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Selections.

THE POWERS OF WAR IN THEIR RELATION TO SLAVERY.

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO EXERCISE THEM.

From "The Birth and Death of Nations—A Thought for the Times"—a striking pamphlet, lately issued from the press by G. P. Putnam, 532 Broadway.)

WHILE slavery remained upon its own ground, obedient to the Constitution, a due regard for the requirements of that instrument might justly be held to bind the National government to dealing with it, in a way and nature it deserved. But the moment it saw fit to overleap its obligations to the Constitution, and set at defiance the authority of the nation, the question of its existence became wholly discharged of all Constitutional prohibitions and restraints; and from that moment the National government was imperatively bound to take possession of it as a national affair; to deal with it, as with any other question vitally affecting the national well-being, on its own merits and dispose of it with an enlightened, fearless and far-reaching statesmanship.

But what a bottomless slough of absurdities are even honest men compelled to sweltter in, when once they have put their hand to the ark of slavery, and allowed themselves to be led by it! It is said the rebels have indeed committed a great outrage upon the Constitution, but that that is no reason why the loyal people of the Union, and their government, should do the same thing! *Two wrongs make a right—that justified, containing no express provision giving them that power.* As if the Constitution *did contain* a express provision authorizing the blockade of Southern ports, or filling them up with stone-filled hulks—the burning of towns and villages, murdering and slaying his white children, and sweeping his whole land with the besom of destruction. Only see act, it seems, imposed by the terrible necessities of war, is unconstitutional, and that is a destruction of its essence, if you! No wonder that the honest heart of the world swells with a suppressed shout of derision at such acumen and statesmanship. Was and its laws alone justify and make *Constitutional* any of these acts. And much more do they justify and recommend the utter extinction of its acknowledged cause.

War has been justly termed the "scourge of God." And regarding it from the grounds of the broadest Christian statesmanship, it may, indeed, be pronounced an evil in itself, in that it necessitates, as it moves as never to be justifiable except on the ground that the continued existence of its cause is a still greater evil. I believe the universal conscience of Christendom, if appealed to, would confirm this position. To destroy the existence of the cause is then the only legitimate aim and end in the prosecution of any war. It follows, that we should on no ground, or for any purpose, or with any other intent than that of destroying or removing its cause, is not only unjustifiable but a great mistake, or a great crime. Only on the ground that slavery, the admitted cause of the present war, is such an evil, and that the war is aimed at its extinction, can it be justified before God and mankind.

The existence of an apparent doubt on this point in the minds of the men, upon whom rests the momentous responsibility of conducting the war to its highest, grandest issues; and their hesitating manner to carry it on, upon its own basis, as war, and for the achievement of a great and just end, is the source of disheartening anxieties and doubts, that wound and trigger the popular confidence of the loyal States. Nor is this by any means the only unhealthy, if not occasion for an undeserved defamation of republican institutions and contempt of our national character and aims abroad, that threaten us with the loss of the respect of other nations, if not with their active hatred and hostility.

Nor on another ground than any hitherto set forth, can this paramount question be any longer left to be toled with by epauletted officials, high or low, without peril to the government and to the civil liberties of the nation and shame to the representatives of the people. The powers conferred by the laws of war belong, primarily, to the supreme authority of the State, and by no means without its authorization, to any one of its administrative officers and functionaries. The Constitution itself takes on these powers, and Congress is the proper organ for their distribution—for giving them practical authority. Besides the fact that the legislating power is alone adequate to the determination of the great question of the end to be aimed at, Congress and provide for the future of the slave as well as of the nation, in the presence of the great military force called forth by the exigencies of the hour to watch with a jealous eye every attempt of its chiefs to overstep their functions, and the arm and sentiment of the civil power, is a matter of the most urgent necessity, and a sacred duty of the people's representatives. Most calamitous and deplorable indeed would it be, if the war to restore the external unity of the nation should result in perpetuating in its cause, as a supreme power in the State, but in the people's military autocracy for their free republican institutions. In a war carried on for the maintenance of authority only—for *empire* merely, this is an evil consequence greater than any other, on the other hand, let battle be for a great IDEA—let your army be inspired by a great sentiment of human justice and liberty, and the danger is cut off at its very source.

But why should the people of the United States or their government seek to shuffle off the "inevitable logic of events, or squander the providences of God? The consequences against the life of the nation plant themselves openly, nearly, on the ground of slavery. The war they wage is transmitted by no neutral or any reservations, no ambiguity of purpose. To make slavery triumph on this continent, and to found there a social order and a State, is their loudly-asserted aim in its prosecution. The malign spirit believes in it, are terribly in earnest about it, ready to die for it! On the other side, on the part of the nation and its government, what great purpose is set forth to justify, inspire and sustain them, in the prosecution of so gigantic a struggle? Is it to recover the rebellious States to the Union, and slavery to the safeguards of the Constitution! To reestablish the fatal malignant evil, not only in all its original power, but from the very nature of things to give it renewed strength and vigor? Is it for this that so many precious errors who imagine that, in some accidental or fortuitous way, slavery is to receive its death wound in this war, even although it may end in reestablishment. Let no such monstrous delusion be entertained. The ethical providences of the world never returns upon its own footsteps. God wastes not a single one of His dispensations, repeats not a single one of His dispensations, repeats not a single one of man's neglected opportunities. Slavery must die, and die now, if the enlightened will of the nation, or the nation itself must perish with it. Slavery has its heart eaten out by its poisonous, deadly virus.

But without reference to this inevitable and final consummation, what a solecism in human affairs does the war in the light of its own logic! Is it to recover a peace, by carefully maintaining the cause of the war? Is it even before proposed to "conquer and disabuse a powerful enemy by benoming the slave, and enforcing the labor of four million of his subjects for his sole benefit and support? To conquer our foe by compelling a supply of our own means which he would become utterly helpless? Suppose, for argument's sake, that our millions of unwilling *workers* from whose labor the enemy draws his daily sustenance, were in a night to have the color of their skin changed to a Caucasian one, and these white men were to send a message to the Commander of our armies, that they were loyal men, lovers of liberty and of the Union, and only awaited his permission to rise in their might and with one fell swoop destroy the cause of the war and the malignant power of the enemy. And suppose that this Commander-in-Chief should refuse the proffered assistance, and insist that his *constitutional* duty was to employ his great army in standing guard over these willing allies of the nation, and in compelling them to serve and support its implacable enemy. What judgment would be pronounced against an able general, pass on such a plan for carrying on a great war? What would be the sentence of the nation and of mankind on such patriotism and statesmanship? And yet is not this a sober statement of the facts, as they present themselves at the North? Where is the difference only—that the men who, the other day, with cries of joy ran to embrace our army on the shores of Port Royal while its enemy fled, had not all cuteicles of the supposed color?

By what unparalleled infatuation is it that even yet, after all the overwhelming proofs of the execrable character of slavery, the understandings and hearts of our public men are enthralled and awed in its presence—bound abjectly by a spell of Circe, to cringe and how to its diabolical intentions, under the pressure of the great exigency created by it our salers have not hesitated to set aside the most sacred rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In the name of national safety they have not hesitated to suspend the great writ of freedom, the *habeas corpus*, for two hundred years held sacred by all men speaking the English tongue, and to put manacles on the hands of American citizens. But they have not longer to stand guard over the rebel's slave, or in the name of liberty, the rights of human nature and of national existence, to permit his shackles to be knocked off, is a thing only to be thought of with fear and trembling—to be excused by all sorts of pleas and apologies! Let it be until it gets *itself* transacted in some way, not to excite the latent treason of the half-suppressed rebels of the border States, who, in the name of the old master, slavery, and with the old insolence, are still permitted to dictate the policy of the National government, and give the word of command to the national armies. While the earnest convictions of the loyal people of the free States, who furnish these armies, are flouted as fanatical and not to be regarded, on the ground, apparently, that their patriotism and love of country are unconditional.

Is it not time, O men of America, rightful heirs of the great inheritance, that we should rouse ourselves to a sense of the true nature of the enemy we have to overcome, and of the deadly perils that environ us! Look, I beseech you, at the battle-field upon which we are called to pour out the blood of our sons—for who of us has not been a dear son?—what a spectacle does it present! On the one hand stands the great army of slavery, openly, boldly, proudly, in the name of SLAVERY, warring for its triumph. On the other hand stands the army of freedom, covertly, abjectly, in the name of LIBERTY, waging "a vague and aimless fight," but still for SLAVERY.

"One guards through love its ghastly throne,
And one through fear to reverence grown."

How, think you, must such a battle end? Shall not slavery, who dares and dares and dares, rather than think of the day of retribution, and hides herself? Or rather shall not liberty disown the cowardly craven souls that dare not fight openly in her name, and yield them up to become in very fact the "mudsills" of that hideous throne they so reverence?

We may not flatter ourselves: on this plan of the battle we need not hope to conquer. The inestimable sacrifices we offer will be but vain oblations. To the enemy we shall be but a sweet savor in them. O friends, we must not allow our cause to be unduly driven "like dumb cattle" to the shambles. Let us demand an open fight on the ground of the great declaration: "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL—ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS; OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." Only in the strength of the great idea which it contains have our fathers, from the first, been conquerors. Let this name dare we send forth our brave sons to die. Only with the consolation that they fell in the cause of liberty and the rights of humanity, shall we be able to assuage the griefs that must wring and break our hearts at their loss.

THE EMANCIPATED SOUTH CAROLINIANS.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

PORT ROYAL, Jan. 8, 1862.

MANY facts about the condition of the negroes in camp, which I hoped to put into this letter, must be postponed; but I wish to call attention to one subject of immediate interest, and indeed necessary to their comfort. There is no supply of clothing adequate for the wants of the contrabands. Capt. Saxton, to whom Capt. Saxton urgently represented their necessities, has recently sent 600 suits of clothing for the men, and a small supply of shoes. Before these were received, nothing but second-hand garments, left behind by the rebels, and worn by them, had been issued by them. Underclothing for the men, and every description of clothing for women and children, are immediately needed, and cannot be had unless private charity will furnish them. The supply of men's suits, which I have now, will be very soon exhausted by the negroes here and at Beaufort. No kind of second-hand clothing therefore will come amiss, and whatever can be sent at once will relieve a great deal of destitution. I am sure the large benevolence of the North will be disarmed as it has made with the sanction of the chief Quartermaster of the fort, and of the Superintendent. They will be glad to receive every description of clothing, of every quality, for women, children, and men. Nothing is so poor or worn out that it may not be of service. Contributions should be packed in boxes, and addressed to Mr. B. K. Lee, Jr., Superintendent, care of Capt R. Saxton, U. S. A., Chief Quartermaster. E. L. Pierce, Esq., of Boston, is now here, and will aid by the Quartermaster's Department in New York, of which Col. Tompkins is in charge. If the necessity for this appeal seems strange, it should be remembered that government has yet adopted no definite policy in regard to these people. It has made no provision for those whom it receives and whose services it uses. A blanket or two, an old coat, food, and five dollars a month, are the rewards it offers for the encouragement of loyalty. Those who come in from the rebel lines have left behind them everything they possess, and arriving often after long marches, exposure by night, hiding in swamps and swimming rivers, are almost completely destitute on reaching the camp. No generosity will be wasted that is bestowed upon them.

It is plain that the arming of the slaves will now become general, on one side or the other. In addition to the accounts heretofore received from different parts of the South, here is the statement of a negro who came into camp on New Year's day: He knows that at a point not far distant from Port Royal, not less than three hundred slaves are under arms, organized and officered mainly by whites, and forming a part of the regular forces under command of the General of that Department. They are treated very much like whites—that is, like the common white soldiers—for whom South Carolina aristocracy has little more respect than for the blacks. Other companies were forming, in which the proportion of black officers was considerably larger. This negro was asked to take command of a company already raised—the recruiting being probably about as near the volunteer system as elsewhere in the South. When he declined, he was ordered to take it, and threatened with punishment if he refused. Indisposed to fight for the perpetuation of the tyranny that sought to compel him, he fled to our camp, where there seems small chance of his being either compelled or permitted to fight for the flag that protects him. His statements are confirmed by another slave from the same district, who neither knew the other before, nor has seen him since.

The name of this negro and of his former owner, and the plantation from which he came, are all known to me, but there is a reason for not publishing them. He has brought information of great value concerning the rebel forces and preparations for defense in a certain quarter, partly confirming and partly adding to the knowledge

Herald, if I can by excite an emotion in behalf of the Tilletts, of Hannaks, in the minds of those philanthropists of the North who have seemed to need only an open field. To such I can assure that these negroes are ready to be shipped to Liberia, and that these negroes are ready to be shipped to Liberia, ignorant of the slave code, to any planet which secures free air to them.

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WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1862.

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

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

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THE HOUR, BUT NOT THE MAN.

THE political disturbances which have agitated this continent for the last six months have not yet created or discovered the Great Man that should control and guide them. Times of civil broil and intestine commotion usually bring to the surface of society men of extraordinary energy or eminent ability, who would have remained concealed in its depths had it not been for a volcanic heaving of its elements, alike unknown and unknowing of the strength that was in them. Our convulsions have not yet evoked the master-spirit appointed to calm them into peace after having directed them to a true victory of civilization. It may be that our knot is not worthy of being disentangled by the interposition of a demi-god or hero upon the scene. It may be that the conditions of our National politics for the last forty years have been such that the nation is impotent to produce such a man, and that our fate must remain at the mercy of the mediocrities accidentally finding themselves at the head of our affairs. This last is most probably the true explanation of the phenomenon of a great National crisis without a great man commensurate with its magnitude. The Age had lost its breed of noble bloods before the storm set in, or rather it had grown incompetent to continue the breed. The virus of slavery had entered into the marrow of the bones of the fathers, and the children are dwarfed in stature and their strength is feebleness. Clay, Webster and Calhoun might have impressed themselves on the history of their country as benefactors, had it not been for this. As it is, the last is the only one who has given any impulse to events, while the two first are already forgotten, their memories crumbling like their dust and their influence silent as their voices.

It has been the necessity of our institutions, as administered in the interests of slavery, to check the growth of genuine greatness of intellect and of soul in those who deserved the distinctions of the Republic. We do not believe that the human mind has gone backward under our skies, as some of our foreign critics have pretended, nor yet that the moral sense of the common race has deteriorated on this side the Atlantic. But we are sure that the tendency of the administration of our affairs for more than a generation of men has been to keep the best and ablest minds away from it, and to invite only supple and subservient spirits to aspire to take part in it. Indeed, it has been possible for none other to be in the line of promotion. Humiliations to which no man at once of spirit and capacity would subject himself were necessary preliminaries to political success. The prizes were not worth the cost to men of genius and to men of honor. Consequently, the Presidents and their Cabinets for many years have been selected for their feeblenesses and political vices, instead of their strength and their incorruptibility. To throw dust in the eyes of the people, to pervert their moral sense, to make them believe that they were doing a self-sacrificing and heroic duty in only not interfere with their making and spending of money, to make the strengthening and extending of slavery and the maintaining of the Union by the sacrifice of everything that made it worth maintaining the one test of public virtue, these and such as these were the price which men ambitious of public office had to pay for the hope or for the holding of it. It is no wonder that the spirits really fit to rule the destinies of the Republic should find themselves condemned to voluntary insignificance, when they could not emerge from it, except at the cost of the very qualities of mind and character which constituted their commission from Heaven. For thirty years or more this Republic has been the paradise of little men, or of great men dwarfed, and it is slavery alone that is the cause of it all.

We would do full justice to the brave men who have attempted, for years past, apparently against hope, to withstand the overwhelming torrent of proslavery supremacy in the Halls of Congress. The very seeming desperation of their attempts justly imputed to them the higher honor. But, with a very few exceptions, even they have been affected by the blight which slavery has, of its own nature, cast over all who came within its sphere. The avowed duty of giving certain advantages and preëminences to slavery, which the great majority of the best of the political adversaries of its oppression believed to be implied in an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, was a continual curb and hindrance to their action. This necessity or conciliating those who would restrain the excesses of slavery, while they would not encroach upon its legitimate prerogatives, struck all their public action with the palsy, and that goes before death. Loyalty to slavery, while organizing to resist the actions which were but the necessary expression of its life—loyalty they felt it necessary to avow and to observe—struck the chill of death to the very heart of their policy. Compromise and concession entered like the iron of a slave-chain into the soul of the Republican party. It became a necessity, according to the calculations of political chances, to take the man of their party nearest the slaveholding domination to execute its moderate plan of opposition to its extension. The strength of the man was not so much the recommendation of the candidate as his weakness. We do not blame the Republican party, nor yet its candidate, for these things. Admitting their premises, the conclusions were foregone ones. But we cannot but regret that the history of the last six months could not have projected its shadow across the platform builded at Chicago. Could there have been but a glimpse of that passage of history, we do not believe that Mr. Lincoln would have been the choice of that Convention. Had it been surmised, even, that the present struggle for the existence of the nation was to supervene upon the election of the 6th of November, 1860, we think another man would have been selected as the chosen champion of the imperfect ideas that inspired that body. And we cannot but think that if John C. Fremont had been placed by that Convention in the chair now occupied by Abraham Lincoln, that the face of affairs in the nation would have been very different from that now presented to the world. But these are all mere speculations now. Mr. Lincoln was chosen as being the man he is, and no one who helped to raise him to the post he holds has any just ground to blame him for not being a very different man.

Whether events will yet compel little men to do great things, or whether they will yet call forth a Man equal to the Hour, remains to be seen. It may be that Gen. McClellan is that man. We will hope that he may be. The country has been greatly patient with him and willing to take him upon faith, rather than by sight. No man, not even Benedict Arnold, or Davis, has owed so much to the disaster at Bull's Run, as he. It has made the nation content to bide his time as its own. But that time is rapidly passing away. He must prove his title to his position as the head of the vast force under his command by great successes, and that speedily, or else descend to the rank of broken-down heroes. Delay or failure would be equally fatal to the maintenance of the Union in its territorial integrity. If the Rebellion be not substantially quelled within three months, by the occupation by land and sea of all the principal strategic points, the interference of the great Powers of Europe is inevitable, and, if general, it must be successful. The fear, under which the Administration has been lie, of victory, only less than that it has of defeat, must be overcome, or its existence in a National character will soon be at an end. The immense Secession influence, disguised as Loyalty, which is brought to bear on Mr. Lincoln, aims at a success which shall put the whole country again at the feet of the Slave Power. This secret influence, if that can be called secret which scarcely conceals its purposes, would shape our public policy and military demonstrations so as to leave the voice potential of the slaveholders as double as before. It would have the war ended by such a peace as would make Jefferson Davis the incontestable successor of Abraham Lincoln. Rather than have the war rounded by Justice, so as to leave Freedom the inspiring and guiding genius of the nation, instead of Slavery, which would leave them in a hopeless minority, they would wish to see the rebels triumphant and the Union severed. This, if not victory, were at least revenge. The policy of the Administration has been guided thus far by the influence of this class of its secret but deadliest enemies. A continuance in it cannot fail to work its ruin. By accepting the great necessity of striking at the root of the Rebellion and of visiting upon the rebels the beneficent penalty of a wisely-devised and executed Emancipation, it can place itself beyond the danger of a European interposition, by assuming an attitude which it would be an outrage on European civilization to disturb. If our rulers choose to listen to the counsel of their worst enemies, instead of to those of their best friends, and strive to perpetuate whatever is worst in our policy when it is within their power to destroy it, they will be sure of meeting with destruction, and that suddenly. But, at the worst, the North will remain, and we may hope that, out of its shame and humiliation, not undeserved, it may come purified and strengthened, an example to other governments for its virtues and not a warning by its crimes. And then, perhaps, if not sooner, the Man may appear fit to give its inspiration and its expression to the Hour.

GREAT MEN THE RECEIVERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF DIVINE INFLUENCE.

THEODORE PARKER . . . . . GARRISON.

[Extract from a Sermon by Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.]

FROM the lives of great men and women the water of the Eternal Life comes directly to the multitude. What marvels and mysteries are really in our souls! How unaccountable they are! How completely the physiologist, the economist, the schoolmaster, the historian, fails to explain them! Of them it must always be said, "They are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man." The law of inheritance does not account for them. They are children of the Spirit—they are born from above. We see them here and there, great beacon-lights on the hill-tops, towering light-houses on the edge of the sea, standing strong against all winds. In the most dangerous place, lifting up their heads high above the foam-dash of the angriest wave when the storm is at its height, and throwing their trail of splendor far out over the sea. We look back over the wild reaches of history, and here and there we see them looming up like Alpine peaks, wearing the snows of winter on their heads, gathering on their sides the torrents of the early and latter rain. A few great Providential men make history. We do not know how it is, but it seems as if certain men were sent into the world gifted with the great spiritual power of concentrating and distributing force, as the mountain summits collect and discharge the vapors. They are in communication with the Creative Influences—they have a secret understanding with Nature. . . . . .

I was reading yesterday in a little volume of Prayers, Sunday mornings, from the lips of THEODORE PARKER, and has now offered in this pretty cup to the thirsting world of men. As I read them, sometimes with tears, but oftener with smiles suffusing my whole heart, I saw in fancy that great-souled man standing there in Boston like Moses's faithful rock in the wilderness, and around him the weary people who had come to him in their thirst. What strengthening influences poured from every point into that capacious heart! England told him her manifold sorrows; France whispered to him her unbelief; Germany breathed into him her lofty Spiritual Faith; America confided to him her hope and her fear, her sorrow and her shame; men and women brought him their woes, as children bring their griefs to their mothers, and let fall into his bosom the summer showers of their joy and the cold night-rains of their sorrow; the criminal confessed to him the crime secret; the sinner opened to him his darling bosom-sin. With his base firmly planted in the practical common sense of the world, so that he drew up spontaneously the succulent juices from the ground of life, his shoulders lay broadly out in the serener air, so that the most attenuated desires and the most impalpable ideas of the mystic came to him and crystallized, as they touched him, in drops of quickening rain. He was a great human being—a man all human; all the currents of humanity ran through him as the Western rivers set towards the Mississippi, and the Mississippi sets towards the Gulf. The Eternal Spirit made him thus broad and massive and tall, and set him on that granite rock of Massachusetts, in order that from the ample dome of his thought, and down his rugged sides, human justice and sympathy and love might flow, strong and regenerating, from the Atlantic coast to the Rocky mountains, and from the Northern lakes to the Pacific sea. . . . . .

There are Providential men in every department of experience, who are fitted to gather up and condense and transmit the elemental forces of the Everlasting Spirit. They are the chief sources of the world's extraordinary supplies of power. Without them, existence would stagnate, life would be dry and barren; enthusiasm, nobleness, heroism, would die. To these immortal hills we must lift up our eyes for help. For though their influence is flowing through society continually, and in some general way we are partakers in it, still, it is only by our conscious, personal application that we obtain the special good we need; it is only personal sympathy and communication with them that we are raised ourselves to higher states of power, and are privileged to feel their spirit passing into us.

Do you ask me how this personal sympathy and communication may become possible with abstract truths, or with people whom we have never seen, nor ever can see? I answer, it is possible through Faith—faith in the truths as true, in the men as great, in the lives as noble, in the results of the lives as beneficent. And when I say by Faith, of course, you understand, I do not mean a mental assent, a mental acquiescence, a mental belief. You understand that I mean a *moral* assent—a *moral* acquiescence—a *moral* belief. By *Faith* I mean reliance, fidelity, faithfulness, the heart's loyal repose on the Eternal Ideas and Holy powers. The conscience of a man is simply the vessel through which these mountain-fed streams of life come rushing; and Faith is the angel that rolls the stone from this vent and lets them flow. The fountain throws its jet as high as the spring where the stream had its source; and in the man's will the moral life rises as high as the hill-top with which he has opened a connection in his own heart. The higher the hill, the greater the force of water. The moral life cannot rise to a great elevation in those who only tap the live currents of vulgar policy, and draw from the shallow tanks of worldliness, who lift their eyes no higher than to some popular demagogue or politician, some time-serving priest or statesman, some conventional, respectable, or eminent public servant. No grand impulse comes from the maxims of Uncle Richard, nor the soul of Uncle Richard. The summits of the great hills are above the clouds of worldliness, and few there are that have faith to draw from them. But when one does draw from them in faith, the effect is very sublime. I listened, a few evenings ago, to a man* who, with the utmost sincerity, has endeavored to do this; a man who, from constant looking up to the heaven-kissing hills, has become one of them himself; a man who stood no higher on the ground than another; a man bubby born, humbly educated, humbly situated in position; no genius, no prodigy of intellectual power; not eminent for the faculty of reason or imagination; no philosopher, no poet, no masterly man of affairs, no centre of animal magnetism; but a man distinguished by the clearness of his moral vision and his faith in moral principles; an incarnate Moral Sense, the angel of Justice imprisoned in nature. The height of his achievement was that he ceased to repose with perfect reliance on the moral truths of Jesus. He did that. Those truths were to him unquestionably true; that life was to him undeniably noble. He was sure of that—so sure of it that he did not hesitate to let those truths flow under full head into his heart. He even encouraged the elements of that life to become a part of his being. And it was most interesting to see how simple the great Gospel utterances were in his mouth. He handled the Golden Rule as naturally as the born King handles the sceptre, or the plumb-line handles the plumb-line. The grandest abstractions that fell from the lips of Jesus—abstractions which men much nobler than the average apologise for, put by, or explain away—were to him the merest commonplaces; and such was his faith in them that he made everybody else for the time feel that they were the merest commonplaces. He lifted his audience into the region of pure truth, and gave them the luxury of drinking it in, as easily as one might carry a sick baby from a close chamber into a summer-scented garden. There was no sense of personal effort in it. The power was not *his* power. He had no *self*-assertion about him; he would be the first to say that his strength to bear and do, if strength he had—his strength of patience to wait, of fortitude to endure, of hope to look forward, of conviction to persuade—came from the hills, the eternal hills, the sunlit and moonlit mountains of the Dawn.

Now, what we as a people more especially and really most alarmingly need is this faith in that which is above us; a belief, in fact, that anything *is* above us; that human existence—nay, that human nature itself—is a diversified country, a hilly country, a country of deep valleys and high mountains, and not a boundless desert or prairie; a belief that some truths do stand eternally above the arrangements of to-day; that some men are above others in mind and character; that power comes, not from striking a commercial average, but from looking up reverently to those sources of power which are gathered in the skies.

* William Lloyd Garrison.

HENRY T. CHEEVER TO GERRIT SMITH.

HON. GERRIT SMITH—*Beloved and Honored Friend:* Suffer me to write, through THE STANDARD, a word of honest admiration and gratitude for the clearness and vigor with which the spirit of God has enabled you, from time to time, to speak and write upon the troubles of our country, that have come and are coming. Our acting Statesmen and Rulers had equal insight, honesty and courage!

Your late articles, especially your letter in THE STANDARD of Jan. 4, to Hon. John A. Gurley) which I have just perused), evince a calm penetration and just judgment of our national affairs, which Christian patriots are longing to see manifested by men in power. We are in anguish of spirit, as Mr. Sumner said, in his late eulogy of Senator Bingham, to hear that voice, herald of Union and of Peace, from the Executive head of our nation, or from Congress, "which, in behalf of a violated Constitution, and in the exercise of a just self-defence, shall change the present contest from a bloody folly into a sure stage of human improvement and an immortal landmark of civilization."

With you the rule of Right and the golden law of Justice simplify a subject, which to others, whose rule is expediency, is involved in ten thousand perplexities. Your patriotic, natural and common-sense plan is that we are in a struggle to save the country, and to save it, too, at whatever hazards to the Constitution, or to aught else; and you justly criticize the mass of our politicians who have, with few exceptions, been trained to worship the Constitution and to sneer at that "higher law" whose "seat is the bosom of God."

How gloriously grand and Christian are your dignified utterances for justice and humanity, in contrast with the late imbecile gabble, and infidel sophistry of the New York *Observer*, in defence of the present shares with the New York *Herald* the honor having paved the way for Secession—"let it be granted that the law (Fugitive Slave law) is odious, and justly so; admit that slaveholding is offensive, and justly, *to the moral sensibilities of every Northern Christian heart;* but there stands the Constitution and there is the law. *Our religious duty to God*, our obligations as citizens require us to support that law while it stands there, and to uphold the Constitution *which has required that law.*"

In like manner of old said the basé prototypes of such sentiments: "Crucify him, we have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. How must that King of Nations, the reigning Son of God, now regard such shameless drivel of virtual infidelity under the garb of Pharisaic orthodoxy, just at the noon of the nineteenth century from His advent on earth!

Taught by Him whose own appeal was to the reason and conscience of man, as in that unanswerable argument, "And why, even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?" you have no need to ask,

"O that an angel would descend from Heaven,
And scoop for me the right, the uncorrupted,
With a pure hand from the pure Fount of Light!"

You know what is right; it is right in the present emergency, from your loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ, and from your instinctive justice and humanity. You know with certainty what ought to be the present policy of the government toward the Rebellion and Slavery, because your political philosophy is simply your moral philosophy and Christianity applied to public affairs; for lack of which in our ruling statesmen and Executive head the land mourneth and hasteth to destruction. It is by this that you are able to utter with such confidence and sagacity—to use the language of Wallenstein in Schiller's great tragedy—

"Voices of warning that announce to us
Only the inevitable. As the sun,
Ere it is risen, presents beforehand its image
In the atmosphere, so often do the spirits
Of great events stride on before the events,
And in the future, they walk to-morrow."

That our President and Congress may give heed to your counsels of wisdom and notes of warning, ere it is quite too late, is the earnest prayer of many that love you for your works' and your words' sake. On their behalf, and in grief and love for our bleeding country,

HENRY T. CHEEVER.

Jewett City, Ct., Jan. 14, 1862.

* New York *Observer*, Jan. 9, 1862.

LETTER FROM AARON M. POWELL.

SARATOGA, N. Y., Jan. 13, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SINCE my last to you from Poughkeepsie I have attended a series of good and successful meetings in Washington County, at Easton, North Easton, Union Village and Galesville, and yesterday in this town (Saratoga). The attendance, for the most part, has been very good, the interest cordial and hearty. The people are waiting in painful suspense for some ray of encouragement, some indication, on the part of those in authority, of a purpose to put the Rebellion to SLAVERY, and thus having removed the cause of the war, to secure a permanent peace. How long are they to trust and wait? May it not be, as at important periods heretofore, until they are overwhelmed with deep disappointment and humiliation? Such will inevitably be the case, and the providential opportunity now offered for the speedy abolition of slavery will pass unimproved unless there is soon much more of earnestness and conscientious determination on the part of the North to secure a triumph of justice and freedom.

As on previous visits, I am under many obligations to our excellent friends the Peckhams, Dumises and Wilburs of Easton, for much kindness and generous hospitality; also to Mr. and Mrs. Cook, Leonard Gibbs, Esq., and family of Union Village.

Among the recent cheering indications, which it is always gratifying to note, is the appearance of the very good petition for the abolition of slavery, bearing your own signature, in conjunction with those of William Cullen Bryant, William Curtis Noyes, and several other distinguished and influential gentlemen who have no doubt, therefore been identified with any movement looking directly to the entire extinction of slavery.

AARON M. POWELL.

THE TWO ACTS OF EMANCIPATION.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IT is remarkable that the two grand acts of emancipation of this century, in different parts of the world, should have met with the same obstacle. That which might have been supposed to be the greatest assistance to a legislation bestowing freedom on millions of human beings—the gradual nature of its operation—has proved to be its most formidable hindrance. In the Barbadoes, Trinidad and Jamaica, as is well known, the emancipated slaves were held for a time in a semi-feudal relation to their masters. That is, they were not at once declared both free and owners in fee simple of the little plots of land which they cultivated, but they were allowed to retain them on condition that they should labor for their former masters a certain number of days at a fixed rate of wages, which was below the market rate. It was supposed that the extraordinary attachment of the negroes for the soil, and for the places where they had lived, would induce them to remain in this species of serfdom, and that thus the large estates would not be deprived of labor. The result was the very opposite. The negroes had expected entire freedom, and this half-bestowal of the great gift embittered and disappointed them. They felt themselves aggrieved and wronged by being forced to labor for less wages for the laborers outside of the large properties. They disliked any relic of the old system of dependence. They longed themselves to be freeholders. Accordingly, they left the little gardens and cabins which they had occupied and cultivated so long, and the estates which needed their labor, and bought their own freeholds in other parts of the islands, preferring to labor for themselves; and, when they did labor for others, to receive the full market price for their work.

The effect—combined with many other causes—as is well known, was disastrous upon the production of the large estates of Jamaica, though the well-being of the population was greatly enhanced thereby. In Barbadoes and Trinidad, the evil influence upon the production of the great staples was more than counterbalanced by the superior industry of free labor and by the production of smaller articles of commerce, so that, in every point of view, whether commercial or moral, emancipation in these islands may be considered a success. Yet nearly all economists and students of West Indian society now admit that an utter and entire freedom of the slaves from all control by, or connection with, their masters, leaving both to be dealt with by the laws of commerce and production, would have been more beneficial to both sides in all respects.

A similar important experience seems now to be working out in Russia.

The serf in that country, from long proscription, had come to look upon himself as the owner of the house he had built and of the land which he held, while the service of labor which he was obliged to render to his lord was felt thereby as a personal service. The greatest hardship which he could suffer, and the worst tyranny that could be inflicted upon him, would be to remove him from his own little property. When the Act of Emancipation came, the serfs naturally supposed that they were to be allowed to hold their small lands and cottages. The government were strongly pressed to buy out the holdings of the peasantry, along with their freedom, and pay for them in increased taxation. But they lacked the moral courage for this, and have attempted a compromise. The peasants' farms are to remain the property of the lords, while the former are to have the benefit of them with a kind of tenant-right, paying a fixed rent. This the serfs refuse to do, not being willing to acknowledge any rights of ownership in the masters over their lands. The details of the measure are also extremely vexatious and disagreeable to the peasants. The new law is an immense volume, which very few will or can read. The contracts are to be written, instead of verbal agreements, which, it is said, the peasants can seldom understand. The divisions of the land are to be made with reference to the character of the soil. The former master will, in certain cases, retain in his own hands a third of the land formerly occupied by the serf. In certain other cases, he can forcibly remove him. The peasants also formerly had certain rights of collecting wood in the forests, which are now taken away. The same difficulty, too, is experienced, which has been so fatally felt in the British West Indies—that the lords were formerly obliged to provide medical care for their serfs, which they are not now bound to do for their tenants, and the population will undoubtedly suffer for a time for want of medical attendance.

Two years have been given for making all these various arrangements between the lords and their former serfs. But in the meantime, the latter refuse to pay rents or to sign any contracts—confident that in the end the government must yield to them. It is for all these reasons, that during the past year insurrections and formidable disturbances have been heard of in various portions of the Russian Empire. On this account now, the great government trembles to its base with the threatenings of a new convulsion—the uprising of the half-emancipated laborers, demanding full and entire freedom and the lands which long use and labor had made their own.

The millions of serfs have had before their eyes the glittering prize of freedom, and they cannot be contented with any half-gift of it.

We draw no inferences from these two tremendous lessons on both sides of the ocean, but we would have all who are reflecting earnestly on this vast question looming up before this country, to consider these facts.

C. L. B.

OUR NATIONAL PERILS.

ON Sunday evening, Jan. 12th, in spite of the inclemency of the weather, the Church of the Puritans was crowded with an appreciative congregation to hear a discourse on "Our National Perils," by the Rev. J. R. W. SLOANE, Pastor of the Ref. Presbyterian (Covenanter) Church in Twenty-third street. The manuscript has been kindly placed in our hands, and we regret that the crowded state of our columns forbids its publication entire. We can only make room for the following abstract:

Mr. Sloane preached from the following text: "For how can I endure to see the evil that shall come unto my people? or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred?"—*Esther viii. 6.*

The destruction of a great nation, whether viewed in the causes of which it is the effect, the successive steps of its progress, the calamities which attend upon, or the disastrous consequences which flow from, such a convulsion, is an object invested with a profound interest for every reflecting mind. The preacher referred briefly to the history of the downfall of the Greek Republics, the Roman Empire, and other nations. Such examples, said he, full as they are both of interest and of warning, we have been accustomed to contemplate from a distance both as to time and place, but now the story is being told of ourselves; the danger of national destruction stares us in the face. The times now demand of those who speak not cowardly silence, but fearless and considered, but bold expression of opinion. Especially is this necessary from those who as teachers of the people are set for the defense of those great interests that most deeply concern our race, and which are vital to the very existence—not of that intangible shadow of a shade which some call by that sadly abused word "the Gospel"—but of the true Gospel, as it is revealed in the Bible, and taught by the Divine Savior of men. They demand piety—not the mercantile article that is buoyant and depressed with the rise and fall of stocks and the price of cotton—but that which is stern, deep, life-giving and sustaining piety that believes in God, in Truth, and in Justice—not that piety, dilated moonshine, that expects us to stand still and wait the development of Providence, or to enter into our chambers and hide ourselves until the storm is over; but the piety of the Puritan that prays much and keeps the powder dry—of the Covenanter that can worship God, if need be, with the hand upon the sword, leaning upon the spade or the musket, ready, if necessary, to make the application of the sermon a battle, and, instead of saying out, like Moses at the Red Sea, "Stand still and see the salvation of God." We are much mistaken in the interpretation of this voice of God, which is uttered amid the thunders of this storm, if it be not those other words, "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward." If we hearken to the first, we shall never see the promised land of success and peace; if we obey the latter, girding ourselves like men for the work, we may still see this formidable rebellion crushed, and such days of glory arise and shed their holy light upon our country as prophet never foretold or poet sung. There is but one source of danger to the Republic, and that is the attempt to obtain peace and prosperity at the expense of the principle of liberty. The speaker said he had yet I do not think it has made a single British Abolitionist waver in his anti-slavery faith. For myself, I do not feel as if the defection of the whole American Abolitionist Society in the doctrines and dialect of Jamaica Gordon himself would alter any opinion I entertain as to the fatal influence of a pro-slavery policy upon the Christianity, civilization and best interests of the free people of the United States. I hope the same may be said for all others on this side of the Atlantic who think for themselves.

I gather from your columns—from your editorials and your correspondence—that we are not becoming more popular on your side. That the freedom of remark, which is inevitable wherever a free press exists, is borne with less patience when we write about you than when you write about one another. I don't see how this can be avoided. Our government cannot prevent it. Your friends here cannot prevent it. And certainly whatever unpleasant things are said here comes back in a double dress in your newspapers with out exciting any such manifestations of resentment and offended pride as they call forth on your side from many whom I would have thought capable of more manly self-restraint. One way of accounting for the difference is, that popular ovations, celebrations of victories, presentations of testimonials, processions, laudations and commendations, are at least a hundred-fold more frequent in your democratic country than in our more humdrum social life. The annual celebration of the 4th of July, the speeches, the frequent reference to British tyranny, and the glories and greatness of the people, whatever effect they may have in other respects, nourish a habit of national glorification which is not upheld by any such instrumentalities here. The English people are by no means the most modest in the world—but I doubt if one in a hundred thinks of the whole population gives his mind for five minutes to the thought of any victory gained by the English arms on any single anniversary of its recurrence. It has often recurred to us of late that the attainment of your independence, with French assistance, in defiance of the whole power of Great Britain, was partly, at least, due to the fact that your country was similarly circumstanced to that of the present slave States; that the people were defending their own soil, and that the respect being nearly unanimous, and having an able General, they were more than a match for all the wealth and resources of England. Now, at the present time, the Confederates have nearly treble the white population of the 13 colonies, whilst they are far richer, have a finer country, and have 8 times as many slaves to do their necessary work while they do the fighting. Under such circumstances, with at least a prevalent unwillingness on the part of great numbers in the North to cut off their enemy's most prized possessions, the very pride of that social system, I own, that the prospect of an effectual subjugation of the rebels seems a difficult achievement—to say the least of it. This is the universal feeling in England, and I shall be heartily glad if we all prove to be mistaken.

As to the Trent affair, we shall know the decision of your government in a very few days. It is looked for here with great interest. I believe the general desire is that there may be no war, for we well know how costly and unprofitable a remedy is war for the attainment of any object, however desirable. The prevalent sense of the community is that the matter should be regarded by the American people not in the light of abandoned precedents fifty years old, or older, but by the sure touchstone of the Golden Rule—How would you have regarded this question if England had been the aggressor? And is the possession of a pair of such fellows as Mason and Slidell, guilty traitors as they are, to be placed in the balance in comparison with the eventualities of a war with the people from whom you sprung, and who have never, in all your past struggles, insulted, betrayed, wronged and injured you, as the Slave Power has done, and slave propagandists have done and are doing?

A word about the famine in Ireland, which is exciting so much remark in the United States. Our government have the most ample means of ascertaining the truth of the reports which have been spread abroad by a mischievous faction amongst us, who care more for the temporalities of the Pope and their own spiritual ascendancy than for any other object whatever, and who rarely miss an opportunity of exciting discontent and disaffection by any means of the constituency, who are thickly scattered over the island, and with the help of the local magistrates and resident proprietors of land, whose interests and income are bound up with the welfare and prosperity of the people, the most ample and reliable inquiries have been made, and have resulted in showing that though there may be some deficiency in the Irish potato, a sufficient harvest and a short potato crop, resulting from a very wet season, may be made up by the remainder of the tens of thousands who have crossed the Atlantic eastwards in all these years have been the defenders and apologists of slavery and the constitutional necessity of protecting slaveholding interests, should you not rather wonder that, taking Americans at their word, as to the best way of conducting their own affairs, a low tone of anti-slavery morality should extensively prevail in England amongst those commercial and literary classes to whom your countrymen have been accustomed to look, taking the masses of the English people—the pith and marrow of the nation—the old abhorrence towards human chattelism should be, as I believe, as strong as ever? We know, from ample testimony, from the testimony of your own Bigelow and Sewell, and from the official testimony of the Governor of our colonies, that our own experiment of negro emancipation has had extraordinary religious, moral, social and commercial success, and that in no part of the British dominions are the people improving more rapidly, more happy, they happier or more peaceful, loyal and contented, than in the British West Indies. A great portion of your present embarrassment appears to result not only from Southern pride and love of domination, but from the prejudice against color and the negro hate with which multitudes of Northern men are saturated. Not only in America but in England the greatest horror is expressed of the consequences of a servile insurrection. Contrasting the happiness and prosperity of the slave States and of those islands and colonies in which the act of British emancipation took effect, this dread appears both cowardly and puerile. Omitting Texas, the area of the present slave States is about 600,000 square miles, whites 10,000,000; slaves 4,000,000. This gives about 16 whites and 6½ blacks to the square mile. The area of the British slave territory was probably not more than 50,000 square miles, although that of the West India islands which contained the great majority of the slaves was only 16,000 square miles. But I allow 50,000 for the whole, and allow to them 800,000 slaves and 50,000 whites, which was, I believe, the full proportion of colonists, and we have 16 black and 1 white inhabitant to the square mile. Now, it would be strange, indeed, if an experiment of freedom in the United States, under prudent precautions, should produce more dangerous results with such a preponderance of the armed and organized whites than resulted in the British possessions where the whites were so enormously outnumbered. The truth is that the American people are suffering for the sins of their teachers. They have much to contend with, subject as they have been for generations to the attempt to reconcile the assertion of the largest liberty for themselves with the denial of all rights to millions who are at least as much Americans as they are.

I notice that in THE STANDARD you quote Mr. Dion Boucicault's letter to *The Times*, in which he accounts for the ill success of his "Octoroon" on the ground that English people are become indifferent to the subject of slavery. Now, of all well-known English literary journals, and indeed of all English newspapers, I know of none so decidedly pro-slavery as the *The Athenæum*, which never loses a chance of deprecating anti-slavery publications and of praising those that take the other side. Yet *The Athenæum* flatly contradicts Mr. Boucicault, saying that his piece was unsuccessful, not because the people have changed, or from any feeling connected with the *morale* of his tale, but simply because in dramas of the kind an audience don't like to be balked of a pleasant ending to their evening's amusement. This view is taken by other critics, and I think they are in the right.

Much of the talk in some of our leading newspapers, which has excited bitter dissatisfaction amongst you, is more than paralleled in the columns of THE STANDARD and *Liberator*, not only in the language of the editors of those papers, but in extracts from journals in all parts of the free States. That Mr. Phillips's unfriendly expressions about the annexation of Canada should be regarded with regret, surprise and disapprobation in England is most natural and should astonish nobody; but I do not think it has made a single British Abolitionist waver in his anti-slavery faith. For myself, I do not feel as if the defection of the whole American Abolitionist Society in the doctrines and dialect of Jamaica Gordon himself would alter any opinion I entertain as to the fatal influence of a pro-slavery policy upon the Christianity, civilization and best interests of the free people of the United States. I hope the same may be said for all others on this side of the Atlantic who think for themselves.

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As to the Trent affair, we shall know the decision of your government in a very few days. It is looked for here with great interest. I believe the general desire is that there may be no war, for we well know how costly and unprofitable a remedy is war for the attainment of any object, however desirable. The prevalent sense of the community is that the matter should be regarded by the American people not in the light of abandoned precedents fifty years old, or older, but by the sure touchstone of the Golden Rule—How would you have regarded this question if England had been the aggressor? And is the possession of a pair of such fellows as Mason and Slidell, guilty traitors as they are, to be placed in the balance in comparison with the eventualities of a war with the people from whom you sprung, and who have never, in all your past struggles, insulted, betrayed, wronged and injured you, as the Slave Power has done, and slave propagandists have done and are doing?

A word about the famine in Ireland, which is exciting so much remark in the United States. Our government have the most ample means of ascertaining the truth of the reports which have been spread abroad by a mischievous faction amongst us, who care more for the temporalities of the Pope and their own spiritual ascendancy than for any other object whatever, and who rarely miss an opportunity of exciting discontent and disaffection by any means of the constituency, who are thickly scattered over the island, and with the help of the local magistrates and resident proprietors of land, whose interests and income are bound up with the welfare and prosperity of the people, the most ample and reliable inquiries have been made, and have resulted in showing that though there may be some deficiency in the Irish potato, a sufficient harvest and a short potato crop, resulting from a very wet season, may be made up by the remainder of the tens of thousands who have crossed the Atlantic eastwards in all these years have been the defenders and apologists of slavery and the constitutional necessity of protecting slaveholding interests, should you not rather wonder that, taking Americans at their word, as to the best way of conducting their own affairs, a low tone of anti-slavery morality should extensively prevail in England amongst those commercial and literary classes to whom your countrymen have been accustomed to look, taking the masses of the English people—the pith and marrow of the nation—the old abhorrence towards human chattelism should be, as I believe, as strong as ever? We know, from ample testimony, from the testimony of your own Bigelow and Sewell, and from the official testimony of the Governor of our colonies, that our own experiment of negro emancipation has had extraordinary religious, moral, social and commercial success, and that in no part of the British dominions are the people improving more rapidly, more happy, they happier or more peaceful, loyal and contented, than in the British West Indies. A great portion of your present embarrassment appears to result not only from Southern pride and love of domination, but from the prejudice against color and the negro hate with which multitudes of Northern men are saturated. Not only in America but in England the greatest horror is expressed of the consequences of a servile insurrection. Contrasting the happiness and prosperity of the slave States and of those islands and colonies in which the act of British emancipation took effect, this dread appears both cowardly and puerile. Omitting Texas, the area of the present slave States is about 600,000 square miles, whites 10,000,000; slaves 4,000,000. This gives about 16 whites and 6½ blacks to the square mile. The area of the British slave territory was probably not more than 50,000 square miles, although that of the West India islands which contained the great majority of the slaves was only 16,000 square miles. But I allow 50,000 for the whole, and allow to them 800,000 slaves and 50,000 whites, which was, I believe, the full proportion of colonists, and we have 16 black and 1 white inhabitant to the square mile. Now, it would be strange, indeed, if an experiment of freedom in the United States, under prudent precautions, should produce more dangerous results with such a preponderance of the armed and organized wh

whole course may be briefly described. Long harangues of Abolitionists followed forth on one side, and almost continuous applause on the other. The Hutchinsons, with all their *zeal for time or place*, came to the front of the platform, and *out of time or place*, came to the front of the platform, and requested the lecturer, and cave one of their songs in behalf of freedom. A copy of the lecture was then requested for publication. But the great event in the Capitol, and indicated by the intense gaze, the kindling eye, the earnest, thoughtful, changing countenance, the angry look, the frown, the smile, the sneer, the ejaculations, the applause, the laughing, the applauding smile, the emphatic nod; an astonished people witnessing this splendid drama fall into the face of Mr. Cheever's lecture—the almost deathlike stillness which followed—the assemblage of five or six thousand eager listeners in the clear, ringing voice of the speaker, filling every part of the house—is far beyond the power of my poor pen.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 20, 1862.

WITH a view to a better understanding and a still better cooperation between friends on this side and the other side of the ocean, I desire to say a few words.

People sometimes differ, who at heart are agreed. Parties are brought into collision, between whom, if the truth were known, there is substantial coincidence of opinion. It is impossible to conduct a controversy across a separating space of 3,000 miles without temporary misunderstanding. Misunderstandings, even temporary, can't exist without some disturbance of harmonious feeling. Crimination leads to recrimination; and it is not in human nature to feel comfortable under either accusation or retort. Both parties may be actuated by laudable motives; and both as well as courtesy demands that this shall be the judgment in the present case between our English friends and ourselves. As the governments of the two countries have been happily saved from hostile collision, it becomes us to see, so far as in us lies, that the two great branches of the anti-slavery movement on this and on the other side of the water are not allowed to come into needless conflict.

By the use of the words "crimination and recrimination," it is not intended here to prejudge any point in dispute. Collisions of opinion, sometimes thus designated, are not only altogether permissible, but often absolutely demanded by the interests of truth. It is the spirit of the thing, not its letter, which determines its propriety. It is not for us to find fault with accusation for the most accusatory body of people living, perhaps, are the American Abolitionists. Their mission is to be critical; and no man will say that they have been critical; and no man will say that they have not been faithful to their vocation. If they have carried the virtue to a fault, it should be set down to their credit that they have been as free to invite criticism as they have been to exercise it. Their language has been: "Search me and try me." To their English friends they now say: "Let the righteous smite me; it shall be an excellent oil." We will hear you in the spirit of your admonition, and answer you according to our judgment of its merits." This sort of "criticism and recrimination" can do no harm; but, contrariwise, it may be productive of much good.

A word on another point, suggested by these reflections; that of "personalities." Under this phrase are sometimes condemned all pointed individual allusions, which express or imply disapprobation. This is manifestly too sweeping. "Personalities," so called, are right or wrong according to circumstances. People who write severe things, and say, "I," "I," have no cause for complaint, if their antagonists turn their points against them, and say, "you," "you." "Personalities" of this kind are in the nature of things, and can't easily be avoided. And so of other kinds. I once heard—it was at an anti-slavery meeting in Boston, fourteen years ago—a distinguished Abolitionist say to Mr. Phillips, as he descended from the platform: "That was grand, Wendell. I like to hear *those glorious personalities!*" It must be admitted, however, that this is a soft of weapon that, like edged tools, is unsafe to handle, and, as a general rule, had better not be meddled with.

Now, to leave generalities and come to the case in hand: There are some differences of opinion on certain points between Abolitionists in England and their coadjutors in this country; differences which need not exist, and which every friend of the cause should do what he can to diminish. To this end, while we Americans are charging our English friends with error, we should have the candor to admit that we ourselves have helped to put them in the wrong. Whether in this we have been or not, we have done only the usual occasion, the fact is the same; our friends abroad have been misguided by some of our teachings. In speaking of our country, our government and our public men, we have been too unqualified. I don't mean to say that we have asserted what was not true, or what was not called for; but that we have not been careful to guard our statements by proper limitations.

I know what will be said in reply to this: "It is our business," it will be answered, "to expose sin, not to apologize for it; to convict the evil-doer, not to palliate his offence. Slaveholding and slaveholders have outgrate and outrage enough without adding one syllable to number. Ours is a different work. The duty committed to us is, to speak the truth without abatement, and to hold the nation and the people to its extremest demands." Acting on this principle, some of the ablest advocates of our cause have had but one *vale* to perform—that of the accuser. As a body, the Abolitionists have been fearfully exacting. They have "laid judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet;" and none, not even themselves, have escaped their searching scrutiny. Like Bunyan, who said he "often preached himself to hell," they frequently stand condemned by their own exactions.

Now, this may do very well in the incipient period of a reform, but in the later stages, a more constructive spirit is called for. Else injurious misunderstandings will ensue. Bunyan once said—surveying his previous life in the light of God's law—"I have been the vilest sinner; I have thrown the reins on the neck of my lusts; I have taken delight in violating the commandments of God." At this his accusers said: "Out of his own mouth he stands condemned! Could there have we of further witness? To the pillory with him! and to the county jail." It was in vain that the honest man remonstrated and explained. In vain he challenged them to put their finger on an offence of which they themselves were guiltless; or to produce from among their own number one who was his superior in humility. He was condemned on his own misunderstood and perverted testimony. His language, taken by itself, justified the condemnation. He had used this language, forever, not to characterize himself, as in comparison with his neighbors, but as in comparison with the demands of God's perfect law.

So the Abolitionists. They charge home upon the country, the government, our civil, religious and military leaders, the sin of upholding slavery, and, *measuring the guilt of each by the turpitude of the system sustained*, they denounce them all in the strongest language, making no allowance whatever in the way of justification or palliation. People on the other side of the ocean read these charges, and, wilfully or ignorantly, accepting them as testimony, say, "To the pillory with such a people; out of their own mouths they stand condemned; let them be put under the ban of civilized nations!"

Now, it falls to us, as it did to Bunyan, to say to our accusers: "Which of you has the right to condemn us? Has European nation yet an escutcheon so free from the stain of robbery and blood-guiltiness as to justify it in denouncing us? Not you, France, with your sanguinary usurper fresh in his despotic seat: nor you, O England, whose red sword is still wet with the blood of the 100,000 Sepoy victims. Great as is the sin of this country, culpable as is its government, and unworthy as are its leaders, America is the peer of all other nations; and, in late recent sacrifices for liberty, without a peer among the nations of the earth." It is in comparison with our own ideal that we condemn our country as the chief of sinners; but in comparison with other nations, we have no reason to be ashamed.

Still, the fact stands that the columns of our own Anti-Slavery papers have furnished ground for much of the accusation that is brought against the country, and exists toward ourselves. It is not enough for us to say: "They ought to know better. They should not take criticism for statement nor figures of speech for matters of fact. Whether wilfully or ignorantly, they misapprehend us." There is just the rub. It should be our business to give neither wilfulness nor ignorance an occasion for misunderstanding. Let our criticisms, hereafter, be less one-sided, and our inculpations qualified by due allowance.

There is another point where if our transatlantic cousins are somewhat in the wrong, we are not altogether in the right. They say: "We can't sympathize with you in your efforts to put down your rebellion. Your own hands are not clean. In fact, we don't see any essential difference between your government and that of the rebels. Our abhorrence of robbery and wrong is impartial; and until you take higher ground, you must not look for sympathy from us." Now, whatever may be the spirit of this language, the sentiment it embodies is a just one. It is, that Abolitionists should stand impartially between struggling parties, where liberty is at stake, and, regardless of the ties of affinity or affection, should lean only to the side of the wronged, and give their sympathies alone to those who are unequivocally contending for freedom. This is sound doctrine; but it condemns the conduct of this country. Abolitionists and all, in their course toward England and India in the case of the Sepoy rebellion. Let us look at the facts in this case, and from the errors of the past learn to guard against similar mistakes in the future.

The wrongs endured by the people of India, at the hands of the English government, have been described by English orators and English philanthropists, as almost without a parallel. Their enormity and extent, as set forth by George Thompson, are still fresh in the minds of those who heard or read his lectures on that subject. And yet, when the Sepoys, the native soldiers of that country, rose in mutiny, and undertook to destroy their oppressors, and restore to their race the power which had been wrested from them, the sympathies of the people of this country, almost without an exception, went forth not to the insurgent natives, but to their English rulers. I say "*almost*"; because, having made this assertion without qualification, the other day, a friend who was present—a lady, one whose eminence as a preacher of righteousness and an advocate of universal liberty is recognized in both hemispheres—said: "Not so. My sympathies were not with England. They were then, as they have always been, with the Sepoys." Still, almost without exceptions, the sympathies of American were given to England in that painful struggle. In this, we have lost liberty and hatred of oppression were shown to have been partial. We should have said to the English: "We grieve with you in your grief, and wish you a safe deliverance from all your sorrows; but we condemn your iron rule in India; and our best sympathies are with those who are its subjects. Their rebellion is the natural fruit of the wrongs they have suffered. Cease your hypocritical cries for vengeance, and strive to regain your power by acts of Christian justice." But this was not our language. In lieu of it, we sent across the water messages either of approving cheer or of unrebuking sympathy. We, Abolitionists, did this, and that when our own newspapers contained statements, taken from English journals, which should have taught us better. How we could have done this, and been profoundly silent at the same time as the cruelties inflicted on the Indians, and the bloodthirsty sentiments expressed by organs of the home government, it seems difficult now to imagine; but such was the fact. Allow me, Mr. Editor, to refresh the memories of your readers on both sides from a few extracts from a journal, I take them from the foreign selections of *The Liberator* during the autumn of 1857:

"At any sacrifice, we must have these demons blood for blood; and we shall teach the treacherous Asiatic a lesson so terrible, that the tradition of it shall last as long as its history lasts."—*London Post, Aug. 28, 1857.*

"We have not merely to reconquer strong positions and entrenched camps, but we have to avenge the cruelties and treacheries and cowardly mutineers—not merely to chastise and terrify into submission independent princes, crowds of armed men, but we have to avenge our wrongs—*but more than all, to perform in the eyes of the world and for the benefit of the human race a tremendous act of vengeance, which shall for ever prevent any other race from the most intolerable insult from Mohammedan fanaticism.* Now, we are fighting for life, for honor, for prestige, and to the objections always forthcoming against any real and effectual policy, *that not one stone of that city* (Delhi) should be left on another."—*London Times, Aug. 20, 1857.*

"Here we are hanging every day, and the gibbet is in full work. *We must decimate the half of the population before we get back our prestige.*"—*From a Letter in The Times of same date.*

"The state of the city (Delhi) is said to be horrible beyond description. Thousands of dead and wounded lying together in heaps in the streets; and as the sun shines out in consequence, they are now, we hear, *building living dead men, as many as they can, into the walls.* We are shooting and hanging by the score. In fact, any native who cannot give a good account of himself is strung up like a bird. It is not awful when we think of what our country hanging is at home! *We are all growing frightfully hardened and bloodthirsty.*"—*Letter from the wife of a distinguished officer in the English army, dated June 23, 1857.*

"It is said that at Cawnpore and neighborhood the Queen's 78th Regiment put to death *not fewer than 10,000 people*; and that, in the Allahabad district, 'not a living child was could get at; men, women and children. At Semapore a portion of the Sepoys had remained faithful and rescued Europeans from the mutinying regiments; but the Queen's 10th went to the barracks where they were and said: 'What! are these the people you have been protecting against us? Have you given up their arms?' Then, amid curses and imprecations, they turned the Sepoys into the barracks yard, and had killed every man, woman and child before the mutiny could be stopped. They used the bayonet as well as the bullet, and one of the victims was a woman."

"The Bombay *Gazette* we have an account of the practice adopted by the British army in blowing away Sepoys tied to the mouths of guns. Our punishment is by the wheel, the halter and the guillotine into the shade, and appears to be accompanied by mutilating horrors that probably have no parallel in the history of mankind. A military officer of high standing gives a description of an 'Execution parade,' which is terribly graphic."—*Liverpool Star.*

The chief and almost only notice taken by the abolitionists has described and of the bloodthirsty public sentiment which demanded them, was the republication of these statements, accompanied by faithful testimonies against the iniquity, from the pen of the consistent and good James Haughton, of Dublin, and that of the late lamented George Combe, of Edinburgh. The former in one of his articles says:

"There is a fierce and revengeful spirit abroad that needs to be repressed. It is the spirit that manifested itself in India have revelled in the blood of innocence that our people are inclined to cry aloud for horrid vengeance? Is this our Christianity? Is Briton guiltless of atrocities such as she now seeks to punish? Would that she were! But she is guilty of the same spirit of cruelty and revenge. Her children, and now beholds with horror the harvest of which she herself has sown the seeds. Do not justify the conduct of the Sepoys, but thirsty not for their blood! Blood is cheap like. Why should we affect horror at the barbarism of the Sepoy when the fact is fresh in our minds, that, to compel a people to commit a violation of their religious faith, our military profit—a drug which then our government had the virtue to refuse, but which our merchants forced upon the inhabitants. What hypocrisy after such an act of barbarity to affect horror at what has been done by the Sepoys."

I recall these things of the past, Mr. Editor, for our present edification. Rightly understood, they will be found replete with instruction.

We profess to be Abolitionists. An Abolitionist, in the broadest sense of the word, is a true Christian. God is his father, and all mankind—the black man and the Sepoy inclinded—are his brethren. His sympathies are due most to them that are most oppressed. His heart is with the weak against the strong; and his voice is raised for the oppressed against the mighty.

To be an Abolitionist, in the best sense of the word, is also to be a Democrat. The true Democrat, by an instinct which does not wait for evidence, is, in every contest for governing power, with the many against the few; with the people against the Sepoys. The Democrat in England sees by intuition, which side is right in the present contest in this country; but the man who has not attained to democratic sentiments waits for evidence; and from the fact that he has not so attained, he boggles at the evidence when it comes. He distrusts the people, and talks about the mob.

There are other points in which we American Abolitionists have sinned and some short, but I have not space to notice them at present. M.

THE NEW SECRETARY OF WAR (Edwin M. Stanton) was, in the early days of the Anti-Slavery Movement, an ardent Abolitionist. So, at least, we are assured by a friend, who knew him well at that period. We have no reason to believe that he was one of the great multitude who became interested in the cause of the slave under the instructions of Theodore D. Weld; and our friend knows that he sometimes employed his fine talents in publicly answering the arguments of its opponents. He afterwards became entirely absorbed in his duties as a lawyer, and though he has always acted with the Democratic party, he has never been a very active politician. Remembering that,

"Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined,"

we must indulge the hope that Mr. Stanton's early anti-slavery convictions will be so far revived as to influence his official acts in the important post he now occupies.

AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at

WASHINGTON HOLLOW, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 26.
CLINTON HOLLOW, N. Y., Tuesday, Jan. 28.
SALT POINT, N. Y., Thursday, Jan. 30.
PLEASANT VALLEY, N. Y., Saturday, Feb. 1.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20, 1862.

THOSE persons who were present in the House of Representatives on Friday afternoon were doubtless not a little amused, if not gratified, by a scene which occurred on the floor of the House at about two o'clock. There stood Marshal Lamon of this District, near the central door of the hall, hat in hand and strutting like a turkey-cock. Your readers will remember him as the man who has winked at all the abominations of the City Jail in Washington, as the enemy of fugitive slaves, and the terror of poor and wretched people everywhere he is known. His last act was to issue orders to the keeper of the City Jail prohibiting any person from entering the jail except under peculiar restrictions. Members of Congress are required, Senators, to get permits from the Vice-President, and Representatives from Speaker Grow, before they can enter the wretched den out of which the Marshal turns many a nimble penny. This last piece of insolence has been resented by Congress, and Mr. Lamon will probably be required to resign his place before the matter is done with. But to go on with my story. On Friday afternoon, Lamon, after having excluded members of Congress from the jail, had the impudence to violate the rules of the House by coming upon the floor during the session. Mr. Fenton of Chautauqua County, N. Y., had the courage to get up and call the attention of the Speaker to the fact that the Marshal of the District was upon the floor in violation of the rules of the House. Mr. Hutchins of Ohio suggested that perhaps he had got *a pass* from somebody! This was a hit at Lamon's issue of passes to members signed by the Vice-President and Speaker. By this time the Marshal was white with passion, and when the Speaker said that the door-keeper was expected to do his duty, he strode out of the hall in a magnificent style. To understand the whole affair, the reader must fully appreciate the unpopularity of the Marshal among the Republican members of Congress for his bad conduct towards fugitive slaves in the District. Before he gets through with the quarrel, which he has seen fit to pick with the anti-slavery members of Congress, he will wish he had paid attention to the change of public sentiment on the question of slavery.

This incident shows how Congress and Washington have changed. *Now*, a pro-slavery Marshal is ordered off the floor of the House, and the Senate passes a resolution stigmatizing his conduct as insolent. Let him pass down the stream with other pro-slavery trash.

Although it is late to speak of it, I must say a word respecting the removal of Mr. Cameron from the Cabinet, and the induction of Mr. Stanton into office. Cameron was, perhaps, honestly anti-slavery in his views. His politics, at any rate, were those of Seward, and his enemies have all along said, that he turned anti-slavery to save his reputation. Perhaps so, and perhaps not. His successor, Stanton, is a man of genius and of power, is a wide-awake man for a Democrat, but has for many years been connected with the Democratic party. In his opinions and acts he has been a pro-slavery man. But since the rebellion broke out he has been an enemy of slavery and of the rebel slaveholders. He has declared repeatedly that, in his opinion, slavery is the cause of the war, and the weak point of the rebellion, and that we ought to strike it "between the eyes." Mr. Sumner knows him well, so does Ben. Wade, and they both speak very highly of him and have the highest confidence in his honesty and hatred of slavery. He is probably a good exchange for Cameron, as he is a tremendously active man.

Other changes in the Cabinet are talked of, but it is doubtful whether they will take place immediately. The clamor for the removal of Welles is dying away, and he will remain in the Cabinet. Smith of Indiana, the Interior Department, soon leaves it for a place on the Supreme Bench. The worst of it is, that he is not so fit for a place there as he is in the Cabinet. If he would only take a mission to Turkey or Austria, it would suit all round, as there he would then be a chance for Mr. Colfax to take his place. If there is a good vacancy in the Cabinet, it seems to be the general impression that Mr. Colfax will be called upon to fill it. Whether *he* would consent to such an arrangement is more than I know.

The great speech of the week in Congress was by Mr. Bingham of Ohio. I hope you will be able to publish it. It was a magnificent legal argument in favor of immediate and unconditional emancipation of the four million of slaves in America. He made no distinction between the slaves of rebel and loyal masters, but would doubtless compensate the latter. The speech was one of the most eloquent ever delivered upon the floor of Congress. Unfortunately, the day it was delivered was a stormy one, and the reporters of the Washington and New York broke down, and the *verbatim* reporter of the Associated Press, who takes down the best speeches, was unable to telegraph it to the prominent newspapers. It was precisely the kind of a speech which should have gone to every leading newspaper in the country. Mr. Julian also delivered a speech on the same subject, on Tuesday, advocating emancipation.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has reported a bill which confiscates all the property of *rebels*, and emancipates their slaves. This is probably as far as Congress will go at the present session. A number of Senators and Representatives are in favor of a comprehensive scheme of universal emancipation, but there is not a majority in either branch of Congress favorable to it. It is a great step to provide for the emancipation of the slaves of all rebel masters, for such an act, if carried into effect, would emancipate two-thirds of the slaves in all the South. With two-thirds free, how long would it be possible to keep down the remaining third? Let Congress pass the bill which comes from the Judiciary Committee, and the rest will follow of itself, and if our army has the power to enforce it, and slavery will receive its death-blow. But an enactment framed on the principles enunciated by Mr. Bingham in his speech would be more just and equitable. It is a cruelty to the loyal slaveholders, who keep their slaves, to surround them with emancipated slaves. Better far make a clean thing of it, and make compensation to the loyal slave-masters.

There is manifest progress in the Administration on the slavery question. Iron Gen. McClellan talks manfully against the darling institution of the rebels. In a conversation with Gen. Lane, he is reported to have expressed himself as ready to exterminate slavery, if thereby the rebellion might be put down. Lane goes back to Kansas, boldly avowing his purpose to put slavery to flight wherever he goes. Yet he goes back with the approval of the President. Gen. McClellan probably thinks that it is unwise to ask questions of the man who may soon meet Ben. McCullough on the field of battle. Lane is just the man to be in a rough and ready way, and the government must avail itself of all the good fighting material within its reach, even if it is tinctured with abolitionism. AVON.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Vol. XIII. Par-Hedwiks. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This valuable work is near completion—three volumes only remaining to be issued. The one now before us is complete with information upon a great variety of topics, embracing almost every department of science, sketches of eminent men, living and dead, historic events, etc. Among the scientific articles we note the following: Pavement, Peat, Pen, Pencil, Perspective, Pewter, Perfumes, Phosphorus, Photography, Phrenology, Physiology, Plague, Platinum, Pleiades, Plough, Polarization of Light, Potash, Political Economy, Pottery and Porcelain, Printing, Prisons, Pyrotechny, Railroads, Rain. Among the historical, literary and geographical articles we mention Patrimony of St. Peter, Pauperism, Peking, Pennsylvania, Periodical Literature, Perpetual Motion, Persia, Peter's Pence, Pharisees, Pilgrimage, Poland, Portugal, Presbyterianism, Priest, Progressive Friends, Quakers. Among the persons, living or dead, whose biography is contained in this volume, we observe these: Sir William Edward Parry, Theophilus Parsons (father and son), Isaac Pardee, Saint Paul, John Henry Pardee, Emmanuel Peale, Sir Robert Peel, Oyster Pierpont, William Penn, Thomas H. Perkins, Saint Peter, Peter the Hermit, Ida Pfeiffer, Wendell Phillips, John Pierpont, William Pitt, Edgar A. Poe, Pocahontas, Alexander Pope, Pestalozzi, George D. Prentice, Wm. H. Prescott, Josiah Quincy, Jr., Josiah Quincy, Edmund Quincy, Rammohun Roy, John S. Rarey, Richard Rantoul, Jr., William Rawle, T. Buchanan Read.

The amount of careful research and critical writing required in the preparation of such volumes as this, if duly set forth, would astonish those who have no experience in such matters. The editors and collaborators have evidently done their work with impartiality and thoroughness.

PRAYING FOR THEODORE PARKER. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1862. Pp. 200.

During the whole of Mr. Parker's ministry in the Music Hall and the latter half of that at the Melodeon, the prayers offered by him on Sunday mornings were taken down in phonographic characters, as a "labor of love" by a member of his congregation; and from the accumulations of so many years the forty prayers included in this volume have been selected, the one at the close being the last that Mr. P. delivered in public. They must be more than welcome not only to those who were privileged to sit under his ministry, but to the still greater multitude who discovered in his printed discourses evidence of the deep devotional feeling which was the charm of his religious character; while those who formed their estimate of Mr. Parker from the representations of his enemies, regarding him as a reckless iconoclast, devoid of religious reverence and tenderness, will see in the light of this volume how much they were mistaken. They may not find in these prayers their own special creed, but they will discover evidence that the man from whose lips they fell "walked humbly with God" and was filled with charity for all mankind.

THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF NATIONS: A THOUGHT FOR THE CRISIS. New York: G. P. Putnam, 532 Broadway.

This very tersely and vigorously written pamphlet propounds and answers the great question which is now before the nation and the world. This is done with such clearness and cogency of argument and beauty of illustration as cannot fail to convince every thoughtful mind that our life or real death, as a nation, depends upon our decision for or against emancipation.

It is one of the compensations for the overturns of great revolutions that they rarely fail to bring out illustrious minds who shaped by and shaping the times, are destined in the wise overruling of Providence to lead on and inspire the multitude in their advance to a higher destiny. Friends of freedom, give this universal circulation. Nothing that has appeared on this subject can more powerfully help the great cause.

We cordially endorse what is written above by a valued friend and correspondent; at the same time referring the reader to the first page for an extract from the pamphlet in question.—*Ed.*

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for February contains the usual variety of interesting articles, of which we give the titles, as follows: Battle-Hymn of the Republic, by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; Agnes of Sorrento, by Mrs. Stowe; our Artists in Italy, by the late Paul Akers; The Experiences of the A. C., by Bayard Taylor; Snow, by T. W. Higginson; A Story of To-Day; Methods of Study in Natural History, by Louis Agassiz; Love and Skates, by Theodore Winthrop; Midwinter, by J. T. Trowbridge; Ease in Work, by D. A. Wasson; At Port Royal, 1861, by J. G. Whittier (see first page of this paper); Fremont's Hundred days in Missouri, by William Hamilton Gaines; Mason and Slidell—a Yankee Idyl—by James Russell Lowell; Reviews and Literary Notices.

Mr. Lowell's new series of "Biglow Papers" is to be continued in every number to the end of the volume. The one now before us is in no respect inferior to its predecessors. We may give extracts hereafter. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER for January contains seven articles, as follows: I. The Sword in Ethics; II. Bernay's Chronicles of Sulpicius Serverus; III. The Mind's Maximum; IV. Mrs. Browning; V. Milman's History of Latin Christianity; VI. Passages from the Life of Schleiermacher; VII. Review of Current Literature. The first of these articles is a very ingenious and brilliant defense of war, by D. A. Wasson; containing, however, not the slightest reference to the works on the other side, whose titles are placed above it; nothing whatever in reply to the arguments of Mr. Wasson ever troubled himself even to read them. It is an effort, not to meet the arguments of Non-Resistants, but to set them all aside by what may be called a flank movement. We observe that Mr. Charles K. Whipple proposes to reply in *The Liberator*. The Non-Resistants could not ask for a more competent champion of their cause. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co.

THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC for 1862 (J. F. Cleveland, compiler), besides the usual astronomical calculations, contains a list of U. S. Foreign Ministers, of members of the U. S. Senate and House (politically classified), and of members of the Rebel Congress; abstract of principal acts of second session of 36th and special session of 37th Congress; Chronological Record of the Rebellion; Population of each State by Counties, from Census of 1860, compared with Census of 1850; Population of the principal U. S. Cities; Population by States from the organization of the Government; Election Returns from the several States; the Rebel National and State Governments; Lists of States, Capitals, Governors, times of meeting of Legislatures, etc. Popular Vote for President in 1852, 1856 and 1860, New York: Tribune Office.

THE REBELLION RECORD, Part XI., contains an important portion of current history, in three divisions, viz.:

I. Diary of Verified Occurrences.
II. Documents, Narratives, etc.
III. Poetry, Anecdotes, and Incidents.

It also contains fine portraits of Generals Mansfield and McDowell.

G. P. Putnam: 532 Broadway.

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE Sixth Annual Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of New York will be held in ALBANY, at ASSOCIATION HALL, on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, Feb. 7th and 8th, commencing at 10½ o'clock a.m. Three sessions will be held each day.

The exigencies of the slave's cause, in the present national crisis, call for a full representation at this Convention of the friends of freedom in all parts of the State. During the past year the SLAVE STATES have dissolved the Federal Union, repudiated the United States Constitution, and organized a gigantic conspiracy in the name of a new confederacy, the chief stone in the corner of which, it is avowed, is HUMAN SLAVERY. The Federal government, which began its career by fatal concessions to slaveholding barbarism, and has since been disgraced and weakened by numerous like concessions, until now its very existence is imperilled by the slaveholders' aggressive, usurping power, is still administered in a spirit of suicidal submission to the unrightcous dictation of slaveholders. Though there has been a great and most gratifying increase of anti-slavery sentiment since the outbreak of the rebellion, and a strong tide of opposition to slavery is steadily rising among the people of the North, still, in our midst, the enemies of impartial liberty, and of a truly republican government, masked under professions of loyalty, are not a few. It is no time, therefore, for Abolitionists to relax their efforts, but rather is increased ability called for. Special earnestness and activity is yet demanded of every friend of freedom and of just government, to secure the speedy abolition of slavery under the war power. The present and future well-being of not only four million of slaves, but of every inhabitant of the land is at stake. The dangerous and fatal spell of submission to slavery must now be broken, the slaves rescued from the vile grasp of traitorous oppressors, and thus, justice having been done, an abiding peace be ensured. Let all who possibly can, come up to the approaching annual Convention, and contribute, by personal presence and wise counsel, to render its influence mighty and effective in the service of the sacred cause of liberty.

[The names of the speakers who will attend the Convention, among whom are confidently expected WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, PARKER PILLSBURY, and THEODORE TILTON, will be announced hereafter.]

In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

A. M. POWELL.

THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY (Asa B., Lizzie C., Little Dennett, and Freddy), will sing at the Brooklyn Tabernacle on Monday evening next. Some of their songs will be adapted to the present crisis in national affairs.

DIED.

PIERCE.—At Ercildoun, Chester Co., Pa., on the 28th of 12th mo., 1861, of dyphtheria, Marion R. Pierce, daughter of Lukens and Susan F. Pierce, aged 7 years and 3 months, nearly.

"There is no flock, however well attended,
But one dead lamb is there!
There is no fireside, however er defended,
But has one vacant chair."

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate, on the 15th, the resolution to promote the efficiency of the troops in Kansas being under consideration, Mr. SAULSBURY (Dem., of Del.) opposing it said: "It invites every free negro and runaway slave and Indian to come and be armed. If there was a lingering hope for the Union in the heart of any man in the South, the adoption of this joint resolution would extinguish all such hope." Mr. LANE (Rep., Kansas) said: "The resolution did not give power to arm the negroes, but it does give power to arm the country, and without it we can not do our work on rebel territory, but would not be armed in their hands. He had not voted for the resolution, to commit the government to the policy of arming the slaves, but if he (Lane) had command of the army, while he would not commit the government to any policy, he would say to the slave: 'I have no arms, but if you can find arms get them, and I will use you as a soldier.'" (suppressed applause in the gallery). Mr. HARLAN (Rep., Iowa) "could not see why the colored people should not be allowed to bear their share of the burdens. Neither did he see why they should not be allowed to bear arms. He did not think it could be offered as a reason for not doing so that they were enemies of the country. There were four million of men whose loyalty could not be doubted, and yet all their force and energy is marshaled against us by the rebels. He did not see why we should not employ these four million of men for the government." Mr. TRUMBULL (Rep., Ill.), from the Judiciary Committee, to whom was referred the numerous bills in reference to the confiscation of the property of rebels, etc., reported them all back with one original bill as a substitute for the whole, as follows:

A BILL to *Confiscate the Property and Free the Slaves of Rebels.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That to prevent the use of any kind of property, of every kind whatsoever, and wheresoever situated within the limits of the United States, belonging to any person or persons beyond the jurisdiction of the United States, or to any person or persons in any State or District within the United States now in a state of insurrection and rebellion against the United States, or hereafter, so that in either case the ordinary process of law cannot be served upon them, who shall, during the present Rebellion, be found in actual hostility to the United States, or giving aid and comfort to said Rebellion, shall be forfeited and confiscated to the United States; and such forfeiture shall take immediate effect, and the commissioners of sale shall have full and ample power to sell and claim of the person committing such act, or being in the rebellion, the right to dispose of and alienate his property of any and every description, shall instantly cease and determine, and the same shall at once vest in the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That every person having claim to the services or labor of any other person in any State in the United States who shall hereafter be found guilty of rebellion, shall take up arms against the United States, or in any manner give aid and comfort to said rebellion, shall thereby forthwith forfeit all claim to such service or labor, and the persons from whom it is claimed to be due, commonly called slaves, shall be forever free thereafter, any law or custom of the State by the party having claim to the service or labor notwithstanding, and whenever any such person shall be entitled to the service or labor of any other person declared to be discharged from such labor or service under the provisions of this act shall seek to enforce the same, or shall in any such instance, and before any order for the surrender of the person whose service is claimed, establish not only his title to such service as now provided by law, but shall prove that he has been, during the existing rebellion, loyal to the government of the United States, and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall receive any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or to surrender up any such person to the claimant.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the United States to make provision for the transportation, colonization and settlement, in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race liberated by the provisions of this act as may be willing to emigrate, having first obtained the consent of the government of such country to their protection and settlement within the same, with the rights and privileges of freedom.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the President of the United States, as often as in his opinion the military necessities of the army, or the safety, interest and welfare of the United States shall require, the suppression of the rebellion shall require, to order the seizure and possession by such officers, military or civil, as he may designate for the purpose, of all the property so confiscated and forfeited under and by virtue of this act, situated and being within the limits of the United States, beyond the reach of civil process in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, by reason of such rebellion, and the sale or disposition of said property, or so much of it as he shall deem advisable.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the officers so designated by the order of the President to make reports of their proceedings under such orders, which report shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury; and all money received on the sale of the confiscated property of any person, as aforesaid, shall be deposited in the United Treasury.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of enforcing the forfeiture specified in the first section of this act of property, and the liberation of persons held to service in which the ordinary course of judicial proceedings is not convenient, it shall be lawful for the District Courts of the United States, instituted in the name of the United States in any District Court of the United States within which the estate or property so forfeited may be found, to proceed to hear and try such proceedings shall conform as nearly as may be to the proceedings in rem in admiralty, in revenue cases, including the revenue laws, and in all cases the property condemned, whether real or personal, shall be sold, and the proceeds paid into the Treasury, as provided in the first section of this act.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the several District Courts of the United States are hereby invested with power to issue all writs, such as shall be proper, in addition to writs of garnisher and process, as in cases of foreign attachment, and to do all other matters and things necessary and proper to carry out the purposes of this act.

On the 16th, the bill in relation to the arrest of persons, claimed as held to service or labor, by officers in the military and naval service of the United States, was taken up. The bill provides that any officer arresting persons held to service or to labor shall be discharged from the service. Mr. COLLAMER (Rep., Vt.) offered an amendment that any officer or soldier of the army or navy, militia or volunteers, shall assume to exercise any authority to arrest, detain, hold or control any person held to service, and that any officer so offending be dismissed from the service. Agreed to. Mr. SAULSBURY, of Delaware (Opp.), offered the following amendment as a new section: "Nor shall any soldier or officer, under like penalty, in any way entice, decoy, or retain any such person from his or her master or owner." Mr. SAULSBURY said that he thought that the officers or soldiers of the army had enough to have nothing to do with the question at all, either way. Mr. DOOLITTLE (Rep., Minnesota (Opp.), moved to add after the words "master or owner," the words "who may be a loyal citizen of the United States" Agreed to. Mr. WILSON opposed the amendment. He was against any kind of justification of slavery. What he wanted was to prevent officers of the army from returning slaves. Some officers have already disgraced the service in this way, and, God willing, he (Wilson), if he had the power, meant to prevent their continuance. In the Senate, Mr. PEARCE came out and avowed that the fighting language of the bill would be to invite the slaves of Maryland to come to the army, where they would be safe from the legal rights of their owners. He thought that justice demanded that the bill should be amended. Laid over. On Tuesday, the report of the Judiciary Committee upon the resolution by the Senate Senator Bright of Indiana for disloyal Senators under consideration, Mr. SUMNER (Rep., Mass.) made a scathing speech in favor of the resolution. Mr. LANE (Rep., Kansas) followed on the same side, in a strong and incisive, cutting way, and Mr. BAKER (Rep., Mo.) presented a petition of 140 colored persons of California, asking that provision be made for the colonization of that class, and where colored will not be a badge of degradation. Ordered to be printed. On the 20th, Mr. ALLEN (Dem., Ohio) presented a resolution that in the judgment of this House, no part of the appropriation now or hereafter made, nor of taxes now or hereafter to be laid by Congress, shall be used in or applied to the prosecution of the war for the emancipation of slaves in which Ohio has furnished her quota of the Union. Mr. BLAKE (Rep., Penn.) moved to lay this on the table. Carried, 91 against 37. Mr. STEELE (Dem., N. J.) and Mr. WRIGHT (Union, Pa.) spoke against emancipation, blindly ignoring the disloyal character of the peace-powers and war-powers in Congress. On Tuesday, Mr. COLFAX's bill regulating the transmission of newspapers outside the mails was considered. Mr. Colfax offered a substitute, with a view to obviate objections to the original bill, but it was rejected, and the original bill laid on the table, 75 against 60. A proposition of Mr. MORRILL (Rep., Vt.) to increase the rate of letter postage to 5 cents was voted down.

LIBERTY AND UNION ASSOCIATION.

SUCH is the name of an Association just organized in this city by the adoption of the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. The name of this Association shall be the "Liberty and Union Association."

ART. II. The object of this Association is to urge upon the people and the government emancipation of the slaves, as a measure of justice, required by the military emergency of the country, and furnishing the shortest, surest and least bloody path to peace, and the only security for the future tranquility and integrity of the Union; and also to advocate and prosecute such measures for the welfare and advancement of liberated slaves as may seem expedient.

ART. III. Any person who signs this Constitution, and contributes annually to the funds of the Association, shall be a member; and upon payment of five dollars shall be a life member, and be exempt from further payment.

ART. IV. The officers shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Recording and a Corresponding Secretary

BEHOLD, I STAND AT THE DOOR AND KNOCK."

Who stands at the gate? A Woman and
Who knew from the husband her brave
Oh! Lady, you have been lovely men as a slave,
Have you the courage to be free?
Who stands at the door? A Man and
Who knew from the slave, the free?