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Selections.

GERRIT SMITH TO JOHN A. GURLEY.

PETERBORO, Dec. 16, 1861.

HON. J. A. GURLEY, M.C.—*Dear Sir:* I have read a newspaper copy of the Bill which you submitted with intent to the House of Representatives. Nothing is left to wish to speak of save its proposed assumption of special powers over liberty and property.

I had hoped that among the good effects of the war would be the recognition of human rights under whatever skin, and the equalizing before the laws of the black and red races with the white race. But your Bill is among the indications that I had hoped for too much.

"Short accounts" is a favorite motto with men of business; and they are quite right in outlawing such business; and they are quite right in outlawing such business; and they are quite right in outlawing such

rance of a case which, had due publicity been given to it, would have excited general interest, and called forth in every quarter expressions of censure and of sympathy. We have never known an instance of more inexcusable recreancy to a sacred trust on the part of one usually faithful and out-spoken press.

We would hereby tender to the Rev. Mr. Gordon and his devoted wife our Christian sympathy, and assure them of our earnest prayers and indefatigable efforts to secure his speedy release from an unrighteous imprisonment, and disproportionate and impoverishing fine.

May the God of Joseph, of Peter, of Paul and Silas, be with him in his prison cell, and give him songs in the night, and timely deliverance.

The reading of the paper was followed by an address from Rev. Mr. Cormey, glowing with sympathy for the prisoner, and indignation at the judicial wrongs inflicted upon a good and godly man.

On motion that the meeting approve of the sentiments of the paper, the people generally rose to their feet, and the motion passed without dissent.

It was further moved that the proceedings be presented to Rev. Mr. Gordon, and offered to the city press for publication.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 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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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will deliver a Lecture on "THE ABOLITIONISTS, AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE WAR," in the Cooper Institute, on TUESDAY EVENING, Jan. 14th (not the 7th, as announced last week), 1862. We are sure that all earnest friends of freedom, of whatever sect, party or class, will gladly embrace an opportunity to listen to the counsels of the man out of whose mind and heart the Anti-Slavery Movement of our time was born, and who for more than thirty years has been its foremost exponent and champion. Friends of the slave! let us fill the spacious hall and give him an enthusiastic welcome!

ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

THE issue of the Mason and Slidell difficulty has been what we intimated last week it probably would be. Mr. Seward has settled the question, on the ground that the technical irregularity of Capt. Wilkes in not sending the Trent in for trial before a prize-court vitiated the whole transaction and entitled the persons seized to be given up to England, if she chose to take advantage of it. This we hold to be strictly correct, and we believe the country at large will sustain the decision, though it will be very much against the grain. It is as if these men were indicted for an act of treason committed in Virginia, while the indictment erroneously set forth that it was done in Maryland. If the error were not discovered in season for amendment, the culprits would be entitled to their acquittal, however patent their guilt. For it is better that a guilty man should escape punishment, through the carelessness of the responsible prosecutor, than that an innocent man should be liable to be tried for an offence committed in a different place from that laid down in the indictment, and which he might not be prepared to meet. So, if the English government is willing to avail itself of the flaw in the proceedings arising from the good-natured blunder of a gallant sailor not studied in such legal niceties, there is nothing for it but to surrender the men with the best grace we can. And this, it seems to us (though not inclined in general to excessive praise of the Secretary of State), Mr. Seward has done. His letter to Mr. Adams, contemporaneous with the arrest of the rebels, and long before any news of the storm raised in England by the event had arrived or was even anticipated, shows that the decision of the question was entirely on its legal merits, and entirely uninfluenced by that blusterous explosion of popular rage. It was an act of pure reason and strict law, and its acceptance by a high-spirited nation as such, though contrary to popular prejudice and passion, is one of the most honorable passages in our history. For we deem that nothing is clearer than that the great majority in the North were disappointed at the decision, and would have readily tendered to England the wager of battle on this quarrel, if she had chosen to take it up.

We cannot hope, however, that it will be received in any such sense in England. The feeling the news will excite there, we fear, will be that of disappointment that the opportunity of breaking the blockade and opening the cotton-ports has passed away for this time. The same spirit that has influenced the course of the English press, with a few most honorable exceptions, in its unscrupulous and malignant partisanship with the rebel States, and its vituperative and lying hostility to the United States, will be swift to represent this action of the government as a cowardly submission to a threat of war. Every stimulus that talent and malignity can devise to arouse the passions of hatred and contempt towards us will be applied. *The Times, The Saturday Review* and *Punch* will

"Dart the quick taunt and edge the piercing gibe,"

with brisker air than ever. America will be depicted as throwing herself prostrate at the feet of Britain in terror of her arms, instead of deciding against herself, on a paltry technicality, a question where she was substantially in the right, rather than he even technically in the wrong in a national controversy. From the general tone of the press (with all honor to the honorable exceptions referred to), and from the general tone of English talk, according to the almost universal testimony of Americans now or recently abroad, we think it clear that the current of public sentiment there is against us and in favor of the South. If we needed confirmation of the fact, we should surely find it in the late letters of our esteemed English Correspondent. When she, whom we have always regarded as the very *prosopopeia* of philosophic equanimity, is dragged from her Northern moorings and drawn so strongly towards the Southern coast, we may judge of the strength of the tide which is running in that direction. We are sure that her imperturbable good humor will pardon us if we say that we could not but regard portions of her letter of the 2d of December in a comic as well as a sad point of view. The thoroughness of the John Bullism which assumes that England is necessarily in the right and America in the wrong, throughout, though not without its respectable side, threw a gleam of cheerfulness across the melancholy waste through which her prophetic gaze beheld our future to lie. The assumption of the impeccable nature of the British government and of the irresistible power of the British empire, while it excited no resentment in our breast, could not but bring a smile to our lips, which we are sure she is cosmopolitan enough yet to forgive.

"The temper and manners of the Northern people towards England!" for example. "The bullying spirit and intolerable manners" of our government. "The long course of forbearance, allowance and forgiveness on the part of England," and more to the same effect, show how a popular epidemic can carry away even a sensible and well-balanced mind, or at least can distort a mental vision usually clear beyond the common. On this side the ocean, we have not been able to discern the forbearance of the British government, nor have we been able to perceive that the bullying spirit and bad manners even of *The Herald* could compare in ill-breeding, violence and coarseness with *The Times*, and many other prominent English newspapers. The eagerness with which the English government sprung forward to recognize the rebel States as a belligerent power, surely, was as gross an insult and as grave an injury as was ever offered to a great nation arming itself to put down an insurrection. Forbearance, allowance and forgiveness, it seems to us, have been much more the badge of our tribe than of our Correspondent's. The exultation with which our disasters have been welcomed in England, and the disparagement which has been thrown upon our successes, show the temper and spirit of the nation, while the swiftness of the government to make a cause of quarrel out of this irregularity of Capt. Wilkes's in favor of its own subjects, shows that the government is not unfit to be at its head. We think that we can assure our Correspondent that very few in America share in her opinion of the consequences of a war with England. We are vain enough to think ourselves full her match on land, and that we could more than hold our own on sea. The population of the Northern States is equal to that of England, and the estimate of their wealth from official returns greater, though more divided, and their daily earnings more. We have now twice as many men on foot as England ever had at one time, and the reserve is almost without limit. Massachusetts, for example, has sent 27,000 men to the war out of a population of a million. Eighty years ago she furnished 58,000 out of a population of less than 300,000. Of course, she could more easily supply 100,000 men now than 50,000 then. And so of all the rest. And if our Correspondent will read the report of the Secretary of the Navy and the Letter of Mr. Donald McKay to the London *Star and Herald*, about the beginning of this month, she will see that we are not now helpless, and that we can soon indefinitely increase our force. We look upon England as in quite as great danger of invasion from the Isle of Man or Guernsey as we are from Canada or the Confederate States, even with the help of England. And we are assured that in the devilish work of doing one another mischief we should not come off second best.

Perhaps we have said too much on a subject which we have seldom dwelt much upon, and which we should have avoided now if it had not been for what fell from a person justly supposed to be unusually well-informed on American matters. If she is so behind the time in knowledge of the condition of the Northern States, what must be the darkness of the general public! The true friends of peace in England should try to inform the nation of our strength, and not to take our military and naval weakness for granted. We do not believe that the English people desire such a war with us, as one now begun would surely be, a Carthaginian and Roman war. But we do imagine that there is a large class who think that the power of Great Britain is so overwhelming that it could settle this quarrel of ours in a month or two, and open the Southern ports to imports and exports. It is the ignorance, which our excellent Dublin Correspondent admits, prevailing as to our country and its resources, and the relative importance of its various sections, that is answerable for this state of mind. Nothing can well exceed it. But the general English mind, though it knows little of our geography or statistics, has a clear notion that the chief of the cotton they use in their mills comes from this country, and that there used to be a large market for English goods here which has now been greatly cut off. Great numbers of persons feel the effects of these derangements in their pockets, and still more have a fearful looking-for of such. And all this because of a senseless *row* between two sorts of Yankees, and a horrible tariff, invented by one Morrill expressly to damage England! A recognition of the Confederacy and the breaking of the blockade would be an easy way of curing all these ills in a brief time and with small trouble. We fear that this late action of our government may be twisted from its real character, and made to appear a confession of weakness before a superior power, instead of a magnanimous reparation of a technical error, and a strong effort made to compel such an interference in our affairs. War would be the unavoidable consequence. A war which might endanger the cause, certainly the progress, of Constitutional government in all over the world. A war which would be one of the longest and bloodiest of modern times, and of the calamities of which the only compensation would be the certain emancipation of the Southern slaves by their own right arms, or by those of the belligerent Powers.

FOREBODINGS.

WHAT an amazing spectacle does our country present to the eye of an intelligent appreciator of true freedom and true religion! The word LIBERTY has been so long "taken in vain," in the mouth of a slaveholding nation, that we have failed even to perceive the discrepancy. The glaring inconsistency between our professions and our lives, even when it was most offensively prominent in the sight of all other civilized nations. Our talk, in the Northern States, about "freedom and independence," has differed only in degree, not in kind, from the sublime impudence of Virginia, practising a tyranny at once the intensest and the meanest, while the device and the motto on her shield imprecate destruction on the heads of tyrants. We have shared, like Paul, in direct and open complicity with the persecutors of the saints, without making even a beginning of that repentance and reformation by which Paul afterwards distinguished himself.

Our nation has claimed to be divided into slave States and free States; but, while the former have been truly and heartily devoted to slavery, the latter have not been so devoted to freedom. It was long ago settled by South Carolina, at the expense of Mr. Hoar and of Massachusetts, that neither the Constitution, the laws nor the courts, were to be appealed to *against* slavery. It was settled, still longer ago, by the usage of all the slave States, that the lover of liberty who chanced to travel there was to relinquish, for the time, that freedom of speech and the press which all classes were all the time assuming to be one of the most actual, precious and sacred rights of our possession. At the South, every editor was the firm and zealous advocate of slavery. If, at the North, every editor had been the firm and zealous advocate of freedom, our troubles would never have reached their present pitch. But such manliness was the rare exception, not the general rule; and the majority of Northern conductors of the press chose to say nothing about slavery except when they had occasion to abuse the Abolitionists. Sad and long experience has amply shown slavery to be national, freedom only sectional, among us.

Until the present year, however, it has been possible for the Abolitionist to indulge one charitable hope in regard to the character of his Northern fellow-citizens. It is the nature and habit of men to acquiesce in the thing that seems *established*, even when they recognize it as an evil. It might be that those in the North and West who held such fatal complicity with slaveholders did so, not from love of slavery, but from sheer despair of effecting its overthrow. It might be that their reasoning was—Since purity is absolutely hopeless, let us at least have peace! A grave error, indeed, but one proceeding from the head rather than the heart. This amount of charitable construction has, until now, been possible. Having been educated in superstitious reverence for the Constitution, the Republicans might have been judged sincerely to believe, and sincerely to regret, that they were bound in its pro-slavery compromises.

Had this charitable theory been the true one, we should have seen the blessed, the providential opportunity offered to our government by the existence of a state of war forced upon it by the Slave Power, eagerly embraced and turned to practical account. No doubt the Constitution was a chain and a yoke to those who servilely bent under it. But when the existing fact of war caused martial law to take the place of Constitutional law, when civil judges were superseded by military officers, and the President, rightly deeming the nation of more consequence than the Constitution, took upon himself functions, and inaugurated a course of action, wholly unauthorized by that document, why could not the new authorities use this providential license against slavery, the cause, as well as against rebellion, the effect? Having gained an official right to make direct assault upon this accursed thing, why did they not proceed to act as promptly and vigorously against it as Samuel did against Agag, or as the Hebrew chief against Achan, his Babylonish garment and his wedge of gold? The first moment of that precious opportunity should have been seized to do *all that could be done* against slavery. It should have been abolished by proclamation, among the very first of the extra-constitutional acts of the Presidential Commander-in-Chief. That he did not then do it shows that he did not *wish* to do it. And his wish at that time shows with yet greater whole course since that time shows with yet greater clearness that his error is of the heart as well as of the head.

If that President who, to the disgrace of the Republican party, was selected as their candidate for his conservatism, for his indisposition to thorough reform, for his devotion to custom and precedent—if he had taken the energetic step of using the war power at our disposal against slavery, his whole party and half the remainder against the Democratic people would have echoed and supported him. He had a clean bill of political health to start with; an untarnished record of perfect freedom from the taint of "radicalism." Whatever he did against slavery would have been looked upon as indispensable to the welfare of the republic, and supported as such. And what a solid array of reasons might have been brought to demonstrate that the action thus taken was indispensable! How might the Secretary of State have wielded with new effect his discarded weapon, and shown incontrovertibly that the conflict between slavery and freedom was indeed "irrepressible," and that time and labor were most effectually saved by striking at once to the heart of such an enemy!

They would not do it. And since they have followed up the time lost by their first and best opportunity by interfering with the policy and nullifying the acts of their subordinate officers who saw opposition to slavery to be *their* wisdom and duty, it is scarcely to be expected that they should do better in future emergencies. The stone which their folly rejected will be used by other hands, and made the head of the corner, raising another set of men to be rulers of the destiny of this people, if, indeed, we escape the tendency to military despotism which a long continuance of war inevitably brings. And, even in the amended policy of the party next coming to be dominant (if our next President shall really be elected by the people), we shall have new proof of the deterioration wrought by slavery in the head and heart, the common sense and moral sense of the nation.

Even Butler, Fremont, Cameron and Dickinson propose to interfere with slavery only so far as military necessity may require, only so far as the present position of the rebels may be damaged by such interference, without apparently a thought either of the rights and interests of the slave himself, or of the unspeakable importance to us of removing this perpetually disturbing element from the very possibility of again mixing itself with free institutions. Theirs is only a plan to promote the convenience and prosperity of white men. Their policy is unalloyed by any mixture of justice, generosity or humanity to the colored people. The slaves of loyal people are still to be secured to them by the whole power of the government. The slaves of rebels are still to be treated as chattels, taken possession of by the government for military purposes, and used for any exigency, just as mules or oxen might be used, and with as little thought of the present or ultimate concession of any rights inherently belonging to them as men. And at the end of the war, or when their services shall no longer be needed, it is assumed that their status is to be settled by some other power for them, not at all by themselves for themselves.

If even this is an advance upon the policy of the Republican administration, if even this moderate approach towards effectiveness in the treatment of the rebellion is opposed and counteracted by the President, for fear it should infringe too strongly on the "peculiar institution," and if the people allow even this slight forward movement to fail for want of their manifested approbation and support, what hope is there for the future, either the immediate or the ultimate future, of our nation? Even if the actual relation of slaveholder and slave should, by some merciful dispensation of Providence, be brought to an end, what hope is there for a nation whose leaders and whose masses unite in ignoring the rights of a human being in a black skin, in banishing him from even the chance of competition with them, in still assuming the right to dispose of him as their own convenience or caprice may dictate!

It has become the settled habit of the mass of our population, as well as of the leaders of our political parties, to speak of the dark race as an essentially inferior people, a people from whom progress is not to be expected, a people who are to be governed, instead of sharing with us the duties and responsibilities of self-government. We talk about what is "to be done with them," refusing to recognize their natural right to decide and act for themselves, under laws contemplating their rights and interests equally with ours. We talk, with an arrogance which would appear insufferable if it were not so stupid, of colonizing them in a place in which to colonize these men and women, native Americans equally with ourselves, without asking or caring what their wish may be in the premises. This habit of thinking, speaking and acting, in a manner intensely unjust and cruel in all things pertaining to this dark people, has become chronic among us; and the prejudice with which we regard them has long, long custom, to seem natural, right, and unconquerable, to a very large proportion of our Northern people.

The religious sentiment of the country (as far as it is represented by the large and popular seats), instead of opposing this wicked prejudice, has been its strongest ally and advocate. Instead of giving the negro a refuge in the Church against the injustice of the unregenerate world, it copies that injustice in the very house of worship, preaches and publishes the doctrine and vindication of it from the Bible, and actually builds up, in its Churches at home, called Christian, a system of caste no better than that which its missionaries denounce in India as one of the most pernicious vices of heathenism.

Holding ideas like these, living in accordance with them, and impudently pretending them to be perfectly consistent with Republicanism in the State, and with Christianity in the Church, what is our prospect for the future, even apart from the yet undecided result of a gigantic rebellion? Could we possibly build up a permanently prosperous State, and a really Christian Church, until this central, radical vice is removed? While a just God holds the throne of the universe, can we possibly attain welfare and prosperity, material or spiritual, continuing to hold a lie in our right hand?

For the guilty, nation or individual, the path of progress *must* lie through the valley of humiliation. Unless we are wise enough to seek it, it must be forced upon us. Our wickedness has been like that of Egypt, like that of Babylon. It yet remains to be seen whether our ruin is to be complete, like theirs! whether we are worth saving! whether our destruction is but a long course of purgatorial trial is to be our destiny! God help us, President and people, to repent while there is yet time!

MR. TILTON'S LECTURE, on "The Latest Questions of the War," delivered at the Cooper Institute on Thursday evening of last week, gave great satisfaction to those who heard it. The audience, owing to various unpropitious circumstances, was not numerous, though highly intelligent. The speaker made it clear that the only way of speedily crushing the rebellion is to sweep away its cause.

Mr. Tilton, in commencing his lecture, said: "The lesson of the hour is the freedom of the slave. Better fitted than I to teach, it was the man who stood here a week ago; I mean Wendell Phillips (applause). Better fitted than I to teach it, will be the man who is to stand here a few weeks hence; I mean William Lloyd Garrison (applause). As to myself, I have somehow drifted in between them, like a cock-boat between the Pillars of Hercules" (laughter).

Mr. Garrison will speak on the 14th inst. upon "The Abolitionists, and their Relations to the War."

MR. PHILLIPS'S SPEECH ON THE WAR.—We are late in printing this speech, but our readers will be more than compensated for the delay in the fact that our report embraces the author's latest corrections. As it now stands, we believe it will afford the utmost satisfaction to Mr. Phillips's friends, ranking among the best examples of his peculiar style of argument and eloquence.

OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT is entitled to special thanks for his timely letters. He is a true Englishman, but in spite of surrounding excitement, his head is cool, his judgment unimpaired. We have recorded a fresh letter at the moment of going to press, for which our readers must wait till next week.

THE SURRENDER OF MASON AND SLIDELL.

THE correspondence between the British government and the State Department at Washington, ending with the surrender of the rebel Commissioners by the latter to the former, would fill a page of this paper—an amount of space which we so pressingly need for other purposes that we must refer our readers who wish to see it to other journals; contenting ourselves with simply stating its substance.

In the first place, it is to be noted that Mr. Seward, on Nov. 30—the day on which Earl Russell was preparing his demand for the surrender of Mason and Slidell—addressed a letter to Mr. Adams, American Minister at London, to be communicated to the British Cabinet, in which he states that "Capt. Wilkes having acted without any instructions from the government, the subject is therefore free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been specifically disavowed by us"; and expresses the hope that the British government will consider the subject in a friendly temper. This letter, received in England at the very time of the arrival of the British demand at Washington, must have served to mollify somewhat the warfever in that country.

Earl Russell, in a note to Lord Lyons, British minister at Washington, after reciting the account of the seizure received from the British mail agent on board the Trent, characterizes it as "an act of violence done, was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law," expresses a willingness to believe that Capt. Wilkes was acting without any authority from the American government, or under a misunderstanding of his instructions, and an unwillingness to believe "that it could be the deliberate intention of the government of the United States unnecessarily to force upon the notice of Great Britain a question of the action of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling." Earl Russell trusts that the American government will, of its own accord, offer such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely: "The liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your Lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed." He says in conclusion, "Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward, you will propose them to him."

Mr. Seward replies at great length, stating the American view of the matter, founded upon the official statements of Capt. Wilkes and others, and discussing the question in all its aspects in the light of international law. He thinks Lord Lyons will perceive that the case, on the part of the United States, is not that of a premeditated or even a merely flagrant act of violence on the part of Capt. Wilkes, was undertaken as a simple, legal, and customary belligerent proceeding. He shows that Mason and Slidell and their dispatches were contraband of war; that Capt. Wilkes had a right to stop and search the Trent for the contraband persons and dispatches, and that he exercised that right in a lawful and proper manner. But he admits that Capt. Wilkes "sacrificed the right of his government to the custody and disposition of the captured persons" by failing to bring the vessel into port and thereby "preventing the judicial examination which otherwise might have occurred." The capture "was left unfinished, or was abandoned," and the release being voluntary, "involved a waiver of the claim of this government to hold the captured persons." In coming to this conclusion he regards himself as "really defending and maintaining, not an exclusively British interest, but an old, honored, and cherished American cause, not upon British authorities, but upon principles that constitute a large portion of the distinctive policy by which the United States have developed the resources of a continent, and, thus becoming a considerable maritime power, have won the respect and confidence of many nations." And he quotes by way of proof the language employed in 1812 by James Madison, then Secretary of State under Jefferson, in instructions to James Monroe, our Minister to England—language conveying in the strongest terms the idea that persons contraband of war cannot be justly captured and retained without judicial trial. Mr. Seward thereupon says:

"If I decide this case in favor of my own government, I must close my mouth against the argument that it was not forever abandon its essential policy. The country cannot afford this sacrifice. If I maintain those principles and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. It will be seen, therefore, that this government took not merely the precaution of disavowing the act of Capt. Wilkes upon its merits. We are asked to do to the British nation what we have always insisted all nations ought to do to us.

"The claim of the British government is not made in a discourteous manner. This government, since its first organization, has never used more guarded language in a similar case.

"It is coming to my conclusion, I have not forgotten that if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured persons it would be the right and duty of this government to detain them. But the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparatively unimportant character of the captured persons when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defense.

"Nor have I been tempted at all by suggestions that cases might be found in history where Great Britain refused to yield to other nations, and to our own, claims which that which is now before us. Those cases occurred when Great Britain, as well as the United States, was the home of slaves, and when, in all their political relations and discussions, have passed away. She could in no other way so effectually disavow such injury as we think she does by assuming now as her own the ground upon which we then stood. It would tell little for our own claims to the character of a free and enlightened people, if we should so far consent to be guided by the law of retaliation as to lift up and plant upon the ground to oppose against us, national consistency and the national conscience compel us to regard as a claim intrinsically right.

"Waiving, behind the objections of this kind, I prefer to express my satisfaction that, by the adjustment of the present case, upon principles confessedly American, and yet, as I trust, mutually satisfactory to both of the nations concerned, a question is finally and rightly settled between them which, heretofore exhausting not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself, for more than half a century alienated the two countries from with fears and perplexed with the extremest apprehensions of other nations.

"The four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. *They will be cheerfully liberated.* "*Your Lordship will indicate a time and place for receiving them.*"

It is announced that the rebel Commissioners and their Secretaries will go to England in the steamer Niagara, which leaves on Wednesday next.

We ought to add that the British view of the case was strongly supported in a special dispatch from Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

MRS. MARTINEAU'S RECENT LETTERS.

We do not feel at liberty to suppress the following article, written by one of the most intelligent and devoted Abolitionists of this country, and expressing, as we have reason to believe, the sentiments and feelings of many of our readers.—EDS. STANDARD.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

YOUR journal, and the great imperishable cause of Justice and Freedom which it represents, have no reason to be ashamed of the treatment of the American critician of friend or foe. Indeed, it has been the glory of the anti-slavery cause, from its birth, that it has given every facility, in its publications and on its platform, to freedom of discussion in its best sense—that it has invited it, and courted it, in the perfect assurance that error and wrong would be soonest and surest neutralized and overcome, when no bars or barriers were placed in the way of the all-conquering power of the truth. While this principle is maintained, no essential harm can happen to the cause; when it is violated, the real contest will be shifted to some other and freer spot, and will be maintained by other and freer hands.

It is in the support of this principle, and in the exercise of the right which it confers, that I feel moved to say, in your columns, that I have never known the great principle of free discussion, among friends of a common cause, put to a severer test than it has recently been by your English correspondent, H. M., and particularly in her letter which appeared in your paper of December 28th. It is a severe trial of friendship and mutual respect, when one party (from any cause) assumes an attitude of superiority, and deals out lessons, rebukes and judicial censures, to the other party; nor is the trial lessened in any measure when the one assumes to speak for a whole nation (not merely every virtue is claimed), and to adjudge and doom another nation, in whose behalf not one mitigating circumstance, it is alleged, can be urged to save it from the scorn of the world. When it is remembered that language like this comes to the United States from England, whose path over the world has been reddened with blood and made fearful by merciless oppressions, far more than the hands of its later coming missionaries of good-will could heal the wounds, or wipe the tears, the astonishment and the sense of wrong with which we read are not a little heightened. When it is remembered, again, how often our American merchantmen have been *brought to* by "shotted guns across their bows" from British cruisers, and that the instances have not been few in which overbearing insolence and "intolerable manners" have marked the behavior of the British officers towards those upon whom, when they came behavior for which apologies were necessarily forthcoming from the British government—it is marvellous, indeed, to read such language as the following from the pen of H. M.: "When Commander Wilkes ordered the seizure of the Southern gentlemen on board the Trent [how suddenly these men-stealers have become *gentlemen* in H. M.'s eyes!], *he simply ruined his country*"! We must of course, I suppose, accept our ruin, pronounced thus magisterially and lightly; but we had not before known the high commission held by H. M. by any other foreign writer, thus to doom us! Considering how long a line of precedents for Capt. Wilkes's act can be found in British naval practice—precedents attended with aggravations which Capt. Wilkes sought to avoid—the language and style become peculiarly offensive.

According to H. M., England will declare war upon the United States, because of an act which we believe to be warranted and sanctioned by the law own example—the same act which was disavowed by us, and reparation made. H. M. *admits* that the course of England, in making such a war upon us, will be "the salvation of slavery"; and she justifies as necessary the war, which is thus about to *save* and strengthen and perpetuate slavery, while no retribution and no denunciation are heavy enough for the United States government because it has not yet avowed a purpose to overthrow and eradicate slavery! She is right in one thing. If England, in the present circumstances, declares war against the United States, it will be *in the interest of slavery*. No protestations to the contrary can save her from that verdict. It will be to war upon those who may, indeed, in the matter of slavery, be but half right, but in favor of those who, on the same subject, are wholly wrong, and whom she (England) knows to be utterly wicked and cruelly wrong. And she should the war be averted, through the readiness of our government to yield to England, in the circumstances, more than England had a right to demand, yet will it not be forgotten that England made that demand in the moment of our sore trial, and with a haste and bitterness which must stamp it forever, in the eyes of all impartial observers, as dishonorable and thoroughly inimical to our people, and to our peace and concord which allow a writer of her nation to pronounce sentence upon the United States, as about to be an "outlaw among the nations"—unsuitable company, that is, for the other existing powers of the world—are somewhat too strong and distasteful to be commented upon. Let H. M. feel that she has contributed her full part towards widening the breach between America and England, which she declares to be already so great; and be sure that hereafter the number will be few in this country with whom her opinions and suggestions will have any weight.

From such imperious criticism, we turn with pleasure to remember the manner in which Wm. E. Forster, Thomas Hughes, the Duke of Argyll and John Bright, have spoken of America in this hour of her trial. Magnanimous in their thoughts and utterances, we doubt not that England has others like them. We wish our own government had a bigger, juster, nobler policy, and we think it time that the world knew that people will yet demand and inaugurate such a policy. However that may be, we shall look on, with what calmness we may, to see *England*, for selfish greed of cotton and of trade, stretch out the right hand of fellowship to "slavery, the sum of all villanies."

S. M.

LETTER FROM AARON M. POWELL.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Dec. 30, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

AFTER several months of rest from speaking, I have been engaged, for three weeks past, in holding a series of meetings in the valley of the Hudson. I noted in the outset a marked change in the attitude of the listeners—I mean on the part of those who have heretofore given us audience, but never have been heartily in sympathy with the Anti-Slavery cause. Since the outbreak of the rebellion they listened (if they were not mobocrats, as last winter), but with an incredulous air which seemed to say, "You are but impracticable, fanatical abolitionists." Now, with such, there seems to be a more hearty interest, and a stronger feeling of fellowship. Except among those who are nearest the official Washington influence, the response to my appeals in the cause of freedom and of peace, enunciated a quarter of a century ago, viz: "*That the slaves ought to be immediately set free, and brought under the protection of law.*" With one or two exceptions, the meetings have been well attended. While in Ulster County I was very efficiently aided in my work, and most hospitably entertained by Mr. Lorrin Deposal and family, of Ellenville, also Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Foster, of Greenfield, to all of whom I would render grateful acknowledgment. Mr. Deposal is a German refugee, of cultivated mind, and keen sense of right, a revolutionist engaged with General Sigel and others, now in the Federal army, in the Revolution of '49, and obliged to flee, first to Switzerland, thence to this country. His sympathies are strongly enlisted with the oppressed of this country. Detesting the policy of the Government from the Federal ranks by the gratuitously pro-slavery policy, and consequent suicidal military management of the President and his subordinates.

Mr. and Mrs. Foster are from England, where he was a Methodist minister. He continued to preach for a time in that capacity after coming to this country, but for conscience sake was subsequently led to renounce his connection with the pro-slavery Methodist Episcopal Church, in which action he was heartly seconded by his wife. They are among the *extremest* friends of the oppressed in behalf of the English people who have *not*, on coming to this country, with its peculiar pro-slavery temptations, shown themselves to be as conscienceless as the rank and file of Americans.

Petitions for the abolition of slavery under the "War Power" receive considerable numbers of signatures in every community where they are offered. But they are not as unanimously signed as we had hoped to expect, either with or without the proposition for compensation to loyal masters, which is a part of the memorial issued through THE STANDARD. While I like the benevolent motive of the compensation proposition, disclaiming the right of property in man, to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties—and in a benevolent point of view I would like it much better if it included also the plundered and helpless victims of the slave-masters—I confess to an insurmountable difficulty in advocating and recommending it. My conviction is that the so-called loyal slave-owners are really the most damaging and expensive enemies the Federal government has. They consent to remain loyal so long as they are able to dictate a pro-slavery policy on the part of the government and crush the rebellion. In doing this, they are practically, if not intentionally, the most efficient allies Jeff. Davis could possibly have. We shall say that it is not a masterly, diplomatic part of the rebel programme for the destruction or the subjugation of the Federal government? In the eye of justice they are, as slave-owners and slave-breeders, men-stealers and criminals, deserving of punishment and discipline for their infringement of the laws of justice and humanity. Add to this the aid, comfort, and practical advantage they give the rebels by dictating the suicidal policy upon which the Federal government is now administered, and the *unconditional, uncompensated surrender of slavery* is not the half of the demand that justice makes, and, therefore, that the North should make and execute upon them.

For two Sundays past I have spoken upon slavery and the war to the Rev. Mr. Cutting's congregation—Unitarian-Universalist—in this city, and have had a very good and satisfactory hearing. Mr. Cutting is an earnest, outspoken advocate of the anti-slavery cause, and is exerting a most wholesome influence in the city. Would that there were many more like him faithful in the ministry. How morally timid and time-serving the clergymen of this country, as a body, are shown to be in this crisis! To be sure, many have taken to the position of chaplain in the army, but the cause of freedom still suffers in want of that higher courage they might have shown, and an increased usefulness they might have rendered by being truthful in the pulpit at home. As in war there is no Sunday, so it would seem with many clergymen there is no God, other than the President, and accordingly their position must be carefully adjusted to his, right or wrong. There are, of course, not a few noble and praiseworthy exceptions in the pulpit, which speak for themselves.

Nobleness of purpose, righteous and definite, to result in right action, is a popular necessity, which Abolitionists must now, as heretofore, endeavor faithfully to meet and to contribute to. To them the nation is most indebted for whatever measure of moral vigor and of patriotic influence for good be yet more powerful and extended.

AARON M. POWELL.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30, 1861.

THE Treasury Department is, if possible, in greater trouble just now than the State Department. Without money the government will find it exceedingly difficult to carry on the war much longer, and the fact is, that we have had been prosecuted more vigorously, the war would now be no trouble in obtaining money. The do-nothing policy has been pursued until the government is almost at its wit's end. The rebels are not starved. They are not annihilated by our "masterly inactivity." Certain members of the government have all summer been certain that the stay-still policy was by far the best for the army to adopt, under the circumstances. But humiliating as the fact is, it is plain that it was possible to *starve* the rebels into submission, when the simple fact is, that they must be *whipped* into it, if they are ever to be subjugated. As to our foreign trouble, Mr. Lincoln says, "it is an easy business." That is about all he will say upon the subject, and the utterance means a great deal, considering under the circumstances. But humiliating as the fact is, the troubles of the Treasury Department are of greater importance. A month more must settle the question as to the mode of raising money, and whether it can be raised at all or not by the ordinary mode of borrowing. The situation gains ground rapidly here that the government will yet be forced to issue notes, making them a legal tender for the payment of debts. To go on borrowing specie at the rate of ten millions a week is a very difficult matter, as Mr. Chase has discovered already. It will be necessary to discover some other way to carry on the war.

A great success in the field, a decisive battle, would change the aspect of affairs materially. This is what Mr. Chase is waiting for, and in doing so he acts with great shrewdness. There are few men in the country who could have furnished money so long for the war on the system of borrowing. The rebel government has found out, indeed found out before it had been going a month, that it could not actually borrow money, but that it must *force* the people to accept its letters of credit. Its scrip being pushed upon the people of the rebellious States, for a time at least it answered all the purposes of currency, and as a final resort this government will come to the same practice.

There is not much talk in Congress about its matters as yet. there being a disposition to conceal the difficulties of the government as long as possible, in the hope that "something will turn up" before long to relieve the Treasury. But Mr. Fessenden, the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Mr. Stevens, of the Ways and Means Committee in the House, have spoken out their opinions freely. Mr. Stevens said that the government could not go on six months longer at this rate. Mr. Fessenden declared that the government would break down in less than a twelvemonth, unless there were retrenchment and economy, and successes in the field. Something *will* be done. The necessity for it has now become apparent to the President and Gen. McClellan, and every member of the government. The settlement of the Trent affair without hostilities with England, though not something to add to our pride, will mend matters much, but a steady advance into the heart of the enemy's country will do more.

The Report of the Investigating Committee has somewhat injured the credit of the government. It has fostered suspicions against the integrity of the members of the government, or rather of certain members of it. When men connected with the government give their relatives jobs worth from $80,000 to $100,000, the patriot and the honest citizen must shudder, and pause to look into the future thoughtfully. There has been a too strong disposition on the part of certain gentlemen connected with the government to aid their friends even at the expense of the Treasury of the United States. Dishonest contractors have been patted on the back by some of the most prominent men of the country. Cabinet officers have been familiar with gamblers and thieves. Yet in most of these cases of a lax virtue, a carelessness of public reputation, there has been no deliberate connivance at fraud, no intelligent attempt to aid political friends or family relations. It has been through the want of an honest education in these matters. A large proportion of our public men are brought up with the loosest of notions respecting their conduct as politicians and legislators. The result of this dishonest handling of the people's money is the threatened ruin of the country. We have been too long go on borrowing while there is a lack of confidence in the honesty of the members of that government. Mr. Chase can do a great deal, but he cannot carry an entire Administration upon his shoulders. His own honesty will go a great way, but not far enough to cover everybody connected with the government, unless there is reform. But the agitation of this question will do good, and has already done good. It will be up in Congress ere long, and all the facts alluded to by the Committee will be brought prominently before the country. We must have retrenchment, reform, economy of the most rigid kind in the public expenditures, *and a speedy advance upon the enemy*. With further peculations at the Departments, with careless expenditures, and a do-nothing policy, we shall be in a condition to be insulted. England and France are becoming impatient of our delays, and will not wait much longer to open the cotton ports to the South. These, at least, are the opinions of some of our wisest men—men who are *honest* as well as wise.

The liberation of Messrs. Mason and Slidell is the great topic of the week. People generally in Washington are very indignant at the surrender of these men. The feeling towards England is very bitter. "We bide our time, though it is the remark almost everywhere, "and if England ever is encompassed with troubles, we will endeavor to remind her of her present conduct." There is no manner of doubt that the course of the British government, peers and people, towards us, throughout the rebellion and the war, will lead to an embittered state of feeling between the two peoples. Mr. Seward is very much blamed by the friends of England and France in this affair, and the surrender of Mason and Slidell is a terrible blow to his future prospects. In making the surrender his friends say he was fully aware that the act would render him somewhat unpopular, at least for a time, among some of his best friends, and that he made the sacrifice for the sake of his country. I am inclined to think this is the fact. Mr. Welles, who was in such a hurry to thank Capt. Wilkes, must

another approval and disapproval, daggers and doubts, rise at once. They moved their feet and struck their hands, and clapped and wanted to clap and didn't clap, cried and laughed and they came away saying, some of them, "This is glorious"; others, "This is dreadful"; others, "Did you ever hear the like?" "O that Congress and the President could be listened to!" "Shall we bear to see it before it is too late?" "Shall we die in our sins, and the ruin of slavery and the ruin of our nation sin, and the ruin of our nation sin, and the ruin of our nation be one?"

Men here, who have been in a chronic state of wrath for a long time, at the pusillanimity, half-heartedness, and do-nothing policy of the government, were ready to burst with indignation and despair, as there were unfolded to them in the lecture the terrific consequences of a protracted prosecution of the war without the purposed and sweeping overthrow of slavery.

With Dr. Cheever's clear prophetic insight, hatred of inspiration, his grasp of principles, his dauntless courage and will, of the heroic mould, and his power of demonstration, sarcasm and rebuke, if he only had more predominant in his composition the element of hopefulness, he would carry all before him as an orator. While his successful career as a public speaker, in England and Scotland, has evidently improved his powers of oratory, his fell grapple with the Slave Power and with the pro-slavery of the American Church seems to have developed a great energy of intensity of purpose in the indomitable Doctor, that has all the strength both of hope and despair. The audience felt it; and I doubt if a Worcester assembly were ever more deeply moved than last night.

Our European Correspondence.

VOICES FROM THE OLD WORLD.

From Our London Corre-pondent.

LONDON, December 10, 1861.

A DEEPER feeling is, I trust, taking possession of the public mind in this country, than that which occupied it a week ago. Let it be known on your side, as it is well understood amongst the initiated on this, that money of the Confederate leaders of the South has been disbursed without stint, to secure the hireling services of the venal writers for our metropolitan and provincial journals.

Long before secession was an accomplished fact, the lives of England had been tampered with by the emissaries of your disunion party. Men had been industriously at work to prepare the way for the speedy recognition of the independence of the cotton States. The programme of Jefferson Davis and his co-conspirators had been made known, and arguments supplied wherewith it might be supported. Men here were already supplied with their briefs and their retaining fees. The simultaneous rising of the free States, and the impersonation of an immense army of loyal men, greatly disconcerted the machinations of Yancey, Mann, and their corrupt tools, and necessitated the adoption of a different course of action; but they are still active, and the plunder of the sub-treasuries of the South still holds out, and is freely distributed amongst those who are base enough to be the instruments of the worst of traitors and the vilest of slaves.

Since I last wrote you, England has been benefitted by the timely utterances of some of our most eminent representative men.

RICHARD COBDEN has spoken, in terms calm, clear and impressive. He demands that there be a suspension of final judgment upon the question that threatens the interruption of amicable relations, until the government of Washington has been heard. He repudiates the language of those public writers who, without waiting until both parties have been heard, have given utterance to threats which, if they were uttered by a cannonade from the British people, would render complicated in the affairs of America with the requisitions of this government difficult, if not impossible. He refers to the proposal made by your Cabinet, more than five years ago, to the European Powers, to exempt private property at sea from capture by armed vessels of any kind, and pledges himself to show, on a future occasion, that no other country is interested to half the extent of England in carrying out that proposition; he will go farther, and contend for the exemption from visitation, search and obstruction of every kind, all neutral merchant ships in time of war, as well as in time of peace. Finally, he entertained the strongest conviction that any act of intervention on the part of a European Power, whether by breaking the blockade, or a premature acknowledgment of the independence of the South, or in any other way, could have no other effect but to aggravate and protract the quarrel. "History tells us how greatly the horrors of the French Revolution sprung from the intervention of the foreigner. Were a similar element thrown in to infuriate the American contest, rendering motive for forbearance yielding to the thought of compromise, or conciliation, would be cast to the winds—the North would avail itself of the horrible weapon always ready at hand, and, by calling in the aid of the negro, would carry the fire and sword of a servile war into the South, and make it a desolation and a wilderness. So far from expecting that the raw material of our great industry would reach us sooner in consequence of such an intervention, I believe the most probable result would be the destruction of the cotton plant itself throughout the Southern States of the Union."

JOHN BRIGHT has spoken. The South is in a state of "*fearful and wicked insurrection*" The question that has given rise to the civil war is *not* the Tariff, but a more grave question—the question of slavery. The crisis that has now arrived was inevitable. The awakened conscience of the North has produced it. The public sentiment of the North is the fruit of the preaching of abolition doctrines by earnest and religious men. For years the North has been the restraint and control of slavery, and that it should not control it in its present area. The Slave Power had been predominant. The overthrow of that power by the election of Mr. Lincoln was the cause of the rebellion. The object of the South is to escape from the majority that wishes to limit the area of slavery. They wish to found a New State, free from the influences and the opinions of freedom. The free States in the North, therefore, now stand before the world the advocates and defenders of freedom and civilization. The slave States of the South offer themselves for the establishment of a government based upon the foundation, the unchangeable foundation in their eyes, of slavery and barbarism. "I will not discuss (he says) the guilt of men who, ministers of a great nation, only last year conspired to overthrow it. I will not point to, or recapitulate the statements of the fraudulent manner in which they disposed of the funds in the national exchequer. I will not point out by name any of the men in this conspiracy, whom history will designate by titles which their children will not like to hear; but I say that slavery has sought to break up the most free government in the world, and to found a new State in this nineteenth century, whose 'corner-stone' is the perpetual bondage of millions of men." Had a rebellion broken out in Russia against the Emperor, in consequence of his noble measure for the emancipation of the serfs, "the people of England, although but seven years ago they were in mortal combat with Russia, in the south of Europe—I believe that at this moment they would have prayed Heaven with all sincerity and fervor to give strength to the arm and success to the good wishes of the Emperor; that the vile and pernicious insurrection might be suppressed." "Looking at the principles avowed in England, there is no man, not absolutely a non-resistant, whoean fairly challenge the conduct of the American government in its war with the South. It is a carious thing to find that the party in this country which, on every public question, is in favor of *war at any price*, when it comes to speak of the duty of the government of the United States, is in favor of that government purchasing *peace at any price*." Let every man in this country try to recover the Heptarchy. Do you think that any minister would think it a question to be tolerated for a moment? There are many other passages which I should like to quote, but I have room for no more than the peroration of the generous, enlightened and magnificent oration delivered by Mr. Bright to his admiring townsmen at Rochdale on the 4th inst.

Before I sit down I must ask you What is this people about of which so much is now talked at the moment? Why, winding and speaking, and thinking, all between two countries ago multitudes of the people of this country fleeing from the tyranny of the Stuarts and from the tyranny of Land. Many noble spirits from our country fled to America to establish great experiments in favor of liberty and rights. But the Puritan fathers, who had suffered so much at the hands of his own country, has said in his graphic and emphatic language, "The history of the colonization of America is the history of the crimes of Europe." From that time down to our own, the persecuted Christians submitted the wanderers from every clime. Since that the time which many here remember, and which is within my lifetime, more than three million of persons have emigrated from the United Kingdom to the United States. During the fifteen years from 1835 or 1846 to 1851, there was a period in which, as we all remember the most great circumstance and events that have happened in that time—during those fifteen years more than 2,200,000 persons left the shores of the United Kingdom and sought a home in the United States of America. At this very moment, there are millions in the United States who personally, or whose parents, have come into the wilderness of this country, with persons, some of the oldest of those whom I am now addressing. They subdued the wilderness. They met with plenty of that which was not afforded them in their native country, and they made it a home for the people. They are the those persons in England who are jealous of the States. There may be men who dislike democracy, and who have no sympathy with freedom, even be those whose sympathies warm toward the slave oligarchy of the South. But of this I am certain, that only misrepresentation the most gross and calumny the most wicked, can ever the tie which unites the great mass of the people of this country with their friends and brethren beyond the Atlantic (applause). Whether the Union will be restored, or whether it will be broken up, and unhonored independence or not, I know not, and I profess not. But this I think I know, that in a few years, a very few years, twenty years, twenty years of free men in the North will be thirty million or fifty million of people, equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray that it may not be said among them that in the time of your country's trial, when your country, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw unmoved the perils and the calamities of her children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am one in this audience, and but one in the congregation of this country. But if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the brethren of the South, and tends to generous thoughts, and generous words, and generous deeds between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name."

CHARLES H. SPURGEON has spoken. This deservedly popular minister of the Gospel, on Sunday morning last, preached to his congregation of five thousand persons, from the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." The passage was chosen to afford the orator an opportunity of making special reference to the existing state of affairs between England and the United States. While fully recognizing the rights and duty of England to maintain inviolate the sacredness of her flag, as the protection of the oppressed of all nations, Mr. Spurgeon very eloquently insisted upon the necessity of our country forbearance towards a great country so intimately allied to us as yours. I shall hereafter be able to furnish you with some quotations from a discourse which rivetted the attention of the immense audience.

NEWMAN HALL, the successor of Rowland Hill and James Sherman, has spoken. He addressed three thousand persons last evening in the following language:

"*I have been astounded and grieved at the angry spirit which the news of that affair has excited, and at the readiness with which not only many newspapers, but certain representatives of even radical constituencies, and many of your friends, have spoken of the necessity of your vindicating our honor by an appeal to the sword. . . For consider what great things are in this little word war (hear hear). It means increased taxation, commercial disaster, dearth of employment, and scarcity of food. Remember that half the taxation of the country is to pay the interest on the debt caused by war. But war with America is specially to be deprecated. We do not forget amidst the present excitement, that they with whom we take of fighting are our kinsmen. They left these shores to develop yonder our own great principles of freedom. They are of our race—they use our literature—they speak our language—they read our Bible.*"

The address was a lengthened one, and was closed by words as full of Christian pathos as they are of manly eloquence:

"I am not one of those who condemn war under all circumstances, and who regard the soldiers as men of more wicked. I am not one of those who advocate peace at any price—but I do earnestly plead for peace now, and I ask you all to help. Let us each do what we can to pull back the chariot of our country. I know that in the earnest pleadings which I can imagine the fair spirits of humanity, of freedom, of religion, with weeping eyes and tone trembling with emotion, are now, amidst the clashing of threats and warlike preparation, addressing our reason and our heart. Oh, by all the untold horrors of angry war—by the tenfold terrible horrors of war between brothers—by the sufferings of the negro race, who look on with alarm lest you should join their oppressors to rivet their chains—by the aspirations of the long down-trodden people of Hungary and Italy, who answer with hope, lest if the principles of freedom contend with each other instead of making common cause against tyranny—by the interests of the world, all which will be adjusted or not as we use civilizing and evangelists engaged in mortal combat instead of prosecuting, in holy rivalry, enterprises of benevolence—by the principles of Christianity—by the example of Christ—by the cross of Christ, I conjure you each in your influence on the side of peace, and loudly proclaim, "We will have no war with America."

GEORGE THOMPSON has spoken. This gentleman has recently delivered upwards of twenty lectures in various parts of the country, of a very decided expression of true position of the North, and the relation of the war to the Constitution, the Union, slavery, and the existence of government in the United States. Mr. Thompson is about to deliver a course of lectures at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, which will be continued to the time of the reassembling of Parliament. They will treat of the origin and true causes of the civil war, the designs of the South, the history of the secession movement, the spread of anti-slavery principles, and the relations between Great Britain and America. It is probable that the same lectures will be delivered in London, Mr. Thompson travelling during the time between the metropolis and the great city of the North—the centre of cottondom. The same gentleman, at the request of Mr. Newman Hall and the members of his congregation, will lecture on "The American Crisis," in Surrey Chapel, on the 20th inst. I need not say that these lectures will be in the interest of peace, freedom and free labor, and will do justice to the sentiments and acts of those with whom Mr. Thompson has in former years laboured in the Anti-Slavery cause.

THE WEEK OF PRAYER FOR PEACE.—On Sunday it was announced from the pulpits of a large number of churches and chapels of the metropolis that on Thursday next, the 12th—being the day on which the prayers of the churches throughout the United States of the United States is expected to arrive at its destination—an aggregate meeting of Christians of all denominations would be held in Exeter Hall, to beseech Almighty God in His providence to guide the counsels of the two governments, and preserve to both countries the priceless blessings of peace.

I last evening attended a crowded public meeting of the clergy of the Metropolitan Borough of Lambeth, attended by one of the Representatives, at which the following resolution was passed, with about ten dissentient voices:

"That this meeting, whilst recognizing the importance of maintaining the honor of the British flag unsullied, expresses the hope that should difficulties arise in connection with the American question, recourse will be had to arbitration, or other means, to avert a war between England and America."

FROM OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

I HAVE long been and still am a hearty admirer of THE STANDARD, and am quite willing to confess, as far as I have the means of forming an opinion, with the judgment I have often expressed, that it is the best and most conscientious as well as one of the most able of American newspapers. But misfortune brings people into strange company, and I am sorry to find myself, in a matter of opinion, in the same boat with Jefferson Davis as opposed to that of the writer of your leader of November 23d, in THE STANDARD which this day came to hand.

I am told that the President of the pivatical Southern Confederacy, in an official address lately delivered, has declared in reference to the affair of the Trent, that Messrs. Mason and Slidell might as well have been seized in the streets of London as on board a British vessel carrying the English Royal Mail, in charge of a representative of the Queen and sailing from one neutral port to another. On the other hand I totally differ from the approval of the act of Captain Wilkes implied in the leader to which I have referred, and which may lead to such consequences as would be involved in an international quarrel between Great Britain and the United States. As your country and your cause numbers many true friends, whom I have for upwards of twenty years regarded with admiration, respect and affection, I do not feel in the least degree warped in my judgment in this matter being warped by my preference of one country over another. I am not affected with that indiscriminate admiration for the British nation, or that disposition to defend all its acts, which warps the minds of so many of your own people—that tendency to adopt the maxim of "our country right or wrong" which perhaps unconsciously sometimes right or wrong" which perhaps unconsciously sometimes sways the people of every country from the line of judicial integrity. If the act of Captain Wilkes be recognized as right, there can be no safety for any country so long as there is another so pugnacious and so unprincipled as to disregard the rights of any other community disposed to put up with insult or outrage without resistance or potential remonstrance. I know of nothing which England values more, or for which she more deserves the respect of all whose respect is valuable, than the right of asylum which her flag and her soil afford to political exiles (1) of all nations, regardless of their antecedents or of the politics which they represent. The United States have always acted on the same principle on her own soil, and I cannot see what right they have to invade the exercise of this privilege in the case of England. It is all the Southern leaders had little to expect from the fortune of war, if, in case of legitimate war, no one would rejoice more heartily than I should. But Mason and Slidell are not worth what they will cost the free States (even if there should be no war) if the act of Captain Wilkes be not promptly disavowed by your government, for they will destroy that feeling of respect and confidence between the two countries without which true peace, respect and confidence cannot exist between them. If such conduct were quietly submitted to, a succession of such outrages would be expected from all other nations that had an object to gain by imitating it, and England would quickly lose whatever reputation and self-respect she is entitled to. Whatever her sins or offences, I cannot think that this would be a consummation which the true friends of liberty and law in any part of the world would have reason to regard with complacency. Much dissatisfaction has been expressed on all hands in the free States by the language and writings of Englishmen since your civil war commenced, but no reasonable American can doubt that if it had not been for the repressive power of public opinion, much more of the same kind in quantity and far more offensive in quality would have been uttered and published on your own ground; and that no English government could restrain the expression of opinion in England respecting such a crisis in a country in which we are all more or less in many ways interested. As to our sympathies, there can be no question that its wishes and efforts have been altogether friendly and loyal towards the Northern States. Mistakes, misapprehensions and variety of opinions of all kinds in such a case are inevitable and should be allowed for. The importance of your crisis to yourselves makes you exceedingly sensitive and perhaps unduly exacting.

I have only time to say (being much urged for time) that the death of that noble champion of the slave, Francis Jackson, of Boston, was learned by me with very great regret and sympathy in your sorrow.

Yours, ever, RICHARD D. WEBB.

(1) We cannot forhear to express our astonishment, that a gentleman so intelligent as our Dublin correspondent should fail to mark the distinction between "political exiles" and the duly commissioned ambassadors of "the president of the Southern Confederacy" who are, by "official address" of Jefferson Davis to which he refers, and known to be such by the commander of the Trent.—*Ed. Standa.d.*

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 23, 1861.

THE Female Anti-Slavery Society of this city concluded, last Friday evening, its Twenty-fifth Annual Fair; the last, as it is understood to be, of the series. Some of the friends here, including the writer of these presents, thought at one time that it would not be best to hold a Fair this year; but others, including Mary Grew and Lucretia Mott, thought otherwise; and "wisdom has been justified of her children." The Twenty-fifth and last has, like all its predecessors, been a decided success. Where the things came from—who made them—by what unseen agency that large saloon was filled with profusely-covered and elegantly-decorated tables—was a matter of wonder and speculation to all comers. The only solution that seemed to offer itself was the general one, that it was caused in part by faith and hope, and in the remaining part by "righteousness and hard work." Whatever may have been the cause, the result was most gratifying. The room was well filled with buyers, sellers and spectators, and everything went on, during the continuance of the festival—for such it was—a sort of "feast of tabernacles"—as though no one had ever cherished a doubt as to the propriety of holding it. Grace was even given to those who had been believers speaking, generally, not to say to the doubters, "We told you so."

All things combined to favor the success of the measure. The agent for the hall, who had at first refused to let it for the purpose, relented, and let it for love and part for lacre, voluntarily offered it for half-price! As for the weather, it was beyond praise. It was a continued smile from the beginning to the end. That cherished individual, the "oldest inhabitant," was said to have never seen anything like it at that time of year. It was, in fact, "Indian summer," somewhat out of season to be sure, owing, perhaps, to the disjointed state of the times, but still marked by most of the characteristics of the glorious gorgeous "spell of Indian summer" we all know. The morning was a frost, with a veil of mist over the face of the sun; in the afternoon, a golden haze, with a gentle current from the south-west; and in the evening, a brilliant sky, with an atmosphere balmy but sufficiently cool to keep the animal spirits up to the right point of enjoyment. Thus favored, the ladies who had charge of the enterprize were "bound" to succeed, and, as we have said, succeed they did.

In some of its circumstances this Fair was in strong contrast with that of last year. Then the town was in a state of intense excitement. The Fair-room had to be guarded, within and without, by a strong police force. Many were afraid to venture from their homes in that direction for fear of an outbreak. At every unusual noise in the streets, uneasy glances were directed from the windows, to see if the mob were coming. Not so this year. The city was quiet and the people kindly disposed. The "mob" were off at the war, there to fight, consciously or unconsciously, for what they called the cause of freedom; and peacefully over the street, its bell and motto objects of complacent interest, apparently, to all passers by. Nowhere was to be seen a sign or heard a whisper of dissent.

While there is but one opinion as to the success of the Fair, and while all have enjoyed it to an unusual degree as an occasion of social and spiritual communion, it is nevertheless the general understanding that this is to be regarded as the last of the series. There are a number of reasons for this conclusion, the chief of which perhaps is that the Fair-system is felt to be no longer a necessity. The impression has become prevalent that our cause, as a moral controversy, as a strife on the arena of opinion, has culminated. Not that it has absolutely triumphed, or that our work is done; but that our *peculiar mission*, as pioneers, as agitators, as "jungle-cleavers"—a mission that was committed to us alone—has been fulfilled, and that henceforth the duties devolving upon Abolitionists will not be such as to compel them to bring them into collision with the rest of the world, and compel them to resort to special methods for the pecuniary means of keeping up their operations. Undoubtedly a great work yet remains to be done by Abolitionists and Anti-Slavery Societies. If anyone thinks otherwise, or supposes that he can now lay off his harness and seek repose, he is very much mistaken. But in what remains to be done we may count on the cooperation of many who have heretofore opposed us. We shall not have to "tread the wine-press" alone. Our duties will no longer be peculiar.

The necessity of prolonging the existence of the National and State Anti-Slavery Societies, with their proper organs and appliances, no one entitled to an opinion will doubt. The good these organizations have accomplished is before the world; the beneficent uses they may yet be made to serve, are palpable, or may be rendered so, to the most obtuse. The pecuniary means of supporting them, so long as they are needed, will not be hard to procure. So far as this State is concerned, it will be necessary only for the Female President of the Pennsylvania Society—at least so long as the present incumbent occupies the chair—to issue his annual circular, setting forth, with the proper why and wherefore, the wants of the treasury, and for the Executive Committee to take the necessary steps to bring this circular under the careful consideration of those whom it may concern. This done, the needed funds will be forthcoming. I speak without qualification, knowing whereof I affirm. A twenty-five years' acquaintance with the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society warrants me in saying that no reasonable anti-slavery appeal made by its Executive Committee and fairly understood by its members, will fail of receiving the proper response. Some may be slow, and all may need stirring up; but as a body the Pennsylvania Abolitionists are a sort of people who, when a duty is fairly brought home to them, will not shrink from its performance.

And here, let me glance off, to say that the Abolitionists are not the only good people in the world. Nor are all who bear that title exactly what they ought to be. Looking over our old records we find the names of a good many shabby fellows; some who never had the "root of the matter in them," and others who "did run well" for a season, but who fell before temptation. There is danger of people in our condition "thinking more highly of themselves than they ought to think." People who stand for a principle against the world, who are bound together by a common persecution, and separated from others by a violent antagonism, should be excused, however, if, after a thirty years' pressure, they sometimes fail, as between themselves and others, in forming an impartial judgment. False estimates, requiring subsequent correction, are, under such circumstances, almost inevitable. Examples of this, if I may be allowed to say so, are to be found in the cases of our friends, the Covenanters and Quakers; and it is quite within the range of probabilities, that to these will be added, after awhile, the Abolitionists.

It is a great comfort, in a case like this, to find that there is more good in the world than we had supposed, and that people with whom we have to do are better than we had fancied them. This war, as it progresses, is making some very pleasing revelations in this regard. I have in my mind at this moment the facts in the case of the "Cooper shop institution," as it is called, or Volunteer Refreshment Saloon, which was established in the lower part of this city last spring, by the benevolence and patriotism of the people in that neighborhood, and which has been maintained by them ever since at great cost of time, labor and substance. The business of this establishment is to provide, free of charge, supper or breakfast, as the case may be, for regiments passing through, and needed comforts for the sick and wounded. The fidelity with which these self-imposed duties are performed, the cheerfulness with which the large corps required of volunteer attendants, men and women, get up from their beds in the middle of the night, and cook, and set upon tables, and wash dishes, are the most meritorious but most useful charity, is really marvellous. Remember: this has been going on for months; and these services are sometimes required night after night for several nights in succession. Sick soldiers are taken home to be nursed, and sometimes to die, at the houses of people who never before saw or heard of them. No matter what the disease—camp-fever, or measles; the more dangerous it is, the more certain is its victim to be kindly cared for. There is no pay, in money, for all this; no glory; not even a chance of seeing their name in a newspaper. It all comes, so far, at least, as appearance goes, from the sheer goodness of the people's own hearts. If these things are done by the people of Moyamensing and Southwark, what may we not hope for from the people of the whole State?

The newspapers tell us of wholesale corruption, and Investigating Committees prove the truth of many of their charges; but this corruption, it is pleasant to believe, bears in its extent but a slight comparison with the integrity and devotion to duty, as our eyes disclose, which mark the general conduct of the great mass of the people. In all great revolutions the evil that exists finds its way to the surface, and selfish men seek to take the lead for their own advantage. In every great war that history records, no matter how pure its origin or holy the principle involved in the issue, corrupt men have been conspicuous in cabinet and field, and sensuality and base passions have been characteristics of the common soldier. Rarely, if ever, has there been a war on a large scale where this has been less true than in the one now waging. The intelligence, the enlarged patriotism, the self-sacrificing devotion to duty, which characterize thousands upon thousands in the ranks of our own national army, are without a parallel in any war of which history, to my knowledge at least, gives any account. We talk of the Revolution of 1776, and fancy that the men who fought its battles were actuated by higher motives and a purer patriotism than are our soldiers now in the field. If inquisition be made and the facts brought to light, it will be found that where one man has understood and appreciated the abstract doctrine at issue, of man's right to own and govern himself, there are ten in our army who understand and appreciate that doctrine still better, and who are ready to die for it in all the length and breadth of its application.

The evil in our country is enormously great; I would not underestimate it; but the good is incomparably greater. The base men in Congress are not a few; but the welt-meaning and honorable men greatly outnumber them. The self-seeking in our Cabinet is palpable and to be deplored; but the honorable ambition, the desire to acquire fame by distinguished services, are characteristics of some of its members equally conspicuous. Our President, to appearance, has not yet done much positive good, but he has been to the country an important negative advantage. He has done nothing yet to forfeit for himself his character for "honesty." This the only title he brought, undisputed, to his place, he still retains. If he keep it till the end, he will have done good service, and we shall have no just cause for complaint. The next time, taught by our experience, we must choose a man of more knowledge, more force, and greater fitness for the place. As it is, we might have done worse. Indeed, for aught that has yet appeared, we could not from the material offered have done better. So let us try to be content. We can stand the limping grammar and angular rhetoric of Mr. Lincoln's Messages so long as he tells the truth and talks sense, and can bear with his holding back and show of conservatism so long as the strongest men of his Party are allowed to keep up with the people. On the former point, whatever we may think of his last effort, we have the consolation of knowing that there is not an hereditary monarch in Western Europe who could write a State paper of half its ability; and, on the latter, we may take comfort from analogy, in remembering that the leading horse in a team may slack chain and stop pulling going down hill, if he will only keep out of the way of those behind, on whom depends chiefly the safety of the load.

I had something more to say on the charges, too well founded, but needing qualification, of corruption in high places, but I am exceeding my limits and must stop. M.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

Printed copies of the above Memorial may be addressed at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and of Joel McMillan, Salem, Ohio. Persons having the signatures to sheets, will enclose payment at the rate of $1.25 per hundred, to cover cost of paper and printing.

NOTICE.—Members of the American Anti-Slavery Society entitled to receive the Annual Report just published will have their copies forwarded by mail upon their remitting the amount of postage (in stamps or otherwise), viz.: *fourteen cents*, to ROBERT F. WALLCUT 221 Washington Street, Boston.

OBITUARY.

Died, in Brookline, Mass., Dec. 20th, EMMA WILLARD, wife of John J. Wyman, and daughter of the late Dr. George Willard, of Uxbridge, Mass. There may not be many among our readers to whom this announcement will be a grief, so strictly private was all of the life which has just closed, and so secluded had its later years been made by long and slow disease. The few, however, who had the happiness of knowing Mrs. Wyman, will feel a pang to think that a spirit at once so true, so tender and so strong has passed away forever from earth and earthly communion. A character of uncommon equipoise of qualities, a well-cultivated mind, a refined taste, a heart full of sympathy, and swift to go forth to meet love and friendship, joined to great personal beauty and an irresistible charm of manner, the fitting abode and expression of the soul within, secured to her the admiration of all who knew her slightly, and the warm affection and tender friendship of all who knew her well. From her girlhood she made herself one with the anti-slavery movement, and her interest in it remained fresh and warm to the last. Her life, cheistened by many sorrows and made heavy by long years of suffering, was closed and sustained, as it probably must be close, by every tender consolation that love and friendship could bestow. And she dwells in the memory of those that knew her best and loved her most as an example of complete and rounded womanhood, who, while she yet walked on earth, was but a little lower than the angels.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that our agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," who have been called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many years of weary struggle, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left in other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled in a generous spirit, and the years that have been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of slavery, and politicians are continually heard to declare that we have no quarrel with the slaves of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the councils of the REPUBLIC. The universal expression of the public voice is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager countenances through suffering and death. But it seems to the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

To this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom, is a cheerless prospect. It is a time to pray when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are fast losing faith in it, and convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our prayers may be offered up that our hands strengthened, whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and quietness, are cordially invited to meet together, and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	Caroline M. Severance,
Mary May,	Mary Willey,
Louisa Loring,	Ann Bradley Bramhall,
Henrietta Sargent,	Sarah P. Remond,
Sarah Russell May,	Mary E. Stearns,
Helen Eliot Garrison,	Sarah J. Orwell,
Anna Shaw Greene,	Elizabeth Von Arnim,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Anne Laugdon Alger,
Elizabeth Kay,	Eliza Apsley,
Caroline Thayer,	Sarah Cowing,
Abby Kelley Foster,	Sarah B. Southwick,
Lydia D. Parker,	Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Augusta G. King,	Sarah C. Atkinson,
Martha Griffith,	Abby Hopper,
Mary Jackson,	Mary Jane Parkman,
Evelina A. Smith,	Georgiana Otis,
Katherine E. Farnum,	Abby H. Stephenson.

Summary.

RUSSELL, the London *Times* correspondent, declares that he has received invitations to lecture before various literary and Scientific institutions of Boston, but he thinks thinking he was the celebrated Earl Russell. The London *Times* may well be proud of such a public by giving the names of these societies.—*Evening Post.*

CANADIAN AND CHARACTERISTIC.—The Anti-American feeling runs so high in Montreal, that the intended celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Washington by the German by the New England Society was abandoned. Extensive arrangements had been made for the occasion, and our correspondent, Mr. Childers, who was delivered an address, but the apprehension of some disturbance led to the abandonment of the intended celebration. Our provincial neighbors are evidently "on the rampage."

THE "CONTRABAND" QUESTION is thus discussed by a Kentucky correspondent of a Cincinnati paper:—

"The idea of freedom is a contagious disease among them, and when it once takes possession of them, it seems to ignite and burn like tinder, and they are a whole neighborhood. A lady, clad in the Southern aristocracy, lives in the other day and demanded her 'servant.' He was delivered over and the lady left with a heavy heart, and a heavy age; but I was somewhat surprised the next morning to see the forlorn Ethiopian, without employment, gawking around the premises, and he said to me, 'Massa, I don't know me I will put 'em to some trouble.' And thus it is with every one. They have no idea of being remanded back in bondage."

ABOLITION IN THE ARMY.—We have just been conversing with a Chaplain in the army who confirms our previous statements as to the rapid growth of becoming abolitionized. The regiment to which our informant belonged was originally far enough from being so, and that regiment, if I mistake not, had been Breckinridge Democrats. But in a short time they began to find out what slavery is, and that it is not all "fun and frolic." Wherever our army comes officers show themselves Abolitionists, not even disclaiming the name, and declaring that they would not return slaves if they could. Every inquiry, how the officers and soldiers generally would receive a proclamation of emancipation, is met by hearty approval, and the mere mention of it hurrahs. So much for the presence that a war against slavery would be felt and disgust our officers and soldiers.—*Pennsylvania.*

AUSTRIAN MEETING.—The people of Augsburg have come themselves great credit in publicly rebuking the persecution of the Protestants in Austria. We hope the persecution of the Protestants in other places, and a full expression of the public sentiment be given against that abominable outrage. The Austrian Government has been in the habit of taking the lettings and silence they have invoked as their only protection from the scorn and contempt of a Christian people, since their imprisonment and dismissal of the course of Court and District Attorney Pilat. It is it so that the people of Augsburg will be found to address those who pay tend to be the friends of free principles, and yet will justify acts of the vilest tyranny and the persecution of Christians and improvement of Christian principles? Or, after the support liberty-loving men of the Reserve have given them, in the belief that they were friends and supporters of liberty and right, will they now, in the hour of trial, be found should be told that they shall not join with our brethren, and yet receive no support? Let us hear of no weak-kneed or free-dom and insist.—*Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel.*

Special Notices.

AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at EASTON (Washington Co.), N. Y., on SUNDAY, January 5.

A STATED MEETING of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held on Fifth day afternoon, the 9th inst., at 3 o'clock.

G. M. P. LOVELL, Secretary.

EDWARD GILBERT,
COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
NO. 60 WALL STREET,
NEW YORK

THE STANDARD.

LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It would be impossible for me fitly to thank you for this welcome; you will allow me, therefore, not to attempt it, but to avail myself of your patience to speak to you, as I have been invited to do, upon the war.

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that actions—deeds, not words—are the ruling coin of the hour. Yet, still, cannot think in this day of ours, and it is only by putting thought behind arms that we render them worthy, in any degree, of the civilization of the 19th century (applause). Besides, the government has two-thirds of a million of soldiers, and it has ships sufficient for its purpose. The only question seems to be, what the government is to do with these forces; in what path and how far it shall tread. You and I come here to-night, not to criticize, not to find fault with the Cabinet. We come here to recognize the fact, that in moments like these, the statesmanship of the Cabinet is but a pine shingle upon the rapids of Niagara, horne which way the great popular heart and the national purpose direct. It is in vain now, with these scenes about us, in this crisis, to endeavor to create public opinion; too late now to educate twenty millions of people. Our object now is to concentrate and to manifest, to make evident and to make intense, the matured purpose of the nation. We are to show the world, if it be indeed so, that democratic institutions are strong enough for some hour and day of emergency; that we are a conspiracy, momentous as is the peril. Democracy welcomes the struggle (applause), confident that she stands like no delicately-poised throne in the Old World, but, like the pyramid, on broadest base, able to rest upon it with national evils—generously patient with the long forbearance of three generations—and strong enough when, after that they reveal themselves in their own inherent and hideous proportions, to grapple and execute the unanimous verdict—Death! (Sensation).

Now, gentlemen, it is in such a spirit, with such a purpose, that I come before you to-night to sustain this war. Whence came this war? I am and I need not curiously investigate. While Mr. Everett on one side, and Mr. Sumner on the other, agree, you and I may take for granted the opinion of two such opposite statesmen—the result of the common sense of this side of the water and the other—that slavery is the root of this war (applause). I know some men have loved to trace it to disappointed ambition, to the success of the Republican party, convincing 300,000 nobles at the South, who have hitherto combined us the most of the Presidents, Generals, Judges and Ambassadors we needed, that they would have leave to stay at home, and that twenty million of Northerners would take their share in public affairs. I do not think that cause equal to the result. Other men before Jefferson Davis and Gov. Wise have been disappointed, and yet we believed that either of these great men could have armed the North to avenge his wrongs? Why, then, should these pigmies of the South be able to do what the giants I have named could never dream of doing? Simply because there is a radical difference between the two sections, and that difference is slavery. A party victory may have been the *occasion* of this outbreak. So a tea-chest was the occasion of the Revolution, and it went to the bottom of Boston harbor on the night of the 16th of December, 1773; but that tea-chest was not the cause of the Revolution, neither is Jefferson Davis the cause of the rebellion (applause and laughter). If you will look upon this map, you will notice that every slave State has joined or tried to join the rebellion, and no free State has done so, I think you will not doubt substantially the origin of this conspiracy.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you know me—those of you who know me at all—simply as an Abolitionist. I am proud and glad that you should have known me as such (applause). In the twenty-five years that I have gone—I ask you to tell you if I ever any man before me—but in the quarter of a century that has passed, I could find no place where an American could stand with decent self-respect, except in a condemned minority, and there I protest against the sin of his native land (applause). But, ladies and gentlemen, do not imagine that I come here to-night to speak simply and exclusively as an Abolitionist. My interest in this war, simply and exclusively as an Abolitionist, is about as much good as yours in a novel when the hero has won the lady, and the marriage has been comfortably celebrated in the last chapter (laughter and applause). I know the danger of public speech—a wide scope of which not even a Yankee can guess the next combination—but for all that, I venture to offer my opinion, that on this continent the system of domestic slavery has received its death-blow (loud and long-continued applause). I will tell you why I think so. Leaving out of view war with England, which I do not expect, there are but three paths out of this war. One is, the North conquers; the other is, the South conquers; and the third is a compromise. Now, if the North conquers, or there be a compromise, one or the other of two things must come—either the old Constitution or a new one. I believe that, so far as the slavery clauses of the Constitution are concerned, it is dead. It seems to me impossible that the thrifty and pains-taking North, after keeping 600,000 men idle for two or three years, at the cost of two million dollars a day; after losing the lowest Democratic Governor, Seward and Lyon and Ellsworth and Winthrop and Putnam and Wesselhoft have given their lives to quell the rebellion; after our Massachusetts boys, hurrying from ploughed field and workshop to save the Union, have been foully murdered in the pavements of Baltimore—I cannot believe in a North so lost, so crazed, as to put back slavery where it stood on the 4th of March last (cheers). But if there be reconstruction without those slave clauses, back they go. Slavery, longer or shorter, slavery dies—indeed, on any other basis but the basis of '89, she has nothing else now to do but to die. On the contrary, if the South—no, I cannot say conquers; my lips will not form that word—if the South be left to herself, I know that she can do it is to write Emancipation on her own banner, and thus bribe the friends of liberty in Europe to allow its aristocrats and traders to divide the majestic Republic whose growth and strength fear and envy. Either way, the slave goes free. Unless England flings her fleets along the coast, the South can never spring into separate existence, except from the basis of negro freedom; and I, for one, cannot for a moment believe that England will again to share his chains. Exclusively as an Abolitionist, therefore, I have little more interest in this war than the frontiersman's wife had in his struggle with the Indian, when she knew he was whipped (laughter and applause). But before I leave the Abolitionists, let me say one word. Some men say we are the cause of this war. Gentlemen, you do us too much honor (Cheers and laughter). If it be so, we have reason to be proud of it; for in my heart, as an American, I believe this year the most glorious of the Republic since '76 (great applause). The North, craven and contented until now, the slave Mammon, not worship even in the North, the golden pavement; to-day she throws off her chains. We have a North, as Daniel Webster said. This is no epoch for nations to blush at. England might blush, in 1620, when Cromwell and his men left her shores, and were silent when James forbade them to think; but not in 1649, when an outraged people cut off his son's head. Massachusetts might have blushed a year or two ago, when an insolent Virginian, standing on Bunker Hill, insulted the Commonwealth, and then dragged her citizens to Washington to tell what they knew about John Brown; but she has no reason to blush to-day, when she holds that same impudent Senator an acknowledged felon in her prison fort (uproarious applause). In my view, the bloodiest war ever waged is infinitely better than the happiest slavery that ever fattened men into obedience (cheers). And yet I love peace. But it is real peace; not peace such as we have had; not peace that meant lynch law in the Carolinas and mob law in New York; not peace that meant chains around Boston Court-House, a gag on the lips of statesmen, and the man who shrinking within himself to sleep in curses—No more such peace for me; no peace that meant no justice, and does not recognize the rights of every race and every man (loud cheering).

Some men say they would view this war as white men. I condescend to no such narrowness. I view it as an American citizen, proud to be the citizen of an empire that knows neither black nor white, neither Saxon nor Indian, but holds as equal sceptre over all (loud cheers). If I am to love my country, it must be loveable; if I am to honor it, it must be worthy of respect. What is the function God gives us—what is the breadth of responsibility he lays upon us? An empire, the boast of freedom, the refuge of every tongue, to whose citizens is committed, if not the only, then the grandest system of pure self-government. De Tocqueville tells us that nations and all ages tend with inevitable certainty to this result, but he points out, as history does, this land as the normal school of the nations; set by God to try the experiment of popular education and popular government, to remove the obstacles, point out the dangers, find the best way, encourage the timid and hasten the world's progress. Let us see to it, that with such a crisis and such a high number, the ignorance, nor the heedlessness, nor the cowardice of Americans forfeits this high honor, won for us by the toils of two generations, given to us by the blessing of Providence. It is as a citizen of the leading State of this Western continent, vast in territory, and in the wonderful resources, and in the glorious grandeur of its past and the majesty of its future—it is as such a citizen that I wish, for one, to find out my duty, express as an individual my opinion, and aid thereby that public opinion which is under such responsibility. It does not lie in one man to ruin us, nor in one man to save us, nor in a dozen. It lies in the twenty million, in the thirty million, of thirty-four States.

Now, what do we stand? In a war—not only that, but a terrific war—not a war sprung from the caprice of a woman, the spite of a priest, the flickering ambition of a prince, as wars usually have; but a war inevitable; in one sense, nobody's fault; the inevitable result of past training, the conflict of ideas, millions of people grappling each other's throats, every soldier in each camp certain that he is fighting for an idea that holds the salvation of the world—every drop of his blood in earnest. Such a war finds no parallel nearer than that of the Catholic and the Huguenot of France, or than that of Aristocrat and Republican in 1790, or of Cromwell and the Irish, when victory meant extermination (laughter). I look upon it as the commencement of the great struggle between the hidden aristocracy and the democracy of America. You are to say to-day whether it shall last longer or shorter; it is usually the fate of such a struggle, that it resembles closely that struggle between aristocrat and democrat which began in France in 1790, and continues still. While it lasts, it will have the same effect on the nation as that war between Cavalier and Puritan, continued from the Reign of Charles and the free spirit of the English Constitution, which lasted from 1660 to 1760, and made England a second-rate power almost all that century.

Such is the era on which you are entering. I will not say with Napoleon that it is the practice of barbarians; I will not say that it is good. It is better than the past. A thing may be *better*, and yet not *good*. We have had no war for forty years; there has been an element of good in it. I mean, there is nothing in it that we might not have gotten better, fuller and more perfectly in other ways. And yet it is better than the craven past, infinitely better than a peace which had pride for its father and cowardice for its mother. Neither will I speak of the cost of war, although you know that we never shall get out of this one without a debt of at least two or three hundred millions of dollars. For, if I do, I shall lose my theory prove correct, and the country comes together again on anything like the old basis, we pay Jeff. Davis's debts as well as our own. Neither will I remind you that debt is the fatal disease of republics, the first thing that has to corrupt and poison government and corrupt the people. The great debt of England has kept her back in civil progress at least a hundred years. Neither will I remind you that when you have paid your debt, if you do it, you will have disbanded army, an intense military spirit embodied in two-thirds of a million of soldiers, the fruitful, the inevitable source of fresh debts and new wars; I pass by all that; yet lying within those causes which are enough to make the most sanguine fields of free institutions tremble for our future. I pass those by. But let me remind you of another tendency of the time. You know, for instance, that the writ of habeas corpus, the great safeguard of liberty, is under a season to the judiciary before it lays its hands upon a citizen, has been called the high-water mark of English liberty. Jefferson, in his calm moments, dreaded the power of the President to suspend it in any emergency whatever, and wished to have it in "eternal and unremitting force." The present Napoleon, in his treatise on the English Constitution, calls it the gem of English institutions. Lieber says that *habeas corpus* suspended, is Habeas corpus abolished. Now, we have seen the writ suspended, and the liberty of the press—*habeas corpus*, the right of free reporting and a free press—is annihilated in every square mile of the Republic. We live to-day, every one of us, under martial law. The Secretary of State puts into his bastile, with a warrant signed by a man, who, if Louis, any man whom he pleases. And you know that neither press nor lips may venture to arraign the government without being silenced. At this moment I could thousand men, at least, are hushed by an authority as despotic as that of Louis—three hundred as many as Eldon and George III. seized when they trembled for his throne. Mark me, I am not complaining. I do not say it is not necessary. I am speaking of the tendencies of the time (applause). It is necessary to throw everything overboard in order that we may float. It is a mere question whether you prefer the despotism of Washington or that of Eldon and Jeffrey, or that of Wellington (loud applause). But, nevertheless, I point out to you this tendency because it is momentous in its significance. We are tending with rapid strides, you say *inevitably*—I do not deny it; *necessarily*—I do not deny it, to a government of military despotism, government which frightened Jefferson; toward that unlimited debt, that endless army. We have already those alien and sedition laws which, in 1798, wrecked the Federal party, and condemned the democracy into existence. For the first time on this continent, we have passports, which even Louis Napoleon pronounces useless and odious. For the first time in our history, government spies frequent our great cities. Ladies and gentlemen, I speak to you what you reconstruct it on the old basis, is to be handed into the keeping of whom? If you compromise it by reconstruction, to whom are you to give these delegated and arbitrary powers? To compromisers. Reconstruct this government, and for twenty years it can never elect a Republican. Presidents must be so wholly without character or principle, that two angry parties, each hopeless of success, contemptuously throw the nomination to them. Gentlemen, consider the moment. I can parallel it entirely. It is the same position that England held in the times of Eldon and Fox, when Holcroft and Montgomery, the poet, Horne Tooke and Frost and Hardy went into dungeons, under laws which Fox declared that he never praised—times when Fox said he despaired of English liberty but for the power of insurrection—times which Sydney Smith said he remembered, when no man was safe from imprisonment but by the grace of God, a year. Why! there is no right—do I exaggerate when I say that there is no single right—that government is scrupulous and finds itself able to protect, when, in the pretended right of a man to his slaves! (Laughter.) Its entire right has fallen now before the necessities of the hour.

Understand me, I do not complain of this state of things; but it is momentous. I only ask you that you should understand, that you should comprehend the crisis through which you have passed. No government of free make could stand three such trials as this. I only paint you the picture, in order, like Cooper, to say to the "Out of this nettle, danger, be you right eminently sure that you pluck the flower safety" (applause). Standing in such a crisis, certainly it commands us that we should endeavor to find the root of the difficulty, and that now, once for all, we should put it beyond the possibility of its flowering or blighting our peace again. We cannot afford, as Republicans, to run that risk. The vessel of State—her timbers are strained beyond almost the possibility of repair, and the question is one which it demands the wariest pilot to outlive. We cannot afford, this warned, to omit anything which can save this ship of State from a second danger of the kind.

Well, what shall we do? The answer to that question comes partly from what we have seen to be the cause of this convulsion. Some men think—some of your editors think—many of ours, too—that this war is nothing but the disappointment of one or two thousand aspirant politicians, who have persuaded eight million of Southerners, against their convictions, to take up arms and rush to the battle-field—no great compliment to Southern sense (laughter). They think that the Southern army could only appear in the midst of this demented mass, but that the North will find out for the first time in their lives that they have got souls of their own, tell us so, and then we shall all be piloted back, float back, drift back into the quiet of the old Union, as the Chesapeake was towed Buchanan (laughter). Well, there is a measure of truth in that. I believe that if a year ago, when the thing first showed itself, Jefferson Davis, and Toombs, and Keitt, and Wigfall, and the rest, had been hung as traitors at Washington, and a sixth part of Europe anchored at Charleston, another couple in Savannah, and half a dozen in New Orleans, with orders to shell those cities on the first note of resistance, there never would have been a rebellion. Jefferson Davis and his compeers would have been postponed at least a dozen years; and if that interval had been used to get rid of slavery, we never should have heard of the convulsion. But you know we had nothing of the kind, and the consequence is, what I have just stated. We considered North has been scoured by every defeat, and every success, from its workshops and its factories, to gaze with half-opened eyes at the lurid heavens, until at last, divided, bewildered, confounded, as the 20,000,000 have been, all of us found into one idea, that the Union meant Justice—shall mean Justice—owns down to the Gulf, and we will have it (applause). Well, what has brought place meanwhile at the South? Why, the same thing, the same bewildered South has been summoned also out of her divisions by every success and every defeat (and she has had more of the first than we have), and the consequence is that she, too, is fused into a swelling sea of State pride, Northern hate.

"Unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit nor yield."

She is in earnest, every man, and she is as much Sons as the Colonists were in the Revolution. In fact, the South recognizes more intelligibly than we do the necessities of her position. I do not consider this a secession. It is no secession. I agree with Bishop General Polk—it is a conspiracy, not a secession. There is no wish, no intention, to go peaceably and permanently off. It is a conspiracy to make the government do the will and accept the policy of the slaveholders. Its root is at the South, but it has many a branch in Wall street and in State street (cheers). It is a conspiracy, and on the one side is every man who still thinks that he that steals his brother is a gentleman, and he that sunder his liberty is not (applause). In the aristocratic element of society survived the Constitution, which our fathers thought could be left under it, and the South to-day is forced into this war by the natural growth of the antagonistic principle. You may pledge whatever immunities and guarantees of Southern institutions you please, it is not enough. South Carolina said to Massachusetts, in 1835, when Edward Everett was Governor, "Abolish free speech—it is a nuisance." She is right—from her standpoint (laughter). That is it is not possible to preserve the quiet of South Carolina consistently with free speech; but you know the story Walter Scott told of the Scotch laird, who said to his old butler, "Look, you and I can't live together in the same house. And where does your honor think of going?" So free speech says to South Carolina to-day. Now I say, you may pledge, compromise, guarantee what you please. The South known it is not your purpose—it is your character that she dreads. It is the nature of Northern institutions, the perilous freedom of discussion, the flavor of our ideas, the sight of our growth, the very neighborhood of such States, that constitutes her danger. It is the free States, that constitutes her danger. It is the free States that are the stormy sea. The iron said to the crockery, "I won't come near." "Thank you, thank you," said the weaker vessel; "there is as much danger in my coming near you." This the South feels, and, in anticipation, knows, hence, that the imperious necessity that she should rule and shape our government, or of sailing out of it. I do not mean that she plans to take possession of the North, and Northern mayors, Northern governors, as has done that in Boston for the last dozen years, and here till this fall. But she conspires and aims to control just so much of our policy, trade, offices, presses, pulpits, cities, as is sufficient to ensure the undisturbed existence of slavery. She cannot have the full intent so to mould this government as to keep it what it has been for thirty years, according to John Quincy Adams—"a fair for the extension and perpetuation of slavery. As the needs of slavery grow, fresh guarantees are demanded. The nineteenth century requires sterner gags than the eighteenth. Often as the peace of Virginia is in danger, you must be willing that a Virginia Mason shall drag your citizens to Washington and imprison them at your pleasure. So long as Carolina needs it, you must submit that your ships be searched for dangerous passengers, and every Northern man lynched. No more kansas rebellions. It is a conflict between two irreconcilable principles, and the South knows it. Democracy, *which shall hold this belt of the continent*. You may live here, New York men, but it must be in submission to such rules as the quiet of Carolina requires. That is the meaning, there is no other. Slavery has been called the one's slaves, on Bunker Hill and dictate peace in Faneuil Hall. Now, in that fight, I go for the North, for the Union.

In order to make out this theory of "irrepressible conflict," it is not necessary to suppose that every Southerner hates every Northerner (*as The Atlantic* urges). But this much is true: some 300,000 slaveholders at the South, holding two thousand million of so-called property in their hands, controlling the blacks and bedridding the seven million of poor whites into being their tools, into believing their interest is opposed to ours—this order of nobles, this privileged class, has been able for forty years to keep the government in direct opposition to the principle of disunion, bring us to its verge at least twice, and now almost to break the Union in pieces. A power thus consolidated, which has existed seventy years, setting up and pulling down parties, controlling the press, and the pulpit, and the chance of changing our religion, and is emboldened by uniform success, will not burst like a bubble in an hour. For all "practical purposes, it is safe to speak of it as the South; no other South exists, or will until the Day of Judgment, or the Day of Resurrection, or the Day of Louis—three days more, perhaps, I believe, the same place. Yet, if you, Northern men, will do your duty, I know that the Port Royal victory proved one thing—it laid forever that ghost of an argument, that the blacks loved their masters—it settled forever the question whether the blacks were with us or against us. Port Royal settled that the blacks are the key of our position. (A Voice—"That is it.") He that gets them wins, and he that loses them goes to the wall (applause). Port Royal settled one thing—the blacks are with us, and Charles Ranalo's novel, "Never to Lose to Mount" (a very good motto), the heroine flies away to hide from the hero, announcing that she never shall see him again. Her letter says, "I will never see you again, Mr. Mount." Well, I will never see you again, Mrs. Young's, at No. 126 Bond street (laughter), between 11 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon, because I shan't see you" (laughter). So Mr. Cameron says there is to be no general arming, but I suppose he will find that a very premature conclusion. But he goes on to add, This is no greater interference with the institutions of South Carolina than is necessary, than the war will cure. Does he mean he will give the slaves back when the war is over? I don't know. I know is,