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Selections.

EARL RUSSELL ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ENGLAND.

[This address of Earl Russell, though received in this city some time for last week's STANDARD, was crowded out for want of room.]

Earl Russell was entertained at dinner on Saturday, Sept. 26, in the new town-hall of Blairgowrie, by the tenantry on the Rosemoor and Rait estates and their friends. He spoke, on this occasion, the following words on the foreign relations of England:

Earl Russell, who was received with loud cheering, said: Gentlemen, I am deeply grateful to you for the invitation you have given me to be present here to-day, and for the manner in which you have received the toast which has been proposed, and to the noble lord in the chair for the manner in which he has proposed it. Gentlemen, I think the noble lord has very truly observed that however important are those matters of domestic interest to which he alluded, and to which, from time to time, there is no longer much excitement about them, and that for some time the state of foreign affairs has greatly occupied the attention of the country. I confess I do not wonder that this should be the case, for the state of foreign affairs has been a very anxious one for the state of foreign affairs, affecting a great part the commerce and manufactures of the country. Every rumor or alarm tends to depreciate or to improve the property of thousands of persons in this country; and the apprehension of war may cause burdens to be laid on the people of this country, and might bring a struggle in which every mother would have to call for the danger of her son, who in the army or navy might have to encounter the hostility of his country. But, gentlemen, in the danger of war, averting it if it can be prevented and honorably avoided, of meeting it courageously and with confidence if it must be met—at this moment the eyes of all the country and its high place among the nations (cheers), its fame to future ages, its very existence as a great country (cheers). I have, therefore, partaken in a more than ordinary degree of the feeling that prevailed that I was held the seals of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. There have been important events during the comparatively short period in which I have held that office. When Lord Palmerston was at the head of the Foreign Office, it was only stepping, though it very soon closed, then there came the question whether the Italians should be allowed, without interference, to throw off their government, and to form a new Italian government (hear, and cheers), and attempt to obtain a freedom and a unity for themselves; whether France, or Austria, or any other Power should interfere to direct and turn the destinies of that great nation. I was consulted, in these circumstances the government of Lord Palmerston did not hesitate to say that the people of Italy should choose for themselves their own destiny; that they should choose their form of government; and that with the capacity they had, and with the courage they had shown, it was our belief that they were fit to take their place among the great nations of the world (cheers). Gentlemen, I was pleased that I expressed that opinion, as an organ of Lord Palmerston's government, at one of your own Scottish cities—at the city of Aberdeen—and I found, I must say, that the whole country was of the opinion of Lord Palmerston (cheers); and, supported by the public opinion, the voice of England was powerful in preventing intervention with the interests of the Italian people (cheers). Gentlemen, there occurred other causes of alarm.

There occurred that which is so often now given us painful feelings—I mean the civil war that has taken place in Poland. For my own part, I am ready to admit, I need shall be, the course which Her Majesty's government, in conjunction with France and Austria, have taken on that question. But, gentlemen, I have stated in my place in Parliament, and I have no doubt still, that neither the obligations of honor, nor the interest of England require that we should go to war for Poland (cheers). I hold that opinion, and I think it would be unbecoming to Russia when we are not prepared to support that assertion by force (hear, hear)—enough, however, has astonished me to find that at the end of seven or eight months of correspondence Russia has taken the side that she has done. The partition of Poland, an event which was the scandal of Europe in the last century (hear, hear, and cheers), and which is the reproach of the three Powers who were parties to it (renewed cheers). But at the treaty of Vienna it was thought that the circumstances of Europe were perhaps justified what was done—to adopt, as it were, into the law of nations the State of Poland as divided between those three Powers, and to make it, as it were, a recognition of the fact of the partition of Poland. The Powers of Europe became, to use a legal phrase, accessories after the fact (hear, and a laugh). Austria and Prussia acted with the conditions of the treaty. Russia never complied with those. It seems to me that it was an act of great imprudence on the part of Russia, when she had that great advantage—when she had, in the act of spoliation and partition condoned, as we were, by Europe—when she had obtained that sanction was given, to rest as she now rests on the title of the original partition, on the title of conquest, rejecting all those conditions by which at the treaty of Vienna that title was confirmed by the voice of Europe (cheers). What may be the consequences of that act, what conduct the different Powers of Europe may follow, is not a question on which I can properly enter. I have stated in my place in Parliament that these conditions which are contained in the treaty of Vienna, by which Russia obtained the portion of Poland, have not been complied with; and that, if Russia wishes to rest on that tenure, the title itself can hardly be upheld (cheers). Gentlemen, there is another question concerning our foreign relations on which a great deal of misapprehension has at various times and very lately prevailed—I mean the question of Mexico. It has been said that there has been intervention in Mexico, and that, in some degree took part in the intervention. Now, that word intervention is unlikely employed with a great deal of license and confusion to express a great many different kinds of proceeding. There is an intervention certainly when a Power, the subjects of which have been wronged, asks redress for those subjects. When their property has been unjustly taken, when the persons of their subjects have been injured, that is an intervention quite justifiable and quite indispensably necessary (hear). There is another kind of intervention against which I have often protested, which I think is on very rare occasions indeed, to be justified, and which generally finds its condemnation in the consequences which follow from it—I mean the forcible intervention in the internal affairs of another nation to improve its government, and dictate who shall be its rulers (cheers). Well, gentlemen, in the former kind of intervention we took part, but immediately the latter kind of intervention was adopted by one of the three Powers which were concerned in the hostilities in Mexico, we at once parted company with our allies, and have since taken no part in the affairs of Mexico (hear, hear). Gentlemen, such is our condition at the present moment. If the people of Mexico approve the intervention which has taken place, if they wish to set up a monarchy in Mexico, and if they will willingly submit, if they are enabled to establish peace and order in Mexico upon those conditions, I say, with all my heart, let them have it, and I wish them success (cheers). But if they do not choose it, if the people of Mexico wish for the form of government which for many years they have adopted, we have not again say we have no business to contradict them in that respect; and that with the people of Mexico, however irregular their form of government has been, and however the country has been deformed by acts of robbery and violence, yet I do not think we ought to interfere about their own choice of their own form of government (cheers). Well, gentlemen, I come now to another question, a question interesting to the country, and which I hope will fix your attention, because I wish to explain some circumstances in which the character of this country, I think, has been maligned. I am speaking of what has occurred in what a few years ago, were the United States of America. A few years ago we were exulting in the prosperity of that country; we were happy to see a people derived from the same ancestors as ourselves, spreading and increasing, living in perfect harmony among one another, and with whom we had, at least just before the civil war broke out, hardly a difference—a difference only with regard to the small island called Rum Island, over which the dispute had to refer to the arbitration of the Swiss Republic. This was the state of affairs when that which we certainly had no part in broke out; when, if I remember rightly, nine of the Southern States of America declared that they would form an independent republic. Our course on the subject has been attacked and blamed in the bitterest terms—blamed sometimes by the Federals, and sometimes by the Confederates. I will first state what we did by the Federals. They said we had no right to grant—so far as we were concerned—to the Confederates the rights of belligerents. Well, gentlemen, that question of the rights of belligerents is a question of fact. I put it to you whether, with 5,000,000 people, 5,000,000, I mean, of free men declaring themselves in their several States collectively an independent State, we could pass over that as a petty rebellion? Our Admirals asked whether we should treat their bearing the Confederate flag should be treated as pirates or not. If we had treated them as pirates we should have been taking part in that contest which it was impossible to look upon the declaring of a community of 5,000,000 people as a mere petty insurrection [hear, hear], or as not having the rights which at all times are given to those who, by their numbers and importance, or by the extent of their territory, they possess a right to claim the same rights [cheers]. Well, it was said we ought not to have done that because they were a community of slaveholders. Gentlemen, I trust that our abhorrence of slavery is not less—I am afraid for some time the cause of foreign affairs has greatly occupied the attention of the country. I confess I do not wonder that this should be the case, for the state of foreign affairs has been a very anxious one. On the state of foreign affairs depends a great part the commerce and manufactures of the country. Every rumor or alarm tends to depreciate or to improve the property of thousands of persons in this country; and the apprehension of war may cause burdens to be laid on the people of this country, and might bring a struggle in which every mother would have to call for the danger of her son, who in the army or navy might have to encounter the hostility of his country. But, gentlemen, in the danger of war, averting it if it can be prevented and honorably avoided, of meeting it courageously and with confidence if it must be met—at this moment the eyes of all the country and its high place among the nations (cheers), its fame to future ages, its very existence as a great country (cheers). I have, therefore, partaken in a more than ordinary degree of the feeling that prevailed that I was held the seals of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. There have been important events during the comparatively short period in which I have held that office. 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battle ships to break our blockade at Brest, whatever reasons they might have urged in support of that, we should have protested against the contest as neutrality. Such is the spirit in which I have prepared to act. Everything that the law of nations requires, everything that our law, that the Foreign Enlistment Act, requires, I have prepared to do, and even, if it should be proved to be necessary for the preservation of our neutrality, that the sanction of Parliament should be asked for further measures. In short to sum up, Her Majesty's government are prepared to do everything that the duty of neutrality requires—everything that is just to a friendly nation—taking as a principle that we should do to others as we should wish to be done by (cheers and laughter). But this we will not do—we will not adopt any measure that we think to be wrong. We will not yield a jot of British law or British right in consequence of the menaces of any foreign Power [loud and long cheers]. I have, I must say, been astonished at the complaints that have been made, it is singular to observe how jaundiced the minds of some of those who speak in the New England States are on this subject. Gentlemen, there were some members of the House of Lords, who thought fit to complain on an apparent case of grievance—and not one case, but many cases—of ships of ours that had been seized; ships that were carrying goods to neutral ports, in other cases on the sea, but apparently on a legitimate voyage; and it was urged that we ought not to submit to have our vessels thus seized and our commerce interrupted. I had to deal with that case, and my answer was that, according to the law of nations, if a ship had an ostensible voyage to a destination which was not her real destination—if she was found, in fact, to be an enemy's ship, in disguise, the belligerent had a right to stop that vessel on the high seas. I said the law had been laid down by Lord Stowell and other great English authorities, and that now we were neutrals I did not think it fit we should depart from the law we had laid down as belligerents [cheers] I said that in America, although there were some of the local courts which had not the authority of such men as Lord Stowell and Sir William Grant, yet there was a Court of Appeals, there was a Supreme Court in the United States which contained, and had for many years contained, men as learned and of as high reputation in the law, and of as unsullied reputation for integrity, as any that have sat in our English courts of justice, and that we ought to wait patiently for the decisions of those tribunals. Now, what is my surprise to find, and what would be your surprise to find, that Mr. Sumner is so prejudiced as to bring these declarations of mine against me, saying that I have diminished the reputation of the American courts, and that I have showed myself biased against the Federal States by the declaration I then made in Parliament. [A gentleman from the Southern States among the company here ejaculated, "He is not to be believed."] I will not detain you further on these subjects; but one remark I must make as to the sympathies of these gentlemen and writings in America. The government of America discusses these matters very fairly with the English government. Sometimes we think them quite in the wrong; sometimes they say we are quite in the wrong; but we discuss them fairly, and with regard to the Secretary of State I see no complaint to make. I think he weighs the disadvantages and difficulties of our situation in a very fair and equal balance. Gentlemen, I wish to read a sentence or two of them—his speech being an epitome almost of all that has been contained in the American press—by which our conduct is very differently judged. With regard to all these matters I have sufficiently quoted. We may have reason to complain in some instances, and the Federal Republic of America may have reason to complain also. But let us recollect that we are, as I have said, descended from the same ancestors; that we have lived and live in America the common law of England is constantly studied, and the decisions of our great judges constantly referred to as decisions to be there respected; that our Shakspeare and our Milton are to those educated books as they are to us; that we have the same inheritance of freedom; that many of our institutions, as you may see by reading that excellent work of M. de Tocqueville on America, are identical; that the same spirit of liberty animates us both; that we after our revolutions chose a constitutional monarchy as the best form of government, and they after their revolutions chose a republic; and that thus united, having the same spirit of law, having the same spirit of literature, having the same spirit of freedom, we ought, when this unhappy contest is over, to embrace as brothers these two nations, and to be the Old World and they in the New ought to be the lights to promote the civilization of mankind [loud cheers]. Now, gentlemen, with these feelings I own I almost lose my patience when I read what what is called an oration, heaping up accusation after accusation, and misrepresentation after misrepresentation, all tending to the bloody end of war between these two nations. I cannot say we are not satisfied with the blood that has been shed in the last two years, with that field of Gettysburg where 10,000 corpses of men, most of them in the prime of manhood, were left lying stretched on the ground? I am not satisfied with that blood shed, but would they seek to extend to the nations of Europe a new contest, in which fresh sacrifices are to be made of human life, of human interest, and of human happiness? [Hisses.] Gentlemen, I trust that that will not be the case. I know, at least, that my efforts, such as they are—weak they may be, ineffectual I hope they will not be—will be directed to keep peace between these two nations, and to do everything which I think is just and right toward these people, and ready to meet attack if we are unjustly attacked; ready to bear our part in the contest, if contest there must be; but, gentlemen, I think it right to make every effort that all these various conflicts may end in peace, in union, and in friendship, I shall at all events have the consciousness that I have done my best to preserve peace between these mighty nations [renewed cheers]. Gentlemen, it is a great subject; it affects the people of this part of the world and of America; it affects the future stage of civilization; it affects the well-being of the black race. Gentlemen, I was the cause of a great deal of misfortune to America, and who, if these matters end well, will be, as I believe they are fitted to be, peaceable and intelligent members of a free country [cheers]—on behalf of whose welfare we have made a great deal of great efforts, and to sacrifice much. But we will not sacrifice any of those views of ours to mere pretense. We have as strong feelings for the good of mankind as any people can have; we must maintain our own position and our own rights. Gentlemen, the people of what were the United States, whether they are called Federals or Confederates, will finally do us justice, and that they will observe—as, indeed, they cannot help observing—that we have maintained our neutrality to so much discussion and so much difference of opinion, there are parties very considerable in number who sympathize with the Confederates, and other large masses—I believe the great mass of the people—who sympathize with the Federals; but whether sympathizing with the one or the other, we have all embraced in our hearts that sentiment of justice—justice we will do to others, justice we will demand for ourselves; and I hope that in unison with the feelings of your minds when I say that justice ought to prevail.

The noble Earl sat down amid prolonged cheering.

TRIAL OF EDITORS IN PRUSSIA.

On the morning of the 18th, as early as eight o'clock, a crowd of persons, evidently belonging to the most respectable classes, was to be seen gathering around the doors of the hall of the City Court of Justice. Half an hour later the number had so increased that it was resolved by the judicial authorities to hear the case that had attracted so much public attention in a more spacious room than that originally chosen; and accordingly the trial was held in the hall of the Schwurgericht in the Lager Strasse. Here, at a quarter-past nine, the long-expected process of the government against the seven Berlin editors who issued their protests against the June press ordinance, was opened by the presiding judge, Herr Von Moers. Of the accused, Dr. Julian Schmidt, of the *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*; Dr. Meyen of the *Berliner Reform*; Dr. Zabel, of the *National Zeitung*; Dr. Alexis Schmidt, of the *Spener Zeitung*; Dr. Mueller, of the *Vossische*; and Dr. Retslag, of the *Berlin Evening Gazette*; making six out of the seven, appeared in the dock. The missing editor was Herr Holdein, of the *Volks Zeitung*, who, being on a pleasure tour, did not think it worth while to obey the summons of the court. The government prosecutor, after some unimportant formalities, accused the other six gentlemen of exposing the institutions of the State to public hatred by the perversion of facts in their common declaration against the press ordinance. He charged them, in the second place, with publishing an insulting libel against the ministers of the State. In support of these charges he made a speech of considerable length, and concluded by asking the court to condemn the defendants to fines of from fifty to one hundred thalers, or, in default, imprisonment of from thirty to sixty days. After a speech from the barrister who acted on behalf of the defendants, Dr. Linear, rose and completely annihilated the baseless arguments of the government pleader. He showed convincingly that the editors had done nothing but what was justified both by the law and the Constitution, and that they had not perverted a single fact. He also demonstrated the groundlessness of the assertion that any libelous insult or offence had been committed against the members of the Cabinet. The court, after hearing an hour's deliberation, acquitted the whole of the defendants, and condemned the government to pay the costs of the suit. The verdict will be anything but agreeable to such impatient tempers as those of Herr Von Bismark and Von Roon, and we shall not be surprised to hear that the government prosecutor has been instructed to appeal against it. The uncertainties of the law in Prussia are such that in the next instance the editors may find themselves consigned to prison just as readily as they were acquitted in the first instance.—*London Weekly Review.*

CONDITION OF THE SLAVES IN THE SOUTH.

From an Occasional Correspondent.

The attention of the rebel leaders having been lately absorbed by warlike preparations, political cares, other questions of secondary importance have been either neglected or put aside. Among them is the arming of the blacks and their incorporation in the ranks of the rebel army. There was a time when this question would have occasioned before the members of the Richmond government, and elicited the warmest debates. Numerous and irreparable reverses then menaced its very existence, and compelled them to employ every means in their power of defense in order to save or to prolong the life of the Confederacy.

This feeling was not confined to the heads of the administration, but affected also, in a no small degree, the Governors of the Southern States, who, struck by the imminence of the peril threatening their country, offered immediately to the central authorities all the resources in men and money they believe themselves capable of rendering. At the head of these resources several Governors placed the black population which the patriotism of a few Southern planters had offered, without restriction, for the defense of the country of which they constituted a part, and whose existence the government should choose to use them. Far from censuring a measure destructive of slavery, these Governors recommended it as consistent with the requirements of an enlightened patriotism, and convinced to persuade the government that it was not in conflict with the opinions of the majority of the people.

But this recommendation was limited to the Governors of Alabama, of South Carolina, and of Mississippi. These gentlemen omitted to state what, in their opinion, should be the reward awarded to the slave for his services, and they did not meet the question which immediately presented itself to them of fighting side by side with slaves. They seemed to consider that the service of the black in the army was of the same nature as that in the field, and did not elevate him above the condition of a mere inferior occupant. The character of his new role did not strike them as it ought to have done, and hence the obstacles and embarrassments which besieged the Cabinet when this question of arming the slave presented itself for consideration.

The Cabinet of Richmond was not in a position to enable it to decide upon that question in a way agreeable at once with the sentiment of the Confederate nation, and the prejudices of the majority of the Southern people. The feeling of the army was unmistakable, Jeff. Davis and his colleagues know that none but freemen could be admitted to the army; nor could they ignore the fact that raising the black to the rank of a soldier, and giving him his freedom for his services, was a measure repugnant to a large number of their countrymen. The Cabinet was in a dilemma in which they were required to please both the army and the civilians, the rebel leaders let the question drop, although they would have been highly pleased to have settled it in favor of an increase of the forces by arming the blacks.

This, I understand, is a true relation of the obstacles the measure of arming the slaves met in the Cabinet of Richmond, and of motives which induced it to lay the project aside for the time being. But the adjournment does not imply that the measure has been ultimately rejected; it remains as a last resource—as the reserve of the reserve—as the *ultima ratio* of the rebellion, and will remain under consideration until new circumstances shall make it proper and desirable.

Attentive and dispassionate observers cannot, however, be deceived as to the true character of this proposed measure. It is not obviously not the result of an isolated influence, nor of a passing necessity, but of some deep and unseen alteration in public sentiment on the subject of slavery. It is not often that the measures of the rebels take hold of the social revolution produced by great national evils. The Southerners, blinded by the passions of the hour, do not note the changes which their actual condition compels them to introduce into their social system. They do not see that by associating with their slaves in their military operations, by introducing them into their companies, regiments, and brigades, either as servants, pioneers, or miners, they are gradually and efficiently destroying the social differences which the prejudices of race had raised between the white and the black, and preparing for others through that sort of equality which a community of danger creates, a life of comparative freedom and independence.

It must be remembered that from the day the war began up to this hour, a number of slaves, increasing in a proportion equal to the duration of the war, has been mixed in the regiments sent by the South against the North. At first these slaves were used as body servants by their masters. They carried their baggage; they served them when wounded, and, in general, those menial services which they were wont to do at home.

In this obscure condition the conduct of the slave was such as to excite, in many instances, the admiration of their masters. If one mixes with the Southern soldiers and listens to their anecdotes of the war, one will frequently hear instances of the gallant conduct of the slave following his master, with his musket on his back, leading his pistols and his gun, sharing his fatigue and dangers, and when the latter falls dead, taking his place in the ranks and fighting till the battle was over. The story of Gen. Stonewall Jackson's servant refusing to leave the field of battle the army at the battle of Antietam, and accompanying his master in the midst of the heaviest fire, is a little drama in itself which will certainly go to posterity with the memory of the celebrated leader. The examples of devotion and intelligence given by the blacks in the service of the hospitals have also left a deep impression upon the gratitude of the wounded intrusted to their care. Such facts, and others, which I will not stop to relate, have contributed immensely to raise the proscribed race in the estimation of their oppressors, and has profoundly influenced the conscience of the army as regards the social condition of their people.

The action of the States in impressing a slave to work on fortifications and trenches and paying a certain remuneration to his master for his time, has also altered the social condition of the slave. It has subjected the property of the legal owner—a change which has been in a majority of cases greatly to the advantage of the blacks, whom the State has elevated from the rank of field laborer to that of defender of their country. All those who have been impressed have been enrolled in regiments, drilled, and treated exactly as the whites. They are now to be found working side by side with their masters in nearly every Southern camp. It is they who have thrown fortifications across the Rapidan, erected ramparts and batteries in Charleston, and carried the heavy guns of Gen. Bragg to the top of Lookout Mountain. There is not a battle-field upon which they have not figured either as miners, pioneers, or laborers, or a battle in which they have displayed a great deal of endurance, zeal, and courage—not a military event in which their services have not been recorded. Yet the rebel memory of the soldier, more honorable than the slave, will not appreciate them to their full extent.

These two causes—the relations created by the war between the freeman and the slave, and the action of the State in interfering with the property of the slave owner—have, in certain States, produced a moral revolution which is already perfectly distinguishable, and the effects of which cannot fail to affect, at some period not very distant, their laws and institutions. My informant tells me that in Richmond the question of liberating the slaves now serving in the army and of arming them in future, is a subject of daily discussion among the people; that men of high standing in and out of the Administration frequently express the regret that the slaves on plantations have not enrolled and drilled in anticipation of events which may require the mustering of all the owners of the Confederacy, and that a large party exists now in Virginia recommending the gradual emancipation of all the slaves in that State.

Thus there are, he assures me, two parties in Virginia, one advocating this policy in regard to the slave, the other the continuation of the slavery system as it is, with all the rights and privileges of the slave owners strictly observed. These two parties, it is said, are now waging against each other a secret warfare which would soon break out into loud and open denunciations, if the absorbing interest in the war did not smother all other questions. But the slaveowners are evidently alarmed at the turn public opinion is now taking on the slavery question, and they are taking measures to prevent the Legislature from passing any act which may be offering the present session—a precaution which shows more than anything else the progress this question has made in Virginia and in other States since the beginning of the war.

Mr. Collier, a member of the Senate from Petersburg, Va., is the instrument of the slaveowner in his attempt to deal a blow which the majority of the Legislature will not, I believe, hesitate to oppose. Mr. Collier demanded that the subject of the agitation of the question of slavery in that State's Conventions and Legislatures, all over the Confederacy, should be deprived of the right of altering existing institutions—and that the right of getting rid of the slave property should be granted only to the individual owners."

These resolutions, presented twice by Mr. Collier, once in 1862, and recently in 1863, are evidently the result of the apprehension of the slaveowners, that their personal property had not been menaced, they certainly would not have urged such a measure upon the Legislature of the State. I will add that in both cases these resolutions were referred to the Committee on Confederate Relations, which did not deem it advisable to act upon them.

All the facts alluded to in my letter tend evidently to one conclusion that nobody will dispute—that the actual condition of the Southern Negro is not the same as it was three years ago, both as regards the labor he performs and to the estimation of his services held by the people. He has acted as soldier, and won the praise of his enemies, and he has deserved the gratitude of all. He has elevated himself by the display of his moral and intellectual qualities, and has presented himself, not only to the South, but to the whole world, as entitled to enjoy the rights and privileges of a freeman. However obdurate slaveowners may be, however attached to their property, there is hardly any doubt that the conduct of the slave since the war began has operated to change public opinion in the South, and has paved the way, if not for his immediate emancipation, at least for an amelioration in his present condition.

SLAVERY AND THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[This following exquisite piece of irony appeared in THE STANDARD several years ago, when a Bishop of a Southern Diocese addressed us a letter, gravely informing us that no such memorial was ever presented to the General Convention!]

MEMORIAL

To the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

RIGHT REVEREND AND REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN: We pray leave to draw your eyes on a subject of the profoundest interest to our beloved Church, and particularly to our Southern Dioceses.

The inscrutable decrees of Providence have committed to us the charge in things spiritual, as well as temporal, of the colored biped mammalia, now several millions in number, who are domiciled among us. You know with what pious vigilance and devout fidelity our Church has watched and protected those black and yellow lambs of the flock, striving ever to keep them from going astray, and to make them daily more abundant in good works. We have labored among them, and have sought, and, we think, in vain, to make those thus entrusted to our Christian rule good and faithful servants—sparing no means that could promote this our godly endeavor. To this end we have prohibited them from reading, lest we have denied ourselves the happiness of sharing with them our stores of profane knowledge, and have made it a felony to teach them to read. That they might not be hindered in running the race set before them, we have forbidden them to cumber themselves with worldly goods, and to retain even the fruits of their daily labor, and we have ourselves borne the added burden without complaining. We have sought to set their affections on things of this world (which passeth away like a shadow), we have ordained that their domestic ties should be transient, and that they, with or without their wives and children, be sold into bondage, which is the basis of trade. And we have labored generally, in the spirit of Christian love, to assimilate them to that order of created beings which is commended in all ages and nations as the favored people of old, for that "it knoweth its master."

And thus we may say, without boasting, that the Christian graces of humility, long-suffering, and submission to wrongs (so difficult of attainment), are somewhere manifested in a larger scale than by this generation, though by nature stiff-necked and untractable. And it is indeed a blessed thought that these biped millions, who might at this day have been herding with their families around them, in contented degradation,

"Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sands,"*

and bowing down before Mumbo-Jumbo, or Baal, or that hideous idol Doodoo, have, by the mere light of evangelical truth and apostolical order shines on those who own them, and where they daily learn that all help in adversity comes from God alone, and from none else.

But to make the system of the Church more self-consistent and harmonious, and to adapt her ministrations to these tender lambs of her flock and to Southern christian society, some changes in her liturgical discipline to be indispensable.

Our attention to this subject has been specially awakened by the introduction, during your present session at Philadelphia, of a "Canon" absurdly misnamed "of the Holy Ministry," which, if adopted, obviously framed (we would fain believe without actual malignity of purpose) that, under its proposed provisions, a dozen or more mulatto (not to say negro) communicants, if unfortunately eye-witnesses of the confession of a crime by a deacon or presbyter, might actually have been admitted to testify to the fact, and thus to subvert the whole social and political fabric of Virginia or South Carolina. Though this insane or unchristian novelty (which disturbed our peace) was promptly rejected by a unanimous Southern vote, the mere fact that it was put forward is enough to suggest gloomy forebodings, and entertain a doubt of the validity of the Church securities for the future, and such changes in ritual and order as shall suit both to Southern institutions. Can it be doubted that communicants not credible under oath require a special liturgy?

It is to be observed that the *whole* Prayer-Book is intended for homogeneous congregations of responsible beings capable of forming domestic ties, and enjoying personal rights. It is, therefore, as a whole, unfit for congregations where the front pews *own* the free sittings—assemblages composed, in varying proportions, of two classes of Christians, one of which bought the other yesterday, and may sell it to-morrow.

But waiving this for the present, certain prominent details require immediate change.

For example: The promise and vow of the marriage service, "I, M., do take thee, N., to be my wedded husband, and to have and to hold . . . *till death do us part*," is a mockery when uttered by one of this beloved but subordinated race. We cannot bear thus to put unreal words into the mouths of those so dear to us. It should be amended to read, "till death, or my owner, his executors, administrators, or assignees, do us part." So, too, the demand: "Will thou, . . . keep thee only unto him so long as ye both shall live?" and the answer, "I will," should be improved by adding to the words "I will" some form of *protestandi* reserving the legal rights of the owner, present or future, of either party; with which the voice of the Church expressed in the present service seems to conflict. This apparent conflict is little more painfully conspicuous where the officiating clergyman is required to say: "Those whom God hath joined together *let no man put asunder!*"

Volumes of fanaticism and unbelief are latent in these few words. Where the officiating clergymen himself owns either the bride or bridegroom, this declaration might be construed, (most unreasonably, but with some plausibility) as in some sense conspiring him from any future exercise of his rights as a Christian and a patriarch, even at a considerable pecuniary loss. In every case he is thus made the mouthpiece of a revolutionary doctrine that blasphemes the rights of property, and distinctly implies the existence of that anti christian fiction, a "Higher Law." Since profane utterances may suit the atmosphere of other communities, rank with Fourierisms and Freeloveisms, and every social corruption. But no church that openly proclaims them can flourish within our borders.

Another remedy is submitted which may allow of our leaving this service (so touching and beautiful when used in its proper place) unchanged for the present. Since the Church hath inherant power to loose as well as to bind, your Honorable Body may, in its wisdom, create another Liturgy, which shall authorize one of the ministry, specially to exercise the function of loosing, and to administer the rite of Divorce from time to time with due solemnity to colored couples who have lived, married in the usual form.

Any exercise of ingenuity, or any [illegible] calling, and "apt and meet" [illegible] godly conversation to exercise that ministry daily for the edifying of the Church," should be ordained by the Bishop for this particular office, to which other minor duties might be added. Should this be done, useful hints may lawfully be borrowed from the experience of another and ancient branch of the Church; and we refer to the "Discipline of the Order of Flagellants" (*Disciplina et Ordo Ordinis Flagellantium*, 4to, *Rome*, 1567), as embodying practical suggestions of much value. A suitable "Form of Ordaining Auctioneers" should stand in the Prayer-book, immediately after that for ordaining Deacons. A tasteful symbolism would dictate the presentation of a hammer to the candidate by the Bishop (as the New Testament is delivered to the newly ordained Deacon), with solemn words, "I make thou authority to divorce colored persons in the Church at public or private sale, for cash or on credit, and also to knock them down if thou be thereto licensed by the Bishop himself." There should be also an appropriate and very brief service introductory to such sales, concluding with a suitable exhortation to the parties.

The rite of Confirmation, or laying on of hands, also needs regulating. For the avoiding of scandal persons of the African denomination must be sternly repeled from that ordinance. The pesaes of Jerusalem may be disturbed if Episcopal hands are still to be brought into physical contact with the heads of these children of the Church, except in the way of external chastisement. Whatever benefit these black but precious vessels may derive from Confirmation would be far outweighed by the damage the Church would sustain if a chivalric and impulsive public should visit one of her ministers, except in the indignity of tar and feathers for demeaning himself to administer.

The Litany, too, contains phrases that tend to mischief—the prayers, for instance, for delivered from hardness of heart and contempt of Thy word and commandments," and that "all Christian rulers and magistrates may have grace to execute justice and maintain truth." Such petitions are dangerous, of course, prayers that we may not fall into the delusion of imagining ourselves bound to mitigate the severity and brutality (falsely so called) of our eminently humane and evangelical "Slave Code," and that the civil authority may be strengthened to maintain and develop it to the end of time. But these applications have been known to stir up distressing doubts and misgivings in diseased and oversensitive consciences. The prayer for "all sick and desolate and oppressed" is so manifestly liable to perilous misconstruction that its use can no longer be tolerated.

The service for the burial of the dead needs comparatively little change to adapt it to Southern institutions, But in the passage, "Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, in his wise providence, to take out of this world the servant our deceased brother" etc., the last quoted three words are unmeaning, offensive to our instincts, and in conflict with the great fundamental ideas of our social system. "This deceased biped," or "this defunct individual black man," or words to that effect, should be substituted. In the solemn offices of religion, aught *unreal* should be studiously avoided.

There are Biblical defects in the "Prayer for a Sick Person," and the "Office for the Visitation of the Sick." Both are inapplicable to the case of sickness occurring among these colored objects of our love. Both assume that the patient, and not the proprietor of the patient, is the person most interested in the patient's recovery. The Church's intercession is for the former alone. She turns coldly away from the sorrow and trial of the owner, without a single prayer that he be spared the loss, or enabled to bear it with resignation—though it may reduce him from the estate of a gentleman, by compelling him to labor for his own subsistence! Should this be so?

Fearing to weary you by pointing out specifically all the additions and changes which the Prayer-book requires, we pause here, only hinting at a few further questions too important to be overlooked.

Should not provision be made (according to the ingenious suggestions of a distinguished Northern Churchman), in cases where a parish church needs repair or enlargement, for raising the necessary funds by the sale of a sufficient number of colored communicants?

Should not the want (at present so deeply felt) of Collects against Peace, for Dis-unity, and against the inroads of education and intelligence, be at once supplied?

Can the present mode of collecting alms at the Offertory be so improved as to enable charitable Christians, anxious to give abundant alms of their substance, but unwilling to contribute through a tainting medium, to slip a colored person or persons into the alms-dish, without unseemly noise and confusion

the battle of White Oak Swamp, and after that of Fraser's Farm, Richmond was all but lost. He praises the masterly movements of the Federals; he bitterly reproaches Mr. Davis's cowardice and care only to preserve his own chattels; he raises the curtains from the peculation of government officials, their bitter recriminations, the universal discontent of the South. *The Times* glosses over such things in the North; why does not its other correspondent tell us of them at Richmond? For Mr. Hope's benefit, I will give him, from Estvan, a trait of his beloved Southern Friends:

"At last the temporary hospital was ready, and a sad hole it was for such a purpose; an open warehouse supposed with doors opening on each street, and with no beds to serve for beds for the dying soldiers. On the mean table day our brave fellows had to endure everything—hunger, thirst, and heat, before facing death in its most fearful forms; and now, wounded at the very threshold of the writings of their enemy, their friends, whom they thought they had been fighting for, we behold them left to die uncared for in an open shed.

"I saw this place remembered as many as 40 000 inhabitants; it contained, moreover, many churches, admirably adapted for hospitals; such churches, and with, and we provided with clergy. Yet no church door was opened, no minister of religion came forward to soothe the last moments of the dying soldier. pp. 252, 263.

Compare this with Gettysburg!

2. Then, when we hear, as we daily do, of the illfeeling of the North to England, we are to forget that it was their legacy from the South? Till the last elections, as we all know, America was worked by Southern wires; and surely no man has ever used more scurrilous language against England than Mr. Sidell which now, as "S." has such pretty things to say of us in *The Times*. It is simply that we hear so much less from Richmond than from Washington, that we are able to use this argument. We only know if we would, that as, at the outbreak, the Confederates were the more bitter of the two, they must after our refusal to worship King Cotton, be not less so now.

3. One thing more. What is there in the raising of negro regiments contrary to Christian and honorable warfare? Cannot men see that, so far from encouraging a servile war, it is the best preventive? A servile war is—not a war carried on by slaves, but a war carried on *as* slaves, bound by no rules, giving the run to every passion, thirsting for any vengeance—carry it on. The Jacquerie was a servile war, though not waged by slaves. Now, if you make your slaves into soldiers; make them feel that, though they may fight for their liberty, they are bound by the laws of warfare, and must show themselves worthy of the name of free men, and the war cannot be servile. Let the negroes rise, *as* slaves, in the South (and, I suppose, no Englishman would deny them the moral right), and it is much to be feared that the wildest horrors of rage and revenge will be the consequence. But form these same slaves into regiments; teach them to be *men*, give them white officers, develop their self-confidence, and we see the result in your correspondent's last letter. By-the-bye, from his point of view, was there ever a more brutal and disgusting insult to a fallen enemy, than Gen. Gillmore's?

Nine years ago, towards the beginning of the Crimean war, I told my friend Mr. Hope, who was speaking with all his natural energy in its favor, that we, who were then considered harmless monomaniacs for believing it a most unrighteous and mistaken war, should, whether we lived long or not, ere long have the majority on our side. He smiled as people smiled if an opinion was expressed that Vicksburg would fall. My prophecy has been more fully and more speedily accomplished than I had given I expected, I have as little doubt now as I had then that the minority in the present case will—let a few years elapse—become as decided a majority as the deplorers of the Crimean war are now.

I am glad enough to show your American readers (and this was all my design in writing at all) that there are English priests who long for heartily, who expect fully, and (I hope) who pray earnestly for, the success of the North.

J. M. Neale.

Sackville College, Sept. 1, 1863.

MR. CHASE ON THE WAR.

SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AT CINCINNATI ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

A MASS meeting was to have been held in Cincinnati on Monday evening, the 12th inst., for the purpose of giving Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the United States Treasury, a chance to address the citizens of that place; but in consequence of the inclemency of the weather the committee who had charge of the arrangements were forced to engage Mozart Hall for the occasion.

Mr. Chase, after being introduced to the audience, spoke as follows:

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: We are engaged in a great struggle. It is a struggle brought upon us by no fault of the people of the United States; and when I say by no fault of the people of the United States, I mean precisely what I say. The laboring masses, the merchants, the manufacturers, the mechanics of the North have had no part in bringing on this war. The non-slaveholders of the South have had no part in bringing on this strife. It is a strife brought about by a conspiracy of the few to rule the many, and it is simply because they were not willing to trust the people with their cause that they went to arms for the purpose of establishing a dominion which should be hostile to them and which should separate them from the Federal government. That is all there is of the rebellion. Now, this conspiracy is not a recent affair. Whenever you find an aristocracy in the country, and that aristocracy finds itself oppressed by the people, it goes to war with the people. The difference between our aristocracy and the aristocracies that have existed in Europe and in other countries, is that our aristocracy happened to be established in certain portions of the country; they occupied certain States, they constituted a political social and political action in those States, and therefore it was that when the time came for the aristocracy to rebel against the democracy, then they succeeded, and in carrying out of the Union some of the States on their own expression—the most "aristocratic" of all the States—namely, South Carolina; and then South Carolina was followed by the other aristocratic States in succession, and they became involved in this terrible war. Now, when an aristocracy thus wars upon the democracy, especially if that aristocracy is a local aristocracy like ours, there is nothing for it but to meet the challenge which they throw down, or submit to dismemberment. This is the challenge presented to us to-day. The question is the West as to, Shall the aristocracy rule the Mississippi? The question in the East was, Shall the aristocracy have the whole sea-coast down to the Gulf? And the whole country responded to that, by mostly this shall not be, and when they went to war to establish a separate aristocratic government, like the monarchical institutions of Europe, we met them the democratic institution of the North. Now then, the simple question before us is, Is this country worth a war? Are the hopes depending upon the prosperity of American institutions worth enough to justify us in going to war for the nation's life? Is the life of this nation worth enough to justify us in going to war? Look through the history of mankind, and tell me where you can find a people involved in a struggle for a more noble object than that of preserving a national life. We mean to preserve the life of this nation, and the issue is so clear, so plain, so—we mean to make it thoroughly impossible, in time to come, that a disaffected faction in any part of the country can strike a death blow at the life of the country. Is that an object? That is all there is of it, and I have, therefore, no doubt about the issue of this war. I have stated the issue was certain from the very beginning—that it would be a long and a hard contest. It was a simple question whether the great mass of the people would continue to struggle to uphold the government against the efforts of a faction from controlling the whole labor of the Southern States, white and black. About the result, we shall go on as it may be we may be defeated in one, or as far as we would be very glad myself if we could go the Rebellion down in the first six months, sometimes I thought it might be done; but it has turned out that we could not yet, and the war has gone on with varying success until now. At last we have the positions that are necessary to bring success. I suppose all military men will agree that the military occupation of East Tennessee must necessarily control the issue of the war. If the rebels could take possession of that great valley and hold it permanently, and send out their armies from that locality, then we could not hope for success in the long run. It is just as certain that—now we have taken possession of that valley—that great mountain region—and hold it, just as certain as it is a question of time whether this rebellion shall be put down or not. We shall just as certainly succeed as time rolls on, because we have a base of operations, a fortress, and all we have to do is to send our armies from it. Besides, we have complete control of the Mississippi river; the commercial interests of the West are so bound to be completely by the advance of our army. Every body can see that the party which holds the Mississippi holds the control of the Mississippi valley, and we hold it virtually, that is, we control it, that is, Now what remains? General Gillmore—one of Ohio's sons—is now constructing his batteries in front of Charleston, and that Gillmore is a man of whom I believe that Wagner had to fall before Gillmore. I consider, therefore, my fellow-citizens, that this rebellion is virtually subdued. I know it is not actually subdued. They have large armies in the field; but our armies are vastly stronger. Every where our armies are stronger than ever. Therefore I regard the rebellion as virtually subdued. But I think—and I say it because it is perhaps speak confidently of these things—I think, with the very slender logic I possess on this subject, that with energetic, vigorous conduct, with the whole head and the whole heart of the nation thrown into the work, this rebellion will be brought to a close tolerably quick. Now, my fellow-citizens, I am not going to make a speech; but I will go over some of those points that appear most prominent to my own vision. I have shown you what kind of a war we have. I have shown you where we stand in the war, allow me now to say another thing to you. It was one of the most natural things in the world that, when the war began, we should want to put through it without changing the institution of slavery. I have often spoken in Cincinnati, and you all know what my feelings are, for I am just the same man I was when I spoke to you ten years ago. It was very natural and very plain that slavery depended for its existence outside of those States upon the national will, which is simply passing your will and my will—that sovereignty of these States should not exist antagonistic to free labor. But with slavery in South Carolina we in Ohio had nothing to do, and we had no right to any interference with it as I should be with their interference with our institutions here in Ohio. That was my doctrine. And so when this rebellion broke out, it would have been extremely agreeable to me if we could have put our shoulders to the snake—I mean the rebellion—and crushed it out without any further trouble. But while I speak for myself and say that I had been General-in-Chief, I should have attempted, in an awkward kind of a way, to accomplish it; still we all know the problem before us, and we must go through it with more and greater proportions. We put greater and greater armies in the field, but the slave population in the South was a great element in the rebellion. Slaves for the army, while the army was fighting in the field; so that they could send almost their whole white laboring population into the field to issue his proclamation, I said somewhere in my speeches in Ohio, that it was never intended to interfere with States that were loyal. This proclamation comes up as a great feature in this war. In my judgment the proclamation was the right thing in the right place, and—and without it, I am just as sure as I am of my own existence, that we could not have made the progress that we have made (loud cheers). And I hold that the man who denounces the proclamation, either speaks ignorantly, speaks about that of which he knows little or nothing, or he speaks what he knows to be false, and could succeed (cheers). There is no alternative; the rebellion would have succeeded but for the proclamation. If, then, a man opposes the proclamation, he opposes what I consider the undertaker and it or because he wishes the rebellion to succeed. But then, say some, you are making war upon these people in the South, and yet you put them into your armies in the Union with their slaves. Well, now, gentlemen, there are two classes of slaves in the South—those in the class of States that are entered into the rebellion, and those in the class of States that is not. With this last class of States, which is not affected by the proclamation, we have simply nothing to do, except to do for those who have the unconditional loyalty of those States, that they will do their own work in their own way, and in their own time, and all we have to do is to assist them. But in those States which are affected by the proclamation the case is different. Either the proclamation was a great, monstrous sham, and an imposition on the face of the world, or else that proclamation was an effectual thing, and there are no slaves to day in the rebel States (cheers). They are all enfranchised by the proclamation for what was it? All the slaves in those States are declared now and forever free, and the Executive power is pledged to the maintenance of their freedom. If I should do what would be a natural thing to do, and I would no more be guilty of that piece of infamy than I would steal into your house at night and rob your pantry (laughter and cheers). Well, I should be guilty of that meanness towards the rebellious slave States. It is a very simple thing; just simply recognize the Union men who remain in those States and protect them against the rebels, and the whole host of others who were known as slaveowners are now satisfied that the Union men of the South must see to it that slavery must never be permitted to be established in those States. Take such a man as the Hon. Charles Anderson, when he went home and stood up for the Union, what did the slave aristocracy do for him? They drove him out of the State, and his wife and little ones were obliged to take shelter in the bush. And so with multitudes of Union men in Texas at the present day; I mean those who would be willing and establish a free State in Texas; because, they say, no other than a free State can ever protect them from the enemies of human freedom, and, I was going to say, of human dignity and rights. Again, in Texas there were many who were driven away who are now anxious to return. Is there a man here who wants these noble, generous men who love the Union to go back to be trampled under foot by restored rebels? (Cries of "No, no!") Let them go back, but let them go back under the aegis of the American Union, and the protection of the Government of the United States—and then they will take care to settle this question of slavery. They will amend the Constitution so as to put the slavery question where it ought to be. Now, I do not done, who is going to talk about the proclamation? You have here my fellow-citizens, an intelligent statement, as it seems to me, of the manner in which this thing has been settled; simply by staffing by the unconditional Union men, who, almost all of them have embraced the doctrine of emancipation in the Border States, and standing by the Union men in those rebellious States, and letting them protect themselves against the institution of slavery. We have heard much of late about military necessity. It is not that the best popular sovereignty to let the people protect themselves against what they conceive to be evil? How since we have been in this war, we have test them by the plain light of reason. As might have been expected, this war has attracted the attention of the whole world. The aristocracy of Europe, the monarchical world despotism and aristocracy are in sympathy with the rebellion. Despotism and aristocracy do not like a great and flourishing republic. The Republic of Mexico was established in Europe; it would naturally like to see this country broken up. Then there is another ground of sympathy—despotism naturally sympathizes with despotism, aristocracy naturally sympathizes with aristocracy, and the despotism of the whole world sympathizes with the aristocracy and the despotism that they expected to see the Union broken up and destroyed. It is they have naturally been against us. You know what has been done in England; you know that a great deal of sympathy has been manufactured there. I know that the popular sympathy we advanced, partly through the proclamation and partly through the success of our armies, the sympathy has become less and less. Sympathy with the rebellion, we can carry this war on or will they think less and less of interference with us. I am asked now and then what I think of the rebellion in Ohio, I can tell you what I think myself. It is this: If we are weak they will interfere; but when despotism sees we are strong it will sink away (cheers). I know the sympathy of the people of Ohio in the field. What nation before ever maintained such armies in the field and was so lavish of its strength? I know the sympathy of the people of Ohio in the field. I think if we simply go on thus showing our strength there is no danger of intervention. No danger, because it won't pay (cheers). It is a fine thing for a great nation to have a strong arm ready to strike. We used to think that this great Anglo-Saxon family was to stand together the world over on Anglo-Saxon principles, and the Anglo-Saxon press, the freedom of the ballot, free thought, free speech, and freedom for all men. But of late years we have had some unpleasant relations of a kind with our friendly spirit, and sometimes I have felt as if I should like to take old Mother England by the hair and give her a good shaking (great applause). I am not one of those who would be willing to see a great nation, I feel well assured—that England won't send any more piratical ships to prey upon our commerce. And of which certain—the time will come when we shall settle this matter over calmly and consider that a certain ship—the Alabama—was fitted out in a British port, manned by British officers, and sent to the ocean to prey and has since been roving over the seas, plundering American vessels, having during to bring a single prize into port, she will conclude upon the whole that it will be a very bad business. Nobody regrets the damage the Alabama has done [great cheers]. Then we have a sort of a new empire on our borders, over in Mexico. There was a time when we thought that Europe would don't last long in America [cheers]. I don't know how long this empire, if it gets born, will last [laughter] There was a time when we thought that Europe would stand by Mexico, with one thurbide at its head; but, it I am not much mistaken, he didn't find it very profitable, or agreeable to the people in his rear. Well, I think we have the Austrian emperor will find his bed of roses there; but I am inclined to think the roses will be very few, and the bed very hard [laughter]. I may allude to what is going on in Europe, and I think in all things into consideration, that European monarchies will soon think it best to keep their institutions at home [prolonged laughter and applause]. I am confident that our armies, and the spirit of our people, and Great Britain will begin to regret that she thought it best to deal so unfriendly with the United States. Our war footing, I spoke a sonorous sense of the regeneration of this nation. Free labor is better than slave labor. And now suppose there were free labor throughout the South, do you not think we certainly should have a great deal more employment than now? I think so. Do you not think that the North would be more prosperous than it is now? Do you not think when the negro could go towards the Gulf, and there find himself free and employed there as a hired laborer? How many do you think would come to the North to interfere with you and with me, in our industrial relations? Would not that question be settled, and all the heart-burnings growing out of it come to an end? With all this free remedy for the evil, that growing out of free labor, would we not be stronger in an economical point of view? And when we add to all this the remedy for the evil of the spirit of strife from our country and free labor everywhere prevails, when no man shall be compelled to work unless he is fully rewarded for his toil, and every man becomes an interested contributor to the glorious fabric of our nation, do you not think we will be not only economically, but politically, stronger than ever before? I think so; and I think that when this rebellion comes to an end, we will have a great nation, based on free labor, made homogeneous in all its parts, and capable of taking a mighty part in the drama of human affairs. When I look at these things and remember that

"There's a divinity which shapes our ends,
Rough hew them as we will"

when I remember, with Patrick Henry, that "there is a God who presides over the destinies of nations, and that all people are but as the sand in the hollow of His hand, to be moved as He pleases." I feel—it may be superstition—but I feel that God has had a hand in all this business, and that out of this great trial of our nation, we come forth even a more intelligent, prosperous and glorious nation than we have heretofore been, based on the one principle, which shall be the foundation of all my labors—free labor. Thinking thus, my fellow-citizens, I have been laboring in my humble way. I have been doing something toward ensuring the permanence of our republic, which I believe, if I have not, have its just reward it was necessary to have something in which that reward might be paid that was substantial, permanent and glorious throughout the country; I set my poor wits to work to try to devise a uniform currency for this country [great cheers]. I would not think much about the currency if we were not to have one republic [renewed cheers]. I would not think much about the currency, based on free labor, I want something by which that free labor can be rewarded, and make the reward just as safe as the nation is safe [greater applause than ever]. I have been asked, what I have done in reference to that, and it will be reward enough for me if, at the close of this great struggle, I can feel that, by constant toil, I have contributed to the support of our armies, or to the safety and honor and welfare of the country during this struggle, or after it shall have closed. Now, then, I have given you not a finished, but a rough outline of ideas as they arose in my mind. If I had had time I suppose I could have put them into better shape; but I have given them just as they came to me. And now, my fellow-citizens, the question I wish to propound to you, is, whether, if you believe that this is a country worth saving, whether it you believe that free institutions are worth saving, whether it is well for the world that America shall live, you will yourselves do your part? [Cries of Yes, yes, we will.] How gloriously you have done it thus far, we need not now dwell. We come forward with your resources, how firmly and cheerfully you have sent your sons and brothers to battle, how nobly they have gone, how glorious are the graves they have left behind, the dying names inscribed on the page of history! You have done your part nobly thus far. God bless the men! [Here the speaker paused for a moment, the feeling and evident emotion, to which the audience shouted a hearty amen and gave three cheers for the soldier in the field] The glorious cause of the soldiers who has thus far nobly sustained them! Shame and dishonor to the man, whoever he may be, who will refuse by his vote or voice to sustain him to-morrow [great cheers]. My fellow-citizens, the whole world is looking upon you. Hardly a number of the London *Times* comes if that has not an article about the success of Vallandigham and the peace movement. Let us terminate on this trouble and the separation of these States. Hardly a paper reaches us from Paris that has not some article about the success of the Rebel Russians, who are gathering now upon our coast, to keep their vessels here, I suppose, in a convenient place in case an emergency should call for them, even they are interested in you. Now, I say to you in conclusion, see whether Ohio will give her voice for the Union and its prosperity, whether Ohio will stand by her troops in the field, whether Ohio will by your votes give an honorable conduct to-morrow vindicate the honor of those who have fallen. You are here to-night to give your response, and I feel sure that anything you can do, or no—English this result will be done to-morrow, should feel as though I insulted you by any exhortation as to the performance of your duty. You know, as well as I do, the mighty issues that hang upon your action to-morrow, and you will do your duty, I am sure of it. And when to-morrow's sun goes down, it will go down on a people who are in the free enjoyment, and to maintain the freedom and unity of the nation.

WHAT THE WAR HAS DONE FOR THE NEGRO.

[Mr. Edward Dicey, a candid and intelligent critic of American affairs, exhibits his usual good sense and good feeling in his "Retrospect of the War" in the *Victoria* magazine. Apropos of the question, What the war has done for the negro, he remarks:]

It was not, perhaps, to be expected, that in two years the war should do much for the individual negro. On the other hand it has done more for his race than the most sanguine could have ventured to hope. In four and-twenty months, the United States have advanced further in the path of emancipation, than in the eighty odd years which passed from the ratification of the Union and the attack on Fort Sumter. The slave trade has been abolished in the North, in fact as well as in name; the Capital of the Federal Union is no longer a slave-place of sale; the Territories, which the Union carried out forth with, but its ultimate execution is no longer a matter of doubt. Moreover, the war has already raised a social question of the highest importance. The Republic of Liberia has been recognized and a black Embassador has for the first time been received in Washington, and allowed to reside there unmolested. Nay, in Hayti, a negro President has been, in fact, the official convulsion could have wrung from the Americans. Finally, for the first time, the black man has been off the slave-market, and the negro population of one of the separate States he has undoubtedly the full rights of State citizenship; but hitherto, the Federal government had scrupulously declined committing itself to any interference with the rights reserved to the States by American subject. The war has brought this question to an issue, and decided it in favor of the negro; and without the slightest violence, but by the irresistible logic of facts. The necessities of war compelled the employment of negro soldiers; the employment of negro soldiers entailed the adoption of measures for their protection, and those measures have obliged the President to declare authoritatively that the black soldier is of equal value with the white, and that his murder or enslavement by the enemies for which reason must be inflicted just as it would in the case of a white free-born American. To bring this result about there was many and great obstacles. The day will come day, a gallant lad, whose family I know well, fell leading a colored regiment in the desperate assault upon Fort Wagner. He was the only son of his parents, a young man of high promise, and very dear to them. Late a home so kindly, so pleasant, and so grateful in its memories to all who ever entered it, that my heart aches when I think of the blow, and I can only guess how I saw it but a year ago, when the parents' hearts were glad, because good news had come from their boy in the wars. I know they will have this day—I trust, that the child of them was not the only one—I know they will have the cause that, throughout their lives, they have had must at heart.

There are but one among a hundred thousand who like him have given up home, and comfort, and wealth, and life itself, to fight for an idea. Even those to whom that idea is much dearer than life, must admit that in the retrospect of a war which has produced such heroism, there is something to dwell upon with pleasure. A country long inured with prosperity, intoxicated with success, demonstrated that it was capable of a sacrifice as well as how to live, and that lesson is surely worth the learning.

A CONSTITUTIONAL COUP OF RUSSIA.

EMPEROR ALEXANDER of Russia has just signalized his reign by a new reformatory act of the highest importance—an act which, in its bearing upon the progress of Russia can be only compared with the Ordinance of Emancipation, which will secure to Alexander the Russian history a place by the side of Peter the Great as among the most illustrious rulers of the nation. He has abolished the Council of State, which had for years and opposed it personally with a speech, which expresses his confidence in a liberal form of government, and intimates his design to develop liberal institutions first in Finland, and later in other parts of the Empire. The convocation of a Representative Assembly in a Russian Diet, and still more the tenor of the Imperial address, may be regarded as presaging that the era of absolutism is on the wane in Russia, and that the largest Christian Empire in the world may ere long be controlled by a constitutional monarchy.

The Emperor states that his attention has long been engaged with questions of a serious interest to Finland, and that he has found it impossible to delay the final solution demanded the cooperation of the Diet." It was impossible for him to convoke the four Estates (nobility, clergy, burghers, peasants) during the first years of his reign, and still more, nevertheless, to occupy in the meantime drafts of several laws and other administrative matters, to be laid before the Diet. The financial condition of the Duchy of Finland, and the Duchy of Finland. The revenues have always been sufficient for meeting the current expenses, and the considerable increase of its indirect taxes has enabled the government to make all the needed improvements in the material and moral development of the country. He has authorized the government of the Grand Duchy to consider the proposals of the Finnish Diet, relative to the claims of the last war, and of providing for the construction of a railroad between Helsingfors and Tavasthus. It is his desire that hereafter no loan shall be contracted without the participation of the Estates of the Grand Duchy, unless a sudden invasion of the country or some other unforeseen public calamity should make it necessary. He has also determined that the proceeds of new taxes will be proposed to the Diet to promote the material prosperity of the nation and to extend the blessings of public education; and he declares it to be "the task of the Diet to decide upon the urgency and extent of these measures."

As many provisions of the fundamental law are no longer adequate to the present state of things, the Emperor has ordered the preparation of an act which will contain explanations and supplements, and which will be submitted to the next session of the Diet, to be given effect at a future time. While maintaining the principles of a constitutional monarchy, more extensive rights will be conceded by the new law to the Diet with regard to the assessment of taxes, as well as the power of making motions, although the Emperor reserves to himself the right of the initiative in everything relating to changes in the fundamental law. And he concludes with recommending to the representatives to the Grand Duchy to "prove by the dignity, the moderation, and the calmness of their deliberations, that in the hands of a people determined to act in concert with their sovereign for the development of their prosperity, the liberal institutions, far from being a danger, become a guarantee of order and property." It may be presumed that Alexander would never have used this language unless the introduction of a constitutional form of government throughout the greater part of the Russian Empire had been fully determined on. We may therefore expect that when he shall succeed in quelling the Polish revolution he will be ready to redeem the pledges given in the correspondence with the Western Powers, and establish for Poland a representative Constitution. The introduction of some form of Constitution into Russia Proper will probably speedily follow. The issue of a proclamation to that effect was expected about the 20th of September, and it was thought that nine Provincial Diets would be established, as follows: For Finland, at Helsingfors; for Baltic Russia, at St. Petersburg; for Great Russia, at Moscow; for Little Russia, at Kiew; for Poland, at Warsaw; for Western Russia, at Wilna; for Poland, at Warsaw; for Eastern Russia, at Kazan, and for Siberia, at Irkoutsk; all these Provincial Diets to be represented in a General Parliament of Representatives of the Empire. Public opinion has been disappointed as to the date of this proclamation; but unless it were in preparation, it is supposed that the Emperor would hardly have made a general profession of faith in the excellencies of a constitutional monarchy.

The constitutional change, which is approaching in Russia, will be one of the great events in the history of the nineteenth century. The progress of Austria for the last two or three years furnishes a very instructive lesson. Her progress in wealth and prosperity exceeds Absolutism in developing the resources of great countries. Russia needs only to try the experiment, to show that she has resources in her control, and strength greater than those of any other European Power.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1863.

CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD DECADE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AT the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in the city of New York, in May last, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in accordance with usage, and from reason of deep interest in the proper time for the completion of another Decade of the Society's existence should be marked by a special public meeting devoted to a general review and survey of the cause; and that therefore this Society, when the time shall come for action, will adjourn to meet in the city of Philadelphia, on the third day of December next, then and there to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, the Anniversary, and we would fain hope the final—anniversary of its formation.

In accordance with this vote, the Executive Committee hereby announce that the THIRD DECADE of the Society will be held in Philadelphia, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Dec. 31 and 4th, 1863.

Historically, it will be an occasion of thrilling interest and joyous congratulation, unequalled in the eventful career of the Society since its formation. Unquestionably, it will be largely attended by the friends of universal liberty, representing every section of the country loyal to the government. Who among them will need any stronger appeal than the simple announcement of the time, to induce him to be present, if circumstances should permit? Let them make their arrangements accordingly. "Whosoever will, let him come"—come in the spirit of Justice and love—come as remembering those in bonds as bound with them—come as one abhorring "the guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man"—come to put down the rebellion by helping to exterminate the hideous system from which it has legitimately sprung!

A strong array of able and eloquent speakers will be in attendance.

[Further particulars hereafter.]

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } *Secretaries.*

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society congratulate its members and friends that, through the madness, rebellion, and secession of the South, avowedly in behalf of its Heaven-accursed and world-abhorred slave system—involving the country in a civil war of the hugest proportions and the most sanguinary character—which still continues its desolating work—the constitutional powers of the Federal government are now ample to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. They believe that, as a measure of national peace and unity, of humanity and justice, such a decree should be passed by the ensuing Congress at as early a period in the session as practicable—thus not only sustaining the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, but also effectually disposing of that remnant of the slave institution which was exempted by the proclamation aforesaid, in such a manner as may seem most equitable and expedient by Congress.

The warrant for this procedure is to be found in the still greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government that may be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual may take the right of self-defence wherever recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution that imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence the nation, acting through its official organs, has the right to smite slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate also the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of a general cooperation of the friends of impartial liberty at this time, in order to influence and secure the action of Congress in the manner described, hereby announce, that they have resolved to put forth, in the wide-spreading field as many agents as the funds of the Society will warrant, whose whole work shall be to enlighten the public mind on this subject, stimulate to a wide-spread movement in favor of universal emancipation, and thus make the recurrence of another SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION an impossible event.

To sustain and increase the number of these agents, the Committee solicit the generous contribution and donations of all who desire to see the speedy suppression of the war, and in the final sense "LIBERTY AND UNION" made "ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

In furtherance of this patriotic and Christian object, the "Woman's Loyal National League" at New York has taken the field, in advance, to procure to a petition to the next Congress, for the total abolition of slavery, A MILLION OF SIGNATURES on the part of the loyal women of the republic. It deserves all possible encouragement and success, and we shall extend to it the heartiest cooperation. But let the loyal men be equally zealous and resolved to be as generally heard in the same manner, by the same body. Let such a petition be sent to Congress from every city, town, village and hamlet in all the loyal States. No time is to be lost. "*One last, best effort now!*"

The Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society is WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Mass. Donations may also be sent to OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq. Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, and to J. MILLER MCKIM, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

☞ Editors of newspapers, friendly to the object here announced, are respectfully requested to insert this announcement in their columns.

THEODORE TILTON'S LECTURE.—A new edition of Theodore Tilton's lecture on the Negro has been issued and is now on sale at this office. Price $3 per hundred. Orders can be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston and in New York, and they will be promptly honored. Single copies 5 cents.

THE DECADE MEETING.

THE Fourth Day of next December will be the Thirtieth Anniversary of a memorable event. On that day of the month, 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was gathered, and the Declaration of Sentiments setting forth its object and the means it proposed to use for the accomplishment thereof was adopted. During that period of time, the one allotted to a generation of men on earth, it has pursued that object steadily and applied the measures it proposed to itself faithfully. We think it will not be denied by any candid or intelligent observer of the times and seasons, that it has been a "Power on Earth," and that it has been a power well applied and with unanswerable results. It was not the first organization of the Anti-Slavery element in the American mind. It was preceded by the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which afterwards took the style of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which was formed in the first day of that year, consisting of the Apostolic number of twelve members. But the American Anti-Slavery Society has stood for the ideas of freedom, American slavery to the general mind of the nation, as no other organization has done. With the exception of a short period, it has applied the test of its fundamental principle to all American institutions, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, with unsparing impartiality, and judged them with a righteous judgment, according as they stood it well or ill. And it applied not merely the test of its peculiar principle to men and institutions, it made use of the yet more hateful one of their own avowed principles, and examined how far the Church and the State came up, in the matter of negro slavery, to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Declaration of American Independence. For nearly twenty-four years, during the chief of which Mr. Garrison has been its head as he was its founder, it has been the express image and incarnation of Abolitionism, a name of which it was never ashamed but, contrariwise, has ever regarded as its due title of honor and dignity. And we believe that few bodies of men, acting together for a specific purpose for so many years, have been more active in their vocation, or have seen their efforts crowned with a larger measure, and a yet more glorious hope of success.

The object of the Society being to enlighten the public mind as to the nature of slavery and its effects on the moral, religious and political condition of the master as well as of the slave, of the North as well as of the South, it addressed itself to this great work, strong only in faith of the omnipotence of truth. Nothing could look more absurd than the disparity between the two powers that were to encounter in deadly conflict. On the one hand, the whole nation, dead in trespasses and sins, given over to its idols, identifying the existing state of things with the possession and progress of material prosperity and the hope of political power, and on the other, a handful of men and women, obscure for the most part, without the *prestige* of wealth or social standing, without political position or ecclesiastical weight, and nothing but their voices and pens and the help of one or two struggling presses to rely upon, when they undertook to destroy the institution which was in effect the corner-stone of our Republican edifice, as it then stood. But the difference of forces did not look despicable to the parties in interest. The slaveholders and their Northern partizans instinctively felt that these spiritual fellows would turn their world upside down if they could not be suppressed. So every means that the ingenuity of malice and hate could put in motion was set at work to blacken their characters, misrepresent their motives and objects, and destroy or disperse them by the interposition of mob violence. To all of these attacks have the Abolitionists been subjected from time to time, to some of them for all the time, ever since they began their work, and the most malignant, bloody and murderous of all were the very latest, which just preceded the breaking out of the rebellion. And the children of this world were wise in their generation. The only chance for the continued existence of slavery was the suppression of all discussion of its character and of all exposure of its necessary effects on individual and national morality and prosperity. But failing to do this, their very struggles against the growing heresy only gave it more strength and enlarged the field of its interest. No one who has grown up within the last thirty years can form any adequate idea of the darkness which had settled down over the people, and the thick darkness which covered the nation. The Abolitionists had to begin, as it were, with the A, B, C of moral and political truth, against which almost all the world shut their eyes and their ears. But free schools and free religious inquiry had prepared the way. There was no lack of intelligence or mental activity, only an indisposition to use it in this direction. The Mayflower had left some shoots in the heart of the people, our own Revolution had not been fought entirely in vain; and the fierce collision of passions and opinions growing out of that of France had not been had without striking out sparks which might be kindled afresh by a wholesome agitation of the air.

The public necessity for the anti-slavery agitation existed, it was called for by the state of things, and it appeared. It appeared, and it has done its work as well as it knew how. The elements of moral and political truth have been dispensed in every quarter of the free States by the preached word and disseminated by the miraculous multiplication of the press. Like every truth, the more Abolitionism was preached, and the more it was disputed, the wider it spread, until it had leavened great masses of mind all over the country. It modified political action and influenced ecclesiastical action. It began to affect the dreams of political ambition and to disturb the fat slumbers of the Church. Like all ideas of a wide scope, it began to manifest itself in public affairs and to affect the condition and prospects of political parties. And so it went forth conquering without the sword, and to conquer in the face of an opposing world, until it had made the nation too hot for slavery to live in it. Ir, accordingly, first shook off the dust of freedom from its feet against the Church—slight as had been the provocation she had given for such contumely—and, in the fulness of time, against the State, notwithstanding the humiliations the politicians had submitted to, to propitiate it. The slave-master felt, and justly, that the ideas of slavery and of freedom could not coexist in the same jurisdiction, and hence the rebellion. And of the rebellion is to come Abolition. This logical connection between anti-slavery and the desperation of slavery which has rushed into rebellion, is no vain imagination of ours. Every rebel in the field and every traitor at home feels and denounces it. The armies of the nation are Abolition armies, and the soldiers Abolitionists—little as many of them may have deserved the epithet, even in official reports of rebel Generals. It is meant as our reproach—we accept it as our glory, and only hope that we shall have grace to be faithful even to the end.

It is very true that slavery would have been abolished if the Abolitionists had never organized themselves, or if Garrison had never been born. Means would never have been wanting to the inevitable end. But that the anti-slavery movement, of which the American Society is an embodiment, has been the means whose Providence has employed for this work, we may believe on the safe witness of our enemies. We may well come together next December and consider where we stand and what farther duty we have to do. Happy should we all be to lay down our arms in the presence of an overpowering victory. That, however, can hardly be quite so soon. The nation has well nigh got beyond danger of a compromise, because the rebels are too strong to think of asking for one. Their presence at the gates of the Capital is our surest guarantee against that yet deeper disgrace. We must yet strive to prepare the public mind to spare it, should they ever be content to invite one. We fear that it is far from that consolation yet. But this is aside from the purpose of this present writing. We merely proposed to attract the attention of Abolitionists and anti-slavery men and women, generally, to the fact of that anniversary, and to urge them to make their arrangements seasonably, to attend it. They may be sure that it will certainly be one of the most interesting, and perhaps one of the most important meetings ever held in the United States.

A. W. G. M.

The fifty-third Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was held at Rochester, in this State, commencing on Tuesday the 6th inst., and continuing three and a half days. It was very largely attended. The missionary work of the Board is represented as being in a prosperous condition, and the Treasurer's report shows that the expenses of the past year have amounted very nearly $400,000.

In the proceedings of this meeting occurred one peculiar and remarkable feature, well suited to surprise the observer until he looks into its cause. It was the spontaneous presentation and unanimous adoption of resolutions speaking against slavery, in favor of an (ultimate) abolition of slavery. These occurred in a "Minute of the State of the Country," presented by Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, from the Business Committee. After a first resolution, giving thanks for the large amount of cash and credit which the Board have received this year, the "Minute" proceeds as follows:

2. Nor is it any less a matter of thankfulness to us on our part, that under His holy providence, *the evil of slavery on the North American continent* is henceforth all men see and know, an inevitable and not distant result of the war which was begun for the purpose of perpetuating indefinite perpetuation and extension of slavery by the establishing of an empire with slavery as its corner-stone. Without offering or implying any opinion on questions of constitutional right and of ultimate necessity we do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice in the certain overthrow of that hideous injustice which has been the chief cause of our national sins, the great demoralizing influence in our government and the great obstacle in the way of all Christian enterprises and institutions, and which by converting millions of our fellow-men into a material and tangible traffic, and by persistent denial of all human rights to

redictable to the Board. But to get an idea of the influence of the Board's allowance and authentication of slaveholding upon the manners and morals of its missionary Churches and their pastors, we should look at another group of facts, which took place among the Churches in the year 1859, less than a year before they were dismissed from the care of the Board.

In January, 1859, a slaveholding Choctaw woman a member of the Stockbridge Church, under the pastoral care of Rev. Cyrus Byington, burned alive her female slave. To this, of course, her fellow-slaveholders, officers of the Church, and the government of her nation, had no objection. But what was done by the members of the Stockbridge Church about it? Nothing at all. Their minister had always taught them that slavery was right, and this was but one of the incidents of the right of ownership in human beings. Shall not God do what he will with his own?

But what was done about it by the minister of that Church, Rev. Cyrus Byington, the pastor of the murderess, passer also of the murdered woman (for she was a member of the same Church) and Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions? What did Mr. Byington do about it?

Nothing at all. He instituted no measure about it, either of civil justice or Church discipline. So far from being expelled from the Church, the murderess was not even suspended or censured. Perhaps the Board thought it a necessary incident of that system of slavery which he had taken such pains to defend and continue in the Church. What is certain is he did not trouble himself about it. Probably all his brother missionaries who had spent their lives with him in the maintenance of slavery, would have done just the same. What should they not? Their Churches recognize no particular rights as belonging to slaves. And there is no reason to think that Mr. Byington's standing as a missionary and a minister has suffered in the slightest degree, either in the estimation of the A. B. C. F. M., who has employed him, or in that of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, who *now employ him.*

But in the new march of events, when the Church as well as "the world" shall come to recognize slavery as the sum of all villanies, it will perhaps be thought needful to demand some account of such Churches, such ministers, and such Missionary Boards, before giving them more hundreds of thousands of dollars.

RUSSIA AND AMERICA.

The sympathies of nations are as various as their fortunes. Less than ten years ago, in these Northern United States, the name of Czar comprehended the quintessence of despotism, dark, brutal and barbarous. In an earlier period, indeed, all over the country, that monarch was held up as the foil of our glorious liberty, specially in Fourth of July orations. But during the Russian war the line betwixt North and South was pretty distinctly drawn, the former almost unanimously favoring the Allies, the latter the Autocrat. This difference was plainly not the result of opposite opinions on a question at issue, but of opposite social systems, which obeyed a natural attraction in siding on the one and with a civilization belonging to the present, on the other with that belonging to the past. The pulses of slavery sent serfdom heat in unison, inevitably, wherever in which the serf might be worked without fury, overwhelmed with harsh treatment, atrociously punished, exiled in Siberia forever; in which his wife and daughters were subject to the lust of their master, whom his property reverted at death, and who was responsible to the law only for the assassination of his slave; a country which cherished a privileged class endowed with the power to hold slaves, and the unequal population of every inferior rank; a country which the real natives were the serfs, and their oppressors foreigners, and in which the beard was the badge of servitude, as color among us; a country with happy middle classes, no professional judges or lawyers, no trial by jury; a country in which the death-rate was revived in 1825, after having slumbered as high a hundred years; a country which, under Peter, had drawn its inspiration from its dictionary, our fathers from the Constitution, with which, in literature, science and poetry, it was in no sympathy and sincerity; a country which in 1801 possessed in all its extent a single bookstore, and in which, during the present century, professors of astronomy and geology were forbidden to teach anything not strictly in accordance with Genesis!—a country, in fine, of which these were the leading characteristics, could not fail to enlist the warmest sympathies of "the land of the free and home of the brave."

But short is the *entente cordiale* of two despotisms ruling in diverse directions. The Southern States of America committed themselves deliberately to the ownership of 1620. Not so with Russia.

"A good man even amid his blindfold striving, Is still of the right tendency, and shall be helped." Through the long night of dissensions, anarchy and tyranny, in the travail of her birth among the nations, she looked not backward but ever forward. The nineteenth century found her not worshipping at the shrine of Boris Godounoff, emperor and usurper, the founder of serfdom, but, under the benevolent guidance of Alexander I., emancipating the slaves in the Baltic provinces. The story of that monarch had returned in 1816, from the occupation of Paris, the idolater of liberal ideas of Christian France which it had fought to extinguish. Our soldiers will come back purged of all respect for slavery, so those who had assisted in the downfall of Napoleon, went home with a new perception and a new abhorrence of the despotism under which they had lived. The outbreak which attended the decease of the Autocrat was the work of men striving for a constitutional representative monarchy. The attempt failed, and Nicholas trod out the fires of Nine glowing patriotism for liberty. The knout, the prison, the scaffold, the mines, and exile—these were the means by which he hoped to cheat the nation of its opportunity to advance with the age. He banished Tourgeneeff, a apostle of emancipation, but he could not expatriate his ideas. The haughty Czar has gone to his account; the philanthropist survives, and witnesses the regeneration of his country and the liberation of the serfs by the son of his persecutor. The Revolution which would come from below, has begun in this instance at the time of power. A great people have been lifted up by the sublime justice of one man, their absolute sovereign, and now rush eagerly on in the race of civilization and progress.

Is it here that the North should find the explanation of her revulsion of feeling towards Russia. Unhappily, our admiration of the present emperor for his humanity and courage in freeing one million of his people, we are in danger of forgetting that he may be far from having quitted himself of his whole duty to his fellow-men. We know that if he were fully impressed with the belief in the equality of mankind, he could not retain and inspire a moment. The sight of his countrymen suffering under a shameful wrong—the statesmanlike estimation of their increased value as subjects when freed—the perceptible rise, only through emancipation, of Russia attain the level of the first nations of the globe—or even the fatigue confessed by Frederic II. of ruling over slaves—these are sufficient motives for the Emperor's action, which we all applaud. But when he would thrust back Poland to the bloody grave from which his father sent her, we may, nay we must, see in the name of that humanity whose laurels are snatched from him. It is pitifully selfish to rejoice that France and England are snubbed on the mere suspicion of an intent to interfere between Russia and her oppressor; to taunt these powers with want of courage to declare belligerents the unfortunate Poles, or to stay the neutral in their behalf. This is practically to say that our struggle is one for empire, like Russia's, therefore our condemnation should be free and forthcoming, on the ground that we fight to crush a conspiracy for the creation of a new despotism, while Russia is slaying a people whom it has twice murdered and deprived of their rightful liberty. Our cause cannot possibly be shaken; its foundation is in the right of self-defence against a remorseless assassin, and is in every principle of equity, order and law. We do not clap our hands when a seemingly parallel conflict, with no parallel in the relation of the contending parties, unmasks the cowardice or hypocrisy of our civil writers. We ought rather indignantly to ask, Are the forces arrayed against Poland to the Confederacy, as an insult and a disgrace to American honor, to have already done sufficient acts of meanness in order to keep clear of foreign interventions. We have behaved basely towards hapless Mexico, in granting to her conqueror the arms which we have refused to her, her friend and natural ally. Treacherous, too, has been our conduct, if, as is asserted, it be true that Mr. Seward confided to M. Mercier the plans of Gen. Scott's campaign in our Mexican war. Here is already enough of faintly, of defilement of our good name as a republic, of humiliating critique to crown *Edit* dictators. Shall we go further blushing. Toast and lite the Russian Admiral as you please; extol his country—its ruler—its people; but remember that we bow to Alexander as the liberator of millions of serfs, not as the cruel enslaver of a nation of freemen. N.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 19, 1863.

THE election of Curtin to this State and the defeat of Vallandigham in Ohio have been among the greatest events of the war. No triumph, good or evil, achieved by Northern arms on Southern battle-field has been of more, if of so much, value to the country. For it has not been from direct conflict with the rebels themselves and on their own ground that we have had occasion for alarm. From the beginning, with all their advantages of preparation, and all our disadvantages of being taken by surprise, we have been masters of the situation; demonstably able to crush them at pleasure. Our hope has been in European cooperation and Northern aid and comfort. In these they have had both to a large extent; as a consequence the process of their subjugation has been slow and difficult. Nevertheless that process has gone on steadily and inexorably, so much so that it had become evident to the rebels that nothing could prevent its consummation, but an effectual diversion in their favor either from abroad or at the North. The latter was their chief hope. It was to be made at the October elections. They knew that their sympathizers here had been busy in organizing a Democratic victory; this was an open secret. Lieut. Maury had reassured his sympathizing friends abroad by the most positive assurances on this subject. The July disasters in the field were to be more than repaired by the October successes at the polls. The people were to declare against the war and the Administration; against military arbitrary arrests; against the proclamation; against the abolition of slavery and the enlistment of negro soldiers. They were to put in power Woodward in Pennsylvania and Vallandigham in Ohio, and these in the exercise of their gubernatorial authority were to do everything possible to end the war. Believing this, the rebels at the South fought and struggled with new heart; hoping it to be true, the sympathizers in England continued their efforts with but little abatement. Had events justified the belief of one and the hopes of the other, where would now be our country? In the coils of the Copperhead in home, and at the mercy of its enemies abroad! Words would be inadequate to describe the magnitude of the disaster.

But no such evil has befallen us. Just the contrary. The elections have given us a guarantee against all such contingencies in the future. And it is for this reason that I regard the triumph of Curtin and the overwhelming defeat of Vallandigham as worth more to the nation at this time than any victory possible to the navy of the Mississippi or the army of the Cumberland, or both combined.

The majority over Vallandigham is much greater than that over Woodward; but all things considered I consider the one as complete a triumph as the other. Had Vallandigham ran in Pennsylvania his defeat would have been as ignominious as it was in Ohio, and had Brough been opposed by a candidate like Woodward, his triumph would hardly have been more signal than was that of Curtin. Vallandigham, a perverably obnoxious man, and an open enemy of the war, and Woodward, an advocate of peace by concessions to the South. Judge Woodward, a man of unexceptionable record personally, was put forward as a friend of the war for the suppression of the rebellion, and the opponent of all concessions favoring disunion. Vallandigham was one of the most odious of all Northern Copperheads. Woodward was among the least exceptionable of all adhering Dedfocrats. Hence the difference in the majorities by which the elections were decided.

It was well for the country that there was just this difference between them. It shows that "any how they can fix it," the Democratic party is in a hopeless minority. Whatever may be their professions, or however specious may be their men, the people will not trust them with power. For the people mean to put an end to this war, not by conciliation, but by uncompromising suppression; by the utter and irrevocable extinction of its cause.

The triumph of the government in these elections, especially in that of Pennsylvania, which of course I know more about, is cheering in all its aspects. Besides giving us a good Governor, it gives us a capital Judge for our State supreme bench; thus saving us from copperhead judicial annoyances, to which we should otherwise be liable. David Agnew, an able lawyer and an upright man, takes the place of Judge Lowrie, that supple tool of his party, who with his confreres Woodward and Lewis, refused Passmore Williams on the *habeas corpus* in the Judge Kane case. It changes the majorities in our State Legislature, giving us men who will not be likely to adjourn, as did their predecessors last Winter, leaving the borders of the State defenceless against invasion. It gives us in this city State and Common Councils, with a preponderance in each in favor of the government. It gives us good candidates of the Opposition, but it defeats them—in this County at least, and doubtless in others—with a discrimination that is highly edifying. For instance, the vote for Robert Patterson Kane, son of the late Judge Kane, candidate for City Commissioner, fell far below that of his party; making him the lowest on the list save one. That one man, John Brodhead, the copperhead candidate for City Treasurer. Mr. Brodhead was the author of the cypherd letter backed his name, written to Jefferson Davis, and lately given to the public among other captured epistles. In that letter, Mr. Brodhead, "longing for a home in the sunny South," desires a mission to Nicaragua, with a view of opening that country "to civilization and niggers." This was baseness too abject even for pro-slavery democracy, and many of them signified their contempt by "scratching" his name. The best feature of the election was the manner in which the friends of the government conducted the canvass. There was no dodging of the main question—no side issues—no disclaimers of anything from anybody, all was fair, square, and above board. The question to be decided was—freedom or slavery? The friends of the former were the friends of the government. On this broad platform they took their stand; defending the Administration in all its measures—including the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, the proclamation of liberty and the enlistment of negro soldiers. All the canvassers from General Butler to Miss Anna E. Dickinson, and from Henry Winter Davis to *Vicksburg* Montgomery, took this ground; and with what effect need not be said. The enthusiasm of the meetings and the large majority at the polls, attest the wisdom as well as justice of this course.

The "documents" of the campaign were in keeping with the speeches. One of these was a huge poster, eight feet by four, setting forth the Union candidate for City Treasurer. It set forth the character of the opposing candidate, Mr. Brodhead, by extracts pictorially illustrated from that gentleman's captured letter. The way a new country is "opened to civilization and niggers," was made plain to the dullest capacity. An overseer laying on the lash, a squalid, tumble-down planter's house, with naked little pickaninnies lying around loose, all done in the best style of the xylographic art, made the whole thing so glaring, that he must be right who said it was for such pictures as these—you will remember—only got up in a much smaller and less likely-to-be-offensive way that we Abolitionists used to be mobbed. Now, candidates for office resort to them to ensure their election. Times are changed, and politicians are changed with them.

And then of the campaign documents was a pamphlet made up of extracts from Mrs. Kemble's "Residence on a Georgia plantation." This also was illuminated by a picture on the cover showing a new work of scars on a bondman's back. Still another was a reprint of one of our anti-slavery tracts, the Report of Pierce Butler's Slave Auction.

In fact the canvass on the part of the friends of the government was a regular anti-slavery campaign, as much so as if it had been planned by the Executive Committee of Anti-slavery Societies. Pennsylvania, for the last five or six weeks, has been a protracted anti-slavery meeting. Miss Dickinson has had overflowing meetings, and has given the greatest satisfaction. The same may be said of Judge Kelly, of U. S. District Attorney Coffey, of Horace Greeley, of George H. Earle, and a score more of well known anti-slavery men. In addition to this our high-ways and hedges have been strewn with abolition publications, and arguments for freedom have constituted the chief reading of the day.

The result is satisfactory morally as it is politically. Instead of collapsing as we used to do as a consequence, with a sort of delirium tremens exhaustion after a "log cabin and hard-cider" campaign, we are now more sober than ever, and stronger and better in every way. The intoxicating, soporous spirit of slavery has been so far exorcised from our politics, that a general election is no longer a synonym for a general debauch.

Democratic institutions are receiving a glorious vindication. If I had ever doubted their superiority to all others, especially for a new country with an advanced population, my doubts would have been removed by our late experiences. Ever since we began to throw off the incubus of slavery, and in proportion as we have succeeded, have our elections assumed a new and beneficent character. They used to be an annual terror to all good men; a source of degradation and corruption to the people. Now the very best people are those participate in them with pleasure, and they are being made the means of national enlightenment and purification.

It is clear that any form of government less elastic or less susceptible of adaptation to the wants of the people, would have been insufficient to carry us through the ordeal from which we are now so happily emerging. Many who began to doubt our institutions in the days of a corrupt peace, now have their faith revived and corroborated under the trials of a virtuous war. The result of our contest cannot fail to give a new impulse to democratic advancement everywhere, and to multiply the number of those who favor the largest liberty of the people.

When a boy, at school, I remember to have been nonplussed by two objections urged by Paley, whose Moral Philosophy was our text book, against a democratic form of government. One of these was the difficulty, in times of great national peril, of keeping the State secure, where there were so many of its citizens ready. Another was the impossibility for a many-headed government, in time of war, to act with the requisite unity of purpose.

These plausible and apparently well founded objections have been completely refuted by our late experience. Under Buchanan's and other *pseudo* democratic administrations there were no state secrets, except those consisted by the plottings of the Slave Power (and these, it must be admitted, were pretty well kept). All others—such as contemplated removals from offices—were confided to the party, and usually found their way to the public in advance, through the columns of the New York *Herald*. The evil habits thus formed under the pro-slavery democratic regimés of Buchanan and his predecessors, stuck to the government somewhat, after it had passed into new hands, and the first year and a half of Mr. Lincoln's administration furnished no sufficient reply to Paley's objections. But since the proclamation; since the emancipation was adopted as policy, and became a government in earnest, the whole thing is changed. The secrets of the Cabinet, and the secrets of the War Department, at Washington and in the field, are as well guarded as would be possible in any tolerably free government. The people not only permit, but they demand a censorship of the press, and one so strict as to preclude if possible all untimely discloures.

As for "unity of purpose and energy of action?" if these are not characteristics of the government, it is no fault either of the laws or the people. The President for the time being is vested with all the powers of a monarch. The people, of their own accord, have surrendered their right of *habeas corpus*, and other home-bred privileges, and have said in effect to the Executive: "Do as you please; adopt whatever measures seems good to you to suppress the rebellion. Stop at no expense of blood or treasure. Tax us; draft us; do anything in fine, if you suppress the rebellion. Spare no pains in nothing that, in your judgment and that of your Cabinet advisers, may seem necessary to preserve the integrity and ensure the permanent peace of the country."

Thus it is that the genius of our institutions accommodates itself to the exigencies of the country and the wants of the people. In times of peace our masses demand that the rights of every individual shall be respected; in times of war—necessity requiring it—they resist that the government shall be a one man power, ruling with despotic will. They have no fear that this despotic reign will continue after the necessity demanding it shall have ceased. They have confidence in themselves, and are assured that as they voluntarily surrendered their natural prerogatives, they can, when the time comes, as spontaneously resume them.

—But I was speaking of the election; and I forget to mention one of the most pleasing circumstances connected with it. That was the *coup de grace* of Gen. McClellan. That gentleman's political tactics being of the same school as his military, he did not move till the last minute, and then he moved in the wrong direction. On the day before the election a letter appeared in the papers, bearing McClellan's name addressed to the Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, heartily supporting the Card as the candidate for Governor. This was all that was needed to bring the General's career to an abrupt period. He is now as dead as a door nail. He got into the same nest with the other Copperheads just at the right moment, and the heads of all were then have smashed with the same stone. It was an accidental case of *felo-de-se* on the part of the General and was the best service he has ever rendered his country. A national nuisance is abated, and the Copperheads are without a candidate for the Presidency. McClellan is politically and martially—beyond the hope of resurrection.

One thing more about the election and I have done. All the non-resistants that I know of, voted; and voted for Governor Curtin. Our excellent honored friend, Jacob Pierce, once a member of our Executive Committee, and at all times one of the most consistent as well as most ultra of Peace men, voted this year, for the first time in his life. Though seventy-three years of age he had never before cast a ballot.

The opinion that has prevailed among some that men who cannot fight ought not to vote, has been reconsidered, and in many instances reversed. The ballot and the bullet are not, as has been asserted, essentially the same thing; and to vote for a candidate for Governor does not necessarily imply approval of the foundation principle of the government. A man, having the right of suffrage, by virtue of his residence and payment of taxes, whether he be democrat, aristocrat, or theocrat, may exercise that right without compromise of his principles. M.

A TOUR IN NEW ENGLAND.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DURING the months of August and September I attended a series of anti-slavery meetings in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. I cannot now write of them in the order which they were held, nor of any one in detail. With two or three days exceptions, where local circumstances and the weather proved unfavorable, the meetings were very well, some of them largely attended, and were uniformly of an interesting character. The value of thorough teaching, "line upon line, precept upon precept," in the creation of a correct public opinion, has its anti-slavery illustration more fully in Massachusetts than elsewhere. Though the recognized, distinct, radical Abolitionists are not numerous in any of the towns I visited, yet there are in each place, a few of that class, and they constitute a local nucleus of the anti-slavery movement. Through their aid and cooperation during the past fifteen or twenty years many meetings have been held, and much anti-slavery reading matter has been diffused in these localities. The general result is a prevailing anti-slavery tone of public opinion, much superior to any other portion of the North, and an absence of "copperheadism" very noticeable, and refreshing to one accustomed to the political atmosphere of the Hudson river counties, and to the unwholesome, blinding fog of Albany and New York city politics. Elsewhere anti-slavery effort has been occasional, transient, less constant, and elsewhere in the latent expression of political faith, in the midst of a revolutionary period with issues more momentous than those of 1776 we look in vain for the counte-part of the last platform of the dominant party of Massachusetts. Being a guest in Worcester at the time, as a spectator, I attended the recent State Republican Convention, of which your Boston correspondent has given you a very good account. It was a truly remarkable gathering. Remarkable for its dignified, anti-slavery character, for its unanimity and large attendance. Massachusetts leads the nation. She does this in so far as she is herself led by Abolitionism. Garrison her moralist, and "fanatic," points out the way, emancipation, and at last President, governors, and statesmen must enter therein as the only hope of securing national salvation. As against slavery in rebellion it is becoming more and more apparent that scorned and derided abolitionism is the real power, and the sole dependence of the North.

I never had my faith in the value of faithful persistent moral teaching, appeal, and admonition more strongly confirmed than in witnessing its general, popular result in the improved character of the Convention at Worcester, as compared with any of its predecessors What the "Washingtonian" era was to temperance, that has been, the anti-slavery enterprise, to this period of practical emancipation. We have reached the "Maine Law" stage of abolition, but warned by the present condition of the Temperance cause, may we not allow "military necessity" of the present period to be abortive in effecting the removal of slavery by overlooking the continued moral necessity as the vital moving force of the public mind.

Permit me through THE STANDARD to express to friends upon Nantucket, the Cape, and other places visited in Massachusetts, and to the Fairbankses of Providence, and the Chases of Valley Falls, R. I., my hearty, heavy thanks for much personal kindness to me, and a generous hospitality. AARON M. POWELL.

Ghent, N. Y., Oct. 12, 1863.

P. S. I addressed last evening an interesting meeting in the Division street church, Albany, Rev. Mr. Ames, pastor. Mr. Ames is the successor of Rev. A. D. Mayo, and is a hearty radical anti-slavery minister. A. M. P.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19, 1863.

IN my last letter I omitted to write upon a subject which should not be overlooked by the Washington correspondent of an anti-slavery journal, and at the risk of a charge of writing upon old news I will take up the matter now.

I believe I alluded to the Odd Fellows (colored) procession in this city in my last letter. It was a grand affair, and was participated in by well-dressed colored men, fine-looking, well-conducted, marching through our streets, without an attempt on the part of any white rowdy to insult it or in any shape interfere with it. But it is not the procession that I care to write about at this late day, but it is the conduct of some of the high officials in Washington towards them which I would call up for judgment. When this procession of colored men had marched up in front of the President's house, it halted and gave three cheers for President Lincoln and his Emancipation proclamation. The President was in his mansion, but he did not even come to the window and bow to these hundreds of sober, well-conducted colored citizens. They waited in vain for him, and then passed on, content to pass without recognition. I am aware that Mr. Lincoln was in Cabinet meeting, but what of that? Could he not have excused himself for a single moment with the explanation that as these men had done him the honor to call upon him, and to applaud his acts, he was not to be outdone in courtesy and in cordiality? He might have said to his Cabinet Ministers: "Gentlemen, I am going to bid these quiet, well-behaved colored citizens good morning, and as many of you as like can accompany me!" It would not have mattered if Montgomery Blair had kept his seat, or if Mr. Seward, even, had excused himself, a thing he would not have done, for Mr. Seward is *always* polite, even to a negro. Dear old Mr. Bates might have stald behind in the Cabinet room, and the respectable Mr. Usher (if this be that is his name) of Indiana might have remained behind with Bates and Blair, and the business of the nation would not have come to a sudden stand-still. But why could not Mr. Lincoln have treated the colored procession with politeness? I must express my mind upon the subject, and I certainly think that the President treated the procession very shabbily. It would do him no harm to recall the anecdote of Washington and the colored man who raised his hat to the great patriot and General.

I know, of course, that I cannot doubt that the President overlooked the matter, and that if he had thought it over he been properly called to it he would have treated the colored people, who cheered him so lustily with some little attention. This may be called by some a very small matter, and not worthy of the attention I have given to it. It is true, in one sense, that it is a small matter, but in another it is not. It is important that the President should set an example to the negro hating Democrats of the country, and this was a very poor one which he set the other day, and one Copperheads generally will delight to follow.

The President is in very good humor over the election news from Ohio and Pennsylvania. This is natural enough. Not even the fact that Meade has fallen back upon Washington has depressed his spirits. There is no longer any danger of "a fire in the rear." The free States are for the war, and as the greater includes the less, they are for whatever is necessary to carry on the war. Mr. Lincoln sees that and is encouraged. His course is endorsed by the people. Henceforth he has but one thing to care for—that the war he prosecuted with vigor. It will prove to be a dear victory if officials imagine that the people are so patriotic that they will pardon all kinds of blunders on the part of the Administration. They will not. The government must now use all its skill, all its energies to give the rebellion its final death-blow before the Presidential election. There is no earthly reason why the rebel armies should not be crushed before the first day of next July, and I believe that Abraham thinks so too.

It is very unsafe to write upon military matters in a weekly journal, the military situation changes so wonderfully in a week. To illustrate: One week ago Gen. Meade's grand army was down upon the Rappahannock, and now it is almost within sight of Washington. It has *retreated* (I can't in conscience use a fitter word) sixty miles since my last letter. No doubt his position is better to-day for every purpose than it was, *under all the circumstances*. But those persons who tell us that it is a great triumph, a wonderful success to bring the army back close to Washington—that the retreat argues no weakness, either lie or are devoid of reason. If it is a great deal better for the army to lie at Fairfax Court House than at Culpeper Court House, why did Meade ever pursue the enemy below Fairfax? and if it is a great victory for our army to fall back ninety miles upon Washington would it not be considered a perfect extinguisher of the enemy if it were to fall back to Philadelphia? I am perfectly aware that this change of position may be really a most excellent piece of strategy, so far as the entire military combination is concerned. But just here, in Virginia, it is simply a *falling back*.

The man is stupid who cannot perceive the purpose of Gen. Halleck. He means to put Meade on the defensive, and do the offensive fighting elsewhere. There can be no doubt of this. Of course if a good opportunity presents itself he will fight here, and offensively—he will seek the enemy—but with this retreat, just before Winter is setting in, it must be that it is not the purpose of Gen. Halleck to set Meade's army in motion again towards Richmond till Spring comes round. We must have patience, and look to the Spring will bring us within sight of the end of the war.

The tremendous majority given to Brough in Ohio must convince the President that it is safe for him to take the most radical ground on the slavery question Gentlemen who have returned from Ohio say that of the voters in that State who voted against Vallandingham at least nine-tenths are ready for the most radical measures. They are sick of temporary expedients and they are ready to act with bolder ground in the Border States upon the slavery question. It has been a favorite theory with some calculating Republicans that Mr. Lincoln is compelled to take a moderate course that the people may go with him—the people of the free States being conservative. This theory tumbles to the ground with the Ohio election. It is plain enough now that Mr. Chase could carry Ohio with his ideas by a very heavy majority, and there is no doubt about most of the other free States. The President knows this fact, and I have always done him the credit of believing him to be at least more radical in his anti-slavery notions than some of his public acts would indicate. He is a practical man and has constantly feared to offend the conservative sentiment in his own party. He has been ready for radical measures when the people would bear them. I do not improbable that the course he has pursued has been a wise one, for he has drawn many conservatives after him who would have been shocked by any sudden radical action upon his part.

The elections have dealt a blow at the Blairs as well as at the Copperheads. They were evidently squinting towards the Democrats—the War Democrats—in their recent course. But the fact is, and the Blairs ought to know it, that the War Democrats to-day are Abolitionists. They are the most decided radicals in the country, and there are but few men belonging to the war party of the free States who will subscribe to the doctrines enunciated by Montgomery Blair in his Louisville speech. I speak of the *Blairs* as a unit, for they hang together like a bunch of chestnut burrs. AVON.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I was much pleased to see in last week's paper your notice of *The Advocate*, and your tribute to its faithful service of the anti-slavery cause everywhere, but especially in this country. Let me add a word as to its origin, which perhaps is known to but a few even of the Abolitionists, but which it cannot be improper now to speak. You have spoken, and truly, of the faithful and disinterested labors of the Editor, our long-tried friend, Richard D. Webb, of Dublin. For myself, I find a sincere pleasure in recalling now the simple history of the paper's commencement. The existence of such a living monument of the single-handed devotion and generosity of one whose peculiar friendship to the anti-slavery cause, during the last twelve years of his life, can never be forgotten by the Abolitionists either of America or England, and can never be too often recalled with honor and gratitude. I speak of JOHN BISHOP ESTLIN of Bristol, England—distinguished not in that city only, but throughout England as a Surgeon and Oculist, but even more distinguished, among those who personally knew him, for the constant, unfailing benevolence of his life, and for a long been interested in the question of slavery in the West India Colonies. But his attention had not been directed to the question of American slavery until the last twelve years of his life. When about fifty-five years of age, and with health much impaired by incessant professional labors, chiefly rendered to those whose circumstances allowed of no compensation, he felt himself "the luxury of doing good," he was called to examine the whole subject of slavery in this country. His clear and conscientious spirit swept away the sophistries and idle excuses by which men in every position in life, and in the Church as well as in the State, endeavored to be juggle men's minds as to the real nature and results of slaveholding. He saw for himself the prime importance, the vital necessity, of the American Anti-Slavery Society and of the moral agitation it had set on foot. He took no counsel of fear, or worldly prudence, still less of that time-serving spirit which is the bane of social life, and upon which the authors of all social mischief rely as one of their best supporters. He saw the magnitude of the question of American slavery. It was no question with him whether he should be the open and outspoken friend of the American Abolitionists or not. The entire remainder of his life was given, with the utmost cheerfulness and with a singular calmness and balance of judgment, to the furtherance of the principles and aims of the Anti-Slavery movement. He, by many means and methods which he organized, aided and carried forward the work of helping that movement, would require a long space to recount, but to do so is no part of my present purpose. When convinced, as he was, that the London *Reporter* (the organ of the traditional anti-slavery of England) was closed against any effort to do substantial justice to the American Anti-Slavery Society, he looked around to find a vehicle for disseminating the truth. The result of his inquiry was that he set a journal was needed in England—both to awaken the slumbering spirit of anti-slavery there, and to vindicate the labors of the most devoted of the American friends of the cause, and so enable their European co-workers to act understandingly and make their labors effective. He knew, by reputation and by correspondence (though I believe they had never met), one man, whose knowledge, judgment, and character, eminently fitted him to be the editor of such a journal—for he had in wardly resolved, that such an editor could be found, that the journal should be established, even if its support should be from his unaided contributions. His heart was in the project. And though, at that time, both age and infirm health admonished him to seek rest, he undertook the journey to Dublin for the first time in his life with this sole object in view, and sought out Mr. Webb, a kindred spirit, to whom the appeal, for cooperation in the new work was not made in vain. To the end of his life, I can only add, Mr. Estlin continued the principal supporter of *The Advocate*. And, when he died, one who inherited his spirit, and had long shared his labors for the cause, steadfastly continued to it the necessary support, until, in the changed circumstances of these times, when American slavery became the daily theme of the ablest British journals, and of the leading moralists and statesmen of the land, the need of the Monthly Advocate seemed to have ceased.

We will not seek to estimate the amount of self-devotion, of high principle, of disinterested labor, of genuine self-sacrifice, which clustered around *The Advocate*, and gave it its power to convince and guide the English mind on the great question of the age. Enough to say that, with its comparatively small means, it has accomplished a most valuable work. And none, who have known intimately, as we have, its course and spirit, can part with it, its editor, and its supporters, but with feelings of unalloyed affection and regret.

NEW ENGLAND.

OBITUARY.

A TRIBUTE is due to the affectionate and just. ELIZABETH R. LEWIS, the subject of this notice, who departed this life at her late residence in West Vincent, Chester County, on the evening of the 10th inst, was remarkable for the kindness and affectionate regard with which she treated all persons without respect to clime or color. Gifted with a clear and discriminating intellect, she based all matters of practice, of faith, and of belief upon the principles of absolute right and justice. This was manifested especially in her daily walk and character. Her clear sense of right and justice constrained her to feel and act for those in bonds as bound with them, and her pure spirit, embracing the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, led her to testify against all unrighteousness.

The occasion of her funeral at the house and the grave was one of quiet and impressive solemnity. No word was spoken. It would seem unnecessary on that occasion, as the cheerful and childlike simplicity, the peace and angelic spirit which marked the countenance of the deceased, was far more touching and inspiring than anything that could emanate from human lips.

Her departure makes a void in the family of three sisters who lived together in beautiful harmony and in a large circle of relatives and friends who would need be filled.

The power of our Heavenly Father is around and in all the bereaved, sustaining them in submission, in purity, and in love, until they enter the spirit world and be reunited with the departed forevermore.

Tenth mo. 17th, 1863. E. F. P.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The Army of the Potomac still holds its position undisputed, the rebels not making any demonstration whatever since their severe handling at Brentsville. Indeed, it is supposed that, fearing a rise of the Rappahannock at their rear, they have hurried back to the other side of that stream. The report that Lee's army had been thrown across the Potomac into Maryland, is contradicted by information received by government.

The Memphis *Bulletin* says that a company of rebels have been again conscripting near Union Depot, who at the last announcements had gone toward Brownsville. Another company were near Mason, fayette County, ten miles from Union Depot. On Saturday another party went into Jamesville. Among the conscripted is H. R. Mosby, candidate for Congress.

Rebel reports from Mississippi state that it is presumed all the rebel State officers and Congressmen have taken place on the Big Black, in which the rebels had been driven back at first, but subsequently drove the Iowa Cavalry and that four companies of the Second Iowa Cavalry had been captured at Grenada.

The President has issued a proclamation calling for 300,000 volunteers to take the places of those soldiers now in the field, whose term of service will soon expire. The same regulations hereto for force will apply to this call—the advance pay, premium, and bounty—and States failing to make up their quotas will be called upon to make up the deficiency by draft.

The Board of Supervisors, of this city, at their meeting on Tuesday, took into consideration the new call by the President for volunteers. A preamble, resolution and ordinance were referred to a special committee, providing for paying such further sums are necessary, not exceeding $300 in each case, to secure volunteers, and authorizing the Controller to borrow $2,000,000 to meet the expenditure.

The removal of Gen. Rosecrans has been fully determined upon, and Gen. Thomas is to be his successor. It appears that Gen. Rosecrans has been guilty of quite a catalogue of military offences, a single one of which would be sufficient for the removal of any officer.

Our latest advices from the Army of the Potomac state that the rebels are in force in Culpeper County, and that the railroad, which we recently took great damage to relaced, to capturing supplies and assaulting Lee to send another corps to Bragg, and have it repaired without being disturbed. Parties have been sent out to repair the road.

The government has official advices from Gen. Burnside, that his marches and victories in East Tennessee are complete, and that his prospects are eminently satisfactory, and that in almost every case the rebels have been whipped and routed. Gen. Burnside speaks in the highest terms of the loyalty of the East Tennessean.

Gen. Schofield has issued an order placing Gen. McNeil in command of the District of the Frontier, with headquarters at Paola, with directed, report at Leavenworth. Gen. Blunt takes command of Southwest Missouri, and Gen. Ewing's District of the Border is extended so as to embrace the ensure State of Kansas.

Gov. Seymour has issued his proclamation reciting the causes for the call made by the President for more volunteers, remarking that the terms of their duty as good patriots, and announcing to them that he expects all classes to aid, to the extent of their ability, the government in recruiting volunteers.

The Provost-Marshal General announces that regiments now in service, which result as volunteers, will be credited to their States, and, as far as practicable, to the Congressional districts and sub-districts to which they belong.

A rumor, needing confirmation, has it that the military authorities at Philadelphia are preparing to meet the invasion of Pennsylvania by the rebels.

Gen. Dix has examined the Portland (Me.) harbor defenses, and pronounced them in a satisfactory condition.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST CEREFUL AND MILITARY INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom."—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

A TOUCHING EPISODE OF THE WAR.—GEN. SHERMAN ON THE DEATH OF HIS SON.

To the Editor of The Detroit Advertiser:

Your readers will doubtless recollect having seen an announcement in the papers a few days ago of the death of a little son of Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman, a bright, beautiful boy of 8 years, whose disease was contracted while he was carried in his father's on the Big Black, twenty miles from Vicksburg. The following letter, addressed to the Thirteenth Infantry, and, by its officers ordered read on their distribution among the soldiers of the regiment, cannot but touch a tender chord in every heart. Stricken father, noble patriot, the hero of uncounted battles; let the nation pause in admiration of his gallant bearing, and weep with the mourner over the young life that no "magic new will wake." X.

GAYOSO HOUSE, MEMPHIS, Tenn., Oct. 4—Midnight.

Capt. C. C. SMITH, Commanding Battalion Thirteenth Regulars.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I cannot sleep to-night until I record an expression of the deep feelings of my heart to you, and to the officers and soldiers of the battalion, for their kind behavior to my poor child. I realize that you all feel for me more than a mere attachment of kindred; and I assure you all of full reciprocation. Persistent with a sense of duty to my profession and office, I could not leave my post, and sent for my family to come to me in Vicksburg. Little did I think that the period of the year, and behold the result! The child that bore my name, and in whose future I reposed with more confidence than I did in any plan of life, now floats a mere corpse, seeking a grave in a distant land, with a weeping mother, brother and sisters clustered about him. Before you receive this I ask for no sympathy. On, on, I must go till I meet a soldier's death or see my country rise superior to all factions, till its rights are altered and respected by ourselves and all the powers of earth.

But my poor Willy was, or thought he was, a sergeant of the Thirteenth. I have seen his eye brighten and his head rise as he would pass the battalion of under arms, and asked me if they were not real soldiers. Child as he was, he had the enthusiasm, the pure love of country, honor and glory of country, which should animate all soldiers. God only knows why he should die thus young. He is dead, but will not be forgotten till those who knew him in life have followed him to that same mysterious end.

Please convey to the battalion my heartfelt thanks, and assure each and all that if, in after years, they call upon me or my family, they may be sure that they were of the Thirteenth regulars when poor Willy was with them; they will have a key to the affections of my family that will open all it has—that we will share with them our last blanket, our last crust. Your friend,

W. T

Miscellaneous Department.

"CASA WAPPY."

("Casa Wappy" (a childish epithet of nursery endearment) was written by the late Professor Moir, of Edinburgh, and is an exquisitely touching poem:)

Gem of our hearth, our household pride,
Earth's undelled!
Could love have saved, thou hadst not died—
Our dear, sweet child!
Humbly we bow to Fate's decree;
Yet had we hoped that time should see
Thee mourn for us, not us for thee—
Casa Wappy!

Methinks then smil'st before me now
With glance of smile
The hair thrown back from thy full brow
In buoyant health;
I see thine eyes' deep violet light,
Thy dimpled cheek carnationed bright,
Thy clasping arms, so round and white—
Casa Wappy!

Thy nursery shows thy pictured wall,
Thy hat, thy bow,
Thy cloak and bonnet, club and ball—
But where art thou?
A corner holds thy empty chair;
Thy playthings idly scattered lie
But speak to us of our despair—
Casa Wappy!

We mourn for thee when blind, blank night
The chamber fills;
We pine for thee when morn's first light
Redifies the hills;
The sun, the moon, he stars, the sea,
All, to the wail-flower and sweet pea,
Are changed; we saw the world thro' thee—
Casa Wappy!

It cannot be; for were it so
• That man could die,
Life were a mockery, thought grers woe,
And truth a lie;
Heaven were a coinage of the brain,
Religion, frenzy, virtue vain,
And all our hopes to meet in vain—
Casa Wappy.

AFRICAN HUNTERS.

While the sons of Africa are giving us much trouble here in America, their country is becoming annually more and more interesting, as the resort of explorers and traders in the northern, and of hunters as well as explorers in the south. The latest book on African adventure is one from the press of the Harpers, being a journal of several years devoted to hunting in South Africa, by an Englishman, William C. Baldwin, who, for the love of adventure, went there nine years ago, tempted, indeed, by the tremendous hunting stories of Gordon Cumming, and who had as a remarkable life in the neighborhood of Natal (distinguished lately for the visit of Prince Bisbop Colenso). He had an adventurous life, with, perhaps, less of suffering than usually attends the African hunter, and not the least important of his adventures was the meeting with Dr. Livingstone, in the falls of Zambesi. If there is any American over of field sports who desires to find a country which far surpasses the western continent for the pursuit of game, it can be no longer doubtful that he may do so by going to South Africa. When Gordon Cumming's book was published, its stories were received with a serene smile of derision, or an amused stare of surprise that any one should dare invent such incredible Munchausenisms. But the experience of later sportsmen has abundantly sustained the veracity of Cumming, and no need exists now to doubt any portion of his accounts. The game in which the country abounds is of great variety. The plants rank for first, as the largest, and also the most dangerous animals to deal with, and the additional attraction exists in pursuing them, that the ivory tusks are of great value, and help to make the hunter's life profitable as well as pleasant. But the elephant hunting is not so good as it has been in former years, owing perhaps to the fact that the Kaffirs are furnished with poor guns, and while they do not kill many they undoubtedly frighten more by loss of their number over of kills, or have villainous saltpetre is as yet a comparatively unknown article in compound with charcoal and sulphur. The rhinoceros, white as well as black, is found also in great abundance. The uses to which the hide is put are numerous, but the South Africans do not seem to set that high value on the horn which is given to it on the upper Nile, and in the Mohammedan countries. The Monnammedans have a tradition that rhinoceros horn cups absorb poison, and either on this account, or as one of the results of "fashion," which rules among them as among Christians, they pay fabulous prices for large cups and bowls made from that horn. A horn is hollowed down, so as to form one bowl from the largest part of it, a smaller bowl or cup from the next section, and thus two or three cups are made from one horn, the price of the larger size being sometimes several pounds sterling. In South Africa they use the horn only for knife handles and similar purposes. The variety of deer in South Africa is very great. It is impossible, in the space given to an article like this, to enumerate and describe them. They are said to excel in character as food, and indeed nothing comes amiss to the Africans for food; for the hunter who slays a half dozen elephants in a day does not make a wanton waste of the meat. The game is so plenty in the country, swarms with a population of natives, who are overjoyed at the arrival of an Englishman armed with death-dealing weapons, and who devour every particle of the wild beasts he kills, even to the intestines and the blood. It occurs to us that hunting in South Africa becomes a work of mercy to the human race. For in some of the dry seasons when Mr. Baldwin was shooting there, large numbers of the people would inevitably have died of starvation, but for the food provided for them by his gun.

Not the least worthy of mention in the list of African game is the giraffe, an animal that no one could desire to kill, unless as a trophy. They are found in droves in the interior, and the hunter shoots them for the use of his men.

The general plan of the South African hunter who pursues Mr. Baldwin's example, is this: Starting at Natal, he provides himself with a few companions and boys—the latter to be used in hunting—and the wagons loaded with lead, gunpowder, food of farinaceous kinds, and beads, calico, brass wires, etc., for trade with the natives. Kaffirs, as servants, and some experienced Kaffir guides and hunters are necessary to the party. Entering the wild country, the hunter pushes his way northward toward the Tropic, and perhaps crosses it. He shoots along, supplying himself with food, and the natives along the route with food, and when he approaches the elephant country he trades for ivory, loading his wagons as he can with the valuable tusks. The wild tribes and the wild beasts are his. His horses, unless acclimated to the interior, will die; possibly even if they are acclimated. His oxen will have a way of dying, from unaccountable causes. Sometimes they eat poison, and sometimes they die. Incomes about six or eight of them in a night, and frighten the rest to the ends of the earth, whence they must be hunted up; sometimes they go off without being frightened, and their bones are found where tigers and lyenas and jackals have been all cleaned. Long stretches must be made across the country without water. The oxen suffer. The human beings carry a supply in the entrails of antelopes, said to be an excellent way of keeping it cool, but objectionable, nevertheless, on other accounts. The natives are, on the whole, inoffensive, but they cannot be trusted, and some chiefs are severe in their exactions. What, with trading and shooting, the hunter may bring back a load of ivory amply paying his expenses and losses, but the sufferings he has endured would, perhaps, not tempt him to try it a second time.

ANECDOTE OF WELLINGTON.

A little work entitled "Good Things for Railway Readers," just published in London, contains among a thousand other anecdotes, the following in reference to the Duke of Wellington:

"Carew, the sculptor, told Haydon the following story of the Duke of Wellington: The Duke was at the Marchioness of Downshire's, and the ladies plagued him for some of his stories. For some time he declared all his stories were in print. At last he said, 'Well, I'll tell you one that has not been printed.' He then described the battle of Waterloo as he saw a man in plain clothes riding about on a cob in the thickest fire. During a temporary lull the Duke beckoned him, and he rode over. He asked him who he was and what business he had there. He replied he was an Englishman, accidentally at Brussels, that he had never seen a fight and wanted to see one. The Duke told him he was in eminent danger of his life; he said, 'Not more than your Grace, and they parted. But every now and then the Duke saw the cob marriding about in the smoke, and at last having nobody to send to a regiment, he again beckoned to this little fellow and told him to go up to that regiment and order them to charge; giving him some mark of authority the colonel would recognize. Away he galloped, and in a few minutes the Duke saw his order obeyed. The Duke asked him for his card, and found in the corner of the card fell out a bank note, that he lived at Birmingham and was a button-maker! When at Birmingham the Duke inquired of the firm, and found he was their traveller, and then in Ireland. When he returned, at the Duke's request, he called on him in London. The Duke was happy to see him, and said he had a vacancy in the 10th at £800 a year, where accountants were wanted. The little cob man said it would be exactly the thing, and the Duke installed him—much to his Grace's honor."

PROFESSOR MULLER ON THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDU.

Professor Max Muller delivered a lecture at the Royal Institution on Friday Evening, "On the Vedas, or Sacred Books of the Hindu." On the table there were placed four thick octavo volumes, which constituted only two-thirds of the translation of the Vedas and commentaries, which form the course of publication; and in his treatment of the subject Professor Max Müller stated first, the causes which had induced him to undertake the work, and the difficulties attending its production, and then he explained the general and distinctive character of the four books of the Vedas, examined their claims to antiquity, and considered the practical utility of presenting the work to the public in an accessible and generally readable form. He stated that after having spent two years in collecting materials for the work, he could not find any one who would undertake to publish it, and he had determined to abandon the enterprise and to return to Germany. But when he was plying at the Prussian Embassy in 1848 to have his passport vised, the Ambassador persuaded him to remain and persevere in his labor, and not only provided him with the means for doing so, but by his influence with the chairman of the East India Company induced the directors to undertake the production of the work, the fourth volume of which was published last year. The first of these sacred books, each of which is regarded by the Hindus as the divinely inspired, consists of hymns and sacred poetry, and is called the Rigveda. It is, Professor Müller observed, the most valuable of the whole, and many of the poems are extremely beautiful. The meaning of the word "Veda" is knowledge, and the sacred books are supposed to contain all the truths requisite for man to know. The root of the word is the same in all the Aryan languages, and from it is derived the Latin *videre*, to see, and from the principal idea of knowledge, Professor Müller took occasion to advert to his opinions respecting the origin of languages, all of which may, he said, be traced to one original source, though the source itself has been lost. The Vedas were considered by the Hindus to be as far back as fourteen hundred years before Christ, but the earliest manuscript containing them is not older than the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and there is consequently a gap of nearly three thousand years to be bridged over. In this satisfactorily done, Professor Müller considered, by tradition as far back as one thousand years before Christ; it being an important part of the study of the Brahmins to commit the Vedas to memory, and to teach them to those who are educating for the priesthood; and to this day the practice of oral teaching of the Vedas is continued. He read several passages from his translation, and the Rigveda, the oldest of the Vedas, and a high degree of religious feeling, and Professor Müller observed that the study of the Vedas has prepared the Hindu mind to receive Christianity, though the native prejudices offer at present a formidable obstacle. The Vedas are of great service to the Christian missionaries, for hitherto they have been generally met with the objection that the Vedas contain all the truths necessary to be known; but now that the sacred books are in their hands, open to them, the missionaries will be able to expose their errors and to point to other truths of far greater importance than those contained in the Vedas.

SHAKSPEARE'S "TOUCHSTONE."

Touchstone is a fellow possessing genuine qualities of attachment and affection. When Rosalind is exiled at the court by the usurping duke, and Celia, in that gentle speech, resolves to share her fortunes, the question is started, whether it were not good to have the Fool for their safeguard; she says, "Hold thee, Touchstone, wilt thou go with me: leave me alone to woo him." And in this act Touchstone makes a generous sacrifice; for he has been horn and bred in the luxury of what the Neapolitans call the "dolce far niente," and delicious do nought? "—he has all his days run about the court and amused himself: he is an over-fed lap-dog with all the snappishness, and none of the ill temper. The court-life was to him a natural nature; nevertheless he sacrifices all ease and luxury for the sake of a single object in his choice when his young mistress is to leave it. And although it may be said that he was ignorant of what he had to encounter in following a woodland life, and that he could not foresee the hardships; yet, when he does encounter them, he bears the change from that he prefers, with all the playfulness and sweet temper of the wisest-ordered mind. "I care not for my spirit," he says, "if legs were as forward as mind." Celia, who "rid" to do farther, and begs them to "hear with her;" "For my part, I had rather hear with you than hear you; yet I should bear no cross if I did bear you (the cross was a coin); for I love you almost as much as you love Rosalind. I am in Arden; the more fool I; when I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content." Touchstone has good and gentlemanly feeling; witness his rebuke of courtier Jean, who gives a detailed description of the hurts and wounds of the three young fellows who have been overthrown by Charles, the wrestler, and the moan made over them by their poor old father; and which encounter he declares to be a great relish and enjoyment as "sport," and expressing regret that the ladies have missed seeing it. Touchstone asks: "But what is the 'sport,' Monsieur, that the ladies have lost?" Le Beau: "Why, that that I speak of." —Touch. "Thus men may grow wise every day! It is the first time that ever I heard breaking of ribs was sport for ladies." Touchstone has also high feeling; for, although his wordly-reared terrors of matrimony give him a qualm at first, and a momentary wish he could be himself of the hedge-parson's services to wed him, that so slip-knot a marriage might give him a chance of retreating, in case of repenting at leisure; yet his good faith and "right feeling" hold good, when he determines to act honorably by the trusting and doting Audrey. He has a keen eye for pretension; for he sees through Professor Jacques's pretended immaculacy, and his assumption in moral philosophy. His true wit is a kind of wisdom, and a sweetness of familiarity,—a negligent dressing-gown air of equality, as amusing in effect as it is warranted in fact. "Good even, good Master What-ye-call-'t. How do you, sir? You are very welcome to the forest this hot weather. Nay; I pray, be covered." He has the delightful quality (quite that of a sweet-natured person—one who is at once good-hearted, good-humored, and good-minded), of being able to make himself happy under circumstances of adverse fortune chances to meet him. He is gay and easy at Court, he is good-tempered and at ease in the forest. He makes himself at home anywhere and everywhere, for he carries his own sunshine about with him. Touchstone is not a mere jeter—a mere extractor of fun from what occurs around him; and he is not in the least a buffoon; there is nothing low or common in his composition. He has an acute perception of the good feeling to draw truth and humor, as well as fine humor, out of passing life.—*Mr. Cowden Clarke's Shakspeare.*

BACON ON DUELLING.

Bacon, while the Attorney-General of England, was rallied to deliver his judgment upon the theory and practice of duelling. The case arose upon information in the Star Chamber against Priest and Wright, who were convicted and sentenced to fine and imprisonment for sending and hearing a challenge to fight a duel. The whole charge of Bacon and the decree of his court are worthy of careful study. We cite only the following extracts:

"Touching the honor of the duel, the first motive no doubt, is a false and erroneous imagination of honor and credit; therefore, the king, in his last proclamation, doth most aptly and excellently call them bewitching duels. For, as witchcraft, it is no living by a sorcery that enchanteth the spirits of young men that bear great minds with a false show; and a kind of satanical allusion and apparation of honor against law, against moral virtue, and against the principal end and principle of the best honors, which are valiantest nations. But then the seed of this mischief being such, it is nourished by vain discourses and green and unripe conceits, which, nevertheless, have so prevailed with some, as it is a matter of doubt, and a right believer touching the vanity and unlawfulness of these duels; yet the stream of vulgar opinion is such as imposeth a necessity upon men of value to conform themselves, in a manner, to no living creature, but to the good judging of true truth and honor, as well as fine humor, out of passing life.—*Mr. Cowden Clarke's Shakspeare.*

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"Touching the honor of the duel, the first motive no doubt, is a false and erroneous imagination of honor and credit; therefore, the king, in his last proclamation, doth most aptly and excellently call them bewitching duels. For, as witchcraft, it is no living by a sorcery that enchanteth the spirits of young men that bear great minds with a false show; and a kind of satanical allusion and apparation of honor against law, against moral virtue, and against the principal end and principle of the best honors, which are valiantest nations. But then the seed of this mischief being such, it is nourished by vain discourses and green and unripe conceits, which, nevertheless, have so prevailed with some, as it is a matter of doubt, and a right believer touching the vanity and unlawfulness of these duels; yet the stream of vulgar opinion is such as imposeth a necessity upon men of value to conform themselves, in a manner, to no living creature, but to the good judging of true truth and honor, as well as fine humor, out of passing life.—*Mr. Cowden Clarke's Shakspeare.*

CURIOUS ALPINE EXPERIENCES.

Professor Tyndall sends us for publication some curious Alpine experiences of Mr. Robert Spencer Watson and his party in the region of the Jungfrau. The suddenness of the atmospheric changes frau. The suddenness of the atmospheric changes and fog, and valuable observations of Mr. Whymper on the Matterhorn, recorded in our pages a fortnight ago. Mr. Watson says:—"On the 10th of July I visited the Col de la Jungfrau from the Eggishorn, in company with my wife and Messrs. John Bowerly and W. G. Adams, of Marlborough College. We had with us guides J. M. Claret, of Chamonix, and a young man from the hotel. The early morning was bright, and gave promise of a fine day, but, as we approached the Col, clouds settled down upon it, and on reaching it we encountered so severe a storm of wind, snow, and hail, that we were unable to stay more than a few minutes. We descended, the snow continued to fall so thickly that we lost our way, and for some time we were wandering up the Lotsch Battel. We had hardly discovered our mistake when a loud peal of thunder was heard, and shortly after I observed that a large singing sound like that of a kettle was issuing from my alpen-stock. We halted, and, finding that all the axes and stocks emitted the same sound, stuck them into the snow. The guide from the hotel took off his cap, shortly thereafter that his head burned, and his hair was seen to have a similar appearance to that which it would have presented had he been on an insulated stool under a powerful electrical machine. We hastily descended, and on the 10th of pricking or burning in some part of the body, more especially in the head and face, my hair standing on end in an uncomfortable and very amusing manner. The snow gave way in places, and we heard a heavy shower of hail were falling; the veil on the wide wave of one of the party stood upright in the air, and on waving our hands the singing sound issued loudly from the fingers. When ever a peal of thunder was heard the phenomena ceased, to be resumed before the echoes had died away. At these times we felt shocks, more or less violent, in those portions of the body which were most affected. By one of the party my right arm was paralyzed for a time; by that I could neither use nor raise it for several minutes, nor, indeed, until it had been severely rubbed by Claret, and I suffered much pain in the shoulder-joint for several hours. At half past 11 we left the Col, and began to work away, and the phenomena finally ceased, having lasted 25 minutes. We saw no lightning, and were puzzled at first as to whether we should be afraid or amused. The young guide was very much alarmed, but Claret, who is a veteran of 1000 ascents, had twice before heard the singing (though without any of the other symptoms), laughed so heartily that we joined him. No evil effects were felt afterwards beyond the inconvenience of having from my head to my feet, which though we had no sun, were almost livid in hue when we arrived at the Eggisch-horn."—*Athenæum.*

DISCOVERER OF PHOTOGRAPHY.

The degree of LL.D. was on the first of April last conferred upon William H. Fox Talbot, Esq., in the University of Edinburg, Scotland, upon which occasion Professor Muirhead made the following address:

Vice-Chancellor: I now present to you, as also accounted by the Senatus Academicus worthy to have conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in this University, William Henry Fox Talbot, Esq., a Member of the Royal Institution, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. It is not because of his political services that I present Mr. Talbot to your notice (though he too has had a seat in the Legislative Council of the nation), but because of his discoveries in chemistry, and the benefits his discoveries have conferred upon society. When I tell you, sir, that at Cambridge, Mr. Talbot was in mathematics, a wrangler, and in classics, the Chancellor's medalist, I may bloomingly, and yet truly, say that he then looked upon as earnests of his future triumphs. His subsequent career has not been behind his academic promise. Literature owes with gratitude her obligations to his philological inquiries. Oriental scholars, through him, have, the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria—have been materially elucidated by his investigations. The transactions of our learned bodies, and the medal awarded him by the Royal Society in 1838, bear testimony to his skill in the mathematical researches, especially in the field of optics; and chemistry has profited not a little by his experiments in connection with the spectrum analysis.

But all these claims of his to grateful recognition pass into the shade when contrasted with that one which no man, sir, is better able to appreciate than you—his claim to our acknowledgment as the discoverer of the art of photography. Wedgwood, sir Daevy, indeed, had early in the century some faint idea of the secret; the elder Niepce had experimented not entirely without success; Daguerre had announced that he had overcome the difficulties which had baffled his predecessors; but it was Mr. Talbot who first made known that method of photogenic operation which, however imperfect originally, has yet formed the basis of all that is valuable in the modern art of photography. The photography of the present day—far still, no doubt, from perfection, yet productive of exquisitely beautiful results, and capable of application to innumerable industrial and scientific purposes—is entirely the result of the discoveries of Herschel, Niepce de St. Victor and Archer, much as they contributed to the advancement of the art, yet all are based upon the conclusions at which Mr. Talbot had arrived after years of patient scientific investigation and experiment. Niepce and Daguerre, who had attained results hardly less evanescent than the sunbeams that imprinted, reaped substantial reward from a government proud to claim for France the honor of the discovery. Worthless discoveries. Mr. Talbot is left to obtain his acknowledgment in the gratitude of his countrymen, and the distinctions which we and others who appreciate his labors and know their importance value. Have it in your power to bestow. Confer, then, upon him also, I pray you, sir, the honor for which I now present him, and of which his literary and scientific attainments, his philosophical and philological researches, and the important and valuable inventions to industrial and æsthetical art, make him eminently worthy.

The Vice-Chancellor (Sir D. Brewster) then, amid great applause, conferred the degree upon Mr. Talbot. The body of the hall was crowded with students, and the galleries were filled with ladies.

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS."

It attained quick popularity. The first edition was "Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1678," and before the year closed a second edition was called for. In the four following years it was reprinted twice more. The eighth edition, which contains the last improvements made by the author, was published in 1682, the ninth in 1684, and the tenth in 1685. In Scotland and the colonies it was even more popular than in England. Bunyan was a Puritan, and a Puritan was the delight and subject of conversation of thousands, and was thought worthy to appear in the most superb binding. It had numerous admirers, too, in Holland, and among the Huguenots in France. Yet it was not the enormous circulation of the "Pilgrim's Progress was limited to those who read for religious edification and made no pretense to critical taste. When the *literati* spoke of the book, it was usually with contempt, their observers, in his "Letter to a Young Divine" "I have been entertained and more informed by a few pages in the Pilgrim's Progress than by a long discourse upon the will and intellect, and angels and couplet classes; but we understand the remark was designed rather to depreciate metaphysics than to exalt Bunyan. Young, of the "Night Thoughts," coupled Bunyan's prose with D'Urfe's doggerel, and in the "Spiritual Quixote" the adventures of Christian are classed with those of Jack the Giant-killer and John Hickathrift. But the most curious evidence of the rank assigned to Bunyan in the eighteenth century appears in Cowper's couplet, written so late as 1782:

"I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame."

It was only with the growth of purer and more catholic principles of criticism toward the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, that the popular veneration for the author of Pilgrim's Progress registered among the choicest of English classics. With almost every Christmas there now appears one or more editions of the Pilgrim, sumptuous in typography, paper, and binding, and illustrated by favorite artists. Ancient editions are sought for by collectors; but, strange to say, only one perfect copy of 1678 is known to be extant. Originally published for one shilling, it was bought "a few years ago," by the Duke of Bedford, of Tetbury, in its old sheepskin cover, for twenty guineas; it is probable that, if offered again for sale, it would fetch twice or thrice that sum.—*Book of Days.*

BOURBON INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE.

A series of lectures has recently been delivered in London by Madame Clara Leyton Lecard, with a view of bringing to light and explaining certain instruments of torture alleged to have been recently discovered in the fortress of Castellamare at Palermo, and supposed to have been used on political prisoners during the reign of the two last Bourbon Kings of Naples. The introductory lecture consisted of sketches of the governmental system of Francis I., Ferdinand II., and Francis II., Kings of Naples, and instances of the torture of offenders, more or less innocent or guilty of political offences, were adduced.

The instruments of torture were then produced, and it was stated that a certain Dr. Guiseppe Manzi, of Palermo, having had reason to believe that peculiar instruments of torture were concealed in the fortress of Castellamare, obtained a commission from the present government to search for them; and in the result, within a walled up recess, three special devices for cruelly punishing perverse and non-conforming prisoners were discovered. They consist of a foot-burner, made of plates of copper, beneath which flames are kindled, and which scorch the soles of the feet of a person chained upon it; of a chair of iron and copper, very ingeniously and well made, and which displays, while the sufferer is helplessly confined, while beneath him a fire is caused to burn; and a cap of iron, which fits on the head and beneath the chin of the wearer, and can be screwed up so as to give pain, and finally, a most singular machine for inflicting pain was exhibited in a harmless fashion on the person of a free-born Briton, who, when a "little fire" was about to be created beneath the iron chair in which he was bound fast, resented his liberties by very decidedly declining to have it brought into contact with the candescent metal on which he was seated, and within which he was inclosed. The finding of the instruments of torture was positively attested, but no one is given as to the period to which they could positively be assigned.

EXTRAORDINARY, IF TRUE.

In 1844 a young man left a village near Chamouny, on a pilgrimage to the Convent of St. Bernard, intending to make a vow made before gaining the belle of the village. After leaving the Convent, he went to several places and bought some linen with the intention of smuggling it across the Sardinian frontier. To do this he had to go by an unfrequented track. He started on his perilous journey, and was never heard of again until a few weeks ago, when a shepherd who had lost his way, on jumping across a glacier, saw a wonderful and terrible sight. The sinking of illuminated a gulf of ice, looking like a vast crystal cavern, in the midst of which was the figure of a man, lying flat on his back, with apparently open eyes, and hands folded across his breast, and with a knapsack underneath his head as a pillow, and a hat on his head. The shepherd halloed at the top of his voice, and then screamed; but not a voice answered from below. At break of dawn next morning a party of mountaineers, guided by the shepherd, with ropes and axes, set out for the spot. The crystal sarcophagus was soon found, and the boldest of the company was let down to the icy depths, from which he brought in his arms the body of a young man, with a knapsack, a cross, and a rosary, and a small life-like. Attached to the corpse, by a mass of ice, was a parcel containing a new piece of linen; while a watch, in the coat-pocket of the dead man, with broken glass, but not otherwise damaged, showed the time to be twenty-four minutes past twelve. Recognized the features of those of the pilgrim of Passy mysteriously lost nineteen years ago. Embalmed in ice, decay had not yet touched his flesh, and he had the appearance of having just fallen asleep. The question of men passed away over his head. The pilgrim, dead nineteen years, was carried to his former home, and left at the cottage of the young widow of Passy—now young no more, but an elderly gray-haired matron. The son who had never heard of his father, made him a wooden coffin, and, to honor his memory, kept the body lying in state for twenty-four hours.

An Arctic Region at Home.—To ascend a lofty Highland hill is equivalent to undertaking a summer voyage to the Arctic regions. The leading phenomena of the Polar world are presented to us on a small scale, and the adventurer is surrounded by a miniature summit. The same specific rocks along which Parry and Ross coasted in the unknown seas of the north, here crop above the surface, and yield by their disintegration the same kind of vegetation. The Alpine hare is common to both; and the ptarmigan, which penetrates in large flocks as far as Melville Island, is often seen flying round the grey rocks of the higher Grampians, and exhibiting its singular changes of plumage. A tone has been discovered buried in the sand, and a church has already been extracted from it. Its original plan shows it to have been built near the close of the Roman Empire, but changes made from time to time have superimposed the styles of mixed style, in which Gothic architecture has usurped the place of the Roman. The original paintings, its admirable sculptured choir and Roman capitals, are adorned with profuse ornaments, which are attractive to the eye of the antiquary. It is a fact that remains of those cities described by Pliny and Strabo; the Gulf of Gascony abounds in ruins of those ancient cities. It has been 1,500 years since Novignanum left its capital, Nedoc, which was a very celebrated city when the Romans were masters of Gaul, was buried under the ocean; of all that tract of territory the Roche du Cordonon alone is visible; the remains of Roman roads, the site of Jupiter's Temple, the vestiges of the Roman Baths, and the roads to Eleanor du Guyenne have been rescued from the sands in the neighborhood of the long-buried city of Soulac. Nowhere has the erosion of the ocean been greater than on the coast of Gascony.

A VERBAL WHIMSIE.

An English poet gives us the following poem, containing only *one word*:

No monk too good to rob, or cog, or plot.
No fool so gross to bolt Scotch collops hot.
From Brown's top no Dutch can boast a view
Logwood, not Lotos, floods Oporto's bowls.
Troops of old tossports oft to sot consort.
Box lacquer on Japan's ebony. Not for sport.
No cool mousseous blow oft on Oxford downs,
Orthodox jog-trots, book-worm Solomons!
Bold Cromptonite of shoes no horror shows
On London shop-fronts no hop blossoms grow.
To crack the nuts Jove locks for food.
On soft cloth footstools no silk dogs brood.
Long storm-tost sloops forlorn do work to port.
Rooks do not roost on spouts, nor woodcocks sport.
Nor dog on snow-drop or on coltsfoot rolls,
Nor common frog concocts long protocols.

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