, and dangerous to our democratic institutions, and violent in their nature; but as to slavery, radical and conclusive in their results (applause). This rebellion has uprooted the very foundations of the system, and slavery is not far from its death (cheers). It will die, and if you would, you could not prevent it (applause). And thus, as an anti-slavery man, I might wait and look on with equanimity. But what I do not want to see is, that slavery, in this death struggle, should involve the best institutions that ever made a nation great and happy. It shall not entangle the Union in its downfall, and, therefore, the Union must deliver itself of its pernicious embrace (great applause, long continued, and huzzas). And now listen to what I have to say of the third possible result of the revolution through which we are passing, the only result which will restore the Union, and save the spirit of its democratic institutions. The ambition, the aspirations of men grow from the circumstances in which they live. As these circumstances change, these aspirations will take a corresponding direction. A slaveholding population, wedded to the peculiar interests of their peculiar institutions, will, in their aspirations and political action, be governed by the demands of those interests. If these interests are incompatible with loyalty to a certain established form of government, that population will be disloyal in its aspirations. Their way of thinking, their logic, their imaginations, their habits, are so affected and controlled by their circumstances, that as long as the latter remain the same, the former are not likely to change. Imagine this slaveholding population with a Union army on their soil. Their forces may be dispersed, their power paralyzed, but their former aspirations, although checked, are not eradicated. They move still in the same circle of ideas, and not only their memories of the past, but also their desires for the future, are still centred in that circle which slavery has drawn around them. Is not the intention and desire mother to the act? You may tell me that, however ardently they may long for a dissolution, their experience of the present rebellion will not let the idea of attempting another rebellion spring up. Are you so sure of this? True, they will not repeat the same thing in the same way. But have you never thought of it, that this Republic may be one day involved in difficulties with foreign powers, and that, in her greatest need, the disloyalists may discover another opportunity? And have you considered what our foreign policy will be when the powers of the earth know that we harbor an enemy within our own limits ready to join hands with them? (Sensation.) How can you rely upon the Southern people unless they are sincerely loyal, and how can they be sincerely loyal as long as their circumstances are such as to make disloyalty the natural condition of their desires and aspirations? They cannot be faithful unless their desires and aspirations change. And how can you change them? By opening before them new prospects and a new future (cheering). Look at the other side of the picture. Imagine—and I suppose it is not treasonable to imagine such a thing—imagine slavery were destroyed in consequence of this rebellion. Slavery once destroyed, can never be restored (applause). A reaction in this respect is absolutely impossible, so evidently impossible that it will not even be attempted. Slavery is like an egg—once broken, it can never be repaired (cheering). Even the wildest fanatic will see this. However ardent a devotee of slavery a man may be, slavery once destroyed, he will see that it is useless to brood over a past which is definitively gone, and cannot be revived. He will find himself forced to direct his eyes toward the future. All his former hopes and aspirations vanish; his former desires are left without a tangible object. Slavery having no future, his former aspirations and desires, founded upon slavery, have gone. He feels the necessity of accommodating himself to the new order of things, and the necessities of the present will make him think of the necessities of the future. Insensibly his mind drifts into plans and projects for coming days, and insensibly he has based these plans and projects upon the new order of things. A new circle of ideas has opened itself to him, and however reluctantly he may have given up the old one, he is already active in this new sphere. And this new circle of ideas being one which moves in the atmosphere of Free-Labor society, new interests, new hopes, new aspirations spring up, which closely attach themselves to the political institutions, with which in this country Free-Labor society is identified. That is the Union, based upon general self-government. Gradually the reformed man will understand and appreciate the advantage of this new order of things, and loyalty will become as natural to him, as disloyalty was before. It may be said, that the arch-traitors, the political propagandists of slavery can never be made loyal; that their rancor and resentment will be implacable, and that only the second generation will be capable of a complete reform. But such men will no longer be the rulers of Southern society; for Southern society being, with all its habits and interests, no longer identified with slavery, that element of the population will rise to prominent influence, which most easily identifies itself with free labor; I mean the non-slaveholding people of the South (cheers). They have been held in a sort of moral subjection by the great slave-lords. Not for themselves but for them they were disloyal. The destruction of slavery will wipe out the prestige of their former rulers; it will lift the yoke from their necks; they will soon undertake to think for themselves, and thinking freely they will not fail to understand their own true interests. They will find in free-labor society their natural elements; and free-labor society is naturally loyal to the Union (applause). Let the old political leaders fret as they please; it is the free-labor majority that will give to society its character and tone (cheering). This is what I meant by so reforming Southern society as to make loyalty to the Union its natural temper and disposition. This done, the necessity of a military occupation, the rule of force, will cease; our political life will soon return to the beaten track of self-government, and the restored Union may safely trust itself to the good faith of a reformed people. The antagonistic element which continually struggled against the vital principles of our system of government once removed we shall be a truly united people, with common principles, common interests, common hopes, and a common future. True, there will be other points of controversy, about banks or hard money, internal improvements, free-trade or protection, but however fierce party contests may be, there will be no question involving the very foundation of our polity, and no party will refuse to submit to the verdict of popular suffrage on the controversies at issue (cheers). The Union will not only be strong again, but stronger than ever before (great cheering). And if you ask me what, under existing circumstances, I would propose to do, I would say, Let slavery in the District of Columbia, and wherever the government has immediate authority, be abolished (loud and long continued applause). Let the slaves of rebels be confiscated by the General government and then emancipated (tremendous applause), and let a fair compensation be offered to loyal slave States and masters, who will agree upon some system of emancipation (cheering). Let this, or some other measure to the same effect, be carried out in some manner compatible with our fundamental laws. I do not care which, *provided always* the measure be thorough-going enough to render a reaction, a reëstablishment of the Slave Power, impossible (cheering); for as long as this is possible, as long as the hopes and aspirations of the Southern people can cling to such a chance, you will not have succeeded in cutting them loose from the old vicious circle of ideas, their loyalty will be subject to the change of circumstances, and such loyalty is worth nothing (cheers). I am at once met by a vast array of objections. "It would be unconstitutional!" say some scrupulous patriots. Is it not a little surprising, that the Constitution should be quoted most frequently and persistently in favor of those who threw that very Constitution overboard? (Cheers.) Unconstitutional! Let us examine the consistency of those who on this point are so sensitive. Have you not in the course of this rebellion suspended in many cases the writ of *habeas corpus?* Have you not suppressed newspapers, and thus violated the liberty of the press? Have you not deprived citizens of their liberty without due process of law? Have you not here and there superseded the regular courts of justice by military authority? And was all this done in strict conformity with the sacred safeguards which the Constitution throws around the rights and liberties of the citizen? But you tell me that all this was commanded by urgent necessity. Indeed! Is the necessity of restoring the true life-elements of the Union less urgent than the necessity of imprisoning a traitor or stopping a secession newspaper? (Applause.) Will necessity which justifies a violation of the dearest guaranties of our own rights and liberties, will it not justify the overthrow of the most odious institution of this age? (Cheers.) What? Is the Constitution such as to countenance in an extreme case a most dangerous imitation of the practices of despotic governments, but not to countenance, even in the extremest case, the necessity of a great reform, which the enlightened spirit of our century has demanded so long, and not ceased to demand? (Cheers.) Is it, indeed, your opinion that in difficult circumstances like ours neither the writ of *habeas corpus*, nor the liberty of the press, nor the authority of the regular courts of justice, in one word, no right shall be held sacred and inviolable under the Constitution but that most monstrous and abominable right which permits one man to hold another as property? (Great cheering.) Is to your constitutional conscience our whole magna charta of liberties nothing, and slavery all? (Loud applause.) Slavery all, even while endeavoring by the most damnable rebellion to subvert this very Constitution? But do not misunderstand me. I am far from under-estimating the importance of constitutional forms. Where constitutional forms are not strictly observed, constitutional guaranties will soon become valueless. But where is the danger in this case? Nobody denies the constitutionality of the power of the government to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; nobody will deny the constitutionality of an offer of compensation to loyal slave-owners. Or would the confiscation of rebel property be unconstitutional? The Constitution defines clearly what treason consists in; and then it gives Congress the power to pass laws for the punishment of treason. In this respect the Constitution gives Congress full discretion. If Congress can decree the penalty of death, or imprisonment, or banishment, why not the confiscation of property? And if Congress can make lands, and houses, and horses, and waggons liable to confiscation, why not slaves? And when these slaves are confiscated by the government, cannot Congress declare them emancipated, or rather will they not be emancipated by that very act? Is there anything in the Constitution to hinder it? Can there be any doubt, can there be a shadow of a doubt, as to the authority of Congress to do this? And if Congress can do it, why should it not? Do you prefer the death penalty? Will you present to the world the spectacle of a great nation thirsting for the blood of a number of miserable individuals? Do not say that you want to make an example; for if you stop the source of treason no warning example to frighten traitors will be needed (loud cheers). Or do you prefer imprisonment? The imprisonment of the leaders may very well go along with confiscation, and as to the imprisonment of the masses, nobody will think of it. Or do you prefer banishment? ("Yes.") How would it please you to see Europe overrun with "exiles from America," blackening your character and defiling your government at every street corner, and incessantly engaged in plotting against their country? And what effects will these modes of punishment have upon the Southern people? Either you are severe in applying them, and then you will excite violent resentments, or you are not severe, and then your penalties will frighten nobody, and fail of the object of serving as a warning example. In neither case will you make friends. It has frequently been said that the punishment of crime ought not to be a mere revenge taken by society, but that its principal object ought to be the reformation and improvement of the criminal (cheers). This is a humane idea, worthy of this enlightened century. It ought to be carried out wherever practicable. But how much greater and more commendable would it be if applied to a people instead of an individual! As for me, it will be to me supremely indifferent whether any of the rebels meets a punishment adequate to his crime, provided the great source of disloyalty be punished in itself (cheers). The best revenge for the past is that which furnishes us the best assurance for the future (applause). And how can we lose this great opportunity, how can we throw away this glorious privilege we enjoy, of putting down a rebellion by enlarging liberty and of punishing treason by reforming society (cheers). What hinders you? It is not the Constitution! Its voice is clear, unmistakable, and encouraging. This time the Constitution refuses to serve as a mask to morbid timidity or secret tenderness for slavery. Or is there really anything frightful to you in the idea, which we hear so frequently expressed, that every measure touching slavery would irritate the rebels very much, and make them very angry (laughter and cheering). Irritate and make them angry! I should not wonder. Every cannon shot you fire at them, every gunboat that shells their fortifications, every bayonet charge that breaks their lines, makes them, I have no doubt, quite angry (continued laughter). It may be justly supposed that every forward movement of our troops has upon them quite an irritating effect (great laughter—"Fort Donelson"). If you want to see them smile, you must let them alone entirely. But will you, therefore, load your muskets with sawdust, stop the advance of your battalions, and run your navy ashore? It must be confessed, they have never shown such tender regards for our institutions. But why will this measure make them so angry? Because it will, in the end, make them powerless for mischief. And if we can attain so desirable an end by doing this, will it not be best to support their anger with equanimity, and do it? [Cheering.] I never heard of a man who, when assaulted by a robber, would refrain from disarming him because it might create unpleasant feelings [applause]. But, in fact, the irritation it will create will be rather short-lived. It will die out with slavery. I have endeavored to set forth that the reformation of Southern society resulting from these measures is the only thing that will make of the Southern people our sincere friends. Why not risk a short irritation for a lasting friendship? [Cheers.] But while I am little inclined to pay much regard to the feelings of the rebels, who would delight in cutting our throats, I deem it our duty to treat with respect the opinion of the loyal men of the South, on whose fidelity the whirl of rebellion raging round them had no power. I have heard it said that any measure touching slavery in any way would drive them over to our common enemy. Is this possible? Is their loyalty of so uncertain a complexion that they will remain true to the Union only as long as the Union does nothing which they do not fancy? What, then, would distinguish them from the traitors?—for the traitors, too, would have adhered to the Union if they had been permitted to rule it [cheers]. It is impossible! Whatever they might feel inclined to do if their rights were attacked in an unconstitutional manner, to constitutional measures, constitutionally enacted and carried out, a true Union man will never offer resistance [applause]. As we listen with respect to their opinions, so they will listen respectfully to our advice. If we speak to them as friends, they will not turn away from us as enemies. I would say to them: You, Union men of the South, have faithfully clung to the cause of our common country, although your education, the circumstances in which you lived, and the voice of your neighbors were well calculated to call you to the other side. You have resisted a temptation which to many proved fatal. For this we honor you. We labor and fight side by side to restore the Union to its ancient greatness, and to their purity the eternal principles upon which it can safely and permanently rest. What will you have—a Union continually tottering upon its foundation, or a Union of a truly united people, a Union of common principles, common interests, a common honor and a common destiny? We do not work for ourselves alone, we are not responsible to ourselves alone, but also to posterity. What legacy will you leave to your children, new struggles, new dangers, new revulsions, or a future of peaceful progress? An unfinished, trembling edifice, that may some day tumble down over their heads, because its foundations were not firmly laid, or a house resting upon the firm rock of a truly free government, in which untold millions may quietly and harmoniously dwell? We do not mean to disregard the obligations we owe you, neither constitutional obligations nor those which spring from your claims to our gratitude. We do not mean that you shall suffer in rights or fortune, nor to tear you forcibly from your ways and habits of life. But let us reason together. Do you think that slavery will live always? Consider this question calmly and without prejudice or passion. Do you think it will live always, in spite of the thousand agencies which, in this Nineteenth Century of ours, are busy working its destruction? It cannot be. Its end will come one day, and that day is brought nearer by the suicidal war which, in this rebellion, slavery is waging against itself. And how do you wish that this end should be? A violent convulsion or the result of a quiet and peaceful reform; will you leave it to chance, or would you not rather keep this certain development under the moderating control of your voluntary action? There is but one way of avoiding new struggles and a final revulsion, and that is by commencing a vigorous progressive reform in time. In time, I say—and when will the term have arrived? Either you control this development by wise measures seasonably adopted—or it will control you. How long will you wait? You speak of difficulties; I see them—they are great, very great. But will they not be twenty times greater twenty years hence, unless you speedily commence to remove them? You ask me, what shall we do with our negroes, who are now four million? And I ask you, what will you do with them when they will be eight million—or rather, what will they do with you? [Cheering.] Is it wise to quail before difficulties to-day, when it is sure that they will be twice as great to-morrow, and equally sure that some day they *must*—absolutely *must*—be solved? You speak of your material interests. To-day, I am convinced, there is hardly a man in the free States of this republic who would not cheerfully consent to compensate you amply for the sacrifices you might voluntarily bring [applause]. Do you think that after the fierce struggles which inevitably will come if slavery remains a power in the land after this war, and which, with the certainty of fate, will bring on its destruction, an equally liberal spirit will prevail? Look at this fairly and without prejudice. Does not every consideration of safety and material interest command you to commence this reform without delay? Must it not be clear to the dullest mind that this task which imperiously imposes itself upon you, will be the easier the sooner it is taken in hand, and the more difficult and fearful the longer it is put off? But, pardon me, Union men of the South, if in speaking to you of a thing of such tremendous moment, I have appealed only to the meaner instincts of human nature. How great, how sublime a part might you play in this crisis, if you appreciated the importance of your position—if you would cast off the small ambition which governs so many of you! To maintain a point in controversy just because you have asserted it, to say: we can do this if we please, and nobody shall hinder us, and therefore we will do it; or, we have slavery and nobody has a right to interfere with it, and therefore we will maintain it. How small an ambition is this! How much greater, how infinitely nobler would it be, if you would boldly place yourself at the head of the movement and say to us: we grew up in the habits of slaveholding society, and our interests were long identified with the institution, and we think also that you cannot lawfully deprive us of it; but since we see that it is the great disturbing element in this Republic, we voluntarily sacrifice it to the peace of the nation, we immolate it as a patriotic offering on the altar of the country! [Loud cheers.] Where are the hearts large enough for so great and exalted an ambition? Ah, if some man of a powerful will and lofty devotion would rise up among you; if an Andrew Johnson would go up among his people, and tell them [great applause] how noble it is to sacrifice for the good of the country [cheers] not only one's blood, but also one's prejudices and false pride, he would be greater than the generals who fight our battles, greater than the statesmen who direct our affairs, and coming generations would gratefully remember him as the true pacificator of his country [applause]. He would stand above those that are first in war, he would be the true hero of peace, he would not be second in the hearts of his countrymen. Thus I would speak to the Union men of the South. But whatever they may do, or not do, our duty remains the same. We cannot wait one for another, the development of things presses on, and the day of the final decision draws nearer every hour. Americans, I have spoken to you the plain, cold language of fact and reason. I have not endeavored to capture your hearts with passionate appeals, nor your senses with the melody of sonorous periods. I did not desire to rush you on to hasty conclusions; for what you resolve upon with coolness and moderation, you will carry out with firmness and courage. And yet it is difficult for a man of heart to preserve that coolness and moderation when looking at the position this proud nation is at present occupying before the world; when I hear in this great crisis the miserable cant of party; when I see small politicians busy to gain a point on their opponents; when I see great men in fluttering trepidation lest they spoil their "record" or lose their little capital of consistency [cheering]. What! you the descendants of those men of iron who preferred a life or death-struggle with misery on the bleak and wintry coast of New England to submission to priest-craft and kingcraft; you, the offspring of those hardy pioneers who set their faces against all the dangers and difficulties that surround the early settler's life; you, who subdued the forces of wild Nature, cleared away the primeval forest, covered the endless prairie with human habitations; you, this race of bold reformers who blended together the most incongruous elements of birth and creed, who built up a government which you called a model Republic, and undertook to show mankind how to be free; you, the mighty nation of the West, that presumes to defy the world in arms, and to subject a hemisphere to its sovereign dictation; you, who boast of recoiling from no enterprise ever so great, and no problem ever so fearful—the spectral monster of slavery stares you in the face, and now your blood runs cold, and all your courage fails you? For half a century it has disturbed the peace of this Republic; it has arrogated to itself your national domain; it has attempted to establish its absolute rule and to absorb even your future development; it has disgraced you in the eyes of mankind, and now it endeavors to ruin you if it cannot rule you; it raises its murderous hand against the institutions most dear to you; it attempts to draw the power of foreign nations upon your heads; it swallows up the treasures you have earned by long years of labor; it drinks the blood of your sons and the tears of your wives—and now every day it is whispered in your ears, Whatever slavery may have done to you, whatever you may suffer, touch it not! How many thousand millions of your wealth it may cost, however much blood you may have to shed in order to disarm its murderous hand, touch it not! How many years of peace and prosperity you may have to sacrifice in order to prolong its existence, touch it not. And if it should cost you your honor—listen to this story: On the Lower Potomac, as the papers tell us, a negro comes within our lines, and tells the valiant defenders of the Union that his master conspires with the rebels, and has a quantity of arms concealed in a swamp; our soldiers go and find the arms; the master reclaims his slave; the slave is given up; the master ties him to his horse, drags him along eleven miles to his house, lashes him to a tree, and with the assistance of his overseer, whips him three hours, three mortal hours; then the negro dies. That black man served the Union, slavery attempts to destroy the Union, the Union surrenders the black man to slavery, and he is whipped to death—touch it not ["Hear, hear." Profound sensation.] Let an imperishable blush of shame cover every cheek in this boasted land of freedom—but be careful not to touch it! Ah, what a dark divinity is this, that we must sacrifice to it our peace, our prosperity, our blood, our future, our honor! What an insatiable vampire is this that drinks out the very marrow of our manliness? ["Shame."] Pardon me; this sounds like a dark dream, like the offspring of a hypochondriac imagination, and yet—have I been unjust in what I said? ["No."] Is it asking too much of you that you shall secure against future dangers all that is most dear to you, by vigorous measures? Or is it not true that such measures would not be opposed had they not the smell of principle about them? ["That's it." Applause.] Or do the measures proposed really offend your constitutional conscience? The most scrupulous interpreter of our fundamental laws will not succeed in discovering an objection. Or are they impolitic? What policy can be better than that which secures peace and liberty to the people? Or are they inhuman? I have heard it said that a measure touching slavery might disturb the tranquillity and endanger the fortunes of many innocent people in the South. This is a possibility which I sincerely deplore. But many of us will remember how often they were told in former years, that true philanthropy begins at home. Disturb the tranquillity and endanger the fortunes of innocent people in the South!—and there your tenderness stops. Are the six hundred thousand loyal men of the North who have offered their lives and all they have and are for the Union, less innocent? Are those who have soaked the soil of Virginia, and Missouri, and Kentucky, and Tennessee with their blood, are they guilty? Are the tears of Northern widows and children for their dead husbands and fathers less warm and precious than the tears of a planter's lady about the threatened loss of her human chattels? [Sensation.] If you have such tender feelings about the dangers and troubles of others, how great must be the estimation you place upon the losses and sufferings of *our* people! Streams of blood and a stream of tears for every drop of blood; the happiness of so many thousand families forever blasted, the prosperity of the country ruined for so many years—how great must be the compensation for all this! Shall all this be squandered for nothing? for a mere temporary cessation of hostilities, a prospect of new troubles, a mere fiction of peace? People of America, I implore you, for once, be true to yourselves [great applause], and do justice to the unmistakable instinct of your minds, and the noble impulses of your hearts. Let it not be said that the great American Republic is afraid of the nineteenth century [loud cheers]. And you, legislators of the country, and those who stand at the helm of government, you, I entreat, do not trifle with the blood of the people. This is no time for politely consulting our enemies' tastes, or for sparing our enemies' feelings. Be sure, whatever progressive measure you may resolve upon, however progressive it may be, the people are ready to sustain you with heart and hand [loud and long continued cheering and waving of hats]. The people do not ask for anything that might seem extravagant. They do not care for empty glory; they do not want revenge, but they do want a fruitful victory and a lasting peace [great applause]. When pondering over the tendency of this great crisis, two pictures of our future rise up before my mental vision. Here is one: The Republic distracted by a series of revulsions and reactions, all tending toward the usurpation of power, and the gradual destruction of that beautiful system of self-government, to which this country owes its progress and prosperity; the nation sitting on the ruins of her glory, looking back to our days with a sorrowful eye, and saying, "Then we ought to have acted like men, and all would be well now." Too late, too late! And here is the other: A government freed from the shackles of a despotic and usurping interest, resting safely upon the loyalty of a united people; a nation engaged in the peaceable discussion of its moral and material problems, and quietly working out its progressive development; its power growing in the same measure with its moral consistency; the esteem of mankind centreing upon a purified people; a union firmly rooted in the sincere and undivided affections of all its citizens; a regenerated Republic, the natural guide and beacon light of all legitimate aspirations of humanity. These are the two pictures of our future. Choose!

The applause at the conclusion of Mr. Schurz's address shook the hall, and three cheers were given for Fremont.

THE ARMY A SCHOOLMASTER.

WE have frequently said that it would be among the good effects of the present war that our armies would carry with them into the South the various civilizing influences which have given such superiority of intelligence and wealth to the social system of the North. It would take with it, in its marches, the press, the school, the mechanic arts, the sentiment of freedom, and, above all, those stalwart specimens of free-laborers who are alike at home in the workshop and the camp. But it now appears that the war is likely to produce the same effect in another way—that is, by introducing the ignorant masses of the South to a knowledge of the real character of the Northern people, and of their free and beneficent institutions.

Our Chicago correspondent relates his interview with a number of the seven thousand rebel prisoners now at that place. It seems that many of these poor creatures were greatly surprised to find the soldiers of the Union men much like themselves. They "did not enlist to fight such men"; they thought, in fact, to meet "Abolitionists," and what they understood by that may be inferred from the language of one man. Our correspondent writes: "One man thought our army was composed of 'niggers and Germans.' Another had a vague idea that they were some sort of nondescripts. 'Why,' said he, 'I thought your folks was all Yankees and Abolitionists. But I see 'em there on the field, and they looked mighty nateral, and I looked over thar, and saw one man running along, and over thar and saw another, and, by ——, they were all just like our kind o' folks—dawg-gone it.'"

Now, it is evident that to this man the terms "Yankee" and "Abolitionist" meant a creature with horns, hoofs and a tail, spewing fire and brimstone out of his mouth, and impaling unlucky rebels upon his caudal extremity. The visit of those seven thousand Southern men to the North-west will be of great use to them. They will return to their homes wiser, and, we believe, more loyal men.

But in this humiliating display of ignorance we find the necessary result of the intolerance of freedom of speech and of the press, which has made the States cursed with slavery and ruled by a Slave Oligarchy for many years almost as impossible of access as China. Like the Chinese, the people of the slave States have come to consider all other people as barbarians. As in the Celestial Empire it was impossible for Europeans to penetrate to the interior except in the disguise of a Chinaman, so it has long been impossible for men of the free States to visit the South.

except by the disguised Southerners. The Northern man with Southern principles was as little like a freeman and as much like a South Carolinian as the Abbe Hue, wearing a pigtail, dressed in Chinese costume and carefully conforming to Chinese customs, was unlike a Frenchman and like a Celestial. The Southerners were as intolerant of "strangers" as the subjects of the brother of the sun, moon and stars, and we were incessantly in the hearing of the rebel leaders and journals something curiously like the quaint self-deception practised by the mandarins in their reports of victories gained over the "barbarian hordes," before whom, nevertheless, they always retreated.

When the rights of free speech and a free press, expressly guaranteed in the Constitutions of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and almost every other slave State, are once asserted and exercised, when such men as Beecher and Curtis are heard as patiently in Charleston, Montgomery and Richmond as Davis, Toombs and others have been heard in New England, and when Southern writers are upbold in criticizing the "institutions" of that region as freely as Northern journals constantly criticize men and things here, this anomalous state of affairs must quickly pass away. Without free discussion, liberty and intelligence must perish. The seeds of this rebellion were planted in the ignorance of the Southern people; the seeds of loyalty will germinate only in the sunlight of free thought and free expression.—*Evening Post.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE CRISIS HOUR.

THEIR unfriends used sometimes to gibe the Abolitionists because of the Crises in which they were always finding themselves and the country. We apprehend that no one will deny that the nation is in the midst of one now. And there are very few who will not admit that this crisis is but the natural and inevitable sequence of those that have gone before, and as to which we uplifted our warning voices. That the present disastrous passage of our history is the natural consequence of those that went before we assert—that it was an inevitable one we deny. It might have been avoided if the counsels of the Abolitionists had been heeded and the plain path of duty, pointed out by them, pursued. But we are plunged in it now, and the question is not how we came to be in it, but how we are to come out of it. Though our words of simplicity and truth, if followed, would have hindered its overtaking us, we have never had much hope of escaping from it. We knew, as none can who have not made a specialty of the study for thirty years, what manner of devil had entered in and possessed this nation. We feared that even prayer and fasting might not suffice for his going out. We foresaw that, without a change in the national heart, amounting to a miracle, he must rend the victim of his dominion in possession before he departed to his own place. This agony is now lacerating the vitals of the nation, and the world stands at gaze to see whether the demon will be exorcised, whether he will retain his inveterate hold, or whether he will be reënforced by seven other devils worse than even he himself.

There never was a nation, since history was, that was so distinctly and unmistakably in the crisis of its fate as this nation is now. But as that crisis has been gathering to its present height for so many years, it is not to be expected, however much it may be hoped, that it will pass off auspiciously to the general health and long life of the nation, suddenly, or even without painful delays. There are so many hostile interests to reconcile, so many angry passions to allay, so many base prejudices to overcome, that the wholesome passing of this critical point of our national existence can hardly be accomplished without many a grievous and many a shameful struggle. Compromise, selfishness, President-making, money-making, negro-hatred, the long habits of political servility to the slaveholders, the chronic animosities growing out of that servility among the parties at the North, these and many other elements of disturbance must enter in to delay, if not to hinder, the only effectual solution of all our complications. Nothing but faith in the final prevalence of the great principles of truth and freedom can make the spectator, who knows that there is but one way of escape out of our troubles, continue steadfastly in the belief that that way will yet be accepted of the nation: In view of all that has been done, and in spite of all that has not been done, we still believe that the Spirit of God is brooding upon the waters of our political chaos, and that it will yet bring out of that abyss a new heaven and a new earth, over which the morning stars may again rejoice together. The drift, or, more properly, the direction of the events of the last few years, shows how futile are the endeavors of man to divert them from that course which the great principles of the moral universe, impressed upon it by its Author, must of necessity give to them. The Abolitionists have been accused by their enemies of infidelity in every shape that the Church whose shortcomings they had held up to reproach most abhors. Yet, what but a living faith in an overruling Power, all-wise and all-good, could have sustained the American Abolitionists during the long years of their battle for the slave? They have ever held, with the great Erskine, "that there is an Arm fighting against the oppressors of Freedom stronger than any arm of flesh, and that the great progressions of the world, in spite of the confederacies of men and the conspiracies of corruption, move on with a steady pace and arrive in the end at a happy and glorious consummation."

We have not held back our testimony at what have seemed to us the shortcomings of President Lincoln and his Cabinet; but we distinctly recollect that it is scarcely a twelvemonth since he had to reach his Capital in disguise, to avoid the knife of the assassin lying in wait to quench it in his heart. We well remember that so short a time ago as that, the city of Baltimore and the State of Maryland were more than a match for the power of the United States. And this in the great behalf of slavery, to defeat the regularly declared will of the majority and to make the slaveholding minority supreme over the land. And to go back a step or two in time, we have not yet learned to forget that even the Republican party, by the mouth of Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams, had offered to grant slavery all that it had ever asked, if it would but consent to remain and rule over us. We have good reason to remember that all that was brewed and vile in the land was secretly bound together by oaths that slavery should never again be blasphemed by speech in the free States, and that the weight of all parties had agreed that it should have every guaranty of a public nature that it could ask. We freshly remember all these things, and more, and when we look over the land and see what it is given to our eyes to behold, we thank God and take courage. We see Maryland subdued and Baltimore humbled by the presence and the power of Northern bayonets. We see an army, more numerous than any of the old nations of the world can show, which has sprung out of the earth as it were, to resist and chastise the very power at whose feet the whole nation crouched a year ago. We have seen the power of events more mighty than President or Congress. They have overridden Mr. Lincoln's honest wish to restore matters as they were before the war, and they seem likely to overcome even the more suspicious procrastination of Gen. McClellan. Gen. Stone's devotion to his Southern masters, which a short time since would have given him every promotion and honor, has turned upon him the key of Fort Lafayette. We have the sight, in short of the North arrayed against the South, and that, in spite of lying pretences, upon the single quarrel of slavery. Ready as our Generals are to assure the rebels that we have no desire to molest their chosen blessing, they refuse to believe it. For they know, instinctively, that the sceptre has departed from slavery, and that the distance between deposition and death has ever been brief for every dethroned monarch.

We cannot say how the great deliverance of this nation is to be wrought out. We know that the Powers that Be do not see their way clear to earn the blessings of posterity and the applause of all other nations by smiting the chains of the slave asunder with the sword. We know too well the mist of words in which the wisest and simplest of counsels is darkened. We know how the pro-slavery minions of all parties are rejoicing in the return of the day when slavery will again be the head of the feast, and when the crumbs that fall from it will be the portion of such dogs as they. We know how strong is the party at the North which is watching its opportunity to show itself more abject in its crouching at the feet of the slavemaster than ever before. But we have faith in their disappointment. We think that both the honest men in the government and the dishonest wretches out of it, who alike look forward to a speedy restoration of the *status quo*—the one as a constitutional duty and the other as another chance at the public plunder—will be disappointed, and that where they look for success. We believe that the hope of help from Union men in the slave States is but a broken reed, that will pierce the hand that leans upon it. We have seen no reason to think that there is any such substantial element at all in the heart of the rebellion. Of course there are dissatisfied spirits there, who, honestly or dishonestly, wish for the defeat of the side which they are compelled to seem to favor, just as there are at the North. We doubt, however, whether there are proportionally half as many Union men there as there are Secessionists here—half as many as there were Tories during the Revolution. They have been kept down by the force of public sentiment then, and they will be kept down by the strong hand, if they venture on anything like a demonstration. We conceive that the Union victories on the circumference of the rebellion, or even its centre, should the boasted "strategy of Gen. McClellan" ever contemplate such an eccentricity, will only make it more resolute and more desperate. Who knows, if President Lincoln cannot see his way clear to call four million of willing allies to his aid, that President Davis may not be more clear of vision? The rebellion does not spring from any stimulus of interest, but from one of passion. Every victory of ours only inflames those passions the more. We do not believe that the intelligent slaveholders ever regarded slavery in the light of a lucrative institution. They clung to it as an element of union which gave them dominion over the whole land. If they despair of ever using it again for this purpose, is it impossible that they may use it as a means of defeating and disappointing us? It surely were not as strange a thing to see slavery virtually abolished—for the arming of the slaves would be *that*—a twelvemonth hence by Jefferson Davis, as it did a twelvemonth ago that the present state of things should exist. It would secure the independence of the Confederacy, and obtain for it the sympathy and help of Europe. And though disgraced to us, that such a glory should be given him, could any one say that the Jefferson was not merited? If it is to be averted, the lovers of liberty must work while it is day, for verily the time is short.

PROGRESS AND RETROGRESSION.

WE seem now to be nearer having a fair and open fight between slavery and freedom in this country than ever before. The party of active opposers of slavery, so greatly in the minority, has so far increased that their charges and their arguments must be answered, instead of being mobbed. We have advanced to the point, of hearing the advocates of universal liberty speak as openly, and with as much freedom from threats and acts of violent interruption, in Washington city as anywhere in the North. The most thoroughly opponents of slavery give their strongest utterances there, not only without molestation, but with hearty applause from many of their hearers. Even the municipal government of that city finds active favorers of emancipation among its members, and the President of its Common Council speaks strongly upon that side in its sessions. In a country called free, we are *beginning* to have permitted freedom of speech in regard to the most important concerns of our political and social life. Surely this is something to be thankful for; and we must act upon it as well as be thankful for it. We must not, we cannot, be compelled to yield to us the inch, let us proceed to take the ell, which equally and unquestionably belongs to us. Now, in the very crisis of the contest, it is no time for inaction. Let every lover of liberty be up and doing.

This state of things has naturally brought out a large number of petitions for the abolition of slavery, the rather, since the rebellion, by the war which it has forced upon us, has given opportunity for a more direct and more thorough action of Congress upon this subject than it previously possible. The sword of Jeff. Davis has cut the Gordian knot wherewith our government, Executive and Legislative, were bound. As a necessary consequence, the people are asking these functionaries to use their new freedom, and use it to overthrow slavery. But just here, on the other hand, a discouraging circumstance presents itself.

The periodical press, in this country, has so deeply shared the depravation wrought by slavery upon all departments of our civil and social life, that, to a very great extent, it discourages the movement of the people just mentioned. If the daily papers would duly record the increase of these petitions, and the manner of their reception in Congress, and urge the adoption of measures so vital to our national welfare as those which they propose, the President and Congress could hardly fail to act in that direction. But a very large proportion of these papers discountenance or actively oppose all movement of this sort. Their Congressional report is, "Much ado about nothing" tells us, day after day, "The usual batch of abolition petitions was presented." And their editorial columns discourage such action of the people upon the government; while the more profligate and mendacious members of this class (like our *Journal of Commerce* and the Boston *Courier*) stigmatize Abolitionists and secessionists as alike worthy of detestation.

John Quincy Adams had a hard struggle to obtain the *reception* of anti-slavery petitions in Congress. The leaders of our present rebellion were then the controllers of our national policy, alike in the Senate and the House of Representatives; and their course was to throw such documents contemptuously under the table. Now, such petitions are received not less than others in Congress; but the Northern daily press, long since won by the Slave Power into its service and interest, does what it can, by sneer and silence, to render them ineffective. The advance of anti-slavery, sure and mighty as that of the ocean tide, comes, like it, by fluctuation.

The surrender of fugitive slaves by United States officers and soldiers has not yet ceased, and Hooker's Division seems lately to have attained an infamous notoriety in this department. Two weeks ago we copied a minute and detailed statement of the surrender of Col. Dwight (1st Regiment of the *Excelsior* Brigade in that Division) of a slave, who had given valuable information to our troops respecting the enemy, to a *rebel* master. When some of the soldiers were disposed to protect this loyal and friendly ally, another officer savagely compelled his surrender; and the master then proceeded to exercise his "right of property" by whipping this unfortunate slave *to death*; stopping the remonstrance of his assistant by declaring such to be *his intention*.

We are informed by some who know the antecedents of Col. Dwight, that the imputation of this kind and degree of folly and wickedness to him is not at all improbable, notwithstanding the published denial of it by some person who does not think fit to give his name.

Last week, again, we copied an official order of Brig.-Gen. Henry M. Nagle, dated "Headquarters 1st Brigade, Hooker's Division, March 1st, 1862," requiring the delivery of a loyal slave to a Maryland slaveholder. With this order, says *The Tribune*, verbal instruction were given to Col. Cowdin, of the Massachusetts 1st Volunteers, to have the negro taken by the guard given to his owner; and, in case the guard should prove unequal to the task of securing one black man, to call out the whole Regiment; and if that failed in the noble enterprise, the entire 1st Brigade should be put under arms and organized as "nigger-catchers."

Here was a receding wave. See next an advancing one.

In the same paper which recorded this infamous (but providentially ineffectual) order, our Washington correspondent reported the most important event of the week to be the adoption of a new article of War by the House of Representatives, by a vote of two to one; said article provided that no army officers shall return slaves to their masters, and upon doing so they are to be dismissed the service; and, on motion of Mr. Bingham of Ohio, the same rule was extended to comprise officers in the navy. Whether or not this bill shall become a law, it is highly desirable that those who have opportunity should make careful note of the circumstances of any future rendition of slaves by our navy officers, and make them to be published, with the name and rank of the culprit. Those who are base enough to practise, at a moment like this, such a form of allegiance to slavery should be made to bear the disgrace of it before the world.

Just after last week's STANDARD was issued, one of the most important moves that has been made by the Government since the outbreak of the war took place, of course, to President Lincoln's last Message to Congress. And the question is—for this paper to be reckoned among the signs of advance, or of retreat? Much may plausibly be said on both sides.

The Message does nothing, accomplishes nothing, commits the President to nothing, merely gives a chapter of possibilities.

The initiative in Congressional legislation which, or its absence, will be chargeable on the President, may be accepted by the friends of slavery as a "gracious gift" from the slaveholders for commencing government with a gradual abolishment of slavery."

The President suggests his wish that this suggestion be made to *all* the slave States, rebellious as well as loyal. This is made plain by the third paragraph following the Resolution suggested in the Message.

The President carefully avoids giving ground for the suspicion that his Message is prompted by any regard for "the higher law." The motive which he suggests as the course and policy of slaveholders, if the slaveholders should accept his main suggestion, is the query whether said slaveholders might not *make more* by receiving good pay for agreeing to some remote future emancipation (holding on to their slaves in the meantime) than by risking the chances of a war which, in spite of all his efforts, has already seriously interfered with slavery, and is likely still further to do so. Far from demanding justice for the slaves, he here makes objection to the immediate restoration of their rights, as he has elsewhere expressed the wish that whatever freed slaves should be emancipated. Following the customs of his native State (Kentucky) and of his adopted State (Illinois), he leaves the rights and interests of *niggers* entirely out of the question. His hope apparently is to see slavery last through his time. His intention certainly is to avoid interference with it as long as possible.

But the negative part of this Message, the suggestion of the adverse possibility (dreaded alike by the President and the rebels) that, if this hint be not complied with, some still more adverse fate for the slaveholders may very probably be found indispensable to the overthrow of the rebellion—this negative part of the Message is the most significant and effective part of it. It is an adroit attempt, first to introduce rivalry, divided interests and a divided policy, among States now united by community in slaveholding; and next, to use in advance, with European powers, the claim on their alliance which Mason and Slidell intended to use in behalf of the rebels (if they had been permitted to speak)—the offer to their great cotton market. If the rebellion succeeded in buying French and English recognition on the strength of this promise, they would have taken care to make the emancipation so very gradual that no living negro would gain the benefit of it, and there is no reason to suppose that Mr. Lincoln's plan is designed to go more rapidly. Nevertheless, he has made his offer, and sent the news of it across the water, and in that part of the game our Government is ready.

How far the other part of this ingenious trick may succeed, how far dissension and division of policy may be introduced among the slave States, remains to be seen. Whatever they may say, however they may affect indifference or defiance, using words, as they have often before done, to conceal their thoughts, the President's information about the certainty of those measures being used which shall ultimately prove "indispensable" to the overthrow of the rebellion, and about the "ruin" which may follow continued obstinacy on their part, must have a weighty influence upon them.

Meantime, the movements of the President, of Congress, and of the several States, loyal and rebel, cannot fail to be favorably affected by great movements of the people in favor of emancipation, like the meeting held last week in this city. It is a most happy omen when names like those of Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Bryant head a list of gentlemen so eminent in letters, politics and commerce, for the advocacy of reform so thoroughgoing as was expressed in the call for that meeting, and in its proceedings.

We have given the precise character and tendency of our surroundings, some minds will inevitably incline most to hope, and some to fear. Whichever may be our feeling, strenuous and most diligent *work* is now our duty. Since the President has called the attention of Congress to slavery, there is more reason than ever to urge that body to treat that subject in the right manner, and to carry it to action to the right extent. While the government is contriving policy, let the people demand justice. Let us stand by the poor and oppressed in this time of trial, and do what can be done, by all means suited to influence public sentiment, to provide that, in the changes now impending, those who have been the greatest sufferers hitherto may find a material improvement in their condition.

SLAVE-CATCHING IN THE ARMY FORBIDDEN BY LAW.

WE record with great satisfaction the passage by the Senate of the House bill providing a new article of war, forbidding any officer or soldier of the army or navy to dismissal from the service, to return a fugitive slave to their masters. The bill was carried by 27 to 9. Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, Mr. [illegible] of Kentucky offered an amendment forbidding officers and soldiers from detaining, harboring or [illegible] fugitives. Rejected, 27 nays to 9 yeas. Mr. Sauls[illegible] of Delaware offered an amendment, that the article shall not apply to Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, Kentucky, or wherever the Federal authority was recognized. Rejected, yeas 7, nays 30. Mr. Carlile of Virginia asked if, in case the President should, at any time, call out the militia to enforce the law for returning fugitive slaves, which constitutional provision would this bill interfere with? Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts said that that would be enforcing a judicial decision, as the question of returning slaves was a judicial one and not a military one. Mr. Saulsbury offered an amendment so as to prevent officers and soldiers enticing or decoying any person held to labor or service, from the service of loyal masters. Rejected, yeas 10, nays 29. The bill then passed yeas 29, nays 9.

If army officers shall hereafter engage in the mean business of slave-catching, they will do so in violation of the rules of war, and be in danger of expulsion from the service. The amendment of Mr. Wilson is an event of great importance in the progress of the war, and we hope it may prove an earnest of still better things to come.

PUTNAM'S "HEROES AND MARTYRS."—We have before us numbers 2, 3 and 4 of G. P. Putnam's "Heroes and Martyrs—Notable Men of the Time—Biographical Sketches of the Leaders of Our Naval Heroes, Statesmen and Orators, distinguished in the American Crisis of 1861-62." The portraits in these numbers are those of Hon. Gideon Welles, Gen. H. W. Halleck, John A. Andrew (Governor of Massachusetts), Hon. Joseph Holt, Gen. A. E. Burnside, Gen. George A. McCall. We have biographical sketches of Geo. Wool, W. H. Seward, Gen. Lyon, and William Lowell Putnam. Frank Moore, Editor. New York; G. P. Putnam, 532 Broadway.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

WHILE the measure recommended by the President to Congress is, in our judgment, far short of the requirements of justice and the demands of the hour, we are nevertheless inclined to regard it in a favorable light, as proceeding from good motives on his part, and intended in good faith to initiate a movement for the ultimate abolition of slavery. It is, at any rate, an official acknowledgment that slavery is dangerous to the welfare of this country, and that "the Federal government would find its highest interest" in a course of emancipation, as "*one of the most efficient means of self-preservation.*" No such declaration ever came before from a President of the United States, in his official capacity; and coupled as it is with the significant intimation, that if the rebellion continues, "it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it," and that such as may be seen indispensable, or may seriously promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle, MUST AND WILL COME," we must regard it as a very important step in the right direction, and an indication at least of the President's *desire* to provide in some way for the abolition of slavery.

It is surprising that any intelligent man, at this time of day, and with the history of the British West Indies before him, should prefer gradual to immediate emancipation; and yet when we remember the influence of the plantocracy upon the South on this subject, perhaps we ought not to wonder that the President himself needs light.

We are glad to see that the President, in the terms of the resolution he proposes for the adoption of Congress, avoids the admission that the slaves are property, proposing "pecuniary aid" to "compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system."

[illegible] that case those who sustain the President's [illegible] ject, on constitutional grounds, to the [illegible] act of emancipation. It cannot even [illegible] at the Constitution confers upon Congress [illegible] appropriate the national funds for the purpose.

The measure can only be defended by the very arguments which Abolitionists have urged as justifying the entire abolition of slavery by the National government, under the war power, as "the most efficient means of self-preservation."

It has been confidently affirmed that the President, before sending his message to Congress, had pledges of cooperation in his scheme from leading men in the Border States. *The National Intelligencer* says:

"We suppose ourselves to be violating no confidence when we say that *The Evening Post* has good reason for the belief that the President, in the policy he recommends, has received earnest and numerous assurances of support from that class of persons in the border slaveholding States who are most immediately interested in the proposition brought to the notice of Congress. We allude, of course, to slaveholders, and especially to slaveholders residing in the States of Maryland and Delaware, many among the most influential of whom we have not any doubt, their acquiescence in the project, but have urged it upon the favorable consideration of Mr. Lincoln. The President, in his message, has thought it proper to bring some of the expediency or practicability, has merely responded to the wishes and representations of a portion, at least, among the population most directly concerned in the measure."

The action of the Border States, in Congress, as recorded in another column, does not confirm the anticipations which the above statement is fitted to excite. Even Mr. Crittenden, it will be seen, voted squarely against the President's resolution. Our own conviction is, that the Border States will cling to slavery with death-like tenacity, submitting to any scheme of emancipation, however gradual, ONLY WHEN THEY MUST.

On the first appearance of the message, Bennett's *Herald* and many other pro-slavery journals were lavish in their commendations. They praised the "moderate" and the "conservative" character of the President, assumed that the Abolitionists and Radical Republicans would oppose, while the Democrats and the half-and-half Republicans would support his proposition. When they discovered that the Abolitionists, so far from opposing the President's recommendation, exulted over it as a step in the right direction, they either changed their tone or became suddenly reticent. *The Herald*, which, so long as it hoped to divide the Republican party on the question, was voluble in praise of the President's scheme, has stood mute for several days past; and *The Express* (the *meanest* paper in the United States), which at first saw nothing in the message but self-laudation, Whiggery, has nothing to say now in its defence. The change of attitude is very significant.

We suppose the President, when he finds his proposition flouted by the very men whom he hoped to conciliate, and that all efforts to secure their cooperation are useless, may strike with his own hand the blow that shall give freedom to every slave on the American soil. So mote it be.

AN INQUIRY.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Is a letter just received from an entirely responsible authority in Edinburgh is the following passage:

"There is a Baptist minister here called Balme, who suffered for the cause in Minnesota. He is trying to collect money to make up his losses. It seems his chief business to traduce the Abolitionists, upon whose faults he dwells at great length, and in a manner to disgust us. He has credentials from W. Phillips, W. L. Garrison, Dr. Cheever, Dexter Fairbank, and others. Do you know him? Who and what is he?"

I hope Mr. Editor, you may be able to answer my correspondent's inquiries. I remember the person in question, then represented as from Wisconsin, as appearing upon the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its annual meeting in New York, in May, 1860, and there expressing (as reported in *The Liberator*) his hearty interest in the anti-slavery cause. He further said that "orthodoxy, with its elevating principles, was the only power which could push the cause to a successful termination." Is it *his* orthodoxy to show two faces, as circumstances make it convenient? to obtain recommendations from men in America, whom he afterwards "traduces" in Great Britain? M.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

Our personal acquaintance with Mr. Balme has not been intimate, but it has been sufficient to give us very favorable impressions respecting him; and we know that some of the persons named in the letter from Edinburgh have seen cause to regret that they ever gave him their confidence. We believe his stories of persecution and loss of property on account of his fidelity to abolitionism, if not absolute fabrications, are at least grossly exaggerated, and that he has thereby imposed upon a considerable number of people on both sides of the Atlantic. We do not wonder that he "dwells" on our friends in Great Britain; for his rudeness, dogmatism, and irascibility must be a most unfavorable impression upon all who come in contact with him. The Abolitionists of Great Britain, before giving him money, should require undisputable vouchers for his tales of suffering, and these we do not believe it is in his power to furnish.

THE POINT ILLUSTRATED.—On every side we hear it affirmed that the Rebellion has made no change in the constitutional relations between the North and South, and that, although slavery is unquestionably the cause of all our troubles, we may not touch it without violating our oaths. We assert, on the contrary, that whereas *before* the Rebellion the National government had no power to abolish slavery in the States, it may rightfully do so now in the exercise of the powers necessarily incidental to a state of war. That venerable champion of freedom, T. Perronet Thompson, Esq., who has done so much by his pen to enlighten the people of Great Britain respecting the American question, in one of his communications, illustrates this point very clearly:

"A ship is chartered from London to New York, and the captain at the Custom House takes his corporal oath, that she is going to New York and no where else. But when clear of Ushant he is dismasted in a northerly gale, and then is compelled by the wind to proceed in the organization and government of other territories. This will be simple. And, as to slavery, if there be any doubt that it did constitutionally and legally with the State from which it dive its last breath, it might be prohibited by the enactment of that same Jeffersonian ordinance, which originally established freedom throughout the North-west.

From Hon. Henry Wilson.

To-day slavery "lies lifted up," in the words of George Bancroft, "its hand to strike a death-blow at our existence as a people—it has avowed itself a desperate and determined enemy of our national life, of our unity as a republic! It has declared that it will operate and determined enemy of our national life," with uplifted "hand to strike a death blow at our existence."

GRAND DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK

MASS MEETING OF THE ENEMIES OF SLAVERY.

ON Thursday evening, March 6th, the large Hall of the Cooper Institute was the scene of a grand demonstration of the popular sentiment in favor of the complete extinction of slavery, as the only effectual means of putting down the Rebellion, restoring the Union, and averting the danger of future convulsion and disruption. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity, and many distinguished citizens were on the platform. A large number of women were present, evincing a deep interest on their part in the objects of the meeting.

On motion of James McKaye, Esq., the Hon. JAMES A. HAMILTON (son of Alexander Hamilton, one of the most distinguished of the founders of the government) was called to the chair. Mr. James B. Richards read the names of the gentlemen selected for Vice-Presidents and Secretaries. Among the former were Rev. Dr. Tyng, David Dudley Field, Wm. Cullen Bryant, Rev. Dr. Chapin, Wm. Curtis Noyes, Charles King, LL.D., etc.; among the latter we name Charles A. Dana, Hon. Henry B. Stanton, A. J. H. Duganne.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The honor of presiding at this thronged meeting of those who represent the intelligence, the wealth, the enterprise, the patriotism of this land, and the rights of all its people, excites my sensibility, from the conviction that your choice has been induced not by considerations personal to myself, but from respect to the memory of him whose name I bear (cheers); we are assembled here to express to the President and the Congress of the United States our views of slavery, its influence upon our national character and the duty it imposes on our country, and to advise the adoption of such measures as will give us permanent peace, and thus secure the future from the dangers and calamities of the present. Let the voice of the loyal men of this great metropolis be given out in no ambiguous terms; let it be the utterance of earnest men, impressed with the magnitude of the consequences involved. Let us, in the hallowed influence of patriotism—of a sense of our duty to the oppressed of this nation—treat this great subject so decisively as that the echo of your arms from this place go up from the loyal people in all parts of the nation, in tones which cannot be mistaken or disregarded by their representatives (cheers). With your permission, I will briefly express my opinions of the duties of the people, the powers and duties of the government—in regard to slavery. The great principle on which our "Representative Democracy" is founded is "the Freedom of the Human Mind." In obedience to this great principle, it is your duty to express your earnest conviction that slavery is not only a great crime, but also political and social evil (cheers). That it is the direct and immediate cause of the calamities which so sorely afflict the whole country; and, above all, to express your fixed determination that the course and policy of our government shall hereafter be to develop the great principle of human freedom, and not, as it has hitherto been, to extend and fortify slavery (cheers). We are told the government has no power to destroy slavery, because the right of one man to hold his fellow man in perpetual and degrading bondage is established by State laws. I answer, such laws cannot alter the fundamental law of the government of the United States or of the States. Man was created in the express image of his Maker—a responsible being, having an immortal soul. No power less than that which created him, and is omnipotent, can reduce him from his condition of a man to that of a brute—a chattel (cheering).

Has the government the power to destroy slavery? We are engaged in a war which involves the life or death of the nation. A blow in behalf of slavery has been struck at the national existence. Every government, whatever may be its form, is necessarily armed with all the powers required to preserve its life. In the exercise of those powers it has the right, and it is its duty, to destroy the institutions of State, and the lives of those who are, or may be, employed for its destruction, or which may expose the nation to a death-struggle at a future period (applause). These are rights and duties which are not in the Constitutions or laws. They are given and imposed on all governments by that great law of nature, the law of self-preservation.

The President, by his oath of office, is bound, "to the best of his ability, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution." You will observe he is required to swear to this first great duty of his office. It is not limited in doing so to the means committed to him by the Constitution or the laws. From these considerations it is indisputable that slavery, whether sanctioned or not by State laws, now eminently endangers the national life, or threatens to do so, and therefore may be destroyed by the government of the United States. It is to the exercise of this great duty of our love, and power, can the government disregard its own obligations, or the rights of persons? (Applause).

In answer to this, I will refer to a principle which is well entitled to your respect. One of "The Fathers," in discussing the question whether a nation may, in certain extraordinary cases, be excusable for not observing a right in the performance of a duty, says:

"A nation is excusable in certain extraordinary cases for not observing a right in performing a duty, if the one or the other would involve a manifest and grave national calamity. But here also an extreme case is intended. The calamity to be averted must not only be evident and considerable, it must be such as is felt by the whole nation, as threatens its existence, or at least its permanent welfare."

Of the second class of exceptions (those which threaten the permanent welfare of the nation).

"The case of certain feudal rights which once oppressed all Europe, and still oppress too great a portion of it, may serve as an example; the right of the Nobles to be esteemed a part of the community, and render the condition of the remainder more miserable than slavery."

"These rights, though involving that of property, being contrary to the social order, and to the permanent welfare of society, were justified by the necessity in which abolitions have taken place, and may be abolished in all the remaining vestiges" (cheering).

Whatever, indeed, a right of property is infringed for the general good, if the nature of the case admits of compensation, it ought to be made; if compensation be impracticable, that impracticability ought not to be an obstacle to a clearly essential reform" (applause).

Fellow-citizens: The people of the loyal States have, with unequaled patriotism, devoted their lives to the service of the country. The government, through its various departments, has formed an army and a navy of vast proportions and the most efficient character, with a promptitude and skill most honorable to them. Now, let the people require that this accumulated power shall be used not only to crush out armed rebellion but its most malignant cause (cheering and long continued cheering). Your military and naval forces with rapid blows are destroying the military power of your enemy; but unless the last blow which is struck strikes at the fetters of the slave, the work of restoring the Constitution and the Union will be mockery (great applause).

Edgar Ketchum, Esq., read extracts from letters received from several distinguished gentlemen, in response to invitations to attend the meeting. We quote as follows:

From Hon. Preston King.

Permanent security to the existence of Republican government and to the peace of the country requires that the cause of the treason, as well as the treason itself, shall be overcome and obliterated. Every place of once under such control of law as will produce its extinction, and thus make certain that its power shall never be allowed to disturb the public peace can never be renewed.

From Hon. Charles Sumner.

Now, beyond all question, slavery is the great transcendent malefactor and omnipresent traitor—more deadly to the Union than any rebel army or fleet or military, of the rebellion. Of course, therefore, if you are in earnest against the rebellion, you will not spare slavery. And happily the way is plain—so that it cannot be mistaken.

Look now throughout the whole rebel territory, and you will find a single officer legally qualified to discharge any of the functions of government. By the Constitution of the United States, "members of the several State Legislatures and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." But these functionaries have all renounced their allegiance to the United States, and taken a new oath to support the rebel government, so that at this moment they cannot be recognized as constitutionally empowered to act. But a State is known only through its functionaries, constitutionally empowered to act, and since these have ceased to exist, the State, with its unnatural institutions, has ceased to exist, or it exists only in the dead parchments by which its government was originally organized. The action of these functionaries was impotent to transfer its territory to a pretended confederation. To destroy the rebellion, we must destroy slavery.

In the absence of any constitutional authority in this territory, Congress must assume all necessary jurisdiction. Not to do so will be an abandonment of urgent duty. There can be no such thing as a temporary military government; others propose a temporary provisional government, with limited powers. All these concede to Congress jurisdiction over the territory; nor can this jurisdiction be justly questioned. It is unnecessary to me clearly best that, on this important occasion, we shall follow the authoritative precedents of our history, and proceed as Congress has always claimed to proceed in the organization and government of other territories. This will be simple. And, as to slavery, if there be any doubt that it did constitutionally and legally with the State from which it dive its last breath, it might be prohibited by the enactment of that same Jeffersonian ordinance, which originally established freedom throughout the North-west.

From Hon. Henry Wilson.

To-day slavery "lies lifted up," in the words of George Bancroft, "its hand to strike a death-blow at our existence as a people—it has avowed itself a desperate and determined enemy of our national life, of our unity as a republic! It has declared that it will operate and determined enemy of our national life," with uplifted "hand to strike a death blow at our existence with self-wrought and [illegible] humiliation, it shall not rather be [illegible] by the strong hand of an outraged people [illegible] down for ever!"

Humanity, justice and patriotism demand that the American people should give us power to DESTROY CRIMINAL that has raised the banner against the unity and authority of the republic. The people of our fallen sons demand that this power be given, that they gave their lives should walk up to the verge of Constitutional power in inflicting condign punishment upon their murderer. The nation, imperiled by slavery, should be given legal and constitutional power to put it in process of ultimate extinction. To do this I would at once abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, repeal the BLACK CODE that dishonors the National Capital, tender to the loyal slave-holding States the treasures of the Federal government, and engage in the work of Emancipation, deal justly and liberally with the people of the rebel States, but free hundreds of rebels.

From Hon. David Wilmot.

The honor and safety of the nation demand that the cause of this gigantic rebellion should be forever removed. The people will give us power, honor and national respect. Slavery has long since ceased to give and only cause of the rebellion and war—the cause which we are struggling here to remove, and which we now must decree to be the cause of slavery, the deadly foe of the Union—the implacable and eternal enemy of our government. A truly free government, founded on justice and rights, and appealing to reason and conscience for its support, never did and never can exist in the midst of slavery. God, in his providence, has placed slavery within the rightful power of the government to destroy it, and never can it be, in the magnitude of the labors and duties, cast upon us, we must meet and discharge our duties, as those whose hands is placed the ark of human happiness and hopes. We must and will, if true to God, our country and the race of mankind, now and forever destroy, wipe out from this nation the accursed institution of human slavery.

The slaveholder, by his treason and rebellion against the Constitution, and by the war has forced upon the government for self-preservation, has wholly abrogated political obligations, and has unnatural claim of property in man, or toleration whatever. When the traitor is forced to arms from his purpose to destroy the Constitution and government, he cannot, the moment he is defeated in his wicked purpose, plead the Constitution as a bar to war to overthrow as the shield and protection for forfeited rights of slavery. It is the right and duty of the nation to protect itself, now and in the future, and must make sure against another rebellion, greater than the one now upon us. The national life must be preserved, by applying the knife to the cancer that is eating the very substance and life of the nation. The nation must make a proclamation of freedom to its loyal slaveholders, for the temporary loss incident to the speedy emancipation of their slaves. Less than this we cannot do with honor or safety. We have a right to do more. We have a right, instantly and at once, to uproot and eradicate forever any local institution, key of the rebellion, and which has imperiled the national life. We have a right to kill slavery, that the nation may live.

From Hon. George W. Julian.

The rebellion is the child of slavery. It admits of no other cause, and slavery is its cause. It is palpable as the existence of the rebellion itself, and needs no other proof. If there are persons who deny it, the attempt to convince them of their error would be like "administering medicine to the dead." We are now prepared to demand the only true and saving policy for our country, namely, the total extirpation of slavery, as the nation must perish if we do not do it, and perish by lasting peace. As an argument against the reason for its overthrow, this rebellion is overwhelming. All the evils of slavery, social, moral, political and commercial, have culminated in this tragedy. We have patiently borne with these evils for more than seventy years, striving to live with this monster in peace, and to placate his fury by every form of concession and compromise, only to be repaid by the stupendous scheme of treason, piracy and murder. Having run through the whole gamut of ordinary villainies, the slaveholders have at last, in their madness, has inundated the land with the hoarded atrocities of two hundred years, and painted its own character with a pencil dipped in hell. Every dollar expended in its war is a proper contribution to slavery. It is not limited in doing so to the means committed to him by the Constitution or the laws. From these considerations it is indisputable that slavery, whether sanctioned or not by State laws, now eminently endangers the national life, or threatens to do so, and therefore may be destroyed by the government of the United States. It is to the exercise of this great duty of our love, and power, can the government disregard its own obligations, or the rights of persons? (Applause).

In answer to this, I will refer to a principle which is well entitled to your respect. One of "The Fathers," in discussing the question whether a nation may, in certain extraordinary cases, be excus

it [?] have begun a war for its triumph and the subjugation of our National government and free institutions, we deem it our supremest duty never to make peace with or cease our conflict with it until it shall be extirpated from the whole land.

Resolved, That we entertain no jot of hatred or hostility toward the great body of the people of the rebel States; and, therefore, while we stand ever ready to welcome them to a loyal reunion under our glorious National Constitution, in the words of the Farewell Address of the Father of his country, we desire "that the happiness of the people of these States may be made complete under the AUSPICES OF LIBERTY," and not utterly and forever rendered impossible by the reinstitution of slavery; we repudiate, therefore, and utterly repel the idea that the property and blood of the loyal people of the free States are to be wasted without result, in the suppression of the military power of the rebels, in order that the Capital may in the end be surrendered into the hands of the conquered traitors, and the National government be again put under the heel of the slave barons.

Resolved, Therefore, that amid the varied events which are occurring during the momentous struggle in which we are engaged, it is the duty and the interest of the government and the people to adopt and to advocate such measures as will ensure universal emancipation and thus complete the work which the Revolution began.

The Rev. MONCURE D. CONWAY, of Cincinnati (a native Virginian, formerly of Washington), was introduced as the first speaker, and greeted very warmly by the audience. His address was brief and unpremeditated, but full of points which elicited hearty applause. He began by felicitating the assembly on the inauguration of this grand movement for the deliverance of the country from the crime and curse of slavery. The people of this country were the power behind the Administration, and he did not believe they could long be kept back by red tape, "or any other man" (laughter and applause). Slavery at the South had had every opportunity to do its best, and it was about played out. Virginia had started with Washington, Jefferson, Henry and their illustrious associates, and produced nothing but a race of pigmies like Wise and Pryor. There was not one man of average intellect in the State, except, perhaps, John Minor Botts; and when they do get a man in their clutches, they hang him, like old John Brown, or imprison him, like John Minor Botts (laughter and applause). Having thus killed off the men, blighted the land, and raised 100,000 people who could not read and write, that handful of slaveholders of our country claimed that they should be protected, though the *habeas corpus* should be struck down and our soldiers killed on the battle-field. On what meat had this Cæsar fed, that it had grown so great? It was not Jeff. Davis that was the arch rebel, but slavery (applause). This meeting was needed, not only by the country, but would be gladly welcomed by the President.

A VOICE—I'm afraid not.

He had been present recently at a conversation in the presence of the President, and the President had not let drop one word to indicate that he believed there was any constitutional difficulty in the way (applause). The President believed that the people of the North were not prepared for emancipation.

A VOICE—That's it.

When the heart of the people began to work, the Administration would be found all right. It was a question whether the government should put down the rebellion by blood-shed or slavery-shed (applause). If they did it by slavery-shed, they would not need much blood-shed (applause). Yet our armies were marching South. He would not say, "He who *fights* and runs away" etc., for that would be inappropriate; but he would say,

> "He who runs away,
> May live to fight another day."

If we could only get ultimate freedom out of this rebellion, it would be worth all it cost us (applause). But there were some things that the people of the West did not like about the war. They did not like to see their Generals take a fort, and then return to bondage twelve fugitive slaves (cries of "Shame.") That was the case at Fort Donelson ("Shame"). The government had not allowed one man to be free—either the slave of a rebel or any one else. The West wants the Mississippi, but it didn't want to sit forever on the banks to see that it don't run away. We must occupy the land, and hold fast on it after we get it. No Northern men could hold Beaufort and New Orleans in the summer (applause). They might employ negroes to do it, but that would be flat John Brownism (laughter). Mr. Conway told a significant story of the scotching of an escaped anaconda at Somerville, Mass., remarking that the man who killed it was not a member of the government, and concluded with an eloquent peroration, amid great applause.

Mr. Conway was followed by the Hon. CARL SCHURZ, late U. S. Minister at the Court of Spain, who on presenting himself, was welcomed by three cheers, the waving of handkerchiefs and other demonstrations of popular appreciation. His address, printed from his own manuscript, will be found entire on the first page. We commend it to the careful perusal of our readers, as a performance which cannot fail to place the author in the foremost rank of the world's greatest statesmen and orators.

At the close of Mr. Schurz's address the audience was thrown into a state of intense excitement by the information, that the President had on that day sent to Congress a message proposing a scheme of gradual emancipation. The message on being read, was loudly cheered by the great majority, though a few appeared to be in doubt as to the feelings it should excite.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY IN LONDON.

34 NEWINGTON CRESCENT, KENNINGTON,
LONDON, Feb. 24th, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MY DEAR SIR: I send you by this mail a report of a meeting of no ordinary interest and importance at this juncture. I refer to the public breakfast held at the Freemason's Tavern, on Saturday, in celebration of Washington's birthday. Never, I believe, have your countrymen in Europe appeared in a character more worthy of a great and free people; never was the justice and the virtue of the Federal cause more admirably represented than by the American citizens who took part in this meeting. The report, which is a copious one, speaks for itself; but as one of the Englishmen present on the occasion, a few words from my pen may not be out of place. First, then, let me say that I believe the idea of the breakfast originated with your learned and freedom-loving countryman, Dr. MacGowan, whose lectures on Japan have achieved for him a well-earned celebrity throughout Great Britain, and who, when he returns to his own country, will, for many reasons, deserve a cordial welcome. Among those who constituted the Committee of Arrangements were Mr. Bostwick, the Editor of *The London American* (an ably conducted national organ), Mr. Rylance, an excellent English clergyman, who has travelled much in the States; and Mr. White, a wealthy and patriotic American citizen residing in London. At least two hundred ladies and gentlemen participated in the festivities of the day—as select and thoroughly representative a gathering of the genuine Republicans of America as ever assembled together in any part of the world. The Bishop of Ohio (Dr. McIlvaine) presided with great dignity, and I may add that his personal appearance strongly reminded me of the late Dr. Bunting, the most famous and influential of Methodist ministers since the days of Wesley and Richard Watson. He commenced the proceedings by reading an ode which had been written for the occasion by Mrs. MacGowan, the last verse of which is as follows:

> "Burst the fetters of oppression,
> Let our land in truth be free;
> And no longer slavery's curse
> Blast the land of liberty.
> On to victory! brothers, on!
> Shout the name of Washington."

The deafening plaudits with which this verse was received left no room to doubt the entire sympathy of the audience with the cause of emancipation—its earnest desire that the armies of the North may be the harbingers of freedom to the slave. Of Mr. Adams's speech one can only speak in terms of unqualified eulogy. Without ascribing impossible attributes to Washington, he yet placed him, with fairness and discrimination, in the front rank of warriors, patriots and statesmen. Turning from Washington and the glories of the Revolution, he spoke sententiously, but with admirable lucidity and directness, upon the second great struggle of which America is now the scene. He went to the very root of the question when he said that the spirit of the rebellion involved a principle at war with all free institutions — a proposition that some men are born to rule over their fellow-men by prescription and right— a proposition against which from the outset of the government we had always contended, and we could not yield without giving up the principle of freedom." There is profound truth in this remark, but it impresses every thoughtful mind with this idea: Why not extirpate the institution which has been the cause of so much mischief, and which, if not uprooted, will inevitably poison the future of the Republic? The Rev. J. Simpkinson, Rector of Brington, Northamptonshire, gave some interesting details concerning the genealogy of Washington, from which it appeared that the illustrious patriot's ancestors formerly lived in the parish of Brington, where they were persons of great consequence, and became allied to the noble families of Spencer and Buckingham. Thus we see how strong is the link which connects the mother country with the founder of your Republic. Truly, we Englishmen and Americans have sprung from the same stock; and, as all the world knows, the resemblance can be as clearly traced in the virtues and defects which are common to us both. Passing over the Chairman's graceful speech in proposing the health of the Queen, I come to the second great toast of the day—the President of the United States of America—which was drunk with the most loyal demonstrations of applause. Dr. MacGowan, as an American, responded in a few pregnant and weighty sentences. Mr. George Thompson was the Englishman chosen to pay, on behalf of his country, this tribute of respect to President Lincoln. There was an almost historic fitness in this arrangement, and you could not help instinctively feeling that the right man was unquestionably in the right place. Mr. Thompson, who was received with an ovation which significantly marked the change that has been wrought, as by the transmuting power of some subtle alchemist, in the public opinion of the free States, spoke with unaffected heartiness as well as eloquence. He vindicated the working classes of England from the imputation of sympathizing with the Southern traitors. He panegyrized, but without adulation, the public character and private virtues of Abraham Lincoln. He defended the democratic institutions of America from the sneers and accusations of aristocratic traducers, and he showed that the slaveholding oligarchy were alone responsible for sowing the seeds of anarchy and revolution. In conclusion, he did justice to the public spirit, wealth and virtue of the Northern States, especially alluding to the zeal and fidelity of the Abolitionists; and with great fervor he expressed his confidence in the triumph of the Federal arms, and in the establishment throughout the Union of impartial liberty. These sentiments appeared to meet with an echo in every breast, and were responded to with immense enthusiasm. In replying to the toast of "the Union," the Hon. Freeman H. Morse, United States' Consul in London, delivered a luminous exposition of the causes of the rebellion, and gave an outline of the preposterous demands made by the secession leaders and their allies as the price of their return to allegiance. A more thoroughly statesmanlike speech I never listened to; and it did one good to hear the cheers which greeted the orator when he said that the people of the North "had suffered almost everything, and was it to be supposed that, now they were fully aroused and understood the cause of all their troubles, they would patiently give it up, sink back to the old feeling, and say: 'Slavery! oh, let it go on!' Never, never!" Mr Cyrus Field, whose name is so honorably associated with one of the greatest of modern enterprises, spoke to the same effect. Subsequently, Mr. James Beale and Mr. Washington Wilks, two leading English politicians, expressed their warm sympathy with the Union party, and eloquently pleaded the cause of the negro. It cannot be too widely known in the United States that your loyal countrymen in Europe are all inspired with the belief that the North is now committed to the abolition of slavery, and that such was the animating idea of the meeting on Saturday. Next year may we be privileged to commemorate a double triumph—the triumph of the Federal arms in the war against Southern treason, and the triumph, also, of the cause of negro freedom.

Yours, very truly, F. W. CHESSON.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1862.

IN my last letter I alluded to the condition of the House Judiciary Committee on the slavery question. Speaker Grow seems to have been peculiarly unfortunate in making up several of his Committees. A majority of the House is Republican, and a majority of the Committees should be the same in character; but such was the rage last summer in favor of ignoring party politics, that now, when the time has come for action on the great questions of the day, it is found that the most important Committees of the House are not in a working condition. Pro-slavery men, or "conservative" men, are in the majority. The Judiciary Committee can do nothing; the Territorial Committee, in the absence of a single Republican member, is as completely in the hands of Kentucky as if it had been raised by the Kentucky Legislature instead of by a strong Republican House. Its chairman, Mr. Ashley of Ohio, is a strong, radical anti-slavery man, but his hands are tied up by the pro-slavery and the timid majority, the moment that one man is absent from his Committee, and one of the true men upon it has been ill considerably of late, so that he has been at times embarrassed to carry his anti-slavery measures in the Committee.

Mr. Harding of Kentucky was quite insolent, a day or two since, in the House, in his bearing towards Mr. Ashley, because he had ventured to give a copy of his bill to the outside world. Harding is on the Committee, and while he spoke it reminded one of the old times in Congress, when slaveholders cracked the plantation whip about the ears of Northern men. The emancipation scheme for the District of Columbia will certainly pass. At one time even this bill was doubtful of success, but it is now safe. Mr. Lincoln's message has had a good effect, so far as abolition is concerned in this District, and several members who before it was delivered were on the fence have since leaped headlong over on the emancipation side. But it must be remembered that it is only slavery in the District of Columbia which is certain of being abolished. There is no chance whatever of general emancipation through any act of Congress, at least for the present. The message of the President, though very obscurely written, is clear on this point. He does not wish Congress to pass any emancipation act, or believe that they have any power over the subject. He does hint, however, that if the worst should come, he may, as commander-in-chief, take the responsibility of emancipation in the disloyal States. This, it is understood, is really the President's position on the slavery question. He has, no doubt, the power to abolish slavery in the disloyal States as a military necessity. He does not believe, however, that such a necessity has yet arisen, and he confidently expects that it will not arise. Nevertheless, the hint at the close of his message, that a time *may* come when a decree of emancipation must be made, has worked wonders in Congress. Men who, a week ago, looked with horror upon any proposition to touch slavery in any manner, begin to shift position. They are the suitors for Executive favor—men who must be with the Administration, and sleep under the wing of the Executive, or die. There are numbers of such men in the Republican Congressional ranks, as a matter of course. The border slave State men are a little in doubt about the emancipation message. So far as the enunciation of the doctrine of non-interference with State institutions is concerned, they like it, but they object to any propositions for the removal of slavery from the States, and to any hints, however obscure and dark, of emancipation by the sword in a supposed contingency.

Mr. Lincoln is very anxious respecting the great battle about to come off in this vicinity. He has reason for it. He has been urged for the past three months to insist upon the division of this great army of the Potomac into *corps d'armée*, say six of them, each one to be distinctly commanded by a Major-General. There were two objections to this course among a class of men—first, it would degrade Gen. McClellan, and Gen. Fremont would receive one of the *corps d'armée*. The President has been promising Fremont's friends for some time that he should have a command the moment a proper place could be found or made. Of course, if the army on this line were divided into six *corps*, Fremont must have one. It is the advice of all our best military critics and Generals that the Potomac army should be thus divided, and if disaster should attend the attacks about to be made upon the enemy, it will doubtless be because of the present cumbrous organization. Gen. McClellan now commands the entire Potomac army along a line of seventy miles, and consisting of nearly or quite two hundred thousand men. Is it possible for one man to *effectively* direct the movements of such an army? Napoleon might do it, so might Wellington, if either of these two great generals were alive. But McClellan is not a *great* military genius, though he may possibly prove to be a good, careful, and sagacious commander.

The publication by Gen. Fremont in *The Tribune* of the evidence submitted by him to the Committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the war, has injured and aided him. The evidence makes a very strong case in his favor, and all fair-minded men must admit that he has been most shamefully abused. But the premature publication of the evidence is not generally justified here, especially the publication of the private letters of the President and of Postmaster Blair. The Blairs are placed in an awkward category, the whole of them. The Postmaster Blair is very much agitated by the publication of his private letters, and he well may be. The letters show that as he now abuses Fremont, last summer he abused Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Chase and other members of the Cabinet. He was particularly uncivil in his allusions to Secretary Chase, and it would be very natural if Mr. C. were to resent such conduct. The President, too, is placed in a somewhat unpleasant position by Blair and Fremont. It is said that he is incensed at the conduct of both. He blames Blair for making use of his position in the Cabinet to belittle the Administration in his private letters, and censures Fremont for publishing his, the President's, private letters. This is the story upon the streets, and I cannot vouch for its correctness; but it is *probably* not far out of the way.

The debate in the House on Friday upon the Fremont question was very interesting. Col. Frank Blair led off in a speech against Fremont, and Mr. Colfax, who is a genuine Republican, spoke in defence of the Pathfinder. Blair made a speech nearly two hours long, and it was quite as bitter as it was long. There were *flings* in it of extraordinary meanness. Such, for instance, was his continual repetition of the insinuation that Gen. Fremont is a coward—that he was too nervously afraid of consequences to himself and army in Missouri, and did not care enough for the safety of other people and other armies. The speech was full of sneers and insinuations, and if its effect upon the people is at all what it was upon the Republican members of Congress, it will finish up the political course of Frank Blair as a Republican. Mr. Colfax made an admirable reply to Blair, and when the debate closed on Friday night, the impression was very favorable to Fremont.

Rev. J. S. C. Abbott delivered a lecture at the Smithsonian Institute on Friday night, and though it was not upon the subject of slavery, yet incidentally he gave *the* institution some terrible hits. It was well received, and especially the hits at slavery. He spoke very highly of President Lincoln, and the audience cheered him. But when he had barely uttered the name of Fremont the hall rang with the tremendous applause of his audience. It is a little singular that the audience which attends this course of lectures never tires of the mention of the name of Fremont. Lecture after lecture has been delivered, and never yet has the name of Fremont been mentioned without calling down a torrent of applause. Mr. Abbott's allusions to Fremont and to slavery were eloquent and in the best taste. He delivered a sermon in Representatives' Hall yesterday upon the signs of the times throughout the world, which delighted a large audience. His *Napoleonism*, which will creep out in every one of his discourses and written articles, might have displeased a portion of his hearers, but as a whole it was a very interesting and eloquent sermon. His treatment of the slavery question was most admirable. I noticed two or three of the Kentucky members among his audience, and it is more than probable that they did not relish everything which fell from the speaker's lips. Mr. Abbott has delivered anti-slavery addresses before the soldiers in this vicinity, and they were very well received. He seems to have been more kindly received than the Hutchinsons were. Possibly it is because the army is about to move down upon the enemy, and the officers are somewhat humanized by the nearness of danger and death.

Of course, I cannot speak of any military plans. It would be improper if I had knowledge of them. But it can do no harm to say that the general impression here is, that a great battle will be fought in this vicinity before next Saturday. It is safer to say, however, that one will be fought before a fortnight from to-day—if the weather permits—for McClellan is not like the parson who would preach on Wednesday night "if the weather would permit, and on Thursday night *wher or no!*"

AVON.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 10th, 1862.

THE "meeting for contrabands" in this city, to which you alluded in your last, was an interesting event, not only in itself considered, but in the fact of its marking a new era in the history of our movement. The subject of slavery is no longer in the exclusive hands of those who have heretofore been the recognized opponents of the system. Clergymen, vestry-men, and popular business-men may now take hold of it without damage to their reputation. A venerable Bishop may preside at a meeting, which, in its spirit and ultimate object, in no wise differs from hundreds of gatherings which used to be mobbed by the populace and put under the ban of municipal authorities. The times have undergone a change, which is radical. The past teachings of Abolitionists and the recent teachings of events have transformed the people by the renewing of their minds. Now good men (everything goes by comparison, you know), who have heretofore been restrained by prudential considerations, may yield a graceful obedience to their best impulses and take an open stand for the despised black man. Thanks be to God for the change! And thanks, too—in the measure in which they are due—to these good men for not persisting in their resistance to the benignant influences which have been inviting and impelling them into new fields of honorable and useful labor.

Although the idea of holding the meeting had, as you are aware, an Abolition origin, it was deemed best to organize and conduct it by means chiefly outside the anti-slavery movement. It was determined to make it as comprehensive and catholic as possible, and to this end pains were taken to render it unexceptionable to all classes of people. Accordingly, the Chairman, Secretaries, speakers, and the gentlemen who were invited to assist by their presence on the platform, were selected without reference to party preference or sectarian partiality. The programme embraced Bishop Potter as Chairman, Philip Physic Randolph and Ellis Yarnall, Esquires, as Secretaries, and Dr. Tyng and Professor Lindsay of New York, and Rev. Dr. Newton, Dr. Furness, Rev. J. Wheaton Smith and Frederick Fraley, Esq., of Philadelphia, as speakers. Bishop Potter was chosen to preside, as being one of the few men in this city, of high public and social position, who commands the confidence and respect of all classes. A consistent churchman and true to his order, the Bishop has nevertheless always shown himself to be a man of great public spirit, and one much interested in the general welfare. This has been noticeably the case in matters involving, and involved in, the subject of slavery. As a consequence, the anti-slavery people cherish a kindly feeling toward him; and with the Friends, perhaps from the fact that he is himself of Quaker origin, he is quite a favorite. 'Tis true, the letter bearing his name, addressed to a friend in the South, published last summer, in which the writer said in substance that "none in the North except a few fanatical Abolitionists considered that this war had anything to do with slavery," was for a while a draw-back upon his popularity; but owing to the assertion made by some, that the Bishop never wrote that letter as it was published, and the explanation offered by others, that whether he did or not, it was not intended to convey any idea that could be justly regarded as invidious, and that it would not have been so understood if interpreted as it was designed to be—it was allowed to pass into oblivion—at least so far as to prevent it from being quoted in judgment against him. His kind consent—against the monitions of ill health and other considerations—to preside at this meeting has increased the good feeling that was cherished toward him, while no fault is found by the considerate with the disclaimer which he thought proper to make in advance of any responsibility for "crude theories of emancipation" that might be propounded. The Bishop is a cautious man, and as the list of speakers included several gentlemen who have not yet publicly declared themselves on this subject, Dr. Newton and Rev. Mr. Smith for instance, it was not unnatural and perhaps not unwise in him to throw out an anchor to windward, by setting limits to his responsibility. An old anti-slavery man does not care to be made sponsor for the ill-digested views of new comers into the cause.

The Secretaries of the meeting will be more readily recognized by your readers, when I say that Mr. Randolph is grandson to the eminent Philadelphian whose name he bears, and that Mr. Yarnall has the honor of being a nephew to our venerable friend, the President of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Of the speakers, of whom by right I should have most to say, I shall say but little, as I find myself already far into this letter without having approached the subjects on which I desire most to speak. Dr. Tyng and Prof. Lindsay were the only ones in the list who obtained a hearing; the rest being crowded out for want of time. Dr. Tyng's address—which was an hour in length, and chained the audience as with a delightful spell—was one of the most finished, impressive and powerful discourses that has been delivered in this city for many years. Nothing could have been more admirably adapted to its purpose. Our anti-slavery people drank it in with greedy ears, the tears in their eyes telling of the joy of their hearts; and other people, not heretofore anti-slavery, listened to it with scarcely inferior pleasure. It was religious without cant, conservative without concession, and radical without being "crude." Though differing in style, it was scarcely inferior in power to some of Wendell Phillips's best efforts. It was really delightful to hear a Reverend Doctor of Divinity preaching acceptably to other Doctors of Divinity unmixed and undiluted Garrisonian Abolitionism!

Prof. Lindsay followed Dr. Tyng in an able speech, and added much to the value of the meeting by his personal testimony in regard to the state of things at Port Royal. His loud, clear, Methodist-preacher voice reached the further corner of the hall, and was heard distinctly by the most remote member of the audience; while his deliberate manner enabled the reporters to take down at length his valuable testimony, to be reproduced next day in their respective newspapers.

As has already been said, the other speakers were crowded out for want of space. J. Wheaton Smith, who was to have been next in order, is a young minister of the Baptist denomination, with the reputation of an able and eloquent speaker. He was to have been followed by our friend Dr. Furness; but the illness, which proved mortal, of Mr. George Furness (half-brother of the Doctor) had called that gentleman away to the city of Washington, so that even if time had served, the expectations of the audience from this source would have been doomed to disappointment.

The Rev. Dr. Newton was to have been the next speaker, and the honor of closing the meeting was reserved for a layman, Frederick Fraley, Esq.; but the speech of neither of these gentlemen unhappily was allowed to reach the point of parturition. Dr. Newton is an Episcopal minister of high standing; a man of learning and ability, and of great earnestness in his calling. It was a matter of deep regret to many that they were not permitted to hear what he had to say on this occasion. Mr. Fraley's speech also was looked forward to with lively interest. It was expected—on what authority I am unprepared to say—that he would take this occasion to complete the work which he had commenced in a newspaper card some time since, to correct his record on the subject of slavery, and to replant himself on the broad platform of patriotism and humanity, where he of right belongs, and from which, in the estimation of some of his friends, he for awhile allowed himself to be estranged.

After the speeches a series of appropriate resolutions was adopted, and the meeting adjourned; everybody rejoicing in the complete success of the occasion, and a general tide of good feeling prevailing. One of the resolutions provided for the appointment of a "Permanent Committee of Fifteen, with power to add to their numbers, whose business it shall be to receive and forward to their destination, contributions in clothes and other articles, and donations intended for the benefit of the freed blacks, and to adopt such general measures as may to them seem best, to carry out the purpose of the meeting." This Committee has met and organized, and is ready—to the extent of receiving donations—to act according to appointment. Contributions may be sent, if in money, to Edward W. Clark, Treasurer, 35 S. 4th street; or, if in bulky parcels, to Francis R. Cope, No. 1 Walnut street. As it may subserve the convenience of some of your readers in this State, I will mention, that one of the members of this Committee is J. M. McKim, 106 N. 10th street, who will be most happy to receive and hand over any contribution in cash or kind that may be entrusted to his care.

But enough of this meeting. Perhaps too much; for, in comparison with the meeting you have been holding since in your city, your glorious emancipation meeting, it pales into comparative insignificance. What a grand spectacle was presented by that gathering! The immense hall of the Cooper Institute crowded to overflowing with the best people of New York! The Chairman, of historic name, who so ably presided! The distinguished and influential men who acted as Vice-Presidents and Secretaries! The eloquent and high-toned speeches that were delivered, and the powerful letters that were read on the occasion! And above all, and over all, the wonderful Address of that wonderful man, CARL SCHURZ! This country has never before witnessed a more interesting spectacle! That such a meeting should be held, and such sentiments, uttered by such men, should be received with such enthusiasm, by such an audience, is one of the most extraordinary and pleasing facts, of all the extraordinary and cheering events which this prolific epoch has yet brought forth.

I don't know how Mr. Schurz's speech may have impressed others, but as to myself words are wanting to express the admiration it has excited. Such an union of high morality, deep philosophy, far-reaching statesmanship and scholarly culture, with—superadded—a thorough mastery of a recently acquired language, is a phenomenon as rare as it is admirable. Mr. Schurz is all that Kossuth was, and more. No marvel that the words "applause," "sensation," "tremendous applause," are parenthetically interjected every here and there all through his speech as reported. It is to be hoped that means will be taken to give the production a wide circulation. Is it too voluminous to allow of its publication in THE STANDARD?

—But the event of the week—of the year—of the age, in fact, is the message of the President suggesting to Congress the expediency of steps initiatory to emancipation. Not that this State paper is, in itself considered, especially admirable, or that the doctrine which it inculcates of a *gradual* return to justice has any claims to public favor; quite the contrary. It is an extra-cautious, non-committal, un-positive document, couched in the President's characteristic, angular and unmellifluous English; but it is, nevertheless, *an official recommendation, from the President of the United States, of the policy of abolition.* As such it will send a thrill of quiet joy through thousands of hearts, and be hailed as the sure harbinger of better things to come. It is an authoritative foreshadowing of the doom that awaits slavery. What if it does only recommend, and that indirectly, the "adoption of *gradual* abolishment"? What if the specific measure proposed *be* only "initiatory" and "not within itself practical"—prospective in its design, and contemplating, only in the dim distance, "the ultimate extinction of slavery," as the President, before he became President, expressed it? The thing that was most needed at this precise juncture, was a Presidential recommendation of a national anti-slavery policy. That we now have. What is to follow—how abolition is to be brought about, and when it is to come, is not for the President to say. The march of events is not to be averted by a Federal manifesto, nor the will of the people to be counteracted by the limitations of a Presidential message.

In recommending emancipation as a national policy, the President has done well. Hereafter *the* question before Congress will be abolition or no abolition. The moment the former shall be agreed upon—no matter what form it may take—the work will begin. In this country the event that is foreseen and inevitable is anticipated and discounted on the spot. This enterprizing Yankee people, when they once make up their minds to do a thing, are apt to do it in the most energetic manner. When the work fairly begins, stand from under. England adopted a system of gradual emancipation; the seven years' apprenticeship system. When the planters and their friends found that the thing had to come, and that further resistance was out of the question, they said, "What's the use? Let us finish up the business at once." And they did so; and experience has justified their wisdom. Surely in this matter we go-ahead Yankees will not fail to profit by, if not to improve upon, their example.

There is one feature in the President's recommendation that is entitled to marked credit: that is the fact that his proposition to compensate contains no recognition of the right of property in man.

As a reward to any that may have followed me through this long screed, I will mention at its close that a letter has just been received from Wendell Phillips, in which he states that he will deliver a lecture in this city on his return from Washington, where he is to speak in a fortnight or thereabout from this time. This will be glad news to Philadelphians. M.

PROPOSAL FOR GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.

IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

ON Thursday, March 6th, the President sent to Congress the following message:

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows:

Resolved, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that this government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such part will then say, "the Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section." To deprive them of this hope, substantially ends the rebellion; and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it as to all the States initiating it. The point is not that *all* the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that, while the offer is equally made to all, the more northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say "initiation," because, in my judgment, gradual, and not sudden emancipation, is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition on the part of the General government sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

In the annual message last December, I thought fit to say, "the Union must be preserved; and hence all indispensable means must be employed." I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been made, and continues to be an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue; and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend, and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle, must and will come.

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offense to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned, than are the institution, and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs.

While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important practical results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

March 6, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On motion of Thaddeus Stevens, the message was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and ordered to be printed.

On Monday, Roscoe Conkling, of New York, asked leave to offer the following:

Resolved, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

The motion to suspend the rules to allow the presentation of the resolution was carried by yeas 86, nays 35. Two Republicans only (Hale of Pa., and Morris of Ohio) were among the nays; the rest being Northern Democrats or Border State men.

Mr. Conkling said that the resolution was in the exact words of the President, and as nearly every member had made up his mind on the subject, he would move the previous question. The House, however, by a vote of 59 against 67, refused to second the demand; whereupon the question was open for debate. Some of the Border State men (Grider, Wickliffe and Mallory of Kentucky) united with Democrats and Conservative Republicans in pleading for delay; and before taking any question, the House adjourned.

On Tuesday, the House refused, by *one* majority, to postpone the subject till Thursday, and by *two* majority to postpone till Monday next.

Mr. Blair (Un., Va.) offered the following proviso:

That nothing herein shall be construed to imply that Congress will consent to any partition of the territory now held by the United States, but that, on the contrary, it is again affirmed as the unalterable resolution of this House to prosecute the war until the Constitution is restored to its ancient supremacy over every State rightfully a part of the Union.

Mr. Pendleton (Dem., O.) suggested an amendment, which was read for information, as follows:

And that Congress, in order to redeem this pledge, at the present session ought to pass a bill for the levying and collection of a tax, within the current year, for the payment of the pecuniary aid so tendered to the States.

Mr. Wickliffe of Kentucky opposed the President's resolution as unwise and unconstitutional. With all respect to the House he did not believe thirty men here would vote for a tax to purchase negroes. If it were left to him to say whether the slaves he might own should be emancipated by being paid for them out of the Treasury of the United States, he would reply, No. He would prefer they should escape by the underground railroad rather than the people should be taxed to pay him for whatever losses he might thus sustain. He denied the constitutional power first to interfere, and then to appropriate money to buy slaves. It seemed to him the resolution proposed in effect to give up the Cotton States, provided the Border slave States would continue with the North.

Mr. Biddle of Pa. opposed the resolution on pecuniary as well as constitutional grounds.

Mr. Crittenden of Ky. did not doubt the patriotism and integrity which induced the President to recommend the policy now considered, but he did not believe the measure was exactly suited to the times. He would not speak at length of Kentucky and her sacrifices for the Union; but the way to conciliate Kentucky is not to press this question upon her, but to let her alone. Why should it be insisted that she or any other State should give up any of her political rights? If one institution should be taken from her control, what will be the result? The proposition would introduce agitation at a time when it could produce no good but evil.

Mr. Fisher of Delaware supported the resolution. He regarded the proposition as a return to the policy of those who framed the Constitution, who regarded slavery as a social, moral and political evil, which ought to be exterminated. He should vote for the proposition as one of peace, as a pledge that the Northern States and the Republican party will wait till the Border States take the initiative, when they may rely on the aid of the Federal government.

Mr. Hickman (Rep., Pa.), although he did not consider the resolution of any great practical importance, would vote for it. It did not possess any great intrinsic merit, for the reason it was not legislation. It would have been better as a "plank" in the platform of some party. It was rather a consolation for a disappointed hope; a warning to the people of the Border States, which have the most interest in the subject, to which the President's message especially refers. He repeated, the proposition was rather a palliative than an open, avowed policy. It was an excuse for non-action rather than a determination for action itself. Neither the message nor the resolution was manly and open. It was not becoming the position of the President. It was not such a one as a full grown man ought to have published to the nation in such a crisis. The President desired to give more aid and comfort to the Border slave States than to the other States. According to his interpretation of the message the President looks to a contingency, in which extreme war measures may become necessary, the abolition of slavery in the Gulf or Cotton States, and he not only regarded the message as offering a compensation for a disappointed hope, but an awful note of warning to the Border States to make preparations accordingly. If this was not the plain interpretation of what the President meant, then there was a most unfortunate use of language. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Hickman said that the man who is not willing to save the Constitution and Union by the sacrifice of private interest and property, is already a rebel. He cared not on whose ear this declaration fell with harshness. The Border slave States were not in the Union because they loved the Union, but because they feared worse.

[This remark caused a good deal of fluttering among the Border State members, several of whom interrupted Mr. Hickman.]

Mr. Hickman concluded by saying that slaveholders love slavery as much as they love God. There was no difference between a slaveholder of Maryland and a slaveholder of South Carolina. The President was between two swords, the one of his party, the other of the Border slave States, and was expected to crush treason at the earliest moment. But the nation have been disappointed in their reasonable expectations, and in the military leaders appointed by the President.

Mr. Conkling moved the previous question, and it was seconded by the House. This cut off the amendments printed above. Mr. Wickliffe moved to table the resolution. Rejected, 34 against 81. The resolution then passed, 88 against 31. Among the ayes were Messrs. Clements, Blair, Brown, Sparks and Whaly of Va., and Fisher of Delaware. The only Northern men, not Republicans, who voted in the affirmative, were Conway and Haight (Dem. of New York), Harrison of Ohio and Sheffield of R. I. ("Union" men), and Phelps and Sargent (Union) of California. We give the list of those who voted nay:

Ancona of Penn., Opp.	Norton of Mo., Opp.
Bailey of Penn., Rep.	Pendleton of Ohio, Opp.
Biddle of Penn., Union.	Perry of N. J., Opp.
Corning of N. Y., Opp.	Richardson of Ill., Opp.
Cox of Ohio, Opp.	Robinson of Ill., Opp.
Cravens of Ind., Opp.	Shiel of Va., Union.
Crisfield of Md., Union.	Steele of N. Y., Opp.
Crittenden of Ky., Union.	Thomas of Md., Union.
Dunlap of Ky., Union.	Voorhees of Ind., Opp.
English of Conn., Opp.	Wadsworth of Ky., Union.
Harding of Ky., Union.	Ward of N. Y., Opp.
Johnson of Penn., Opp.	White of Ohio, Opp.
Knapp of Ill., Opp.	Wickliffe of Ky., Union.
Law of Ind., Opp.	Wood of N. Y., Opp.
Leary of Md., Union.	Woodruff of Conn., Opp.
Noble of Ohio, Opp.	Total, 31.

Border State men who did not vote—Jackson, Grider, Mallory and Menzies of Ky.; Webster, May and Calvert of Md.; Rollins, Phelps and Noell of Mo.; Maynard of Tenn.; Upton, Pendleton and Brown of Va.—14.

Chronicles of the War.

AN EVENTFUL WEEK.

THE past week has been the most eventful, and, to the North, the most cheering, of the whole period since the beginning of the war. It has been a week of victory for the United States, and of disaster, defeat and panic on the part of the Rebels. We might fill pages of our sheet with details of thrilling interest, but can only give the leading facts in the briefest possible space.

Gen. McClellan has been removed from his position as Commander-in-Chief, and is now in command only of the Department of the Potomac; the President having assumed his constitutional prerogative of Commander-in-Chief, so far as he can do so without taking the field.

Gen. Fremont has been assigned to the command of the "Department of the Mountain," embracing the country west of the Department of the Potomac and east of the Department of the Mississippi. This will give intense satisfaction to all the truly loyal people of the North.

Victory in Arkansas.

On the 6th inst., the U. S. forces under Generals Curtis and Sigel encountered the rebel army under McCulloch and VanDorn, at Pea Ridge, in the North-western corner of Arkansas, the rebels having fled thither from Missouri. A desperate and bloody battle ensued, lasting three days, but ending in a Union victory. The Union loss is reported at 450 killed and wounded; that of the rebels at 1,000 killed and wounded, and 1,000 taken prisoners. The notorious rebel General, McCulloch, was killed. Part of the Union force was in pursuit of the flying enemy at last advices.

Evacuation of Columbus.

The Sevastopol of the Rebels at Columbus, Ky., on the Mississippi, has been evacuated, and is now in possession of our forces. The fortifications were left nearly uninjured, as were quite a number of guns, and much ball. No other stores were left, and many buildings had been burned or half burned. The post could not have been carried by troops without an enormous expenditure of life, so strong was the position, and so elaborate the works, which, besides an enormous network of rifle-pits, parapets, and trenches, mounted in all about 150 guns, from 24 to 128 pounders, many of them rifled. The mortars of Commodore Foote's fleet would, however, have made them utterly untenable. The remains of Pillow's chain cable were found, and a large assortment of torpedoes. From 12,000 to 16,000 rebel troops went away, part of them reënforcing Jeff. Thompson at New Madrid, and part going to Island No. 10, and to Fort Randolph, and other points of defense near Memphis.

Retreat of the Rebels from the Potomac.

The whole rebel army, which has so long confronted the Union forces on the Potomac, has retreated—to what point is not known. The stronghold at Manassas and the batteries on the lower Potomac are all abandoned without a struggle. The effort to cut off the retreat of the enemy, if such an effort was made, has failed. It is believed that the evacuation took place several days before the advance of Gen. McClellan. A considerable amount of war material was left behind. The American flag was hoisted over the fortifications on Tuesday morning. The rebels, in retreating, committed great depredations upon the railroads and other property. At what point they will next make a stand is wholly uncertain.

A part of Gen. Hooker's force has crossed the lower Potomac, and Gen. Banks has advanced to Leesburg.

Brunswick and Fernandina.

Com. Dupont has taken Brunswick, Ga., and Fernandina, Fla. The enemy, though strongly fortified, fled precipitately at sight of the Union gunboats. We thus hold the whole Georgia sea-coast and both ends of the railroad across Florida, and Butler's expedition at Ship Island is rapidly preparing to move.

As the fleet approached Fernandina, Com. Dupont, espying a railroad train making off down the coast, sent a gun-boat after it, and an exciting race ensued, the gun-boat sending shells at the cars, and some of them coming so near that various frightened rebels skipped out of the cars into the woods; among them, it is said, ex-Senator Yulee and his servant. The train, however, soon outran the ship, and got away.

Naval Engagement in Hampton Roads.

We have news of the most exciting character from Fortress Monroe. The rebel iron-clad steamer Merrimac, about which so much has been said recently, came down from Norfolk on Saturday morning, accompanied by the steamers Yorktown and Jamestown, also iron-clad, and moving directly toward Newport News engaged the sailing frigates Cumberland and Congress, blockading the mouth of the James River. The Merrimac is represented to have resembled a submerged house, with the roof only above water. The two frigates opened fire upon her, but with no effect, as the heavy metal glanced from the slanting top of the Merrimac. Even at the distance of only one hundred yards, a full broadside from both vessels did her no damage. She ran against the Cumberland amidships, with a full head of steam on, staving a large hole in her side; then drew off and poured in a broadside, after which she dashed against the doomed vessel again, and left her in a sinking condition. She then turned against the Congress, and that vessel, having no regular crew on board, and seeing the hopelessness of further effort, lowered her colors, when she was boarded by the Jamestown, and all her officers were taken prisoners, while the few men on board were allowed to escape in boats. The Congress was then set on fire and left to her fate. The three rebel vessels then opened fire upon our batteries at Newport News, which had been rendering what assistance was possible to the Cumberland and Congress, and the action continued for some time, when the Merrimac and her two companions drew off as far as Craney Island. The Minnesota, at the commencement of the action, in attempting to tow the Roanoke up, got ashore near the Rip Raps, and could render no assistance. It was supposed that the Merrimac would attempt to run the blockade on Saturday night, and preparations were made accordingly; but she appears not to have made the effort. Meantime, on Saturday night the iron-clad Ericsson Battery Monitor, which left this port on Wednesday, arrived at Fortress Monroe, and on Sunday morning she was attacked by the Merrimac, Yorktown and Jamestown, but this time they met more than their match. After a five hours' contest, they were driven off, and the Merrimac retreated toward Norfolk in a damaged condition. The Captain of the Merrimac is said to have been killed.

DR. CHEEVER will speak in Corinthian Hall, Rochester, on the 18th inst. Subject—"The Obligations imposed upon us by our Victories."

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.—We are requested to state that Mr. Dugdale's post-office address for the year ensuing will be Mount Pleasant, Henry Co., Iowa.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ADDITIONAL SUMS,

Received for Twenty-eighth Subscription Anniversary.

Preston Anti-Slavery Society, by Jane Clemishaw,	£3	0	0
Leigh Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, by Elizabeth Fletcher,	5	0	0
Ulverston Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, by Ann Fletcher Jackson,	5	0	0
Sarah Elizabeth Palmer, Reading,	2	0	0
Mary Palmer, "	1	0	0
Elizabeth P. Nichol, Edinburgh,	2	0	0
Other friends, by Jane Wigham, Edinburgh,	12	0	0
Joel Smith, Leominster, Mass.,	$2 00		
George W. Stacy, Milford, Mass.,	2 00		

Miscellaneous Department.

BEFORE THE EMBERS.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

It is not far to the Macarian isles,
Nor to the gates of my enchanted palace:
There fountains rear their palpitating piles,
And Parian beauty gleams through twilight alleys.
There music, never heard in mortal air,
Swells and is hushed along the hill-sides fair,
Or hides and seeks with echo in the valleys;
And in its pauses all the tree-tops sing,
And all the falling fountain-jewels ring,
And, with half-hushed emotion,
Up marble steps unharmful billows swing,
Rimming with whispery pearls the sapphire ocean.

There are all things that soul or sense delight—
Imperial shapes that Phidias died conceiving,
Verses that musing poets meant to write,
And Raphael's dreams, at sunrise past retrieving:
Great windows open toward the western gold,
O'er hills on hills in amplest sunset rolled
To sharp snow-peaks, an opal chrism receiving,
And eastward over leagues of ocean stark,
Where, o'er the upheaving moon, some raven bark
With swift eclipse is stealing,
And there are walls cloistered with laurel dark,
To shut the senses round some chosen feeling.

But most my portrait-gallery I prize,
By memory reared, the artist wise and holy,
From stainless quarries of deep-buried days;
There, as I muse in dainty melancholy,
Your faces glow in more than mortal youth,
Companions of my prime, now vanished wholly!
Though my dull soul refract Heaven's other rays,
Though truth, or what seemed truth, may feel decays,
Ye know not alteration,
But shine undimmed as when life's morning blaze
Flashed back from youth's white shield of expectation.

Ye glow serene through that celestial air
Which only fortunes passed are e'er arrayed in,
Secure from mist of doubt or blight of care,
The loud impetuous boy, the low-voiced maiden;
Ah, never master that drew mortal breath
Can match thy portraits, just and generous death,
Whose brush with sweet regretful tints is laden;
Thou paintest that which baffled here below,
Half understood, or understood for woe,
And, with a sweet forewarning,
Mak'st round the sacred front an aureole glow,
Woven of that light which rose on Easter morning!

—*Only Once.*

BLACK FREEMASONRY.

"Jim, this is Scip," I said, seeing that the darkies had taken no notice of each other.

"How d'ye do, Scip*io?*" said Jim, extending his hand to him. A look of singular intelligence passed over the faces of the two negroes as their hands met; it vanished in an instant, and was so slight that none but a close observer would have detected it, but some words that Scip had previously let drop put me on the alert, and I felt sure it had a hidden significance.

"Won't you get into de carriage, massa?" inquired Jim.

"No, thank you, Jim. I'll ride on with Scip. Our horse is jaded, and you had better go ahead."

Jim mounted the driver's seat, turned the carriage, and drove off at a brisk pace to announce our coming at the plantation, while Scip and I rode on at a slower gait.

"Scip, did you know Jim before?" I asked.

"Neber seed him afore, massa, but hab heern ob him."

"How is it that you have lived in Georgetown for five years, and he only seventy miles off, and you never have seen him?"

"I cud hab seed him, massa, good many time, ef I'd liked, but darkies hab to be careful."

"Careful of what?"

"Careful ob who dey knows; good many bad niggas 'bout."

"Pshaw, Scip, you're 'coming de possum'; that game won't work with me. There isn't a better nigger than Jim in all South Carolina. I know him well."

"P'raps he am; reckon he *am* a good enuff nigga."

"Good enough nigga, Scip! Why, I tell you he's a splendid fellow; just as true as steel. He's been North with the Colonel, often, and the Abolitionists have tried to get him away; he knew he could go, but wouldn't budge an inch."

"I knew he wouldn't," said the darky, a pleasurable gleam passing through his eyes; "dat sort don't run; dey face the music!"

"Why don't they run? What do you mean?"

"Nuffin', massa—only dey'd ruther stay har."

"Come, Scip, you've played this game long enough. Tell me, now, what that look you gave each other when you shook hands meant."

"What look, massa? Oh! I s'pose 'twar 'cause we'd both *heerd* ob each oder afore."

"'Twas more than that, Scip. Be frank; you know you can trust me."

"Wal, den, massa," he replied, adding, after a short pause, "de ole woman called you a Yankee—you can guess."

"If I should guess, 'twould be that it meant *mischief*."

"It don't mean mischief, sar," said the darky, with a tone and air that would not have disgraced a Cabinet officer; "it mean only Right and Justice."

"It means that there is some secret understanding between you."

"I tole you, massa," he replied, relapsing into his usual manner, "dat de blacks am all Freemasons. I gabe Jim de grip, and he know'd me. He'd ha known my name ef you hadn't tole him."

"Why would he have known your name?"

"'Cause I gabe de grip, dat tole him."

"Why did he call you Scip*io?* I called you *Scip*."

"Oh! de darkies all do dat. Nobody but de white folks call me *Scip*. I can't say no more, massa; I shud break de oath ef I did!"

"You have said enough, Scipio, to satisfy me that there is a secret league among the blacks, and that you are a leader in it. Now, I tell you, you'll get yourself into a scrape. I've taken a liking to you, Scip, and I should be *very sorry* to see you run yourself into danger."

"I tank you, massa, from de bottom ob my soul I tank you," he said, as the tears moistened his eyes. "You bery kind, massa; it do me good to talk wid you. But what am my life wuth? What am any *slave's* life wuth? Ef you war me yon'd do like me!"

I could not deny it, and made no reply.

The writer of this article is aware that he is here making an important statement, and one that may be called in question by those persons who are accustomed to regard the Southern blacks as only reasoning brutes. The great mass of them *are* but a little above the brutes in their habits and instincts, but a large body are fully on a par, except in mere book-education, with their white masters.

The conversation above recorded is, *verbatim et literatim*, true. It took place at the time indicated, and was taken down, as were other conversations recorded in these papers, within twenty-four hours after its occurrence. The name and the locality, only, I have, for very evident reasons, disguised.

From this conversation, together with previous ones, held with the same negro, and from after developments made to me at various places, and at different times, extending over a period of six weeks, I became acquainted with the fact—and I *know* it to be a *fact*—that there exists among the blacks a secret and wide-spread organization of a Masonic character, having its grip, password, and oath. It has various grades of leaders, who are competent and *earnest* men, and its ultimate object is Freedom. It is quite as wide-spread, and much more secret, than the order of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," the kindred league among the whites.

This latter organization, which was instituted by John C. Calhoun, William L. Porcher, and others, as far back as 1835, has for its sole object the dissolution of the Union, and the establishment of a Southern Empire—Empire is the word, not Confederacy, or Republic—and it was solely by means of its secret but powerful machinery that the Southern States were plunged into revolution, in defiance of the will of a majority of their voting population.

Nearly every man of influence at the South (and many a pretended Union man at the North) is a member of this organization, and sworn, under the penalty of assassination, to labor, "in season and out of season, by fair means and by foul, at all times, and on all occasions," for the accomplishment of its object. The blacks are bound together by a similar oath, and only *bide their time.*

The knowledge of the real state of political affairs, which the negroes have acquired through this organization, is astonishingly accurate; their leaders possess every essential of leadership—except, it may be, military skill—and they are fully able to cope with the whites.

The negro whom I call Scipio, on the day when Major Anderson evacuated Fort Moultrie, and before he or I knew of that event, which set all South Carolina in a blaze, foretold to me the breaking out of this war in Charleston harbor, and as confidently predicted that it would result in the freedom of the slaves!

The knowledge of this organization I acquired by gaining the confidence of some of the blacks, who knew me to be a Northern man, and supposed I sympathized with them. Having acquired it in that manner, I could not communicate it; but now, when our troops have landed in South Carolina, and its existence is sure to be speedily developed, no harm can result from this announcement.

The fact of its existing is not positively known (for the black is more subtle and crafty than anything human), but is suspected, by many of the whites; the more moderate of whom are disposed to ward off the impending blow by some system of gradual emancipation—declaring all black children born after a certain date free or by some other action that will pacify and keep down the slaves. These persons, however, are but a small minority, and possess no political power, and the South is rushing blindly on to a catastrophe, which, if not averted by the action of our government, will make the horrors of San Domingo and the French Revolution grow pale in history.

I say the action of our government, for with it rests the responsibility. What the black wants is freedom. Give him that, and he will have no incentive to insurrection. If emancipation is proclaimed at the head of our armies—emancipation for *all*—confiscation for the slaves of rebels, compensation for the slaves of loyal citizens—the blacks will rush to the aid of our troops, the avenging angel will pass over the homes of the many true and loyal men who are still left at the South, and the thunderbolts of this war will fall only—where they should fall—on the heads of its blood-stained authors. If this is not done, after we have put down the whites we shall have to meet the blacks, and after we have waded knee-deep in the blood of both, we shall end the war where it began, but with the South desolated by fire and sword, the North impoverished and loaded down with an everlasting debt, and our once proud, happy and glorious country the by-word and scorn of the whole civilized world.

I have all my life long been a true friend to the South. My connections, my interests, and my sympathies are all there, and there are those now in the ranks of this rebellion who are of my own blood; but I say, and I would to God that every lover of his country would say it with me, "Make no peace with it until slavery is exterminated." Slavery is its very bones, marrow, and life-blood, and you cannot put it down till you have destroyed that accursed institution. If a miserable peace is patched up before a death-stroke is given to slavery, it will gather new strength, and drive freedom from this country forever. In the nature of things it cannot exist in the same hemisphere with liberty. Then let every man who loves his country determine that if this war must needs last for twenty years, it shall not end until this root of all our political evils is weeded out forever."
—"*Among the Pines,*" *in the Continental Monthly.*

THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

BY JOHN S. C. ABBOTT.

Washington, February 27, 1862.

To the Editors of The Evening Post:

There are two parties in Washington and throughout the country, taking somewhat opposite views respecting the mode of conducting this war. The one party is anxious still to conciliate the South, and not to strike blows so heavy as to exasperate them beyond all hope of reconciliation. They think that if we make a very great show of strength, so as to convince them of the hopelessness of their achieving their object by force of arms, and if we can satisfy them that we are still their friends, and have no disposition, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with their slaves, but on the contrary are rather disposed to aid them in holding the slaves in bondage, we may thus regain the confidence of the South, and lure them back again into the Union. Persuasion alone will not do this. There must be tremendous military display and some signal victories, to convince the seceders of the power of the General government. And then, when the prodigal is starving among the swine, we must meet him with the best robe and the fatted calf. Men of undoubted patriotism and of high intelligence take this view. It is unquestionably, in the main, the view taken by General McClellan, while he is still disposed to push the war with vigor for the accomplishment of this end.

There is another party, in Washington and all over the country, who take a different view. They regard the rebellion in a far more serious light. To them it is an atrocious and desperate crime, which has been the slow growth of years. The leaders of the rebellion, men of the highest position in rank, wealth and abilities, have placed upon the issue of the conflict their earthly all. With almost maniacal energy they have summoned every resource at their disposal to demolish the Constitution of the United States. Upon the ruins of our free institutions they would reconstruct another government, in the hands of a slave-holding oligarchy. This government, like the aristocratic republic of the Venetian Doges, would develop great power, and gradually extend its sway over all the middle and eastern States, leaving New England outside, helpless in its weakness, and of necessity tributary to the tremendous power of the new government, which could at any time inundate New England with her armies. They say that it is a marvel that this plan had not succeeded. Many influential men in the North were in sympathy with it. Many leading papers were ready to advocate it. Nothing but the simultaneous and almost miraculous uprising of the masses at the North, after the fall of Sumter, checked its career.

A prominent member of Mr. Buchanan's cabinet said to me last evening that day after day he attended the cabinet meetings, almost in anguish, alike appalled by the eagerness and exultation of the South in the successful progress of their plans, and by the apparent apathy of the North, which seemed both blind and deaf.

These men affirm that even now the rebellion is a far more fearful reality than many imagine; that the leaders are men of great administrative power, impelled by the energies of despair; that millions of money are yet to be expended in defence of our country, and thousands of lives to be sacrificed. They say that this foe is too powerful to be dallied with, and must be assailed with all, *all* the forces at our command. I think that these are the views entertained by Secretary Stanton.

Had these views been cherished by those who had command of our armies at the commencement of this strife, in their view, it can hardly be doubted that the strife would now have been at an end. Had the decree been issued: "Our country is in peril, and *every man* who will rush to its rescue, black or white, bond or free, shall be honored and rewarded," the battle would have soon been over.

I am in possession of information which allows me to say, without any fear of contradiction from any military *officer* in Washington, that had the Generals known, as they *now know*, what was the real condition of the rebels at Manassas last December, there would have been an immediate advance, and the rebels would have been driven from their strongholds in utter rout. Why did we not know this? The answer to this question is very instructive.

In all Napoleon's wars he found no difficulty in obtaining the most accurate information respecting his foes. He was fighting for the rights of the people against aristocratic usurpation. Even when on the Continent, the people knew, as by instinct, that he was their friend. Consequently they were ever crowding to his camp with intelligence, and ready to act as guides. Now, there were tens of thousands of men in the vicinity of Manassas, many of whom were white men, and nearly all partially white, who were men of energy, and who were our friends, eagerly watching for our coming. Familiar with every ravine, and morass, and forest path, no earthly power could have kept them from escaping to our camp it, with insanity almost unparalleled in the history of the world, we had not discouraged them from coming.

Will future ages believe that, under these circumstances, some of our Generals issued orders not to allow these our friends to enter our lines? Others, like General Stone, when one of these men happened to get within the lines, would allow the man called his master, though a rebel against our flag, to ride into our camp, and there, under the Stars and Stripes, to which this patriot had fled for protection, to tie a rope around his neck and trot off, dragging him back to bondage. As soon as this wretched victim of this insane policy was again within the entrenchments of Manassas he was scourged, as an example to others to beware how they carried intelligence to the Stars and Stripes. And then, with his back lacerated with the lash from neck to heels, he was driven into the trenches, to throw up ramparts which our fathers, brothers and sons were to attempt to scale, and before which, as in that awful day of Bull Run, they were to be mown down before the artillery of the foe.

We wonder not that a French writer has remarked that "such a mode of conducting war excites the contempt of every military man in Europe." And we wonder not that God should frown upon such outrages. There was no necessity of any general act of emancipation; simply the cordial welcome to our lines of every man ready to aid in the defence of our imperilled country would have given us that information which last December would have placed Manassas and all its stores in our hands. Millions upon millions of money we have lost by the policy which has been pursued, and no one can tell how many thousands of valuable lives.

An advance immediately is next to impossible. To send our friends to storm those batteries, wading knee deep through the mire, and dragging their guns up to the axles in mud, would be cruel indeed. When the dreadful day shall come, as come now ere long it must, when the assault is to be made which shall send grief to thousands of homes, we must, to secure success, have in our favor roads over which our troops can pass with some rapidity. Such roads we shall now, within a few weeks, have. And then, probably, after the loss of three months of time, and a vastly increased expenditure of treasure and of blood, Manassas will probably fall into our hands. And it must not be forgotten that the successful defiance presented so long at Manassas has emboldened the foe in all other parts of the field. The past has gone. Let us learn wisdom from the sad lesson it has taught us.

IN MEMORIAM.

(ACROSTIC.)

This grave of hers is green with moss new-grown;
Her memory is still too fresh for graven stone,
Endures as written on our hearts alone.
O loving friend! when thee we hither bore,
Dark was our sorrow as the weeds we wore:
Our grief hath since grown less—our love grown more.
Sweet Gift of God!* whose gift we could not keep!
If ever angels sit where willows weep,
A cover of their white wings shields thy sleep!

Theodore Tilton.

* *Theodosia*, in the Greek, signifying *Given by God.*

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

No one who knows the American people can fail to be convinced that the main reason why so many of our loyal and patriotic citizens are averse to sanction any measures for getting rid of slavery is that the true character of the institution is very imperfectly understood by those who are personally strangers to its practice and effect. Could the thing itself be once clearly seen in its naked deformity, there is not an honest or even a moderately decent man in the Republic, outside of the vast pecuniary interests and influence which sustain slavery where it exists, who would not unhesitatingly raise his voice or give his vote to hurry it to swift destruction, as a curse, a stigma, and a shame to Christian civilization. But the public mind of the free States has been so artfully mystified by phrases, and denials, and protestations, and all manner of special pleadings and sophistical cant, that many well-meaning and not otherwise unintelligent persons really believe that slavery, if not beneficent to the community at large, is yet, after all, a harmless, easy, picturesque, and patriarchal dispensation, sanctioned to some extent by Scripture, and not offensive to morals or to that common justice which all admit ought to prevail between man and man. To such people, the zeal and earnestness and persistence of the opponents of slavery are utterly incomprehensible, be[illegible] no conception of the long and irres[illegible] ject which are cons[illegible] anti-slavery men, wh[illegible] selves, at some peri[illegible] exactly similar stat[illegible] and misapprehension, into the clear light of truth, where the monster is visible in all its odious, disgusting, and alarming features.

As a specimen of one of these features, we ask the attention of candid, thoughtful, and decent men to the following extract from a letter recently written to the Hon. W. D. Kelley, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, by an officer of Gen. Hooker's Division of the Army of the Potomac, now stationed in Maryland. Judge Kelley, who sends us the extract, vouches in the most emphatic terms for the high character and intelligence of his correspondent. The date of the letter is Feb. 26, 1862:

"Col. M——, as he is called, in accordance with the general custom here of giving every man some title, and not, I believe, from any military rank he may have held (though of this I am not sure), is a man about 45 years old, of considerable intelligence and wealth, and, as I am informed, has travelled both in this and in other countries. He is a rather good-looking man, somewhat larger than the average size of our people. He lives on what is called Stump Neck, a peninsula between the Mattawoman, Chicamoxin, and Potomac rivers, directly opposite to Cockpit Point, on the Virginia side of the latter river. Stump Neck contains something over 1,000 acres of good land, and is, as a farm, kept in far better condition than most of the farms about here, though it will not compare with what you would call a good farm in Pennsylvania. He resides about the centre of the farm, in a small frame house, such as any of our Northern farmers who were at all in a thriving condition would be ashamed to live in. By the side of it are two log-houses, in which live his slaves, as I suppose I must call them, according to the laws of Maryland. His barns are better than his houses. This place is entirely away from any road, and therefore seldom visited. The Colonel is unmarried, but as the divine declaration, that 'it is not good for man to be alone,' holds good in regard to *him*, as well as others, he has four female slaves who fulfil the duties of wives to him. Now, the Colonel, in his patriarchal relation, likes variety, and so he has them of various hues and shades, from a negro up to a light quadroon. By these women he has had from twenty-five to thirty children, but as the mothers differ in complexion, so do the children, only with a most decided improvement in the lightness of the shading, from mulattoes up to pass-anywhere-for-white—the children of the quadroon woman, wife, or slave, whichever you choose, having light, flaxen hair, and dark, hazel eyes. The Colonel is also somewhat conscientious in his attention to their dress, the dark-skinned having very coarse clothing, without such luxuries as shoes or stockings, while there is a regular gradation to the lightest color—they having both shoes and stockings and very decent clothing. On a visit to the place some time since, the children were asked as to their paternity. They all said their mothers lived there, pointing to the log house; but when asked who was their father, one of the darkest boys said, 'Got no father,' and one of the whitest children said, pointing to the frame house, 'He lives there.' The Colonel is also a good farmer, and knows that it will not do to keep on hand [illegible] large a stock of cattle, etc., and so he regularly sel[illegible] increase of his farm as soo[illegible] horses, mules, [illegible] ever, are the m[illegible] grant it may [illegible] the Assistant Surgeon [illegible] New [illegible] now Surgeon of the [illegible] called upon to attend the qua[illegible] her confinement, and learned many [illegible] regard to them. He was very favorably impressed with her appearance, and considers her a very intelligent woman. Now, I do not know that I have in the least exaggerated in this description, but, on the contrary, have softened it very much. It is not an exceptional case, but a fair specimen of what can be seen everywhere throughout the Southern States. It has made almost every man in this brigade a determined foe to slavery. That a man would sell his own children they had thought was one of the Abolition lies, until they had the fact so thrust into their faces that it was impossible to doubt it."

The scenes and practices here described are well known to be common wherever slavery exists. Thousands and thousands of "Stump Neck" farms are scattered throughout the South, on which coarse, profligate, and mercenary masters exercise for their own lust and profit absolute dominion over human beings whom they buy as readily as cattle, to an extent limited only by their pecuniary means. The possessor of a few thousand dollars may be the meanest, the basest, the vilest, the most ferocious and cruel of men. There is nothing in the laws, or customs, or opinions of the slave States to prevent him from becoming the master and owner of men, women and children, and, if he chooses, secluding them on some "Stump Neck," far from any travelled road and from any neighbors, and subjecting them without hinderance to all that his corrupt appetites or infernal passions may prompt. And yet Christian men and refined and tender women hold up their hands in horror at the proposition to deprive those ruffians of their dreadful power, and to take their wretched victims out of the possession of individual caprice and interests, and put them under the common protection of just and beneficent law. For that, in substance, is all that is meant by emancipation. It is simply to give to the negro what properly belongs to him—his wife, his children, and his earnings—instead of leaving him to be used as a beast for the pleasure, profit, and convenience of fellows like Col. M. of "Stump Neck," Maryland.—*Tribune.*

SHADOWS OF JOHN BROWN.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

Charlestown, Va., March 1, 1862.

Yesterday morning we left Harper's Ferry. The town is half burned, scorched and blackened by the hand of secession, and is almost deserted by its inhabitants. Before Gen. [illegible] that there were [illegible] the return of [illegible] property, others [illegible] see the blastin[illegible] Ferry, and com[illegible] town of Februa[illegible] February, 1862. Even our men, who spent some time here last year, could hardly recognize it as the same place. We spent the night in the deserted houses, forcing open the doors, and sleeping on the bare floors. All the furniture, down to the smallest article, had been removed by the inhabitants, or carried off by rebel plunderers. So we washed in the brooks, dried our faces by the fire, ate our rations, and thought it all poetry.

Our march hither was made in silence. The column consisted of cavalry, several pieces of artillery, and companies of the Massachusetts troops as an advance guard; and for flankers, more artillery and the rest of the Massachusetts boys, with some Wisconsin regiments for the reserve. Very few persons came down to the roadside to see us pass, and still fewer seemed at all glad to see us. Occasionally from a solitary shanty a few women and children waved their handkerchiefs to show their joy. Only when the John Brown chorus broke the steady tramp of the column was the prevailing quiet interrupted. As we passed the hill near the town, some half-a-dozen rebel cavalry, who were out reconnoitering, caught sight of us, and, throwing away their carbines and putting spurs to their horses, fled toward Winchester. They were better mounted than our cavalry, and escaped.

We passed the field in which poor John Brown was executed; the jail where he was confined, and the Court-house in which his farce of a trial was held, and with the men singing the "Hallelujah Chorus" we marched down the principal street. We saw no friendly faces; no Union flags save our own waved in the town. Those who dared scowled, but most of the inhabitants looked on in silent fear from the corners of the streets, or peered out at us from behind the blinds.

One of the inhabitants told me they all expected we would burn the town, and that if we didn't do that, they didn't care what else we did; and indeed, this town deserves burning, if any does. It is a perfect hot-bed of secession. It has sent a company and many recruits to the Confederate army, and has done a great deal toward furnishing them with provisions and supplies. And when our troops marched through here last summer, half-starved, the people would give them nothing to eat for love or money. But burning villages is not our style of making war, and the people are fast learning how erroneous was their opinion of us.

The troops are distributed through the town in halls and empty houses. A part of the Massachusetts 2d occupy the Court-house where John Brown was tried. On the walls where secession has drawn an eagle only to deface it and inscribed "Death before dishonor," are written the names of the present occupants from Lynn, and from Salem and Boston. A Lynn shoemaker sits in the seat of the judge. The jury-box is filled with Salem sailors, and men from all Massachusetts form the audience. We have men on guard who will not alarm the country if a cow approaches. What citizen of Virginia would ever have imagined this two years ago; and who shall say that this is not a righteous retribution upon the rebels for their treatment of John Brown? B.

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY.

When some citizens of Georgia requested assistance from General Taylor in catching their fugitive slaves, who had run away into Florida, where Taylor then commanded an army, he proudly refused, saying he would never degrade a soldier to such vile work. Taylor was a Southerner and a slaveholder; Brigadier-General Nagle is a Pennsylvanian and Northerner, and orders Colonel Cowdin, of the First Massachusetts regiment, to "facilitate" a slave-owner "in finding his slave, and permit no one to interfere with him in the repossession of his property." Fortunately for the poor slave, Massachusetts men are unskilled in the work of slave-catching, and he escaped. The next time, Nagle will doubtless stand guard himself over the "property" of his Southern brother. It is perhaps the best use to which such a person can put himself.

Yesterday we printed a letter from General Hooker's division—of which Nagle's brigade is a part—[illegible] account of the surrender of a slave who [illegible]rmation of enemy's stores [illegible] given up to his master, a [illegible] took him home, and, with the help [illegible] whipped him to death. [illegible]pondent assured our readers that the com[illegible] the Potomac army was absolutely unable to get any intelligence of the force or movements of the enemy, and that this made a forward movement much more difficult and hazardous than it would otherwise be. When we read the story of "Samuel Cox, living five miles below Port Tobacco," we cease to wonder that our commanders cannot get news of the enemy's movements. Death by the lash is too high a price to pay for loyalty. But how many Northern homes will be made desolate, how many Northern wives will be made widows, how many Northern children beg their bread as orphans, that Samuel Cox may enjoy the pleasure of flogging to death a loyal man who brought us news of the enemy?

When is slave-catching in the army to stop? When will Congress see to it that he who claims ownership in a man at the National Capital shall be forced to prove at least as good a title as he who claims a stolen handkerchief? A few months ago a free man was chased by four ruffians, with pistols, caught by the help of fierce dogs who tore his flesh, imprisoned in a filthy jail within sight of the halls of Congress, and after lying there several weeks, let go. He was charged with no crime, and the wretches who committed this and a hundred other outrages are walking about the streets of Washington to-day. They have not even stopped their work. Last week two of these kidnappers seized a free black woman, going on an errand at nine o'clock at night, dragged her into the private room of a "guard house," there held her, and by threats endeavored to make her own herself a slave. When her shrieks attracted attention and men entered to inquire the cause, the room was closed in their faces, and the poor woman was thus shut off from all succor. But her shrieks had attracted the attention of too many persons, and the kidnappers, after vainly asking of a justice a warrant for her committal as a slave, "because she was black," and after terrifying her by threats and by the use of foul and obscene language to her and in her presence, let her go. This case is narrated at length and under oath in the Washington prints; but we do not read that the rascals who committed this outrage, and who are even worse than Pennsylvania Nagle, inasmuch as their victim was a woman, have been called to answer for their crime.

These sl[illegible]ers are they who are so full of zeal for the preservation of the Constitution. But is it constitutional [illegible] surrender a loyal man to the enemy, that he may be whipped to death for the ser[illegible] he has done [illegible] cause? Is it constitutional to [illegible] to kidnap women on the public stree[illegible] force a black man into slavery on the mere word of any wretch who chooses to lay claim to him?

Even the Fugitive Slave law secures a black man some opportunity to prove that he is a freeman. But these Nagles in the army, and Keeses in the police force at Washington, are violators of the Constitution, violators of the Fugitive Slave law, violators of the most sacred rights of men. And yet Congress has power to make and unmake alike Nagle and Keese. —*Evening Post.*

* This letter appeared in The Standard of March 4th.—*Ed.*

RHYME AND RHYMERS.

Far be it from us to underrate the value of the metrical art. It is one of the cherished amenities of life, at once a luxury and a tonic, a pleasure and a power. A striking thought takes deeper hold on the memory and has an intenser power to animate and thrill, when invested with the charms of melody and rhythm. Most people find a certain delight in the mere regular recurrence of rhyme; in the couplets that stand like wedded pairs, or in those alternating terminals that meet, and kiss, and part, like friends in the great crowd of bustling life. The hymn reaches hearts untouched by the sermon; the ballads of a nation strike deeper than its laws. Thoughts in the form of a vigorous verse are to the best eloquence of prose what the coin from the mint is to the ingots of the goldsmith or the Californian's dust. They are at once compact, beautiful and current. No mere oratory ever approached the power of poetry, when wedded to the music which it loves. Hence comes it that the Marseillaise is still a word of power and peril, while the eloquence of Mirabeau is forgotten. Hence came the power that opened the prison doors of the bishop of Trelawney, when, confined for a questionable political offense, his life was literally "bought for a song." The infamous Judge Jeffries, who turned pitilessly from Monmouth's beautiful and royal face, dared not wait the multitudinous echoes of the thundering chorus:

"And shall Trelawney die?
And shall Trelawney die?
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys
Will know the reason why!"

But as the best things when perverted prove the worst, so that form of literature which may be the most [illegible] vitalized, is, when that vitality is [illegible] absolutely dead. The form which [illegible] living thought is without it but a [illegible] *caput mortuum* to be buried out of [illegible] are delightful; nay, they are indis[illegible] the multiplicity of dead ones may [illegible] deliver us. Nor can we undertake to nurse into convalescence those in which the vital spark is dim. Among all the philanthropic institutions of the day a hospital for invalid poetry should be found, but newspapers and magazines contain no facilities for the purpose. In their columns, as in those of an advancing army, should be found only the healthful and efficient, those endowed with strength to do and courage to dare. We want not only uniforms and music, but high purposes and heroic souls; else the whole pageant is made up of two pitiful materials, sheepskin and shoddy.—*Springfield Republican.*

COMPROMISES.

With the great successes of the Union armies comes the danger of a compromise that shall prove as an armistice for the rebels, giving them time to recover their strength and rebuild their hope of a separate nationality, or securing to them their old and perilous domination in the national affairs of the restored Union. We have no faith in their "last man and last dollar" talk, and of their retiring into fastnesses and carrying on a guerilla warfare, after they have laid waste their towns and villages. Men don't covet self-destruction, though exasperated and terrified ones do talk fiercely and inconsiderately. The danger is that they will soon be sueing for peace, on terms very little different from those which they first started to gain by force. The North having no enmity to the South, in the magnanimity of victors may be inclined to be generous to the forgetfulness of principle. And there will be plenty of ambitious men, having an eye to the Presidential election of 1864 and the Southern vote, who will attempt to aid in a rotten pacification which shall be tender of rebels and rebellion. The people must be on their guard against this compromising spirit, and check its expression. It will be mad folly for us, after all our expense of blood and treasure, to patch up a compromise that shall leave us where we began, with a burthen of debt to bear in addition. The only way is to make thorough work and so kill out rebellion as to ensure the country against the danger of a repetition. "Immediate and unconditional surrender"—General Grant's terms—must be our terms. The rebels may think these "ungenerous and unchivalrous," as did General Buckner at Fort Donelson, but like that General, if we declare our intention of bearing down upon them with all the force of the government, they will submit.—*New York Chronicle.*

MARYLAND.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

Baltimore, February 27, 1862.

The Legislature has not done much except to agitate the slavery question, against the agitation of which it has been daily declaiming, as Senator Smith of Carroll told the Senate yesterday. These slaveholders seem destined, like the Bourbons, never to learn wisdom. They have been more insolent than usual this winter, and that too in the midst of a rebellion which their crimes against black humanity have helped to bring on the country; but fortunately their insolence goes for nothing amid the clang of arms.

Maryland has done nothing whatever towards preserving the Union and putting down the rebellion—has, on the contrary, been a dead expense to the Treasury of several hundred thousand dollars, far more than her quota of the taxes assessed upon her—and yet her Union Legislature undertakes to hector the Federal government and to tell the Administration that if the slave of a single rebel is set free by the war she will revolt and blow up the whole Union structure. This is the plain English of all the resolutions which they have been grinding out.

My own opinion is, that the only truth in Jeff. Davis's Inaugural is his declaration that Maryland would secede if the military pressure of the Federal government were removed, and in this opinion I am fully sustained by the best informed and most loyal men of the State. And so long as slavery is perpetuated within her limits this will be the case. Slavery is a despot that tolerates no difference of opinion, and is utterly antagonistic to free labor. The only way of converting Maryland into a loyal State, like her free sisters, is to abolish the remnant of slavery within her bounds. That done she will become one of the most desirable residences in the Union.

I am sorry to say that the Legislature has passed many local bills looking to further oppression of the black man, both slave and free, and tightening the chains of bondage and disabilities. At one time—last fall and summer—there was an evident relaxation of the public mind in regard to slavery; and a disposition to let the 85,000 remaining slaves go; but the meeting of the Legislature has excited new hostilities to the black man, and the cry now is, "Keep him down!"

Baltimore continues to pride herself upon her secessionism, and her men and women of the wealthier sort take no pains to conceal their sympathies. Indeed, they omit no opportunity to make them known in the most offensive manner to Union people. There is little or no abatement in the insolence begotten amongst the rich and educated classes of this rebellion. Society is cleft in twain, and there is no hope of its reconstruction until slavery is eliminated.

This condition of things has been produced, in some measure, by the course of events at Washington. So long as Maryland thinks there is a chance of making her power felt in the national councils as a slave State, she will plant herself on the accursed system, and, it is useless to deny, she has seen nothing in the conduct of the Federal government to persuade her that slavery stands in the way of her advancement.

Foreign Gleanings.

Monument to Robert Owen.—A tasteful and appropriate monument has lately been erected over the grave of the great philanthropist, Robert Owen, at Newton. It is in tomb form of blue slabs and polished marble corners. Upon the South side is the following inscription: "In memory of Robert Owen (the philanthropist), born at Newtown, May 14th, 1771; died at Newtown, November 17th, 1858." On the opposite side is written, "Erected by public subscription, 1861." The whole is surrounded by a low iron palisading.

Prince Albert was solicited by a bishop, we will not say by whom, to support the claims of a man of very doubtful opinions to a bishopric. He demurred, expressing his misgivings of the ambitious candidate's orthodoxy. Shortly afterward the disappointed man went over to Rome. When next the Prince met the Bishop, he observed how fortunate it was that he (the Prince) did not recommend his friend the renegade to ecclesiastical advancement, to which the indiscreet but characteristically unprincipled answer was, "Had your Royal Highness done so, the apostacy would not have happened." From that moment the Prince knew his man; and that man, whoever he is, now treats the Prince's death as a judgment. Out upon him!—*Examiner.*

Wheat a Weed.—It has long been suspected that the cereal grains are but cultivated examples of wild cereal grasses—that they were not created as corn, but that they have been improved by culture into their present condition. This supposition was confirmed by M. Fabre, of Agde, in the south of France, who, in 1838, sowed some grains of the *Ægilops ovata*, a common cereal grass, and by successive sowings in garden soil, produced, in 1846, crops of real wheat as fine as any to be found in the neighborhood. This experiment is now being carried on by the professor of geology and botany in the Royal Agricultural College, and the grass is gradually undergoing the same transformation into the true cereal grain.—*Once a Week.*

The Bonaparte Family.—In the evening I went to the Princess Gabrielli's family. She is the daughter of Madame Lucien Buonaparte. She married Prince Gabrielli. She is a very pleasing woman—not the least pretty, and, they say, a very well-behaved woman. The party was pleasant and unconstrained. I was introduced to Madame Buonapart Wyse, the daughter of Lucien, a beautiful woman, who married an Englishman, and was unfortunate in her marriage—she is separated from him; La Princesse d'Ercolani, of Bologna, another daughter of Madame Joubert's, also a very fine woman. Madame Lucien has left Rome, and Lucien hardly ever comes there. It is quite ridiculous to see the court which the whole Buonaparte family pay to me, all except Jerome, who retains his barren royalty, and will see nobody who does not consent to treat him as sovereign—this I have refused to do.—*Duke of Buckingham's Private Diary.*

Prussian Royalty a Century Ago.—On January 31, 1740, he (King Frederick William, the father of the great Frederick) said, "I am not grieved that I am about to die, for a man who is afraid of death is a coward; but what I do feel sorry for is, that I should have such a scoundrel as my son for successor." Another of his remarks was, "I know what the many hows mean; I shall some day chop off a few heads like turnips, and then it will be seen whether I or the boy am burgomaster of Berlin." One evening, when the Prince entered his father's apartments, and all the persons present rose, the King exclaimed savagely, "Sit ye down"; and when the Prince did not immediately take his seat, he shouted, "Seat yourself, in the fiend's name, or go to ——." On another occasion he declared that he had only one thing to reproach himself with, namely, that he had not executed the Prince ten years back.—*Weber's Gleanings of Four Centuries.*

The Rhinoceros's Friend.—The Rhinoceros's best friend, and the rhinoceros hunter's most tiresome enemy, is a little bird, the *Buphaga Africana*, vulgarly known as the rhinoceros bird. It constantly attends on the huge beast, feeding on the ticks that infest its hide, the bird's long claws and elastic tail enabling it to hold fast to whatever portion of the animal it fancies. If it rendered the rhinoceros no further service than ridding him of these biting pests, it would deserve his gratitude; but, in addition, it does him the favor of warning him of the approach of the hunter. With its ears as busy as its beak, the little sentinel detects danger afar off, and at once shoots up into the air, uttering a sharp and peculiar note, which the rhinoceros is not slow to understand and take advantage of; he doesn't wait to make inquiry, but makes off at once. Cumming asserts that when the rhinoceros is asleep, and the *buphaga* fails to wake him with its voice, it will peck the inside of his ears, and otherwise exert itself to rouse its thick-headed friend.—*Wild Sports of the World.*

The Retreat from Russia.—The General-in-Chief is the Gen. Campana, a man much esteemed and beloved, and known to be a gallant officer. He served under Murat, and made with him the campaign of Russia. On the retreat from Moscow he lost the fingers of his left hand by the cold. His details of what they suffered were dreadful. He said that all the officers, Murat included, were on foot; even Berthier, unwieldy and gouty, was obliged to walk, and his senses began to fail him. Napoleon was always in a carriage or on horseback. He describes the men as preserving a morose silence, neither complaining nor murmuring. Nothing was to be seen but wastes of snow, and black lines of vast pine forests, nothing to be heard but the howling of the wolves feeding on the unburied carcasses, and the horses of the Cossacks, as they hung upon the flanks and rear of the retreating columns. Gen. Campana himself witnessed 400 of the Imperial Guard lying dead around one night's bivouac.—*Duke of Buckingham's Private Diary.*

Our Meals.—Breakfast is a cheerful meal in a country gentleman's house; perhaps the most so of any. Luncheon is a scramble, a sort of voluntary, at which the sportsmen of a family never appear. Dinner, to be good and agreeable, must be attended by a certain amount of pomposity; and this climate is altogether too cold by seven or eight o'clock p.m., for lightness and elegance, unaccompanied by a genial warmth of magnificence and state. An English gentleman is without a rival in an evening dress; but it is the only time when an English woman may appear to throw away a chance. She will always, in point of beauty, distance foreign competition; but candlelight gives an opening to artificial adornment, which brings a clever and unscrupulous rival near her level. Nothing has a ghost of a chance with a well-dressed English woman at a breakfast table. And its charm of propriety and ease, its combination of order and sociability, even its newspaper gossip and epistolary comments, place it at the head of domestic enjoyments. It is to the day what youth is to life; somewhat too short, but a season of promise. Alas! not always to be fulfilled.—*Charlie Thornhill.*

A Lesson in Eman[illegible].—The experience of Russia in the emancipation of [illegible] twenty millions of serfs is decidedly adverse to the gradual approach to [illegible] and to right which it was supposed the magnitude and the difficulties of the undertaking required. The nine years' compromise with slavery which the ukase of emancipation dictated, an order to fit these slaves [illegible] for the freedom which it bestowed upon them, is proved to be a failure—a failure so utter and so miserable that the nobility, the slaveholders themselves, are petitioning the Czar for immediate emancipation.

In an address to the Emperor, recently presented, the noblesse of the Government of Moscow, after reminding him of their devotion in 1812, beg leave to suggest that it is necessary in order to render the great measure of emancipation more just, and to secure from it its legitimate fruits, that the elective principle should be extended to certain offices, executive and judiciary, that the right of property should be affirmed, that the budget of receipts and expenditures should be published, that banks of credit should be established, that a national assembly be convened, and "that the term of nine years prescribed by the ukase be shortened, so that *emancipation may be complete*, and the peasant may be entirely free from all engagements with the proprietor in relation to lands."—*Tribune.*

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