VOL. XXIII. NO. 29. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, WHOLE NO. 1,173

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHERS OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

A LECTURE.

BY PROF. J. ELLIOTT CAIRNES,

Delivered in Dublin, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, Thursday Evening, Oct. 30, 1862.

From The Dublin Express, Oct. 31.

It is with feelings of no ordinary diffidence that I approach you this evening—diffidence inspired at once by the distinguished audience in whose presence I find myself, and by the topic which I have undertaken to treat. I am not ignorant that I have a different audience to those one may have become familiar with in the course of eloquence such as I can have no pretension to offer you, and I know that I have to deal with a topic not only of extreme difficulty and delicacy, but one respecting which the sympathies of the Irish people have already taken a decided course, and that course is the direction, I deeply regret to think, the reverse of that in which my own sympathies run. So strongly, indeed, do I feel the force of these considerations, that were I to consult my own tastes merely, the revolution in America is certainly not the subject which I should have selected for this occasion. It has, however, been intimated to me that it is the wish of your Association that I should address you upon this question (hear, hear); and under these circumstances, the question being one to which I have given some study, I do not conceive that I should be justified in resisting your very flattering request. I propose, therefore, to lay under your attention this evening the revolution in America (hear). I undertake the task—I say it with the most unaffected sincerity—with a profound sense of my own utter inability to do it justice, but I do it in the hope that I may be able enough to induce those who hear me to reconsider their opinions (hear), and I add, in the full confidence that I shall receive at your hands that indulgence which an honest attempt to do justice to a difficult and important subject never fails to meet from an Irish audience. And here, at the outset, I think it will conduce to a clearer comprehension of what is to follow if I state frankly the conclusions which I have myself come to respecting the matter in hand. I hold, then, that the present convulsion in America is the natural fruit and inevitable consequence of the existence of slavery in that continent (hear); and as slavery has been the cause of political strife, I consider we have at stake which is really at issue in the struggle. I hold that the success of the North means, if not the immediate emancipation of slaves, at least the immediate arrest of slavery (hear), with the certainty of its ultimate extinction (hear), and on the other hand, that the success of the South means the establishment of slavery on a broader and firmer basis than has hitherto sustained it, with its future indefinite extension. I hold, moreover, that the form of society which has been reared on slavery in the Southern States is substantially a new fact in history, being at once in its nature retrograde and aggressive—retrograde as regards the constituents which compose it, and aggressive as regards all other forms of social life with which it may come into contact—a system of society which combines the strength of civilization with all the evil instincts of barbarism (hear). Such, as I conceive, is the phenomenon now presented by the Southern Confederacy; and the struggle which we witness is but the effort of this new and formidable monster to disengage itself from the restraints which free society, in self-defence, was trying around it, in order to secure for its development a free and unbounded field (hear). Such, in a few words, are the conclusions at which I have arrived on this momentous matter. I have now to state, as succinctly as I can, the considerations by which I have been led to them. I maintain, then, in the first place, that the war has had its origin in slavery, and in support of this statement I appeal to the whole past history of the United States, and to the explicit declarations of the Confederate leaders themselves. What has been the history of the United States for the last 50 years? It has been literally one continuous succession of aggressions made by the power which represents slavery, feebly and almost always unsuccessfully resisted by the free States and culminating in the present war. The question at issue between the North and the South is constantly stated here as if it was the North which was the aggressive party, as if the North had been pursuing towards the Southern people a career of encroachment and oppression which reached its climax in Mr. Lincoln's election, and as if the secession was but an act of self-defence forced upon a people whose measure of humiliation was full. Now the facts of the case are precisely the reverse of all this. It is not the North but the South which virtually for half a century has been the dominant influence in the nation (hear). Southern men, and the nominees of Southern men, have filled the Presidential chair. Southern men have monopolized the offices of the Republic, have filled the bench of its courts, and guided the policy of the nation (hear). The whole course of domestic legislation in the United States from the year 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was passed, down to the year 1854, repeal, and the aggrandizement of Southern interests and the consolidation of the Slave Power (hear). Such is domestic policy (hear hear), so also has been its foreign policy in the annexation of Texas, in the conquest of half of Mexico, in the lawless attempts on Cuba, in the invasion of peaceable States in Central America, in the defence of the slave trade against British cruisers, in the support of secession. This aggressive spirit has been at work, employing now the engine, now violence, now making filibustering raids, now waging open war, but always in favor of the same cause—slavery.

PROGRESS OF THE SLAVE INSTITUTION.

This has been the history of the United States for the last half century. Observe with what results. In 1790, three years after the nation was established, the slave States comprised 250,000 square miles; in 1860 that area had grown to 851,000 square miles. In 1790 the entire number of slaves in the United States was less than three-quarters of a million; in 1860 that number had increased to upwards of 4,000,000 (hear, hear). Such has been the material progress of the Southern institution. Still more striking has been its progress as a political and social power (hear, hear). When the nation was founded slavery was dying out in the North, and was regarded as doomed in the South. It was tolerated, no doubt, in consideration of the important interests which it involved, but tolerated with shame. Its name was excluded from the public documents, and the thing itself was absolutely prohibited from all places in which it was not already established, and branded as at variance with the fundamental principles of the republic. Such was the position of slavery when the Union was founded; what is its position when the Union is dissolved? It is no longer treated with mere local toleration, as an exceptional blot on the system. It claims a free career over the whole continent, and aspires to be the basis of a new order of political fabric, and boldly puts itself forth as a model for the imitation of the world. The struggle, therefore, which now convulses America, is not the struggle of an oppressed people rising against their oppressors, but the revolt of a party which has long ruled the great republic, to retrieve by arms a political defeat—the rising of the representatives of a principle which for half a century has been steadily aggressive, to cement a long series of triumphs by a last effective blow (hear, hear).

OBJECTS OF THE SOUTH.

I have said that the purpose of the Southern revolt is to establish a new system of government, of which slavery is to be the basis. This statement is, I am aware, vehemently denied in this country, but on this point I must ask you to decide for yourselves, not from the declarations of the Confederate leaders and those who on this side of the Atlantic advocate their cause. I hold in my hand a paper of much significance; it is entitled "Address of Delegates, Vienna," and is from the pen of an eminent Southron, the Hon. L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina, a man who has taken a prominent part in the transactions of the last few years, and who is now editor of the Charleston *Mercury*, one of the most influential, if not the most influential paper in the South. He represented Charleston in the celebrated South Carolina Convention, which gave the first watchword of secession, and the address which was prepared by him as the people of South Carolina was shown in his selection as one of the committee appointed by that State to set forth its views before the Convention which subsequently met in the South. Mr. Spratt, occupying this position, may, I think, stay for himself and the South with some authority. Let us hear, then, what, according to Mr. Spratt, is the purpose of the South:

"The South," he states, "is now in the formation of a slave republic. This, perhaps, is not stated generally. There are many contented to believe that the South as a geographical section is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no special purpose, no distinctive organization, and that for some unaccountable reason the two sections have become opposed to each other; that, for reasons equally insufficient, there is disagreement between the people and their direct them; and that from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of coexistence, but as mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself and establish an independence of her own. This, I fear, is an idea entertained by some in the country. The contest is not between the North and South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely there can be no contest; nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant, and we have no quarrel to make, still nothing to estrange us. We eat together, trade together and practise yet, in intercourse, with great respect, the courtesies of common life. But the real contest is between the two forms of society which have become established, the one at the North and the other at the South. Society is essentially different from government—as different as is the nut from the bur, or the nervous body of the shell-fish from the bony structure which surrounds it; and while this government two societies had become developed, as variant in structure and distinct in form as any two beings in animated nature. The one is a society recognizing the rights of the other and in them. The one is bound together but by the two great social relations of husband and wife and parent and child; the other by the three relations of husband and wife, and parent and child, and master and slave. The one embodies in its structure the principle that equality is the right of man; the other that it is the right of equals only. The one embodying the principle that equality is the right of man expands upon the principle of justice and humanity; the other, embodying the principle that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. Such are the two forms of society which had come to contest within this Union, and which, in the event, it is the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other; neither could expand within the forms of a single government without violently compressing the other. They were within the grasp of the Northern States, and, forced to the option of extinction in the Union or of independence out, it dares to strike, and it asserts its claim to nationality and its right to recognition among the nations and systems of the world. Such, then, being the nature of the contest, this Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself."

The object of the South is to found a slave republic—a republic which has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. But, before leaving this subject, there is one point on which I would wish you to hear the opinion of Mr. Spratt. It is with reference to the position taken by the Confederacy on the slave trade. We all know that the Montgomery Convention, in drawing up the Constitution, inserted a clause prohibiting the slave trade. There are people in this country desirous to regard this as conclusive as to the views of Southern leaders on this subject. But in the history of the Southern people, and all the circumstances under which this Constitution was drawn up, I confess I, for one, have considerable doubts as to the *bona fide* character of these prohibitions, and these have not been removed by the speculations of Mr. Spratt. "Then why adopt this measure?" says he. "Is it that Virginia and the other Border States require it? They merely require it now, but is it certain they will continue to require it? . . . It may be said," he continues, "that without such general restriction the value of slaves will be diminished in the Border States of the West. They have no right to ask that their slaves or any other products shall be protected to an unnatural value in the markets of the West. If they persist in requiring it, we can but say it is a thing of trade, a thing which they are too good to use, but only can produce for others' uses—and join the Confederacy, as Pennsylvania or Massachusetts might do, not to support the structure, but to profit by it, it were as well they should not join, and we say plainly to the contest in such association." And then, referring to what was well understood by the prohibitory clause, the power to conciliate European support, Mr. Spratt says, "Shall we be disinclined to make terms with

be glad enough to come in out of the cold, either with slavery or without it, and that the endeavors should be devoted to securing the allegiance of the Border States. He therefore commenced the coquetting with those states; and had not been for the precipitation of the war by the assault upon the fort those border diplomats would have succeeded in befooling us of the five lower principalities without a blow, and thus gravitated toward them, on the principle they had thus cunningly established, away from the dissolving North.

That Mr. Seward deliberately contemplated the temporary separation of the cotton States, is established by many points of evidence, and in nothing is it more manifest than in his letter to Mr. Adams (who, by the way, is a full disciple of his school), of the 10th of April, 1861. And if we did not know that Mr. Seward is a patriot, though an addled and visionary one, we should regard the doctrines which he enunciates in this strange paper with a most serious suspicion.

Mr. Seward opens this letter to Mr. Adams with an insidious assertion of State sovereignty, quite up to the mark of Fernando Wood. He then laboriously draws a picture of the wide spread prevalence, nay, almost preponderance of sedition. He next informs Mr. Adams that the government "neither looks for nor apprehends any actual and *permanent* dismemberment of the American Union, *especially by a line of latitude*"; and adds "that the President accepts the cardinal dogma of the South, so well avowed in *seceding States cannot be reduced to obedience by conquest.*"

This letter, and its doctrines, have evidently been overlooked in the rush of great events, or else have been let more before the aroused attention of the country, that it may be compared with the more recent demonstrations of Mr. Seward's policy; and that the people may see why the groaning, lumbering ship of State has been so long sailing a wrong course.

We impart no idle apprehensions; we simply have related facts. Letters from Mr. Adams, subsequent to the date of the above alarming paper, have spoken of this war as "a mere question of boundaries," and Mr. John Van Buren (with whom Mr. Seward, during the late New York campaign of Wood and Seymour, was as in virtual accord) is now in Washington with his plan for a general convention of the States, or a temporary separation of the "cotton sisters," according to his friend Mr. Seward's programme. There is no more reason, therefore, why Mr. Seward should not entertain the proposals of Prince John in favor of the independence of the South, or their diplomatic sojourn in the North, than there was for the entertainment of the insidious proposals of the Border State Commissioners. His main text has been that *diplomacy* and not *military operations* (in all its shapes so himself) should end this revolution; and as Prince John and Seymour, and all their chicken-hearted clique, conscientiously doubt the efficacy of the sword against the South, Mr. Seward may seize the present moment to bring his doctrine to a climax.

Against this danger, which we now regard as imminent, we have but one reliance, and that is, that some one will direct the attention of the President to Mr. Seward's letter of the 10th April, 1861, and ask him in plain terms if, while sunpouring the fair fabric of the republic by hundreds of thousands to the exposures and sacrifices of the field, he authorized Mr. Seward to inform the world, that "the Federal government would not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest." If he did not, then Mr. Seward is an unfit and dangerous counsellor for his Administration; but if he did authorize him to so speak, the sooner the people understand that this war is an appalling joke, and the sooner their Governors, under Mr. Seward's doctrine of State rights, recall their troops to their homes, the better.

There are but two alternatives which the lowering aspect of the crisis places before Mr. Lincoln. He must either dispose of Mr. Seward and wield the sword in the full integrity of warfare, or he must put away the sword, and adapt himself to the behests of the two modern Spencers of his Cabinet, and prepare for a surrender to the South. If he fail in the first policy he will have the consolation at least of falling like a patriot and a gentleman; but if he is captured by the last, there is no destiny before him better than the ignominious end of Edward II.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1862.

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

Letters containing 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. 48 BECKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BECKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE CABINET AND THE COUNTRY.

WE have often, in times gone by, had occasion to contrast the Constitution of the United States with that of Great Britain, and to show wherein its very theoretical perfection really hindered the will of the people from having as ample sway and absolute sovereignty as the English Constitution secures to its subjects. This arises from the unyielding nature of the one and the elasticity innate to the other. Any desirable change, political or politico-economical, which a majority of the British people have made up their minds to have, they are sure to get. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic Emancipation and the Reform in Parliament are most apparent proofs of this. These measures went to the root of the then existing institutions of Great Britain, and were resisted with the most desperate and persistent resolution. They really amounted to a revolution, though a peaceful one. The principle was virtually admitted that the House of Commons is the government, on the wheels of which the King and the Lords may put drags, but which they cannot block altogether without a general crash of the whole machine. The unyielding character of our Constitution has really been the occasion of a small minority having the control of our affairs up to a very late period, if indeed, the day of its dominion be yet entirely over. The Senate cannot be increased, like the House of Lords, the Congress cannot be dissolved like the House of Commons, the Ministry at the head of affairs can hold their portfolios in spite of any hostile majority. With all the safeguards for a responsible government that words can give us, we are still liable to be governed by an irresponsible Cabinet, who can only be unseated at the pleasure of the President. The President is, theoretically, responsible and liable to impeachment; but how futile such a restraint is upon illegal action the Annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, the Conspiracy against Kansas, and the whole slavery-inspired history of the country, can bear witness.

Had the framers of the Constitution followed the analogy of the British model more closely, instead of trying to make it more logical in its theory, and made the three Houses omnipotent, the President's person inviolable and with ministerial responsibility and the power of dissolving Congress, we should have had a much better government than was cut out for us in 1787. In England, a Prime Minister cannot hold power a moment after he has lost his majority in the House of Commons. Thus, in fact, the English people have a sovereign of their own choosing always reigning over them, with no real intervals of interregnum. Consequently, the progress of legislation in England has been always going on from bad to good, and from good to better. The Abolition of Slavery, the Corn Laws, and Free Trade, so called, were all carried in the teeth of all that caste and class could do to defeat them. And this because the people had made up their minds that these measures were for their honor or advantage. The very question of Recognition and Intervention lies in the breast of the nation and will be decided according as it may dictate, and not at the personal will or whim of Fulkerston or Russell. Of course, such a scheme of government here would have had its bitter as well as its sweet. The pro-slavery majorities of past years could have done their pleasure for the comfort and extension of slavery—they could hardly have done more than they have effected as it is. But slavery would not then have had the sanctuary of the Constitution, of which it has been erected into the idol and the inspiration. It would have stood out on the fair field of open debate, to be attacked and defended like any other institution or measure, and we believe it could not have stood to this day before the sweep and sway of contending parliamentary parties. The rude and coarse machinery of the battle-field might have been anticipated and put aside by the more delicate but mightier enginery of the Senate house. What we have suffered for all along, and do still, is for the want of a responsible Ministry, charged with doing the will of a majority of the National Legislature, and yielding to others as soon as they refuse or are unable to perform that function. But even as it is, we hold that it is unparliamentary and hostile to the spirit of constitutional government that a Cabinet should be continued in office, when it refuses to carry out the policy of the those border diplomats would have succeeded in befooling us of the five lower principalities without a blow, and thus gravitated toward them, on the principle they had thus cunningly established, away from the dissolving North.

That Mr. Seward deliberately contemplated the temporary separation of the cotton States, is established by many points of evidence, and in nothing is it more manifest than in his letter to Mr. Adams (who, by the way, is a full disciple of his school), of the 10th of April, 1861. And if we did not know that Mr. Seward is a patriot, though an addled and visionary one, we should regard the doctrines which he enunciates in this strange paper with a most serious suspicion.

Mr. Seward opens this letter to Mr. Adams with an insidious assertion of State sovereignty, quite up to the mark of Fernando Wood. He then laboriously draws a picture of the wide spread prevalence, nay, almost preponderance of sedition. He next informs Mr. Adams that the government "neither looks for nor apprehends any actual and *permanent* dismemberment of the American Union, *especially by a line of latitude*"; and adds "that the President accepts the cardinal dogma of the South, so well avowed in *seceding States cannot be reduced to obedience by conquest.*"

This letter, and its doctrines, have evidently been overlooked in the rush of great events, or else have been let more before the aroused attention of the country, that it may be compared with the more recent demonstrations of Mr. Seward's policy; and that the people may see why the groaning, lumbering ship of State has been so long sailing a wrong course.

We impart no idle apprehensions; we simply have related facts. Letters from Mr. Adams, subsequent to the date of the above alarming paper, have spoken of this war as "a mere question of boundaries," and Mr. John Van Buren (with whom Mr. Seward, during the late New York campaign of Wood and Seymour, was as in virtual accord) is now in Washington with his plan for a general convention of the States, or a temporary separation of the "cotton sisters," according to his friend Mr. Seward's programme. There is no more reason, therefore, why Mr. Seward should not entertain the proposals of Prince John in favor of the independence of the South, or their diplomatic sojourn in the North, than there was for the entertainment of the insidious proposals of the Border State Commissioners. His main text has been that *diplomacy* and not *military operations* (in all its shapes so himself) should end this revolution; and as Prince John and Seymour, and all their chicken-hearted clique, conscientiously doubt the efficacy of the sword against the South, Mr. Seward may seize the present moment to bring his doctrine to a climax.

Against this danger, which we now regard as imminent, we have but one reliance, and that is, that some one will direct the attention of the President to Mr. Seward's letter of the 10th April, 1861, and ask him in plain terms if, while sunpouring the fair fabric of the republic by hundreds of thousands to the exposures and sacrifices of the field, he authorized Mr. Seward to inform the world, that "the Federal government would not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest." If he did not, then Mr. Seward is an unfit and dangerous counsellor for his Administration; but if he did authorize him to so speak, the sooner the people understand that this war is an appalling joke, and the sooner their Governors, under Mr. Seward's doctrine of State rights, recall their troops to their homes, the better.

There are but two alternatives which the lowering aspect of the crisis places before Mr. Lincoln. He must either dispose of Mr. Seward and wield the sword in the full integrity of warfare, or he must put away the sword, and adapt himself to the behests of the two modern Spencers of his Cabinet, and prepare for a surrender to the South. If he fail in the first policy he will have the consolation at least of falling like a patriot and a gentleman; but if he is captured by the last, there is no destiny before him better than the ignominious end of Edward II.

NATIONAL INIQUITY AND ITS FRUITS.

A SERMON,

BY REV. CHARLES B. SMITH,

PASTOR OF THE TRINITARIAN CHURCH, CONCORD, MASS.

Preached Oct. 26, 1862.

"Be that soweth iniquity shall reap vanity."—*Proverbs xxii. 8.*

To sow iniquity is to do wrong. To reap vanity is to suffer on account of wrong-doing. The important point of the text is, that conduct determines destiny, as certainly as seed determines the character of the harvest. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Prosperity and happiness can only result from the practice of right conduct; and right conduct never fails to produce these results. So also adversity and suffering can only result from the practice of iniquity; and the practice of iniquity never fails to produce these results. All the laws of the Creator for the control of moral beings are as unyielding as the laws that govern the material world. If you sow wheat, you will reap wheat. If you sow tares, you will reap tares. "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles." No more does peace and prosperity result as the fruit of iniquity. Seed always produces its like—and this law of production is immutable in the spiritual as the material world. It operates with the same certainty upon nations as upon individuals; for nations are only the aggregation of individuals.

But we have in the present state of being a more forcible illustration of the principle in nations than in individuals. Individual life here is too brief to allow most of the seed sown to produce its legitimate harvest. Hence the necessity of future retribution to individuals. But though individuals die, nations live on. As individuals fall, otherwise than by their peaceful practice iniquity, with the most confident expectation that this will produce the fruits of righteousness; when all nature, and all history, and the Word of God, unitedly and persistently declare that such a result is utterly impossible. It is as though people should eat the most deadly poison, as the best method of producing vigorous life, in spite of the laws of nature, and all the facts of science and of history; and should persist in doing this generation after generation, although it is known to produce death in every instance. It is as though we should sow the seed of the most noxious weeds in their fields, and expect to reap a harvest of wheat; and should persist in doing this, year after year, although not a single kernel of wheat was ever produced from such seed, and it is absolutely certain that there never can be. No sane person conducts in this way in regard to the laws of life and vegetation. And yet men almost universally conduct in precisely this way in reference to moral action and destiny.

Individuals and nations will persist in the practice of iniquity, notwithstanding the absolute certainty that to practice iniquity is to produce disaster and ruin. Our own nation is a remarkable illustration of the principle under consideration. Seldom, if ever, has the fruit of iniquity ripened so rapidly and abundantly in any nation as in our own. For no one can be so stupid as not to know that such a harvest as we are now reaping is not produced by the works of righteousness. Such calamities come upon us because we know that they must be the fruit of iniquity; and when we know of one iniquity which includes all others, it is great folly to search with magnifying glass for some smaller seed, which may possibly have produced such a harvest. When we have the sum of all villanies, we know that such a harvest can be produced only by the same; and when we know that the sum of all villanies is practiced, we need not look farther for the seed which has produced the harvest. Everybody knows that slavery has produced the calamities we are now suffering. I do not intend, therefore, to dwell upon the fact that slavery has produced these results, but propose to show that the nation, as such, has sowed this iniquity, and is reaping only what it has sown. It would seem to be wholly unnecessary to attempt to show this, were it not for the fact that it is very generally and persistently denied that the nation is responsible for the existence and perpetuity of slavery. If it be true that the nation is not guilty of this iniquity, then it is reaping what it did not sow, contrary to an immutable law. Since it is so generally maintained that the nation does not uphold slavery and cannot rightfully destroy it, it becomes necessary to show that the nation is guilty of this iniquity, in order to show that it is reaping what it has sown, and to learn that wisdom which the experience teaches.

The indictment, then, which I bring against the nation is, that it does now and always has upheld slavery. No one can deny the evidence upon the indictment. And here let me say at the outset, that I shall not plead the want of time, I shall have to pass many facts with the bare statement, and many without statement, I hold myself responsible to substantiate every fact and statement which I adduce.

When it was proposed to construct the ship of State, a most excellent model was formed in the Constitution. The specifications were all made, and the agreement entered into, to construct a sound, beautiful, sea-worthy ship. But among the parties to the agreement were a number of wreckers and pirates, who insisted upon putting in rotten timbers. Every honest man protested against it, and predicted disaster as the result. But the pirates blustered and threatened, and the nation yielded. In violation of the model, and the most solemn agreement to build a sound, comely ship, the nation put in the rotten, worm-eaten timbers of slaveholding States upon one side. The contract was broken, her symmetry destroyed, her value greatly impaired, and she was launched in a leaky condition. Thus water-logged at the outset, she started on her perilous voyage. Although the nation declared that all men by nature are free, and established the Constitution and the government for the express purpose of more perfect security in life, liberty and property to all the people, it allowed a part of the people still to be enslaved. The nation declares the Constitution to be the supreme law of the land, and binds itself to protect every person under it in life, liberty and property. No person, however, can be permanently deprived of these without the consent of the nation. By allowing any State under the Federal government to enslave any persons, it became responsible for their enslavement. Thus did the government virtually establish slavery when it was formed.

In 1820 the nation agreed to have slavery immensely extended beyond its then present boundaries. For this purpose it gave up a vast territory to the control of slavery, and took a new slaveholding State under the direction of the government.

The Florida war, with all its horrid barbarities and crimes, was the nation's war in behalf of slavery. The wife of Osceola, the Indian chief, was a fugitive slave. The attempt to rob the noble chieftain of his wife, and drag her back to slavery, led to the Florida war—to prosecute which for the benefit of slavery the nation imported Cuban bloodhounds for the diabolical purpose of hunting down and murdering a weak and helpless people.

The nation robbed Mexico of her territories, and prosecuted the Mexican war for the purpose of extending and strengthening slavery.

The Atherton gag, forbidding the freedom of speech and the right of petition, which the progress of events has well-nigh obliterated from the memory, was the nation's act for the protection of slavery.

The Fugitive Slave act, which made every citizen a hunter and slave-catcher, to chase and drag back fugitive slaves to slavery, was the nation's act for the purpose of upholding slavery.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the nation's act, done under the most aggravating circumstances, for the express purpose of removing every obstacle in the way of slavery, and allowing it to go wherever it pleased. In violation of a most sacred pledge to maintain freedom forever in certain territory, the nation broke down the only barrier, and said to slavery, Go where you please. And slavery rushed into Kansas like a starving tiger, murdering innocent, peaceable citizens by hundreds.

For years, the nation put chains around Boston Court House, and cannon at the head of Court street, and manacles upon an innocent citizen.

To pacify slavery, the nation thrust Hyatt into prison for no crime, and laid violent hands upon a peaceable citizen of Concord.

In violation of its constitutional obligations, the nation has persistently refused to protect its citizens in any State when the minions of slavery have assailed them.

When an agent of the State of Texas was sent to get a victim of slavery for kidnapping her children, he was defiantly driven from the nation by angry without redress, and the State and nation said, Let it be so; let slavery continue to kidnap.

In order to justify itself in upholding slavery by every possible means, the nation has unblushingly declared, through its highest tribunal, that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect. When the enslaved have attempted to gain their liberties, the nation has promptly put forth its powerful arm to hold them in slavery.

The National Congress, for the past twenty years especially, has done little else than to legislate for the interest of slavery.

Every time the nation has expressed itself in the choice of its Executive office, it has demanded that he should be in favor of continuing slavery.

Slavery has uniformly represented the nation in foreign Courts. Nearly every Foreign Minister whom the nation has sent abroad has been either a slaveholder or in favor of perpetuating slavery.

The nation has given slavery the control of the army and navy. Almost every officer of the army and navy has been a slaveholder or a violent advocate for slavery. And after slavery had raised its ruthless hand to destroy the nation, the nation still has given slavery the control of its army and navy to parry off the deadly blow. All through this horrid rebellion the nation has either removed or paralyzed every General who attempted to injure slavery, and put those in command of the army who were notoriously addicted to slavery.

All these counts, and many others not named, have been distinctively national acts for upholding slavery. Those are the political aspects of the case.

Let us look next at the educational and religious developments in reference to slavery. These are not strictly national, but they illustrate more forcibly if possible the complicity of the people with slavery. The people constitute the nation.

The papers and periodicals of the country are the great educators of the people. These, both secular and religious, with few exceptions, have advocated slavery. The school-books for the education of the children and youth throughout the country have been prepared with the most rigid regard to slavery.

The religious denominations throughout the country, with scarcely an exception, have maintained that slavery had a right to a place in the Christian Church, and have baptized it in the name of the Holy Trinity, and welcomed it to the fellowship of the saints. Nearly every religious organization, representing the religious sentiment of the country, has given its influence in favor of slavery.

The American Bible Society, representing the leading denominations of the country, from regard to slavery, has refused to give the Bible to the enslaved. It has also refused to accept large amounts of money for this purpose.

The Sabbath School Societies—also representing the leading sects of the country—have prepared their books for the moral instruction of the young with special reference to the welfare of slavery.

The Tract Society, claiming to represent all evangelical Christians, has persistently refused to utter a word upon slavery, except in its favor. It has repeatedly and most grossly mutilated and misrepresented the noblest authors in order to uphold slavery.

Missionary organizations, representing the religious sentiment of the country, have been conducted upon the policy of upholding slavery. They have solicited and expended much money from slavery to promote the Missionary cause. They have organized and sustained slaveholding Churches, and have so conducted the Missionary enterprise as to make the Gospel of the blessed God upheld slavery.

Until recently, the religious teachers throughout the country, with few exceptions, have given their voice and influence in favor of slavery; and no one could speak faithfully against slavery without being driven from his pulpit by those who controlled it.

So universal has been the prevalence of the religious sentiment of the country in favor of slavery, that the truth of Mr. Barnes's statement has never been questioned—that there was no power out of the Church that could uphold slavery if it were not upheld in it.

The most inveterate hostility has been universally and constantly developed against those who have striven to have slavery abolished; almost every species of persecution that skill and hate could devise has been practiced towards such to prevent them from accomplishing the abolition of slavery.

At this very time, when slavery has the nation by the throat, and is spilling its heart's blood, so in love with slavery are the government and the people, that whenever the proposition is made to destroy it and save the nation, a general clamor is raised against any such attempt. Time and again has the President declared that the people would not sustain him in proclaiming emancipation. So determined is the nation to uphold slavery that it is willing to barter its own existence rather than destroy it. With all these counts upon the indictment, does any one need to be convinced that the nation has and does uphold slavery?

Having shown that the nation has sown this iniquity, it remains to notice the fruit of such sowing, and the remedy of such a harvest.

Before proceeding to notice the fruit, let us consider for a moment the character of the seed sown? Is it good, or bad? The definition of our jurists is, that slavery is the depriving of every natural right. Not only may it deprive men of the avails of their labor, but of life also, if it chooses. If this is right cousness and justice, what is unrighteousness and injustice? If this is not iniquity, what is? Conceding it to be iniquity, it is monstrous iniquity. No higher crime can be committed; for it not only takes every right from man, but every right from the Creator. By usurping absolute control over man, it usurps authority over the Almighty, and robs him of him from his throne. Not only is slaveholding the highest crime in its nature, but it is enormous in magnitude. The sum total is reached by multiplying the highest crime by millions, and these millions by every moment that slavery has been upheld by the nation. If such enormity of guilt as this can go unpunished; if a nation can deny and violate every law and precept of the Almighty, and every principle of righteousness and justice, and perpetuate the highest possible crimes against the rights of people, and persist in doing so generation after generation, and not suffer retribution, who can believe in any moral government over moral beings? But it never has been and never can be so. When a nation sows such seed as this, it must reap a harvest of retribution corresponding to what it has sown.

Let me direct your attention for a few moments, then, to some of the legitimate fruits of slavery.

In first fruits are bereavement and poverty. It is impossible to hold men in slavery unless they are kept in ignorance. To keep them in ignorance, the means of knowledge must be kept beyond their reach. To introduce schools and school-books into a slaveholding community would be to bring the means of knowledge within reach of the enslaved. Hence the necessity of excluding them, and keeping the entire community in ignorance. General ignorance among all classes is inevitable in all slaveholding communities.

Poverty is another essential result of slaveholding. Labor is the source of wealth, and the productions of labor are in proportion to the motive to labor. When all motive to labor is withheld from the laboring class, the source of wealth is dried up. As slavery offers no motive to labor, it fails, of necessity, to secure the fruits of labor. The soil is exhausted and left a barren waste. The skill and energy essential to productive labor are lost forever, and poverty is the result. It is notorious that barrenness and poverty follow in the track of slavery wherever it goes.

Slavery also suppresses the freedom of speech. To allow the freedom of speech would be to fire the magazine and blow up the whole slave system. The suppression of free discussion, therefore, is essential to the perpetuity of slavery.

Another effect of slavery is to contaminate and debauch the public conscience. To allow its existence is to admit its claims. It claims protection from all who consent to its existence; and all such are driven to the necessity of advocating its right to exist, in order to exculpate themselves for consenting to its existence. It being a monstrous iniquity, no one can consent to its existence for a moment. The only pretext of justification, therefore, must come from self-delusion, and falsehood and absurdity. And these have been used in defense of slavery until the moral sense is well nigh obliterated. Public conscience is terribly debauched. Evil is put for good, and good for evil. Villany and crime are confounded with honesty and justice. The public teachers of morality and religion become blind leaders of the blind. The science of law and government becomes a grab-game for power and profit. Men of the most distinguished abilities and of the noblest impulses are so corrupted by contact with slavery as to become a stench in the nostrils of those, even, who have themselves been accustomed to inhale polluted air. Let two conspicuous cases illustrate the power of slavery in corrupting the noblest men. Clay and Webster were by nature great and noble. Clay began his public career as the President of an Anti-Slavery Society, declaring that all men by nature are free. But, by contact with slavery, he closed his career declaring that "that is property which the law makes property"; "If you will not let us have Webster's slaves, we will have white ones." Extract from Webster's speech of 1820 with the date of March, 1850. Never were more noble and eloquent denunciations uttered against slavery than by Webster in 1820. "I hear," said he, "the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. Let that spot be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it." I need not repeat what he uttered on the 7th of March, 1850. What he reversed these great statesmen does not feel and when he remembers what slavery did with them? But how much more deplorable to contemplate a whole nation debauched and degraded to the infamy of upholding such horrid iniquity as slavery! This is the inevitable fruit of slavery.

Slavery also produces anarchy and bloodshed. While it denies to men every natural right, it can never annihilate the innate love of liberty in all men. This love of liberty, and the sense of injustice, when deprived of right, leads to a perpetual struggle to be free. Slavery is a war of conquest upon all who are enslaved, and can be maintained only by brute force. As force is the only authority, and men can never be made to acknowledge its authority, there is of necessity a conflict. Slavery is war against all the enslaved; it is war against all who oppose it; and, finally, war against all who refuse to yield to its demands. And its demands are such that men will never peacably yield to them. Anarchy and bloodshed, therefore, are inevitable. These comprise the sum total of all calamities that come upon a nation. And these are the fruits of slavery which the nation is now reaping with the certainty that it is reaping only what it has sown. It has sown to the wind, and it is reaping the whirlwind.

Look over this broad land, by nature the glory of all lands, with every facility for wealth, and power, and happiness, and behold it red with blood and draped in mourning, well nigh bankrupt, tottering in feeblenes upon the brink of destruction, and agonized from centre to circumference! Witness the terror and dismay, the destitution and suffering, the tears and woe over the land, and know that these are the fruits of slavery which the nation has sown. Every man who has fallen in this conflict has been murdered by slavery. Every heart that bleeds in agony on account of these murders has been crushed by slavery. All the suffering and woe that is yet to come upon the nation by this terrible contest will be the fruit of slavery. The nation has persisted in sowing this iniquity, and now is reaping the harvest. Will the people learn wisdom by the experiment?

It is evident from the history of the past, by the long and thorough experiment tried, and the knowledge of the immutable law that seed produces its like, might convince every one, by this time, that peace and prosperity can never be produced from such sowing. But such is not the fact. It is still maintained that tares will produce wheat; that iniquity will produce peace and prosperity. Whenever it is proposed to try the experiment of raising wheat by sowing wheat, the people, with almost united voice, declare that wheat will not produce wheat. Tares will produce wheat, and nothing else. Righteousness and justice will not produce peace and prosperity; iniquity, and nothing else, will.

Whenever it is proposed to cease to do evil and learn to do well, and thus change the seed by destroying the tares and sowing wheat, the nation protests against such an attempt as impracticable and fanatical. To every inquiry for the remedy of such awful calamities as we are now suffering, the uniform and almost unanimous answer is, continue to sow the same iniquity which has produced them. To do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God, is declared to be most unwise and dangerous. Different methods are proposed to rid the nation of its present calamities, but nearly all agree that the seed must not be changed. Righteousness and justice must not be done. Sink or swim, live or die, the iniquity of slavery must be continued. Nothing must be held so sacred, and protected at such dreadful cost, as this sum of all villanies."

1. A large and influential class advocate compromise as the only way to save the nation. Compromise matters in any way that will induce the rebels to come back and oversee the nation. This is the clamor for the same old policy of compromise, for the sake of power and profit, that has controlled the nation from the first. What has been the history of the nation but a perpetual attempt to keep slavery and live with it in peace? Cotton-mongers and slave-dealers, manufacturers and merchants, commerce and lust, the bench and the bar, the press and the forum, the pulpit and the pew, politics and religion, the State and the Church, have all done their utmost to maintain peace with slavery; and behold as the result, whirlwind and storm, agitation and war, wailing and woe.

2. Another method proposed to save the nation, is to conquer the rebels, but save as much of slavery as possible in doing so. This is the method which the government proposes. It is somewhat different from some of its details, but essentially the same as the first. It says to the rebels, through the President, you may have ninety days, with all your slaves and the aid of foreign nations. If you can get it, to do your best towards establishing slavery on a permanent basis; if you cannot do it in that time and way, then on the last day of grace, if you will represent yourselves in Congress, your slavery, which you have been fighting to save, shall not be molested. If you will not do this, then your slaves may be free, if they get free. The government will not lift a finger, even then, to help the slaves to liberty; but it will not put them into slavery again if they get free, as it has done heretofore. Let me give you the precise language of the President. "The Executive government will *recognize* and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to *repress* such persons in any efforts *they* may make for their actual freedom." How many will be free? Not one per cent by such emancipation! The most that it can do, is to place the slaves where, if free, after next January the nation will no longer hold the slaves of rebels for them, as it has done hitherto. But the iniquity of slavery the nation will not put away. Everybody knows that it has been a disturbing element from the first; a constant source of irritation and strife, which no effort could prevent; yet the nation is determined still to uphold it. Rotten timbers were put into the Ship of State when she was built, and the rot has been extending ever since, endangering all on board. Being unsound and unsafe to start with, it has required the greatest effort to keep her afloat. Every time she has encountered a healthy breeze, the rotten timbers have groaned and cried dissolution. Although without a breeze she was known to be drifting upon the breakers with the certainty of fate, every effort has been made to keep her in smooth waters, to preserve the rotten timbers. Never in a single instance has the nation even proposed to disturb slavery; but time and again has it protested that it would not, and declared its willingness to do anything possible to perpetuate it. It has never believed that it was under the influence of a great Peace Congress to pacify slavery, and with the recommendation of the government to amend the Constitution so as to make it uphold slavery to the end of time, that the Ship of State went upon the breakers and bilged. And, now, with a dreadful hole in her side, with a torrent of water rushing in, and the ship going down with all on board, instead of working the pumps where are in good condition, and stopping the hole where it is accessible, the shipmaster calls upon the crew to take their teaspoons and begin cautiously to bale the ship. After waiting patiently for the result, a cautious use of the teaspoons, and seeing that the ship is still sinking, and must certainly go down in this process, he proclaims to all on board that in ninety days, if the ship does not sink before, and the water does not cease to flow, he shall permit them to stop a part of the hole "protesting that the hole must not be entirely stopped, unless the water concerts, it declares that he will mend the ship if possible with rotten timbers in it; if this cannot be done, he shall keep as many in as possible and save the rest from sinking. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it," says the President, "if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that." This is the method by which the government would save the nation. This is the method of saving the ship by keeping open the leak.

3. Another method proposed by great numbers is, to hang the Abolitionists. Turn in the rebels, and wound in a masterpiece of policy. As Hobson, the Massachusetts fishermen, drew in a school of fish, enormous draught of fish, he should destroy all the salt. To save a sinking ship, keep open the leak and kill all who would stop it. To save a burning house, banish the water and blow the fire. To rescue a man, destroy the seed and sow tares. While convulsed in every nerve, and bleeding at every pore, and agonizing for the breath of life, by the deadly wound of the serpent slavery, which they have hugged and warmed in their bosom, they cry Kill the Abolitionists, and alone would kill the Abolitionists and save their life. This method has been tried some what already. It was tried when John Brown was hung. It was tried when Torrey was murdered. It was tried when Lovejoy fell. It was tried upon the Puritans of England and the Huguenots of France. It was tried by the inquisition of Spain. It was tried upon the reformers of the sixteenth century. It was tried by the Jews for the peace of Jerusalem, when the hated Nazarene was put to death. It has been tried by all tyrants since the world began, and yet, strange, it has been the result! Behold the fate of Jerusalem and the Jews! the one a desolate ruin, and the other scattered and peeled; a hissing and bye-word among all nations! Look at the results of this method in every instance where tried, and say shall it be tried still farther?

These are the principal methods which have been tried to save the nation with slavery; and what has been the result of them all? Let the heart-rending cries and strifes, the violence and murders which slavery has produced answer. Let that vast region of country, once so fair and lovely, like a tornado, has laid everything in ruin answer. Let a depleted, cringing, starving, ruined South, ruled by fiends incarnate, which slavery has produced, answer. Let the graves of two hundred thousand Northern freemen answer. Let the hospitals cries upon all the battle-fields answer. Let the sorrow and woe in thousands of homes answer. Let a nation of thirty million, with the best chance a nation ever had to become prosperous and happy, convulsed from centre to circumference, and dying in agony answer. These are thy fruits, O slavery! and these the results of all such methods to save the nation with slavery. The nation has upheld slavery for wealth, and power, and lust; and behold poverty, and imbecility, and rottenness.

4. Another method of saving the nation is that which the Abolitionists propose: immediate and universal emancipation. This is the method of salting the dead to save them; or stopping the leak to save the ship, or doing right to secure peace and prosperity. This is the way of salvation, which the law of God, the immutable laws of nations, and all history, make as clear as the noonday sun, is the only possible way. The nation cannot be induced to try it. Rejecting the counsels of the only true prophets, the nation still calls for lying prophets to prophesy falsely. I affirm without hesitation that the most far-seeing, wise, discreet men in the nation are the Abolitionists. If this is denied, and I know it is, I appeal to all history and the Almighty for the truth of what I say. They also have advocated right principles, and adopted a wise policy. So wonderfully do all transpiring events, as well as all history, point to their method for saving the nation, that it is quite probable the nation would have adopted it long ago, but for the chagrin and mortification of yielding to those who have been so long hated and denounced. But humiliating as it is, and however reluctant, the nation must come to this or perish.

Years ago, when many prominent men, even, and jeers and ridicule, the Abolitionists predicted the very events which have already come to pass, if slavery were continued. Every reflecting man knows that had slavery been abolished, according to the counsels of the Abolitionists, the nation would have lived in peace and prosperity. They have showed, by the immutable laws of nature and of God, that there is no possibility of peace and prosperity with such iniquity. They have adduced numerous instances where this method has been tried, and has accomplished all that they have claimed it would accomplish, and they have showed that it has never failed when tried. They have showed that every other method has always and utterly failed. It is not hazardous, therefore, to assert that the nation never *will* and never *can* have peace and prosperity until it proclaims liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof, and protects all in the enjoyment of liberty. This was the original contract; and this the nation must fulfil or perish. My council, then, is for a sound ship, from keel to topmast, from stem to stern, for immediate and universal emancipation, as just and right in itself, and as the only salvation is disenthralled, let it proclaim liberty to all the world, for all men by nature are entitled to be free. Not only freedom to the African, but freedom to all who are unjustly oppressed of every nation and clime. Liberty to all who are made in the image of God, and protection and good will to all, by all, is my doctrine. This I always have preached, and though all the powers of earth and hell are against it, hang high or lay low, come weal or woe, life or death, by the help of God, this I will preach while living, and dying, with my latest breath, will declare that liberty is the birthright of all mankind.

PRAYER OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE.—Henry C. Wright, in a letter to *The Liberator*, dated Wyalusing, Pa., Nov. 11, says:

"The following is the prayer of a slave, escaped from Virginia some six months ago, leaving a wife and two children behind, in bondage, to be sold. He knew all of the proclamation. He fully comprehended the bearing of the rebellion on the destiny of his wife and children, and that if it was crushed before New-Year's, his child would not be free. He had been some time employed about a railroad station, and had many opportunities given to managers of railroads. He was praying for his wife and children. In the agonies of his heart, he cried out, with great energy in his own dialect, which I wish I could give—it would give more meaning to the English language than any translation into English. He said: 'Oh God Almighty! keep the engine of rebellion from steam; Lord, don't reverse the capstan! But, pray, Lord! Don't put on the brakes! But, pray, Lord! put on more steam; make it go a little faster! Lord! put on more steam; make it go a little faster! Lord! you know I pray make it go faster! Lord! you know I pray! Do, good Lord! do! Lord! you know I pray! Do, good Lord! do! Lord! you know I pray! Do, good Lord! do

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, NOV. 24, 1862.

A WEEK from to-day Mr. Lincoln will send his message. It is looked for by all parts of the country and the world with interest and anxiety. Everybody, be he American, Englishman or Frenchman, recognizes the fact that this country has approached the hour which will decide its fate. I think there can be no question that the next six months will either see the rebellion "in the course of extinction," or a triumphant revolution. By the first of next June the Southern armies will have been whipped, the principal Southern cities taken, and the rebellion generally will be upon its last legs—or the question will be settled against us, and separation be inevitable. It is therefore of the utmost importance just now to ascertain the sentiments of the Executive upon the most important questions connected with the war. Will Mr. Lincoln stand squarely by his proclamation? Will he take strong ground generally against traitors, compromisers and the white-feather politicians? Much depends upon his own view of the situation; for if he be weak now, we are lost. If he be bold and valiant, he has many, very many chances of success.

I feel confident from what I hear about me that the President will stand firm upon the proclamation, that he will not retreat one inch from the position he has taken; but that he will go further than his military proclamation goes, and urge emancipation upon Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and the other border slave States. He will cling, doubtless, to his old ideas on this subject—he will still offer to compensate the loyal masters of these States, but *emancipation* will be his theme and his continual object. This will be a great thing for the President to stand boldly by his proclamation. One has but to notice the attempts making to induce him to revoke the proclamation, to admit the importance of firmness on his part at the present time, if he never had it before, or is never to have it again. Boldness and firmness!—give us these, "father Abraham," for the next six months, and the country is saved!

John Van Buren has been down here, but he has made nothing by his visit. There is nobody *here* who talks of *compromise and peace*. A few believe that *separation and peace* are possible, but none talk of a compromise.

A few members are flocking in, and they are of the right stripe so far—the men to stand by the President and encourage him in his determination to stand by the right though disasters come thick and fast upon us. He had better fail trying to do right and to give freedom to a race, than to fail fighting wrong and then refusing to mete out justice to four million of men made to serve the rebels as beasts of burden. The Peace Democrats are not going to have any influence over the President this Winter. The Border State men will not have much either. They have generally broken with Mr. Lincoln, and they cannot come back to him and argue the question over again. Such men as Crittenden, Wadsworth and Guthrie of Kentucky, and Leary, Calvert and Webster of Maryland, cannot influence him one upon this question of slavery. They anti-slavery men of those States can. Casey of Kentucky, Joseph Holt of the same State, and others I might mention, are emancipationists, and the favorites of the Administration, as they should be. For a time Mr. Holt stood out, but he is out-spoken now, as I understand, backing up the emancipation proclamation squarely. If our armies only push ahead, win victories, and the President stands firm (as he will), we shall win multitudes of converts to the emancipation doctrines in the border slave States, and in the loyal States. There are indications of this already. Thousands in the border slave States are simply waiting to see if the government is going to be successful *in the war*, before they come out in favor of emancipation. When they see (if they ever do) that the government is to win in this great struggle, they will go in at once *for radical measures*. I can see men around me in this place, old-fashioned pro-slavery men, slaveholders and the like, who are rapidly shifting their ground upon that of decided hostility to slavery and the advocacy of emancipation. It is almost a miracle that such men as Holt of Kentucky, Maynard of Tennessee, and Parson Brownlow should have come to be emancipationists. One who has known them in the past can hardly credit his senses, and yet this is but a beginning of the miracles we shall see if the President is firm, and our Generals can win victories upon the field of battle.

The friends of Gen. McClellan at this point are now claiming that Burnside is executing his plans. Of course. Everybody knew that this would be *claimed* if Burnside did anything. In any event little Mac's friends are fully prepared to make him advantage by the result. If there is failure, they will cry, "We told you so! The government displaced the only great General we had, and disaster was the consequence. *We* knew it would be so!" And if Burnside goes on and takes Richmond, they will cry with a shout loud as voice, "He is carrying out the plans of his old leader—that is all. McClellan himself would have been in Richmond a month earlier!" Never had a man more devoted friends than George B. McClellan—devoted unto death. To save his reputation they will do anything—but tell the truth. What does this all mean? It must be that they mean to use the General hereafter as a political chestnut. That is it exactly. The General is better than many of his friends, for as a man and gentleman he is almost faultless. He is kind, generous, just, and always courteous, and has only failed *as a General*. If his friends possessed a tithe of his good qualities, they would let him rest in peace.

Gen. Burnside has made slow progress during the past week, but the weather has been such as to render a rapid movement impossible. He is not exactly in Fredericksburg either, but is opposite the town, and probably will be handsomely established in the rebel his headquarters. This Lacy is the monster who broke his mother's will—a will that gave a hundred slaves their freedom. Lacy broke the will on a quibble, and consigned the whole hundred to life-long bondage. He has since been captured by our forces, and, unless I mistake, is still in one of the government prisons.

There is much speculation as to the prospect of an immediate battle in the vicinity of Fredericksburg. It is impossible yet to say what the rebels are going to do. The advance of Burnside's army has not yet produced much confusion both at Richmond and in Washington. Jackson, it is said, still remains at Winchester, but it is safe to predict that he will not long remain there if Burnside gets safely across the Rappahannock and pushes on for Richmond. The rebels know how to concentrate their entire strength on an emergency even if we do not, and they will never permit a great battle to be fought between Fredericksburg and Richmond with Jackson absent.

Gen. Burnside's sentiments respecting the war and slavery are very satisfactory. He believes that slavery is the chief cause of the war, and has no respect whatever for it. He was a Douglas Democrat, but I hear from those who know him intimately that he is as good as a Republican now. And by that I mean that he is not a Peace Democrat, and has no sympathy whatever with the Woods and Seymours and that tribe—none whatever. His sympathy is with the President, and he stands heartily and honestly by him in his emancipation proclamation. He is early to pronounce judgment upon Gen. Burnside's military abilities, but we know him to be a frank, honest man and a dutiful citizen. He has no projects for himself, is no politician, and is ready to obey his superiors on the instant. If he succeeds, he will never be a dangerous man, for he has no political ambition, and he has too much industry and good sense to make a disgraceful failure. Herein he differs from Gen. Pope. Pope lacked common sense. His words were full of boasting, but his accounts of battles were uniformly false. Exaggeration was as natural to him as to breathe. I don't know which he enjoyed most, a cigar and a copy of the New York *Herald*, or to write a grandiloquent dispatch. Burnside is as modest as he is brave. He is not a new character in this war, and the country has known him long enough to ascertain his manly qualities. Whether he can succeed as the commander of two hundred thousand troops is another thing, for heretofore he has had but twenty thousand under his control.

AVON.

VERMONT FOREVER!—We take pride, as a native of the Green Mountain State, in saying that her Legislature has refused to repeal the Personal Liberty law enacted there several years ago. The Committee appointed on the Revision of the Statutes, consisting of Judge Bennett and other learned lawyers, struck out the most important provisions of the law, alleging them to be unconstitutional; but the honest farmers and mechanics in the Legislature were of a different mind, and the provisions in question were restored by a vote of 127 to 46.

A FREE PAPER IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—Mr. French, in his discourse at the Church of the Puritans last Sunday evening, stated that arrangements had been made to establish a newspaper at Beaufort or Hilton Head, to be called *The Southern Cross*, and to be devoted to the dissemination of truth in respect to the military, industrial and educational movements in the Southern Department. It will, of course, advocate the President's policy of emancipation, and record the progress made from time to time in carrying out that effect. C. C. Leigh, Secretary of the National Freedmen's Association, corner of Walker st. and Broadway, will be the agent of the paper in this city.

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S SERMONS.—Some of the most intelligent and thoughtful of our readers have testified, in private letters, their high appreciation of the discourses of Rev. O. B. Frothingham, which have from time to time appeared in this paper. Perhaps there was never a letter from a friend of the cause, whose good opinion is valued by all who know him, from which we venture to transcribe this sentence: "One of the nearest approaches to improving on perfection is the publication in THE STANDARD of such sermons as that of Rev. O. B. Frothingham in the number for Nov. 15."

MR. WELD'S LECTURES.—*The Liberator* of last week says: "We learn from persons who were present, that Mr. Weld was listened to by a full house, a most crowded and attentive audience, filling completely the largest church in that city—the first Methodist. He was heard with most rapt attention for an hour and a half. Next Sunday he occupies again the desk at Music Hall; and on the Sunday after, it is expected he will be at Fitchburg. On the Sunday following (the 7th of December) he will attend the annual meeting of the County Anti-Slavery Society at Worcester."

ABOLITION TENDENCIES OF THE WAR.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from La Grange, Tenn., Nov. 7, says: "On my way here, and while joining the army of the Tennessee, I have been more than ever impressed with the Abolition tendencies of the war. Numerous officers, from Generals to Lieutenants, whom I might name, that, at the beginning of the troubles, were violently pro-slavery, have now become as decidedly anti-slavery in their feelings and opinions; proving that the longer the struggle is protracted, the earlier and nearer will be the end of the slave institution." This is but a specimen of information that reaches us from more than one division of the army.

FREE LECTURES FOR WOMEN.—A course of free lectures for women, by Mrs. Eliza W. Farnham, M.D., will be commenced at the Cooper Institute (Music Hall, fourth floor), on Wednesday next, Dec. 3, at 2 o'clock, p. m., and be continued on Wednesdays and Fridays, at the same hour, for several weeks. Subject—The Laws of Health and Human Development, in their application to the women of the present day. Mrs. Farnham is an able lecturer, and will doubtless have large audiences. An opportunity to gain such instruction as her lectures afford, "without money and without price," is not often presented.

OBITUARY.

DIED, in Boston, on Tuesday, 18th inst., of typhus fever, GERTRUDE, only daughter and child of Mrs. Lucy N. Colman, formerly of Albany, N. Y., aged 18.

In this sudden and sorrowful dispensation, the before widowed, but now desolated mother shares deeply in the sympathy of her friends and acquaintance. May Divine tempers the wind to the shorn lamb shed around her, in this dark hour, the sunshine of his tenderest love!

The deceased had just commenced the study of medicine, and was a young gentlemanly intelligent, mature, and promising for her years.

"Where is they, thou angel bright?
Oh! I know where they are!
What beauteous visions fill thy sight?
What loves delight thy breast?
What glories fill thy heavenly home,
To outer sense unknown?
And, oh! what faithful bosoms move
In union with thine own?"

—*Liberator.*

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

The army of the Potomac is on the Rappahannock, over against Fredericksburg. Gen. Sumner demanded the surrender of the place, naming the hour within which he would proceed to shell it if the demand were not complied with. The bombardment, however, had not commenced at last advices. There are preparations on both sides for a great battle.

We have stirring news from New Orleans. A series of orders has been issued by Gen. Butler, the tenor of which serve as additional proof that no difficulty can arise in his Department which he is not able to grasp. The property within the District recently possessed by Gen. Weitzel, to be sold at auction as real estate in Lafourche District, is declared sequestered, and all sales or transfers of it are forbidden. This District comprises all the Parishes of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, excepting the parishes of Plaquemine and Jefferson. A Commission is appointed to take possession of the District, and the sugar plantations are to be worked by them where they are not worked by their owners, and negro or white labor may be employed at discretion. All property belonging to disloyal persons is to be inventoried and held for the benefit of the government, under the provisions of the Confiscation Act. Another order suppresses distilleries and other manufactories of strong drink. The Commissioners that are officer found drinking intoxicating liquors in any public drinking-place will be recommended to the President for dismissal from the service. Another order suppresses the newspaper called the *National Advocate*, for an improper publication. Still another prohibits the arrest of any slave unless the person arresting knows that such slave is owned by a loyal citizen. Gen. Shepley, as Military Governor of the State, has also issued two important orders. One directs an election of two members of Congress from the First and Second Congressional Districts of the State. The election is appointed for the 3d of December, and is to fill vacancies in the Thirty-seventh Congress. The other exempts household goods from seizure to the amount of $300.

Rebel Retaliation.

The Richmond *Enquirer*, of the 22d, contains the following:

We have obtained a copy of the order which has been issued by the President relative to the reported massacre at Palmyra, an account of which we published a few days ago. We publish it to let the people see the extent of the retaliation which the President has taken in the matter:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, RICHMOND, NOV. 17, 1862.

Lieut.-Gen. T. J. Holmes, Commanding Trans-Mississippi Department.

GENERAL: Inclosed you will find a slip from the Memphis *Daily Appeal* of the 3d inst., containing an account, purporting to be derived from the Palmyra (Missouri) *Courier*, a Federal journal, of the murder of ten Confederate prisoners, of Missouri, by order of Gen. McNeil of the U. S. army.

You will communicate by flag of truce to the Federal officer commanding that Department, and accompany it with the facts as stated. If they be so, you will demand the immediate surrender of Gen. McNeil to the Confederate authorities, and if this demand is not complied with, you will inform said commanding officer that you are ordered to execute the first ten United States officers who may be captured and fall into your hands. Very respectfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The Army and the Negroes.

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

FROM TENNESSEE.—A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* writes from Lagrange, Tennessee, under date of November 7: "About the time of our arrival, a squad of rebels reported to Mr. McPherson that they had found the bodies of five negroes, who had evidently been murdered. No information could be procured concerning the affair, the individuals who reported it had been killed while attempting to escape to the Federal lines. The slaves who escape from below occasionally tell frightful tales of brutality on the part of their masters whenever they suspect them of a design of escaping. Vague rumors have reached us of the burning of several negroes in northern Louisiana a few days ago. Only the Almighty knows the extent of the horrors of the occurrence, but the rumor coming through various sources, has a sad appearance of reality.

"The influx of negroes into our lines has been very large. Four or five hundred set their faces northward yesterday, and this morning I saw one group of fifty at the Provost-Marshal's office, awaiting some disposition to be made of them. Secretary Stanton lately issued an order that no more negroes should be taken to Illinois. Unless I am greatly misinformed, there are thousands of them in

Miscellaneous Department

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

A PRAYER FOR THE NATION.

Cast down, yet not destroyed, nor stricken quite,
We bow, O Father, beneath thy chastening rod.
Look down upon us in our sorrow's night,
And pity us, oh our God!

We have not walked upright; like lost sheep
Wandering upon the mountains, we have strayed;
And now the night is dark, the way is steep,
And we are sore afraid.

Be merciful! We are not wise nor strong
Like Thee, to hate the evil, love the good;
We are but children,—knowing right, yet wrong,
Yet weak, with babyhood.

Eternal years are Thine; Thine awful face,
Upowed, bears the ages on its frost;
We are of yesterday,—an infant race,—
And mercy is Thy wont.

Crush us not, God! The nations, as a drop
In the full bucket, yet are counted Thine;
Thou art our Maker;—art Thou less our Prop?—
Omipotent! Divine!

We have no plea to offer, only this:
Regard our weakness; we are very frail.
And while Thy chastening hand on poor lips kiss,
Oh, let our plea prevail!

Scourge us,—but let Thy mercy hold the rod,
Driving us on to Duty, not to Death;
Then let Thy sword, Oh God, our fathers' God,
Return unto its sheath.

Fitchburg, Mass. CAROLINE A. MASON.

CHRIST THE SPIRIT.

[Extract from a review, in *The Christian Examiner* for November, of Gen. Pitchcock's work, entitled, "Christ the Spirit, being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity."]

The historical Christ is not the real Christ; the real Christ is the spiritual, or the Spirit. Without the historical Christ, the Spirit is shadowy. Without the historical Christ, the Spirit is himself.

Spirit is reality; substantial, the solid, the permanent, the palpable thing. It is the base of all existence. It is the ground of occurrences in the natural world as well as in the world of appearances—a phrase which implies that there is something beneath and behind them which is not an appearance; that something is spirit. Creation sprung into being, say the old Scriptures, at a word; the word was the spirit form of a thought; the thought was the ethereal expression of a being. The real part of the Christ is the spiritual part, by universal admission. It is his faith, his love, his humanity, the inward life, his believer hopes to be saved by touching the hem of his Hebrew garment, by having a remnant of his seamless coat? The virtue of the miracles, even to them who believe the miracles, and believe that not to believe the miracles is not to be saved, lies in the living will that wrought the miracles, and in the loving sentiment that informs them. Who goes to Christ for anything but his thought? Who hopes to be helped by anything but his affection? Who expects to be blessed by anything but his communion of his life? Who opens his soul to anything but the breath of his aspiration? The Christ you love, O literal and matter-of-fact brother, is, after all, the spiritual Christ. The Christ of the scriptures, of the dogmatist, is the spiritual Christ, if it is in any Christ at all. It is the truth in the creed that enlightens and redeems, not the words in the creed. The Christ of the formalist, the ritualist, the ecclesiastic, is the spiritual Christ, if it is any Christ at all. The bread and the wine would be inoperative if they were not the body of God. The prayer is not addressed to the image—but to the divinity behind the image.

True, it is replied; but the divinity would be nothing to us without the image. How could we see the spiritual Christ if he had not flesh and bones as we have? How could we find him, if he had not a local habitation? How could we know he has to be the one we were looking for, if he did not present himself with open credentials of a very unmistakable kind? The spirit must be authenticated, otherwise we shall find ourselves believing every spirit, and shall miss the one we want to find and no mistake. This book, we know, contains the literal fact; this article, we are certain, embodies the pure truth; this shrine holds the real divinity. Are you sure of that? It seems to us that if spirit possesses one quality above another, it is that of being self-evidencing. It is its own witness, and its own demonstration. They who know it, know it under one form as well as another. It knows its own and is known of them. Spirit is the Christ, authenticated by the form, it authenticates the form. The doctrine proves the miracle, not the miracle the doctrine. We do not accept Beelzebub on the strength of wonders, nor would any number of wonders make us believe his Satanship to be the Christ. Scepticism always assails the letter first, even if it carries its assault further. It is harder to verify the history than to accredit the person of whom the history dwells; it is harder to legitimate a creed, than to assent to the truth it embodies; it is harder to justify the rite, than to receive the idea which the rite symbolizes. The beauty of the Christ's moral character needs no evidence; it shines through the sky of his life, as the moon through the cloudy skies of controversy like the moon. However it may have been with those who saw its earliest appearing, it has been so long with us that we know it without questioning whence and hence its side. That person stands out plain to all eyes, serene, majestic, well-defined, not a feature erased, not a line weakened, every trait fairly and broadly marked, its glory confessed by all lookers-on, its truth acknowledged, its beauty admired; but among those who lovingly bend before it are some who have torn his historical garb all to tatters, who have stripped him of his messianic robes, taken off his crown of miracles, made his mock-royal with these narratives on which his figure is painted, and abandoned the hope of ever knowing how he looked to the eyes of his contemporaries. The seamless coat of his history can no more be reproduced; but the spirit is found in abroad in Christendom, and the spirit nothing, because the date of its advent on the stage of time is lost, and the accurate record of its deeds has been rubbed out by the flowing years? Is it nothing, because the sanhedrim cannot identify the sacred places, and the historian cannot vouch for the authenticity of every recorded incident? Is it nothing, when it has become idealized by the loving sentiment and transfigured by the adoring imagination of mankind? Is it nothing, when the mind surrounds it with a halo of splendor, when the heart clings to it with its tenderest affections, when the soul sits at its feet in humility? Is it nothing, because the universal Spirit has taken on this more only spiritually discerned, they are spiritually propagated. Great souls require no history; it is of no consequence where they were born, when they lived, what dress they wore, what fortune they met, what wealth they possessed. Of some of them it may be said that they had no history whatever; hardly a cord of trustworthy tradition holds them attached to the earth. We have them, nevertheless; they lived, they are ours; the scantiness of their history permits us to see the majestic grace of their march. To be born into the spiritual world one needs not an earthly father or mother. Was not the Christ born of the Holy Ghost? The Muse of Greece never introduced anybody to a child of God. The best she can do is to bring one to the door. He may come to the door, and yet not be seen.

A question of priority is raised between spirit and form. One says, form precedes and creates spirit; spirit is an effluence from matter. The Church preserves the mind and generates the life of the Christ. It is by joining the Church that one puts himself in communication with that august soul. It is by believing in the creed that one appropriates the truth which the creed contains. It is by studying the New Testament that the impression of the image fixed there is reproduced and revived. Not only does the Spirit Christ live for us in these symbolical forms and doctrines and books; he is perpetually created anew by them in the hearts of believers, and without them he would not exist. Suppose the Church gone, the New Testament and the creed gone, the Gospels gone, where would be the Christ? We reply, where he was before Church, scarcely before creed or Gospel came into being. There was a time when he was, and there was no Church. There were Churches before there was a New Testament, and very living, faithful Churches, too. There were apostles before there were Churches. There was a teaching, working, self-sacrificing Christ before there were apostles; and before there was a teaching, working, self-sacrificing Christ—a Christ with artificial or unnatural and manual performance—there was a still, interior, meditative, thinking Christ—a soul communing with the Infinite, breathing in the Eternal, fortifying itself with faith, hope and charity, and accumulating the virtue which afterward streamed in loving light from his form, dropped beneficently from his fingers' ends, and flowed, a healing power, from the hem of his garment. This fair image reproduced itself by its own sunlight on the hearts as tablets which were sensitive enough to receive the impression, and which were not again obliterated from the "negative," which never faded. The friends of Jesus had no New Testament. It is not likely that they put together his sayings and doings, and so made a compendium of his life. Memory was to do duty for them, much in those sayings and doings which they could not understand; much that conflicted with their prejudices; much that grieved them, and in spite of which they could not but love him as they did. It must be that a virtue came out of him, too fine to be articulated or demonstrated in acting; an aroma, in which this great soul transpired and communicated itself to those who were in the mood to receive it, showed them—had a more permanent effect than he painted.

They attempted to describe him afterwards in the Gospels of the New Testament; not some strong, fully, being manifested in the spiritual conception, and not of the balance of the heart being unable to say much. They described him much better in their obedience to him, in their personal and social virtues, in their hopes, aspirations, endeavors, in their love-fears, their care for the poor and sick, their respect for the slave, their earnest humanity that made the Gentiles stare, the nobleness and willingness of their self-sacrifice, the heroic and holy spirit of their character which astonished, and their daily prayer that the kingdom of God might come on the earth. They showed whom they had been with, and in that way exhibited him. The longer this image was in the world, the clearer it became, and the more powerfully it wrought on mankind. The Spirit Christ wrote his autobiography in large letters that burned with light. We moved Augustine, Bernard, Gerson, Tauler, Kempis, Fénélon to some extent, and Channing and Dwight, and wrote many a hymn, he him in their souls, and many a sermon, he inspired many a