his fact in the many

mercore, as a nection is interested.

POSTAGE.—The annual postage on The Independent, sent by mail, is 26 cents.

CANADA SUBSCRIBERS must send this amount to us in advance, as we have to prepay the U. S. postage.

RAMPSON LOW, SON & CO., London, England, receive subscriptions for this paper.

The Independent.

THE INQUIRY-MEETING.

BY REV. THEODORE L CUYLER.

In many a community where this copy of The Independent shall be read, the Spirit of God is sending many an awakened soul to the inquirymeeting. Every genuine prayer-meeting is a gathering of inquirers after God; but it is well to have other gatherings exclusively for those anxious hearts who are inquiring the way of eternal life. They should be conducted with an especial wisdom, simplicity, and freedom of speech; in the hands of the rash, and the weakheaded or the presumptuous, they often may become agencies of enduring mischief. The main aim of the inquiry-meeting should be to co-operate with the Holy Spirit and to direct troubled souls to Jesus Christ.

Among many such that we have attended, we recall one now that left its impress on us and on our ministry for a long period afterward. It was held in a large private house, which had been thronged that night with a prayer-meeting of unusual fervor and earnestness. The atmosphere seemed unearthly in its influence on all who came within it; even the lads who sat on the stairway in the hall were melted into a tearful solemnity, as if the day of judgment were projecting its shadow over the scene. Two or three veteran Christians wrestled at the mercy-seat; two or three sweet inviting hymns were sung-hymns that with invisible hands took hold of every soul present, and led them up toward the cross of the bleeding Savior. When the benediction had been pronounced, a request was made for every one who wished a word of counsel to help them in their search for Christ, to remain. Nearly the whole company sank back quietly into their seats, and bowed their heads. Beckoning three or four experienced Christians to aid us, we commenced a circuit of the rooms, feeling that among so many whose feelings were unknown to us, the bow must often be "drawn at a venture."

There are two questions which we always find pertinent at an inquiry-meeting: "Have you ever given your heart to Christ?" if not, "What is the hindrance that stands in your way?" The first person to whom these questions were addressed, was a young female dressed in black, whose face betokened a deep solemnity. Her head dropped in a moment; she burst into tears, and in her emotion her answer was unintelligible to us. Telling her that Jesus was then present beside her to forgive and accept her, we passed on-and soon learned that she had been a confirmed neglecter of the house of God for years. Ours was the first personal invitation she had ever had to give her heart to Christ. In nearly every congregation there are probably scores who never were individually addressed by a solitary Christian! What must they think of us?

nightly anguish to her struggling soul—that weeping face was overspread with the serenity of the peace that passeth understanding. She became as faithful a Christian as she had been faithful a sinner. We have generally observed that the deeper the conviction of sin, the deeper is the conversion to Christ. Shallow plowing produces small crops. The twofold aim of effective conversation or preaching is to show a sinner first himself, and then Christ. Without the Spirit's aid he will see neither.

Further on in the room, as we passed on, we found a shy, timid member of our congregation, with whom we had never had a word of conversation. As she sat with her face covered, we addressed her a few words inviting her to Jesus, and turned away. A few days after, a friend called on us and said, "I wish you would call on M- T-, and try to calm her. She is in utter despair. You did not know that she is a professor of religion, and you spoke to her as if she were an awakened sinner. Your remarks have so wrought upon her that she fears now that she never was a Christian. If she ever was converted, she considers herself as having sinned away her Savior. Go and see her; for we fear she will lose her reason. We called upon her at once, and found her the picture of despair. She told us that she had joined the church under a false hope of conversion; assuredly, if she ever was a Christian, she had of late lived in the neglect of duty. It was a long time before her weeping eyes could be turned toward Calvary, or she could be persuaded that there was mercy left for one whe had so wounded the Savior in the house of his friends. But at length the Master's gentle voice whispered peace to her. The heart-wound which our stray arrow-guided by God-had produced, was healed; and she lived to adorn a profession of which she once thought herself unworthy. During the evening we discovered several churchmembers who were abandoning a false and rotten "hope," and were seeking a surer ground for their feet. This is one of the most decisive proofs of s genuine revival; the blasts of the Spirit uproot, like a mighty wind in a forest, whatever is hellow and decayed, or is not well anchored with its "subterranean cables" to the Rock of Ages. The Spirit comes at such times as a searcher of the inner life of the church. He finds scores who were self-deceived, or who had lost the little religion they once possessed. Do not one-half of all our churches need a reconversion? Genuine regeneration by the Spirit is wrought, as we believe, but once; yet to a cold and backsliding Christian, the return of the soul to Jesus, and to a better life, is a reconversion on the part of such a backslider. As for the self-deceived, their duty is not to quit the communion of the church, but to seek at once a renewing grace which they have It is impossible, in one brief paragraph, to nar-

rate a tithe of all the interesting cases that discovered themselves to us in that searching and arousing interview. One such hour teaches a pastor more than a month of ordinary reutine labor. He gathers materials for a dozen sermons. We found in one corner of the room a young lawyer who had been running away from the meetings for a fortnight to escape the Spirit. But he could stay away no longer, and the moment he entered the house of God, a thrilling sermon on the words, " past feeling," had cut him down, and there he lay among the wounded, crying for mercy. He is now a deacon of the church. "What shall I do?" said one to me; "I do not feel enough." Then said we to him, "Give your heart to Jesus as it is, and determine to serve

him; what is required to save a soul is faith-Another, who had made but small headway for

Relooging to the Methedists are 101 churches; 125

The Independent.

"But as we were allowed of God to be put in Trust with the Gospel, even so we speak, not as pleasing Men but God, which trieth our Hearts."

below.)

VOLUME XV.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1863.

NUMBER 752.

lieu of the pulpit as new generally constructed, of Ohio, (a moderate Republican,) and carried by take. We counseled him to go home, and call his would it not be well to have on the platform a a vote of 24 to 12 in the Senate, and by a large majority in the House. Its supporters were in frame, similar to a music-stand, consisting of a good part Republicans, who thus evinced their

family around him, and take his Bible and begin to serve God in his house. He did so; and although his first family prayer was in the broken dialect of a babe, it proved the turning-point in his history. In one part of the room we found two church-members in loving converse, who had not spoken for a year! The fire from heaven had melted their enmity in an hour. Decisions, too, were made that night which have told on the eternity of many a soul. The seed-sowings of years were harvested in one brief evening. We have attended many an inquiry-meeting since, but none that seemed to be pitched quite so near the gate of heaven. God send to all our churches such scenes as that! They are like Israel's encampment at Elim, under the threescore and ten palm-trees, and beside the overflowing wells of water.

> EMOTION IN PREACHING. BY PROF. F. W. FISK.

Emotion naturally produces emotion. The Roman poet was never truer to human nature than when he said: "If you wish me to weep, you must first weep yourself." We are so constituted that the manifestation of feeling by another tends to awaken like feelings in us. On this grand truth rests the whole structure of eloquence. For all eloquence that deserves the name comes from emotion, and goes right on to produce emotion. The difference between true and false oratory lies chiefly in the fact that the one is the offspring of emotion in view of the thought uttered, and the other is not. The true erator is one who says what he has to say, not because it is expected of him, but because he cannot help saying it; because his soul is so fired with the thought which burns within, that it must flame forth in speech. And the speaker who is thus inspired by an idea, though indifferent in mental capacity and utterance, will be an impressive speaker. The feeling that wells up within him will, as water in connected vessels,

seek the same level in his hearers. And this principle prevails as well in sacred as in secular discourse, for the laws of the human mind are not contravened when we pass from the one to the other. The method of persuasion must therefore be the same in both. The preacher who would incite his audience to emotion and action, must himself be profoundly moved by the truth which he utters. He will make the tide of emotion rise no higher in his hearers than it has risen within himself. He must go before them in every step of their progress from apprehension

But deep feeling on the part of the sacred

orator is not the only thing that is needed in order to give the truth which he presents most power over his hearers. He may have strong emotion, and yet have a very imperfect way of expressing it. It may lie within him very much as the fire of a volcano often lies concealed beneath its surface, giving faint indications of the intensity of the heat below. But it is evident | Civil War. that the prescher's emotion can affect his hearers only so far as it becomes visible to them-only to the degree in which it clothes itself in appropriate expression. The media through which it is able to express itself are words, tones, looks, and gestures. A given thought may be thrown into a form of speech full of feeling-may be set forth by language and illustration instinct with emotion. And this is the utmost limit to which the printed page can go. But the speaker is able, in addition, to summon to his aid tone; look, and gestures, each almost as perfect a medium of expressing emotion as language itself. What a world of feeling lies within the compass of the human voice! With what accuracy and power can it portray every emotion of the soul! Who can remain unmoved by the pathos of its tones? And these all are at the service of the sacred orator. Why should he not seek by every means at his command to become master of so grand an instrument for appropriately setting forth truths which appeal to all that is deepest and noblest in man? And yet, with rare exceptions, how little time is given to the culture of the voice by those who enter the Christian ministry! Entering the pulpit with little knowledge of the principles of a good utterance, and less practice, what wonder is it that not a few should find themselves contracting some habit of voice which serves to make both the truth unimpressive and themselves barely endurable? It would seem strange were it less common, that so many are willing to devote years to vocal culture for no other purpose than forcibly to represent character and sentiment on the stage, while of those who have consecrated their lives to the utterance of the most sublime and affecting truths which the world contains, comparatively so few are found who, by a careful training of the voice, endeavor impressively to set forth these truths in the pulpit. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the giving of only a half-hour each day for a single year to vocal culture would work a marvelous change for the better in many a preacher's delivery. But words and tones can express emotion with searcely more vividness than movements of the body. The language of look, gesture, and attitude is intelligible, and may be made impressive. It is a language which appeals strongly to sense. The great orators of antiquity wielded it with marvelous power. And the sacred orator may, if he will, gain such mastery of t, that it shall greatly aid him in his pulpit minstrations. The chief impediment to its free use is the form of the pulpit as generally constructed. It is well-nigh difficult to conceive of a position in which a preacher who would avail himself of every means at his command to impress divine truth upon his audience can be placed more unfavorable for the accomplishment of his object than the pulpit in many of our churches. It is true, indeed, that great improvement has, of late, been going on in this part of church architecture. The ancient pulpit, placed high in air, and so incasing the minister that little of his body below his arms was visible to his audience, has mostly disappeared, and less forbidding and more social structures have taken its place. But is there not yet much room for improvement? The desk

in most of our churches still conceals more than

half of the person of the preacher, and hence

allows him to use the language of only half his

body. The remaining portion of his person is, so

far as attitude is concerned, of no use whatever, and

is only serviceable as furnishing a pedestal to

the upper part of his body, which, for any assist-

ance it receives from the lower portion, might as

well stand as a bust on the top of the desk. Be-

hind such a structure it is no marvel that few

preachers attempt more than an occasional ges-ture, and, even then, not without some solicitude

some time, inquired what was the next step to I lest they should do violence to themselves. In

small iron rod, topped with a board of a size suffi-cient to hold the Bible and hymn-book? It might be fashioned into a graceful form, and it would leave the speaker at perfect liberty to employ, in

delivery, the language of his whole body.

Such a stand would doubtless at first seen somewhat naked to eyes accustomed to massive pulpits of elaborate workmanship, and might not appear very desirable to those who, wont to speak partially concealed from their audiences, would be called to step forth into open view. But would not some such change in the form of the pulpit, as has been indicated, tend to bring the preacher into closer sympathy with his hearers, and to give him greater command both of himself and of them? And if the change would conduce to this result, it ought to be made. But the language of emotion, of whatever kind it is, is valuable to the preacher only as it is genuine-only as it is the true expression of his own feeling. Words, tones, and gestures made to represent emotion that does not exist, render him who employs them in the pulpit absolutely contemptible. But when they come at the behest of one so full of emotion in view of a great truth, that he must make his hearers feel as he feels, they invest him with dignity and power. Hence the source of all true elo quence in the preacher must lie in his vital union and sympathy with Christ. Only as he feels the Divine Life coursing through his own, will his "preaching be in demonstration of the Spirit and

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE COMPROMISE THAT WAS NOT

BY HORACE GREELEY.

In all human probability, we are approaching the end of a great and terrible Civil War. Appearances may deceive; expectations may be disappointed, as were those so confidently entertained one year ago; but there is nothing in view to justify a hope or fear that the Slaveholders' Rebellion can outlast the present year. And, as the catastrophe becomes more and more obvious, the Northern champions of Slavery redouble their exertions to break its fall by awakening a sympathetic interest in the breasts of the loyal Millions. To this end, they persistently assert that the slaveholders were goaded into Rebellion by wanton insults, by systematic irritation, by persistent aggression, and by the manifestation of a domineering, encroaching, hate-engendering spirit on the part of the Republicans. Ex-Senator Bigler of Pa., in a recent letter, and Prof. S. F. B. Morse in a 'conservative' pamphlet, have each pressed this view upon their readers through an array of skillfully selected facts and ingeniously distorted deductions. I propose to traverse this ground carefully, and to show by unquestionable documents that the Republicans went to the very outer verge of justifiable concession, with single and earnest intent to avoid and avert the calamities of

occurred in the Autumn of 1859. It was suppressed by a force of U. S. marines; but the defeated and captured insurgents were at once turned over to the authorities of Virginia, who tried, convicted, and hung them. The Republican National Committee, at its next meeting in this City, pointedly condemned that and all similar raids in its call for a National Convention; and that Convention still more emphatically denounced such doings in its unanimously adopted Chicago Platform. So that attempt at a slave insurre tion cannot justly be charged to the Republicans. whose only action with regard to it was that of

official condemnation as aforesaid.] -The popular vote in November, 1860, having clearly foreshadowed the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, the Secession movement in the Cotton States, already prearranged, was promptly commenced by South Carolina. Other States more deliberately followed, until seven Cotton States (Arkansas not included) had united in a Confederacy, separate from the Union and necessarily hostile to its claims of jurisdiction and authority over said States. As the States seceded, or soon after, their representatives bade formal adieu to Congress and departed. The Border States-that is, the Slave States that still adhered to the Unionsaid to the Free States, "You must evince a conciliatory spirit-you must act so as to allay apprehensions that you mean to destroy our State Rights-or we shall be compelled to follow in the footsteps of the seceders." Hence the call of a non-authoritative " Peace Congress" at Washington, and all the kindred demonstrations of the Winter of 1860-1. Let us briefly glance at them :

1. The secession of the delegations from the Cotton States gave the Republicans, for the first time, a majority in each House of Congress in the course of that Winter. That majority was required to organize the new Territories of Colorado, Dakotah, and Nevada, covering a large portion of the area for which Freedom and Slavery had so stubbornly contended. The Republicans might then have excluded Slavery from those Territories, by a clause or line in the acts calling them respectively into being. They decided, however, in view of the volcanic condition of the South, to maintain a studied silence on the subject, and the Territorial bills were framed and passed accordingly. This was their first concession for Peace's sake; and, in view of their opportunities and the convictions of their constituents, it was a great one. [No good effect having been produced by it, the last Congress has excluded Slavery by positive prohibition from these Territories, and also from that subsequently formed and entitled

II. The Border States, through their representatives, said to the Free States, " The secession of the Cotton States exposes us to new and formidable perils. We are all unanimously and inflexibly hostile to any interference by Congress or any department of the Federal power with our domestie institutions. The Constitution, it is argued, forbids such interference; but it may be amended. What security have we that you will not unite in carrying an amendment over our heads (more than two-thirds of the non-seceded States being already Free) whereby you will be authorized to abolish Slavery in our despite?" Congress answered this question by framing and adoptingsubject to ratification by three-fourths of the States-the following addition to the twelfth section of the Federal Constitution :

"No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which shall authorise or give Congress power to abolish or inter-fere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to service or labor by the laws of said State."

bling of a National Convention-not a mere volunteer gathering of party politicians, such as we have seen assembled quadrennially for the last thirty years, but a lineal successor of that of '87, ever which Washington presided, and wherein Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Gerry, etc., framed the Federal Constitution. President Lincoln (not yet inaugurated) promptly and heartily seconded

readiness to make any warrantable effort to con-

ciliate, assure, and retain even a part of the South.

It was scouted by Senator Mason of Virginia, as

merely offering as a concession to the South one

plank of the Chicago Platform. (For which, see

III. Kentucky, through her Legislature, early

in the Winter of '60-61, recommended the assem-

the suggestion. So did Gov. Morgan of this State ; so did most of our prominent Republicans. Virginia proposed a "Peace Congress," composed of delegates deputed by the several States to meet at Washington in February, '61, and New York, with most other non-seceded States, sent delegations of their ablest citizens to that volunteer Congress. The Republican States generally sent strong men of either party; the Slave States sent none but Pro-Slavery men. The Congress, when assembled, exhibited a decided Pre-Slavery ascendency Mr. D. D. Field (Republican) of this city submitted to it the following proposition :

"The Union of the States under the Constitution is in dissoluble, and no state can secole from the Union. or nullify an act of Congress, or absolve its citizens from their paramount obligation of obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States." This the 'conservative' majority promptly laid

on the table, where it still remains. Gov. Roger S. Baldwin (Republican) of Conn. proposed the following:

"Whereas, Unhappy differences exist which have alienated from each other portions of the people of the United States, to such an extent as seriously to disturb the peace of the nation and impair the regular and efficient action of the Gevernment within the sphere of its constitutional powers and duties; and "Whereas, The Legislature of the State of Kentucky has made application to Congress to call a Cenvention for propering amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and

pesing amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and
"Whereas, It is believed to be the opinion of the people of other States that amendments to the Constitution are or may become necessary to secure to the people of the United States of every section the full and equal enjoyment of their rights and liberlies, so far as the same may depend for their security and protection on the powers granted to or withheld from the General Government in pursuance of the national purphese for which it was ordained and established,
"This Conference does therefore recommend to the several States to unite with Kentucky in her application to Congress to call a Convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, to be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States, or to Conventions therein, for ratification, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be preposed by Congress in accordance with the provisions in the fifth article of the Constitution."

-This, it will be seen, was Kentucky's own project; yet Kentucky in the "Peace Congress' voted against it, as did every other Slaveholding and 'Conservative' State-thirteen in all. The Republicans supported it and gave it the votes of

Mr. Amos Tuck of N. H. moved a Union Address to the People, closing as follows:

"Received, That this Conference recognizes the wellunderstood proposition that the Constitution of the United States 2: as no power to Congress, or any branch of the Federal Government, to interfere in any manner with Slavery in any of the States; and we are assured by abundant testi-mony, that neither of the great political organizations ex-isting in the country contemplates a violation of the spirit of the Government of the great of the constitution of the spirit

in any of the States; and we are assured by abundant tenumony, that neither of the great political organizations existing in the country contemplates a violation of the spirit of the Constitution in this regard, or the procurement of any amendment thereof, by which Congress, or any department of the General Government, shall ever have jurisdiction over Slavery in any of the States.

"Resolved. That the Constitution was ordained and established, as set forth in the preamble, by the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, established, as set forth in the preamble, by the people of rithe common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity; and when the people of any State are not in full enjoyment of all the benefits intended to be secured to them by the Constitution, or their rights under it are disregarded, their tranquillity disturbed, their prosperity retarded, or their liberty imperiled by the people of any other State, full and adequate redress can and ought to be provided for such grievences.

rievences.
... Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States, and **Resolved. That the Constitution of the United States, and the acts of Congress in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land, to which every citizen owes faithful obedience; and it is therefore respectfully recommended to the Legislatures of the several States to consider impartially whetever complaints may be made of acts, as inconsistent therewith, by stster States or their citizens, and carefully revise their statutes in view of such complaints, and to repeal whatever provisions may be found to be in contravention of that supreme law.

"Resolved, That this Conference recommend to the Legislatures of the several States of the Union to follow the example of the Legislatures of the state of Kentucky and of Illinois, in applying to Congress to call a Convention for the proposing of amendments to the Constitution of the United states, pursuant to the fiftharticle thereof."

This was in like manner voted down, eleven 'Conservative') States to nine; and the "Congress ' proceeded to adopt (in substance) Mr. Crittenden's project, dividing the Territories on the line of 36° 30', and consigning all south thereof to Slavery. This the Republicans did not and could not support, it being directly in the teeth of their solemn declaration of principle and virtual pledge to the country embodied in the Chicago Platform, as follows:

"8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom: that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that 'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation wherever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, or of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States."

-Here was a solemn declaration not only that Congress ought not to authorize slaveholding in a Federal Territory, but that it had no right to do so-that the Constitution sternly forbade it. Having just elected a President on this platform, the Republicans were required to turn short about and do the very thing that they had formally proclaimed that they should not and could not do. They were required to do this, not because their convictions had changed, for it was notorious that they had not; but because it was threatened that a giant Rebellion should divide and devastate the country if they did not. Ought they to have done this? Could they have done it without incurring eternal infamy? And yet their refusal to do it renders them, according to Prof. Merse and Senator Bigler, largely if not chiefly responsible for the Civil War inaugurated by slaveholding Secession and Rebellion!

-The preposition thus rejected by them was not a new one. It was first presented to Congress in substance by Gen. Armistead Burt of S. C., who, on the 15th of January, 1847, moved to add to the Slavery-prohibiting clause of the bill organizing the Territory of Oregon the following: "Inserueh as the whole of said Territory lies north of the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, known as the line of the Missouri Compromise"—

which was rejected-Yeas 82; Nays 114-only four or five Yeas in all from Free States. Every Whig from the Free States voted Nay, as did at least eleven-twelfths of the Democrats from those

Next year-Aug. 10, 1848-this bill was again up, and Stephen A. Douglas (who had voted for Gen. Burt's proposition in the House, but had since been transferred to the Senate) moved a clause directly extending the Missouri line of 36° 30' due west to the Pacific Ocean. The Senate agreed—Yeas 33; Nays 21—but the House rethall authorise or give Congress power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof,
including that of persons held to service or labor by the laws
of said State."

This amendment was framed by Mr. Corwin with the Slavehelding minority. So the House

distinctly reiterated its refusal to extend the Missouri line to the Pacific-and the Senate was compelled to recede-Yeas 29; Nays 25-and organize Oregon as a free-labor Territory, without a stipulation that the Missouri line should be extended indefinitely westward. This was before there was any Republican party; but the determination of the Free States not to be made a party to Slavery Extension was nevertheless decided, and all but unanimous.

And now the refusal of a party based distinctly and formally on the principle of Slavery Restriction to make itself clearly a party to systematic and comprehensive Slavery Extension is cited by Northern politicians as a provocation of and in some sense an excuse for the 'Slaveholders' 'Re-

IV. Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1861. In his Inaugural Address, he thus held out the clive-branch to those in the Slave States who might have been misled into fears of danger to their social order from his administra-

"Apprehensions seem to exist, among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be on-dangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quete from one of those speeches when I deslare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of Slavery in the States where it exists.' I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the Platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we domounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as 'among the gravest of crimes.'

"I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing e I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is suscepti-ble, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration."

-Such is a brief and hasty resume of the conciliatory overtures, explanations, proffers, and disclaimers, whereby the Republicans signalized their advent to power, in the vain but earnest hope of thereby dissipating baseless prejudices and groundless alarms, and thus averting the storm of Civil War. Did ever triumphant party before do so much to persuade its defeated antagonists to submit quietly to the constitution and laws of their own creation, in the just assurance that they would thus be shielded from all harm? And was ever accusation more wanton and wicked than that which charges the Republicans with having provoked and incited the Slaveholders' Rebellion by manifestations of a harsh, irritating, unconciliatory spirit just before and after Mr.

The armies of the Union are, on the whole, in good condition, in good spirits, and as well officered as could be expected. The summer campaign may be considered fully opened by the attack on Charleston and the operations of Grant, and the expedition of Gen. Banks into Middle Louisiana; the army of Gen. Resecrans has not moved decisively, but he is vigorously feeling the enemy along his front and keeping things lively by scouts and forays; and even while we write, news comes that Hooker has really crossed the Rappahannock. This, we wait, before believing.

—Meanwhile the navy continues to crawl about and catch many of the slower kind of prizes, and fleet rebel steamers, both of war and merchantmen, are constantly running the blockade or destroying

American ships.

—Indeed, the minor operations of the last fortnight exhibit a gratifying array of Union victories, none very enormous in extent, but all decided advantages, and admirably calculated to raise the spirits of our forces. These include the rebel retreat from Little Washington, N. C.; Stoneman's vigorous cavalry dash along the upper Rappahannock and back of it— the best he could do in the mud!—the very spirited repulse of the rebels on the line of the Nansemon and the capture of one of their field batteries and its force; three successful expeditions to different points in Tennessee; the severe defeat of the rebel attack on Cape Girardeau, Mo; the safe establishment of a strong fleet below Vicksburg; and the very ably managed expedition of Banks up Bayou Teche and

toward Opelousas.

—Truly, a bright list to begin with; a gay constellation to adorn our spring skies. O si sic omnes! At least, we may fitly hope.

THE ARMY PAID UP. The paymasters received on the 24th, and the soldiers will have received in a day or two, their whole pay up to April 30.

The steamer North American brought a few days ago from Liverpool to Portland seventeen American merchant captains. Of these eleven had sold their ships abroad because American vessels are so unsafe that they cannot get freight. *Four* more had their ships destroyed by the Alabama. The other two lost theirs by shipwreck.

The Peterhof's mail has been given up to Johnny

Bull, but it is said that there is proof enough to condemn her after all. REBELS SAFE IN WASHINGTON.

In the District of Columbia there is seven millions of dollars worth of rebel property liable to be confis-cated to the United States, and yet the U. S. District Attorney, Carrington, does not lift a finger to securs it. Naturally, he would not. He is a Marylander. Ould, rebel Assistant-Secretary of War, Semmes of the Alabams, and Buchanan's secretary, Thompson own property there. It is no wonder that a Govern-ment that lets treason nestle safely close under its wings finds it difficult to fight it successfully in the field. THE POOLISH CENSORSHIP.

Secretary Stanton seems to be possessed with the feolishest spites. The news that Porter's fleet had run past Vickaburg was in Washington Monday, and The N. Y. Tribune's correspondent would have sent the item forward. But Stanton's censor suppressed it. It is impossible to imagine any reason unless sheer bad temper.

THE SIEGE OF WASHINGTON, N. C. We give a brief account of this exceedingly creditable affair, which has turned out far better than we expected. We mentioned two weeks ago that Gen. Foster, then cooped up there, might probably have

Foster, then cooped up there, might probably have surrendered.

But it seems this plucky soldier did not have recourse to that method. The siege, it appears, commenced March 30, having been some days expected and prepared for. The rebels, 12,000 or 14,000 strong, and with at least 30 or 40 gans, opened parallels and formed quite a regular attack. Their first intention was to storm the post; finding it too strong, they set out to shell it out; at last Hill, superior in command, ordered Garnett to storm the place "any how," which Garnett declined, saying he should lose half his men going in and the rest coming out; so on April 15 off they went. They had fully expected to bag the whole garrison; and erected strong batteries to prevent communication by the Pamlico River,

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Delivered in New York or Brooklyn by earrier, 50c. additional.

Thirty cents a line for each insertion.

Forty cents a line for special Business Notices
On all Advertisements amounting to Fifty Dollars, or more,
the following discounts will be allowed: 10 per cent. on \$50
and over; 15 per cent. on \$100 and over; 20 per cent. on \$200
and over; 25 per cent. on \$500 and over.
Religious and other Notices, not exceeding four lines, One
dollar; over that, Thirty cents a line.

Marriages and Deaths, not exceeding four lines; Twenty;
two cents; over that, Fifteen cents a line.

Psyments for advertising must be made in advance. JOSEPH H. RICHARDS, PUBLISHER, No. 5 Beekman st., New York.

GEN. BANKS'S BRILLIANT SUCCESS. Gen. Banks seems certainly to have achieved a

Gen. Banks seems certainly to have achieved a success in his expedition westward from New Orleans which may fairly compensate for many errors in administration.

The rebels are supposed to have been preparing, with high hopes of success, an extensive plan for the recapture of New Orleans, in the wealthy country on the Teche and Attakapas, where in the tangled network of bayous and lakes connected with the Mississipi they were organizing a fleet and army. Banks seems to have moved with at least three immediate objects: to destroy the force and plans thus organizobjects: to destroy the force and plans thus organizing; to cut in upon the Red River country and rebel
supply route; and to make a diversion which might
aid whatever Grant and Farragut were doing.

Gen. Banks, having before thrown most of his
army westward to Brashear City, crossed to Berwick,

army westward to Brashear City, crossed to Berwick, and advanced thence up the Teche, on Saturday, April 11, driving a rebel cavalry and artillery force before them, and pushing on so swiftly and so entirely unexpectedly as to find deserted meals warm or the tables of rebel planters. During Sunday our army was pushing northwestward along the Teche; the rebels retiring rather sullenly. There was a sharp fight during Monday, but the rebels retired that night from the fortified posts they had held during the day, apparently feeling themselves overweighted. the day, apparently feeling themselves overweighted.
On Tuesday a co-operating force under General
Grover passed up Grand Lake, on our right, and
landing, flanked the enemy, who after some fighting retired again. At this time the rebels burned the Diana, recently taken from us, and which had been at work in the Teche to support their force; and

also burned three transports.

Still advancing and fighting, our army pushed forward to Centreville, to Frankliv, to New Iberia, to Vermillionville; at which point they were last heard Vermillionville; at which point they were last neard from; although subsequent reports speak of their reaching Opelousas and the Mississippi. We cannot give any details of the excellent generalship and perfect bravery which have marked the conduct of both officers are men. As far as heard from, the whole expedition was entirely successful actions they important foundries a sew. ful: seizing two important foundries, a saw-mill, and the very important New Iberia salt-works, from which vast quantities of salt have been fur-nished to the South. Besides the vessels above-mentioned, the rebels also destroyed their powerful iron-clad gun-boat Hart, nearly finished, and five transports with commissary and ammunition stores; and we captured also the Cornie, a rebel steamer loaded with rebel wounded. On Friday, the 17th, when our forces reached New Iberia, about fifteen hundred prisoners in all had been taken.

hundred prisoners in all had been taken.

VICKSBURG.

Eleven gun-boats, besides transports, have now got past Vicksburg, and are in fighting order. Gen. Grant's army is supposed to have gathered at Carthage, below Vicksburg; to have erossed the river; and to be operating against Vicksburg along the dry and passable highlands below, Farragut and Porter co-operating in the Big Black River. The first object appears to be to destroy the railroad bridge over the Big Black, east of Vicksburg, when the position will be cut off. The rebel batteries at Grand Gulf and Warrenton, below Vicksburg, seem to be unable to do any harm. to do any harm.

OTHER UNION ADVANTAGES. Small space obliges us to enumerate very briefly the other pleasant little victories sprinkled all along

our lines. our lines.

—The rebel Gen. Marmaduke, on Saturday the 25th, attacked Gen. McNeil at Cape Girardeau, summoning him to surrender with a false use of Gen. Price's name. McNeil refused, an attack was made and repulsed, Marmaduke retreated, McNeil chased him, and Gen. Vandever, from Ironton, flanking him and joining McNeil, they were, at last accounts, cutting him all to pieces and chasing his scattered horse-thieves back into Arkansas.

—A strong rebel force had been gathering for some time before Suffolk, with a design (apparently) of

Surprising or forcing our lines there and regaining Norfolk, Suffolk, and all that region. Gens. Dix and Peck were, however, ready, and our gun-boats carefully patroled the Nansemond. On Sunday, the 19th, a bold, swift dash by the N. Y. 89th and Conn. 8th Regiments across the Nansemond, the gun-boats helping, completely surprised a rebel battery of five Napoleon guns, and took guns, artillerymen, and all, with no loss. Our troops hold the post. The rebels on this, and finding everybody else ready too, seem to have given up their idea of attacking, and resumed

their watch.

—A brisk expedition by Gen. Reynolds about April 22, dashed into McMinnville, to the right of Bragg, and some 50 miles southwest of Nashville, took the town, captured two railroad trains and a wagon train, 50 prisoners, and Mrs. John Morgan, besides bringing home a number of Union refugees and valuable respectively. able reconnoissance news.

—An expedition planned in Gen. Burnside's de-partment, under Col. Graham, about April 20 occupied the rebel post of Celina, (on the Cumberland at the Tenn. and Ky. line,) and destroyed the town, 40 boats, 100,000 pounds of bacon, 10,000 bushels of corn, and an immense quantity of other supplies.

-On April 27, 250 Kentucky cavalry under Col. Watkins of the Ky. 6th surrounded and surprised the watkins of the ky. of surrounded and surprised the camp of the rebel 1st Texas Legion, eight miles south of Franklin, Tenn., (some 20 miles 8. of Nashville,) and 'hived" the whole force, 128 in number, including a colonel, (who afterwards escaped,) 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 300 horses and mules, and all their stores and equipage. Five rebels were mortally wounded; our side lost nothing. HOOKER MOVING.

It is reported that Gen. Hooker's army moved on Monday the 27th, crossing the Rappahannock not far from Fredericksburg. So much we now believe; but we have no news further.

The European news is to April 12. It contains nothing of remarkable importance or interest.

—It is stated that Russia has peremptorily demanded an explanation from Sweden of her views and intentions about Poland, on pain of recalling the Russian embassador; which is the first step toward war. Sweden would like to regain her ancient province of Finland, conquered from her by Russia, and would take it if she could.

—The Polish insurrection still maintains an unexpected degree of vitality. It has to some extent arsumed the form of a religious crusade; the Poles, who are Catholics, having in Lithuania burned a number of "schismatic" or Greek churches. The Czar has published an amnesty to Poles laying down their arms by May 19, with a promise that certain promises heretofore made shall be maintained.

—Mexican accounts circumstantially confirm, and THE European news is to April 12. It contains

—Mexican accounts circumstantially confirm, and French accounts with suspicious brevity deny, the reports of a serious repulse of the French before Puebla.

-Garibaldi, it is reported, will never be able to — Garibaid, it is reported, with never se acts to walk again without help.

—The ships of all France in 1850 measured 674,-205 tuns. Those of Massachusetts the same year measured 703,850 tuns.

GEN. FREMONT has helped to answer the question," "What shall be done with the negroes ?" He says, "Let them work on the Pacific Railroad." We give the following statement from his pen, in a letter to some business friends :

a letter to some business friends:

"It would be a measure fraitful in good results to occupy immediately on the work of the road large bodies of the men who are freed by the President's proclamation. The fact that so large a number of our able bodied citizens are under arms, and the consequent economy and the great rapidity with which the road could be driven forward by the employment of these people, make this subject worthy of the most liberal discussion. The road is national, and it is sufficiently obvious that considerations of great public utility are involved in this suggestion. Many of these people will soon require some provision to be made for them. Stretching indefinitely south of this prejected road are great regions of available country, partly unoccupied, and partly inhabited sparsely by whites or mixed races, or Indians more or less civilized. Already as far north as the Gila River the Indians regularly cultivate cotton, the country is generally well adapted to stock, and fabulously rich in silver and other metals. In all this region there is abundant room. The character of the population, the extent of the country, and its undeveloped resources, seem to me very suggestive in connection with the employment of freedmen on the Pacific Railroad."