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Justice and the Conscience.

Of late years there has been a great expansion of intellectual development in Europe and America. Has the moral development kept pace with it? Is the desire to apply justice to its universal function as common and intense with the more intellectual classes, as the desire to apply special truths to their function? By no means. We have organized our schemes of intellectual culture: it is the function of schools, colleges, learned societies, and all the special institutions for agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, to develop the intellect and apply it to various concrete interests. No audacious pains have been taken with the culture of conscience. France has the only academy for moral science in the Christian world! We have statistical societies for interest, no moral societies for justice. We rely only on the moral instinct; its development is accidental, not a considerable part of our plan; or else is involuntary, no part of the will of the most intellectual class. There is no college for the conscience.

Do the churches accomplish this educational purpose for the moral sense? The popular clergy think miracles better than morality; and have even less justice than truth. They justify the popular sins in the name of God; are the allies of despotism in all its forms, military or industrial. Oppression by the sword and oppression by capital successively find favor with them. In America there are two common ecclesiastical defenses of African Slavery: The negroes are the descendants of Ham, who laughed at his father Noah,—overtaken with drink,—and so it is right that Ham's children, four thousand years later, should be slaves to the rest of the world; Slavery teaches the black man "our blessed religion." Such is ecclesiastical justice; and hence judge the value of the churches to educate the conscience of mankind. It is strange how little the

clergy of Christendom, for fifteen hundred years, have done for the morality of the world; much for decorum, little for justice; a deal for ecclesiastical economy, but what for ecclesiastical righteousness? They put worship with the knee before the natural piety of the conscience. "Trusting in good works" is an offense to the Christian Church, as well Protestant as Catholic.

In Europe the consequences of this defect of moral culture have become alarming, even to such as fear only for money. That intellectual culture, which was once the cherished monopoly of the rich, has got diffused amongst wide ranks of men, who once sat in the shadow of intellectual darkness. There is no development of conscience to correspond therewith. The Protestant clergy have not enlightened the people on the science of religion. The Catholics had little light to spare, and that was spent in exhibiting "the holy coat of Treves" or images of the Virgin, and in illuminating cardinals and popes. No pains, or little, have been taken with the moral culture of the people; none scientifically and for the sake of justice and human kind.

The leaders of modern civilization have scorned justice. The chiefs of war, of industry, and the Church are joined in a solidarity of contempt; in America, not harlots, so much as statesmen, debauch the land. Conscience has been left out of the list of faculties to be intentionally developed in the places of honor. Is it marvellous if men find their own selfishness fall on their own heads? No army of special constables will supply the place of morality in the people. If they do not reverence justice, what shall save the riches of the rich?

Fidelity to your faculties, trust in their convictions, that is justice to yourself; a life in obedience thereto, that is justice towards men. Tell me not of successful wrong. The gain of injustice is a loss, its pleasure suffering. Iniquity seems to prosper, but its success is its defeat and shame.—[Parker.]

"Two Theories; or the Infidel's Mistake."

[Continued.]

Religion being of itself a consummate lie, and the god of religion an incorrigible liar, they both must of course and of necessity be productive of lying and of liars—"through the well-known operation of the laws of hereditary descent." All the other books together in the English language can't come up to the Bible as teachers of lying. Other books are men-teachers—the Bible is a god-teacher. Other books are human teachers—the Bible is a divine teacher. The authority of the Bible goes further than all other authority with those who accept that book as the work of a god. The insinuating influence of the Bible for mischief is deeper, more ineradicable, more undermining of truth, than that of all other books. It is itself the creator of the other lying books written by Bible readers. The Bible readers who have written the most enticing and corrupting fictions, have learned their trade from that book—that abounding source of the most deadly, abominable and loathsome impurities.

It don't meet this, to say that the Bible denounces lying.—To the contrary of this, it establishes my view. It is the liar denouncing in others what he justifies in himself. The drunkard in the ditch denouncing his own drunkenness is comparatively an excellent preacher of purity and advocate of wholesome practice. He is an example of infirmity, and a warning to his infirm kind. But this divine denouncer of lying in others is a justifier of it in himself—sanctifying it by his own assumed perfection. Lying is a divine thing in a divine being, and therefore is not lying. In proportion therefore as religious, godly beings are godly—are divine—their lying is a godly, divine practice—is not lying. Hence the justification for all pulpit lying against unbelievers in this godliness. And this has its example in the primitive justification for lying to the "glory of God." [See Paul to the Romans, III, 7.] What this most eminently learned and intellectual of all the primitive Christian teachers here sets forth as the "truth of God," is this same impudent imposture and falsity. In preceding expressions he says: "let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written, that thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged. But if our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? (I speak as a man.) God forbid: for then how shall God judge the world?" These religious, godly ones are to overcome when they are judged, and be justified in their lying sayings, by their god's unrighteousness, which must be righteousness in him because he is

god. Unrighteousness can not be unrighteousness in him, because he *is*, or *is to be*, the judge of the world.

The fact of the Bible's denouncing lying—being an emanation as it is from such a god—is one of the principal secrets of its success as a teacher of lying. If it came out as the advocate of lying, and did not denounce that demoralizing practice in mankind, it never could succeed as it does in finding acceptance with the good. If all the friends of lying on earth should to-day conspire together to make a book, a standard text-book, for teaching lying, they would find themselves fools in undertaking to run a competition against the Bible—except as they should make that their model, and undertake improvement in the same direction. I said the *friends* of lying. It was a mistaken use of language. There *is* no friend of lying among human kind. All men are enemies of lying. In this they are better than the gods. And herein is proof that they are children not "born of God." The most incorrigible human liar living hates lying and despises liars—loves truth and truth-tellers. Hates and loathes himself for his own lying. Just as the drunkard hates drunkenness, and hates and loathes himself for being a drunkard. The Bible makes liars as the seller of liquor make drunkards. It tempts to indulgence. Just as the United States Constitution insinuates Slavery, giving it root and nourishment—while it keeps the word Slavery carefully excluded and makes pretensions for freedom. At the time of the formation of the Constitution, if there had been a John C. Calhoun and an Alexander H. Stephens, to set forth boldly, brazenly, uncompromisingly, that Slavery is fundamental in republican structure, we should have had no compromise; the battle would have been fought then and there, freedom would have been triumphant, and we should have been saved all this carnage and woe. There are no other teachers, insinulators and perpetrators of Slavery, South or North, like our denouncers of Slavery who don't want Slavery abolished. Their influence goes for perpetuating it—while the influence of its open, undisguised advocates goes for its abolishment, by the reaction of human development, which is in itself a process of setting free and lifting up. Give us your bold, brazen advocates and defenders of lying and slavery, and we can meet them and put them down. We have stomach, and weapons, and discipline for such a warfare. We know who these enemies are, where to find them, and what to do with them. But deliver us from the dastardly, treacherous, skulking, lying denouncers of lying and slavery in the abstract, who are the insinulators of them in practice.

Understand—my aversion to the Bible, as a mix-

ture of sublime truths and of gross lies, is not to a book, but to a Bible—not to a human production in pretension, but to a divine production in pretension. Take away its godliness, and you take away its peculiar power as a teacher of lying, licentiousness, and all abominable impurity and immorality. Take away its godliness, and you take away its religiousness. Take away its godliness, and you take away its folly about the fall, and all its supernaturalness.

O. S. M.

[To be Concluded.]

The Men for the Hour.

It is no mere play that now presents itself to the attention of all Spiritual-minded men. The times are changing very fast—are so changed already as to challenge the guesses of the coolest and shrewdest to say where they really are. What was wont to be done in the old time, is going to be of not much further use among the people. The old parties are gone; the precedents are taken away; the men who used to pilot us are either absent, or else confess that these are not the times that demand such services as they have to give. Multitudes will be overtaken with panic, in spite of themselves; this will be owing to ignorance, want of self-discipline, and faulty temperament. But there must be some few whose minds have long been in course of training to read the laws of Nature in their present operations, and who will not suffer from confusion, or the least lack of faith, while offering their public interpretation. The wise men are going to be called for soon; the men who have been nursed in the calmness of solitude, who have been giving the fullest possible play to their spiritual perceptions, and teaching their sympathies how to reach forth and grasp objects widely remote.

Financial systems will suffer first. Then will come the woes of battle and sickness right upon the heels of the other. Passion will in due time exhaust itself; prostrating those who have indulged it, and relied on its always treacherous power. They who are worth the most in lands and moneys, will actually be the poorest; for, by reason of taxes and other responsibilities, the very grasshopper will be a burden. To be rich, will be to be poor. The new epoch is so very near to the door, that we shall soon witness for ourselves, and hardly think to confess ourselves astonished. Miracles are not to be wrought, for none are needed; but the relentless and logical order of events will bring about a state of things which men soberly engaged about their money-making would not have dreamed of a handful of years ago, and then there will be awakened a new determination to take advantage of all they have to offer.

The world, or this portion of it at least, is just about to reach an experience which will positively demand a new order of men to master and manage it. Are these men ready for their work! They can not be summoned on a sudden from the mass of those whose thoughts have been steadily turned in another direction, and expected to perform a service altogether foreign to their education, their habits, their tastes, and their capacities. Certainly not. What then? It follows that the new men who are to come up must somewhere have been going through a course of preparation and training for what they are about to do. They may have been kept in entire ignorance of it themselves, and probably have been; but that makes no difference. Their minds have been lying open and receptive, all this while, since the fountains of the great deep commenced breaking up, years ago, and when the period of positive mental activity for them shall arrive, they will be astonished to find what an array of well-trained powers they have folded away in their natures, and with what energy they are all capable of working when the right inspiration seizes them and makes its resistless demands.

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We are all to work for the sake of the world; not for our single selves at all; we shall receive benefit enough in the process of bestowing service, and, if we have faith and insight, we shall see it, too. We are every one to lose sight of himself and herself entirely; to learn modesty, first of all things; to think nothing of sacrifices, save to welcome them; to be patient, as well as brave and persistent; to seek to advance principles, ideas, truths, and to care nothing for organizations and arrangements except so far as they are needed to help forward the propagation and establishment of the same in the popular mind.

Are you, sir, a banker—and a believer in and receiver of the great truths that pervade the universal laws—the spiritual laws, whose operations can not be stayed or averted? Then, in the new time which is at hand, you will keep your place where you are, and exert all your inborn power, with the advantage gained by a long discipline of your faculties, for the practical spread and wider working of the spiritual laws in the field of finance. Currency is a most important matter to the welfare of the human family; in the change that is coming, if we have financiers of skill, united with, or guided by spiritual insight, the new system is going to do all for the human family that could be wished. Are you a lawyer, and a spiritualist? The advantage you have, then, is, that you have hold of the long arm of a lever by which you may unseat injustice

everywhere about you, and restore the rule of Right and Justice among men. Are you a merchant? Ah, if *all* our merchants were but men of some profound and real spiritual experience—men who saw how they stood as mere agents between producers and consumers, and were not privileged to eat out the actual substance of both—what a different basis would not our social structure stand upon.

Financier, lawyer, merchant, author, artizan, agriculturist, politician, teacher, citizen—whoever and whatever you are, or wherever you may be placed, know of a certainty that your work is just where you are, and that there you can do the most for the race and for yourself. You may organize whenever your wisdom teaches you that organization and greater compactness will effect what unaided exertions will not achieve; but be sure not to mistake the means for the end, and to organize merely for the sake of complacently surveying your numbers and power. In the streets, in business places, in the shops, in the cars, at the hotels, in public assemblages, wherever there are men to be reached and measures relating to reconstruction and renovation to be discussed and set forth—there is the place of duty, there you are to labor and work, giving as you receive, and at no moment forbidding the stream of inspiration to flow uninterruptedly through your nature.

Men and brethren! whatever your hands may find to do in the new order of time, do it with all your might; but never with vanity in the heart, or for ambition. Selfish ends only interfere with divine ordinances, so far as the individual cherishing them is concerned; and he is then of necessity set aside as useless. The problem is only how to cooperate to the best advantage with superior powers and influences, which must have some sort of human agencies, or means, with which to work on human souls and human interests. Stand not in the way of the law; let that run on, silent and swift and blinding as heaven's lightnings, if it must—but set up no claim to a petty private advantage. If you are to work in bodies entirely, then so will it be made plain to you; but wait not, when it is already plain enough that so much is to be done, and you are individually capable of its performance. The old notions on which our social system has been based are to give place to sterling ideas; these ideas are soon to be adapted by shrewd men, because they will soonest see how events will make them most practical and proper, in finance, in statesmanship, in education, in marriage, in business of every kind. And all men who are spiritual minded, and continually receptive to the pure influences from heaven, can perform a service for the world now, which the centuries have been patiently waiting for.

—[Banner of Light.

Complaints of Lincoln's Administration.—The Other Side.

MR. EDITOR:—The following is from Harper's Weekly, and it seems to me so strikingly true, that I should be much pleased could you present it to the readers of the NEW REPUBLIC. I think it will serve as an off-set to much of O. S. M.'s fault-finding:—

S. P.

"A number of well-meaning persons complain that the Government is too slow—that we should have had a million of men in the field—that the President ought long ago to have authorized our armies to subsist themselves on the rebels, and employ fugitive slaves. It is very easy to prophesy after the event—very simple for people who have had no responsibility to bear, to turn round upon the men who have borne the whole burden of public service on their shoulders, and say, when disaster occurs, 'I told you so.'

"History teaches us very plainly that revolutions are steadily progressive, and that a Government, to be safe and strong, must never be in advance of the people. If Mr. Lincoln had commanded our generals to seize the property of Southern men in May, 1861, three-fourths of the North would have protested against the act as needless and barbarous. If at the same time he had authorized generals to enlist negroes, at least a large majority of the Northern people would have opposed him; numbers of army officers, who are now fierce Abolitionists, would have resigned; and such excellent soldiers as General Lewis Wallace, General Ben Butler, General Hunter himself, would have refused to serve. Mr. Lincoln was compelled to wait until stern experience had eradicated from the Democratic mind the old Pro-Slavery prejudices, which had been fostered for a generation. Let any one ask General Wallace what his views were when he raised the 11th Indiana Zouaves, he will say that, while he was for the Union, he was heartily Pro-Slavery. Now he denounces those who oppose negro regiments as little better than traitors. Compare General Butler's letter to Governor Andrew, dated from Annapolis, in April, 1861, with his present dispatches! the progress is marvellous. In April, 1861, there was not a firmer supporter of Slavery in the Country than Major Dave Hunter, of Illinois, who has just raised the 1st South Carolina Regiment of Volunteers, consisting exclusively of negroes. It is possible that Mr. Lincoln may have foreseen, fifteen months ago, that we should be compelled to arm negroes and seize Southern property. But whether he did or not, it is more than probable that if he had so far anticipated the progress of public sentiment as to inaugurate the war with these measures, we should have had—what the rebels fondly counted on—a divided and powerless North."

A Reformer Still.

It may be supposed by some of my friends, from the fact that I have spoken somewhat disparagingly of mankind, and have changed my views somewhat in matters of religion, that I have lost my interest in the cause of Reform. It is true that I have lost faith in the efficacy and practicability of certain methods of reform, upon which I formerly relied as a means of saving the world from the evils which afflict humanity. But I have lost none of my interest in the great problem of human redemption. Omnipresent, almost omnipotent evil—the sins of a race—the sufferings of a world, hang no less heavily upon my soul than formerly. And I trust I am no less willing than before to do what in me lies, to work, to suffer if need be, to help inaugurate a reign of Peace and Love and Purity upon earth. But I am more strongly impressed with the vastness of the work to be done, and the impotence of unaided man to accomplish it. I have lost faith in the practicability or possibility of saving the mass of mankind. Humanity in the lump cannot be redeemed, as I believe, by any process of simple development. Or if so, it would take an eternity of ages to do it.

Perhaps I am changed somewhat in not being quite so solicitous as to whether men, or all men, are saved or not. Naturally I am broadly, intensely Democratic. And now I would have every soul saved, as I think they will be eventually. But I am not quite as anxious as formerly to have it go that every tadpole has a soul.

Have I deteriorated in this? Or is it not possible that what I have lost in a diffuse fraternity, I have gained in discrimination? Suppose I do have my doubts whether all men, or even the majority of what pass for men, are possessed of souls. Democracy must have its limits. Fraternity must end somewhere short of snakes and lizzards. Bats, owls and alligators, if even horses and dogs, can not enter the kingdom of Heaven. What matters it then whether the animal kingdom, which has held almost undisputed sway over this Planet, be increased by a few thousands or millions, more or less, of bipeds under the name of men? What matters it whether the Orang Outang, the Celt, the Politician, the Miser, the Slaveholder, the Pugilist, the Catholic, the Materialist, or the Spiritualist come this side the line or that? What matters it in the great arrangement, whether all the Smiths and Joneses have eternal life, if "Tray" be left out? If Jenkins has a soul it will assert itself, and Jeffries can not lose what he never had. And if he venture on a complaint on that score, why may not "Old Road," with equal justice?

I am learning to be content that whatever is, shall be, in this respect. Let the eternal fact settle it. Why should I concern myself for Johnson when Johnson has no concern for himself? It will be time enough to worry about the fate of his soul, when I see any evidence that he has got any. If he has not yet ascertained the fact, why should I assume it for him, and that in the face of all the probabilities?

I feel for the present that I have pretty much done with attempting to drive men into a heaven which they have no appreciation of, and no desire for. Let them bide their time and their place.

I would have all men saved—that want to be saved. I would still pray, Lord, establish thy Kingdom. But I sometimes feel like adding, "if you can't establish it, don't try any longer, but let the Devil have full swing." I am tired of this lengthened contest, this draw game between God and Satan,—this state of eternal mixedness of good and evil. This earth has been ever a theatre of conflict, a battle ground for the powers of light and darkness, and now I pray, Let the battle terminate. Let the Devil be routed, and driven out speedily, or let it be known that it can't be done; and let us no longer cherish idle aspirations and indulge in hopes never to be realized. But I still have faith and hope. And I now expect a more full and speedy realization of my hopes of Reform than any which I had before dared to indulge in; though under another leader and with another war cry. I expect to see victory yet perch upon the Banner of Reform.

This world shall yet be made a home of light and joy and beauty, and all who have labored earnestly and unselfishly to make her so, shall see their brightest dreams realized, their most beautiful ideals actualized in every-day life. Cheer up, lone "Watcher on the Tower," or worker behind the walls. There is daylight in the distance. And though conflict and carnage prevail at present—though Earth be baptized in blood, she shall yet come out all bright and glorious, and all the pure and good shall yet find in her a home of purity and beauty—the home of their ideal.

C. M. O.

It has generally been thought advisable by reformers to offer as little violence as possible to prejudice and habit; to insinuate wholesome innovations quietly and discreetly under the disguise of ancient formalities. Yet it may be reasonably doubted whether any real improvement can be secured by such a stratagem; and whether the mental change imagined to have been effected unconsciously has to any useful purpose been effected at all.—[Mackay.

Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees.—[Jesus.

"Easy Conversions."

MR. EDITOR:—I observe that "H. S." doesn't think very highly of my change of religious views. This is all very well, but I can't see how the author of the "Third Theory" is able to command enough of the facts of the case to know whether my "conversion" was "easy" or hard, unless he is developed so far up in the regions of intuition as to make data for conclusions entirely unnecessary. People in general are in a habit of considering that something of a knowledge of the facts bearing upon it, are necessary and indispensable to the arriving at a correct conclusion and passing an intelligent judgment in any case. No, I beg pardon; people in general are not in the habit of so doing, for they take up opinions at second hand, without reasoning upon them at all. But a wise man would so judge, as I think.

"H. S." does not dispense with evidence, however, like the mass of mankind, but because he is endowed with some power of perception not in the possession of other men. It is by this power that he arrives at a knowledge of God without reasoning, and of a future existence without testimony. If I understand the drift of his article, there must be a certain stage of development arrived at, at the attainment of which point any one can know of the being of a God and the fact of a future for man. Now I don't know but this is correct. All I have to say about it is, that if it is, I have not as yet attained that stage of soul-growth which enables me to take advantage of it, and so I am under the necessity of reasoning and taking testimony on these points, as I would on any others.

The First Theory, adduced from a study of the analogy of Nature, or that very limited portion of Nature which comes within the scope of man's earthly vision, is that the Universe is God; Necessity King; man a product of Earth, and, like all other of her productions, merely animal and mortal.

The Second Theory, built upon revelation or testimony, holds that there is an overruling Mind (or Minds) which controls the Universe; that man is a spirit as well as an animal, and destined to another and a higher life, if the conditions of that life are fulfilled.

According to the "Third Theory," the analogy of the first is false, and the testimony of the second is needless. Intuition settles it.

Now with such a short cut as this of "H. S." to a knowledge of all occult truth, I don't exactly see the propriety of calling mine an "easy conversion." In comparison with his, it would seem to be a very labored one. His conclusions may be more correct,

but some might consider them quite as hasty as mine. For myself, I am free to confess I know nothing of God, or of a future, except what I reason out from a study of Nature, and the revelations of higher powers. "H. S." has a poor opinion of revelations, it seems, and evidently considers the "rapping" of table, or the "wriggling" of a "spirit dial," as too undignified to be worthy of a wise man's attention. In this he is in no wise singular, but neither is he philosophical. A generous man should not wish to kick down the ladder by which those below him would rise, because he has attained to wings, and has no use for it himself. Even though he had never any use for it, (being born full-fledged,) that does not detract from its usefulness to others. But perhaps, like the majority, he considers table-tipping intrinsically undignified, and unworthy any man's attention. He has a right to his opinion. I also will give mine. The dignity of a thing depends upon its utility, or power of answering a useful purpose; and any thing which subserves a laudable end, is at once proper and dignified. If the desire to know something of the future of man, and the truths that pertain to his well-being in that future, be a dignified wish, then any means by which that wish can be gratified becomes in itself dignified. If there be anything absurd or ridiculous about consulting spirits, it must be found in the supposition that there is no spiritual power in existence; or that existing, it has no power to communicate; or having power, it has no wish or desire to communicate. The latter proposition is absurd. The first two might be set down as probable, had there never been evidence to the contrary. But in view of the fact that there are hundreds and thousands of persons who will testify as to what has been done, no such thing can be longer assumed, even if it were logical to attempt to assume or prove a negative at all.

A man who is really in love with the truth will have no quarrel with any innocent means of attaining it. And he who makes the method of its conveyance an excuse for his own negligence and ignorance of facts, may lay claim to a great deal of dignity, but it is certainly of a very questionable kind. If there be dignity in the subject, and dignity in the man, there will be no lack of dignity in the "dial."

C. M. OVERTON.

P. S.—The above communication was obtained while "wriggling" at the out of a two-acre Mississippi raft. The last paragraph only is warranted to be entirely spiritual.

C. M. O.

Every Government is tyrannical, which interferes with the natural rights of man, and hinders individual prosperity and happiness.—[T. L. Nichols.

Wisdom's Lessons.

There is no weapon leaves so keen a pang,
 In hearts that hope and trust that friends are true,
 As Slander's arrow. Tipped with venom rank,
 It sometimes gives a death-wound, slow but sure,
 To its dumb, suffering victim. But the lips
 That spit the poisonous slime upon the barb,
 And bade it take sure aim, are often those
 Which late received our kiss of tenderness,
 And spoke the words of friendliness and cheer
 In sweet sincerity. Poor reeling soul!
 How faint and dizzy when it learns the truth,
 That every heart round which Love's tendril clings,
 May some day turn and rend the drooping vine,
 Crush its young germs, and trample out its life!
 Each way the spirit turns and sally moans
 Its feeble cry for help, and reaches out
 Through the death-darkness for some helping hand;
 But all is terror! faith and trust are gone!
 We, sink, oh, Master! thou alone canst save!

Oh thoughtless speaker of an idle tale,
 Thy path seems green and easy. No one calls
 Thee "murderer," for thou canst sing the song
 Of gaiety, and toss Love's words about
 In that same pretty way. And pray why not?
 What hast thou done? Only a little thing!
 Stepped on a heart that bent to worship thee!
 'Tis the world's way; what else should one expect?

But some one says that justice e'er is done.
 True,—but not always here. The case goes up,
 Oft-times, for trial, to the Supreme Court;
 Our Counsel is the Pierced and Crucified;
 Our Judge, Chief Justice of the Universe.
 There, shame will change the brazen forehead of
 The propagator of a cunning lie,
 Nor can he practice the eluding art,
 By nibbling at the corners of a truth;
 But forced to leave his old style for a new,
 Must turn unwilling witness for the Right.
 And we must wait in bitter tears till then.

I had a heart I scarcely can describe;
 Where side by side ran equal light and shade,
 Where faults and virtues wove the strangest web;
 One sentence tells it,—'twas a woman's heart,
 And 'twas in love with life, and all the world.
 Oh what a reckless frankness it put on,
 So full of trust in all Humanity!
 Prudence! who stops to think of such a word,
 Dizzy with life, and hope, and new delights!
 Why I had naught to hide! God knew my soul,
 And why should not the world? Kind Charity
 Would surely love me, spite of all my sins!

Oh foolish one! as if a Jesus lived
 In every human breast.

And once the sweetest bird of Friendship came
 And nestled in my bosom. For its sake,
 And for the love I bore it, I laid bare
 The spirit's inner rooms, and gave it leave
 To enter in. I learned the songs it sang,
 And with its carol taught my voice to blend,
 And day by day grew more and more in love
 With its peculiar beauty. But it passed;
 For I awoke one morn with such a pang
 Shooting through every portion of my soul,
 I felt a sense of injury and woe;
 I reached at once to find my pretty bird,
 And lo! its beak was buried in my heart.
 The warbler fled; yet spite of all my pain,
 I would have held it close, I loved it so;
 And now its singing haunts me every hour,
 Like the remembrance of delicious dreams.

One day, Love laid an Album on my heart,
 With leaves as spotless as a lily's cup,
 Or as the first pure snow that drops from heaven,
 And has not caught as yet the stain of earth.
 Oh I was glad to generosity
 With the new gift! I recked not to be choice,
 But flung the pages open to the world;
 Believing every hand that traced therein,
 Would leave a line of beauty on the sheet.
 God pity me! it is a volume now
 Of torn and b'otted leaves. Oh had I but
 Another such a book, I'd shut so close
 The purple covers, they would only ope
 To let an angel's fingers touch the page,
 And write the autographs of Heaven thereon,—
 For Heaven alone is true.

Hush, simple soul! canst thou so soon forget
 These trials are the mercies of thy God?
 Heaven loves thee, and would make thee truly wise;
 Thou art too foolish, and too much a child;
 Thou art in fault; thine eye is full of beams,
 And sorrow's tears alone will cleanse them out;
 When they are gone, then shalt thou clearly see,
 That all along thy wayward, tangled path,
 Are strewn the pearls of Wisdom. Gather them!
 They are the rich reward she brings to those
 Who learn her lessons well.

AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

An army of principles will penetrate where an
 army of soldiers can not; it will succeed, where
 diplomatic management will fail; it is neither the
 Rhine, the Channel, nor the Ocean, that can arrest
 its progress; it will march on the horizon of the
 world, and it will conquer.—[Thomas Paine.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, AUGUST 16, 1862.

FRANCIS BARRY, EDITOR.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

ZERAH MASTERS, C. M. OVERTON,
ORSON S. MURRAY.

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NEW REPUBLIC,
CLEVELAND, Ohio.

Not Quite Sure of It.

"The Republic may yet be broken down—it will never be sold out."—[N. Y. Daily Tribune, July 29.]

Not quite sure of that. Wish it could be so insured. Wish the Tribune could keep itself toned up to the point it has here attained to. The words quoted from it are at the close of comments on a plan for pacification put forth by one Irad Kelly, of Cleveland. Kelly wants peace by a Democratic process. The Tribune wants peace by a Republican process. Both are political processes. Either of them is any thing but a process of equity and righteousness. The present Republican Administration has been trying to sell out itself and its constituency to Slavery, every minute since it came into power. It commenced making its overtures before it got into power. Never before did a President elect humble himself at the footstool of Slavery, before starting on his journey to his place, as did the President now in power. Never before did one deem it incumbent on him to stop in the midst of delivering his Inaugural, "turn aside from his purpose," and swear special allegiance to Slavery, as did the President now in power. Never before did a party of political leaders so perfidiously proffer terms—so basely offer to barter away the rights and liberties of their constituents, as did this Republican Party—in offering to put the word Slavery irrevocably into the Constitution; and handing over all the vast territory belonging to the Government, to be occupied by Slavery at pleasure—and all this confessedly, avowedly, to purchase peace at the hands of the pirates and plunderers. Never before was an Administration base enough and brazen enough to undertake the "initiation" of a process for the wholesale robbery of laborers in the North, to purchase political favors from those who have lived by robbing the laborers in the South. I say to purchase political favors, because nobody can pretend there is a shadow of righteousness attaching to the transaction. All know it is unrighteous. All know it is to purchase favors from the workers of iniquity and unrighteousness.

These are only some of the prominent outlines of this corrupt Administration, that has kept itself and

the interests of its constituents in the market for sale to the Southern sovereigns, who have despised them and spit on them for it. In driving for this political bargain, these high-handed betrayers and murderers have already thrown down at the feet of the purchasers in market, more than a hundred thousand slaughtered human victims, and more than a thousand millions of dollars.

Does all this look as if the Republic will never be sold out? If it escapes such a fate, it will only be because the other party will not pay the price for so mean and despicable a thing as it has been made to be by its own most perfidious betrayers and murderers.

Let us now see what the Tribune itself has recently been showing itself ready for, in the way of selling out the Republic. On the 1st of July there appeared in the Daily Tribune the following catechising and conceding, between the Albany Argus, sometime, I believe, the organ of the old Democratic Regency, and the New York Tribune, the most radical Republican paper in the land:

"Will the Tribune inform us whether it desires such a peace? Will it answer us plainly and unequivocally whether it will favor peace on the basis of the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is, with the rebellious States submissive and obedient to the authority and laws of the Federal Government, and secured in all their rights of local self-government."—[Argus.]

"To this question, the Argus answers for us No, but we answer for ourselves Yes. If the Rebels would to-morrow sue for peace on the basis laid down above by the Argus, we would most unhesitatingly urge the naked acceptance of their proffer."—[Tribune.]

So far as the Tribune is concerned, and its influence can go, what is all this but a show and offer of readiness to sell out the Republic to Slavery, on the same basis on which it was sold out, in the beginning of a demoralizing downward career, that has ended in this abyss of anarchy, which will prove to be bottomless, unless emerged from by a thorough, radical, practical, perpetual repudiation of all that kind of bargaining?

But if it must be sold—sold with the knowledge, consent and sanction of the highest political pretenders to Republican conservation—the terms here proffered, under all the circumstances, are most humiliating and contemptible. If the most radical of all the Republican papers can not, dare not, ask more than this—demand more than this—how are we to get more? Will the South proffer more than is required? No thanks to the Tribune then—and less thanks to all the other pretenders—if by any means we get more. Such overtures for renewal of compromise—compromise that has legitimately wrought us this destruction—only encourages the conspirators to hold on and hold out for their own terms. They look with scorn and contempt on those who proffer it. It is worthy to be thus looked upon by all—by friends of Slavery, and more by friends of freedom.

O. S. M.

The True Position.

President Lincoln, I am quite willing to believe, seeks to be a true representative of the American people. It is true that the policy he has in the main pursued, is infernal, and if persisted in will prove overwhelmingly destructive to the Nation; but could the President have pursued an opposite course, with opposite results? I am not sure that he could. Lincoln is a fit representative of the conservative sentiment; his course has been in a line with his character. He has not genius. He has no inspiration. He is not a man for an emergency. A Fremont or a Garibaldi in his place would have thrilled and astonished the world with brilliancy of achievement. But, with the elements the Nation furnishes, and the ideas it cherishes, could the Rebellion have been quelled, and order and peace and union have been restored and freedom established? I do not believe it.

While, then, I have no special fault to find with any severity of criticism on his course, and while I shudder at the thought of the moral obtuseness and delinquency implied in any less degree of contempt and abhorrence of the suicidal policy that has been pursued, than any other man is capable of feeling, yet I do not and can not regard it as I should did I believe that ANY course on the part of the Government could, within the period of the present Administration, have saved the Nation.

The disease is deep-seated. A deep and malignant hatred of man, and an utter moral insensibility to the character and claims of Justice, characterize the overwhelming majority of this Nation. While the men in authority seem mad in their folly, the mass of the people are clear in their comprehension of worldly wisdom; they would right speedily, by an overwhelming energy and power, crush the Rebellion by the mere weight of the force they would hurl upon it. They forget, or never knew, that all things are subservient to the moral laws. Favorably as energy and activity compare with the tardy, lifeless policy that has been pursued, yet all the force, and resolution, and promptness of a score of such Nations would not suffice to save one of them so hopeless in its moral disease.

The North, in a body, would not have sustained the Government, had the Fremont policy been adopted. Lincoln had a glorious opportunity for the exhibition of a warm-blooded manhood, and a brilliant inspiration, had he been their possessor, but it never was in his power to be the Savior of his Country.

Let those weep who have tears to shed, that the sternness of Fate is inexorable; that humanity is not yet so far along in its moral advancement as to render such a crisis as we have barely entered, unnecessary; the wise are they, who, seeing the inevitable, do their best to prepare for it.

Thus, I have no especial denunciation for the President, though he is the most prominent exponent of a

murderous and a suicidal policy. Were the people of the North just, had they enough of the redeeming elements of manhood to make them worth saving, no such policy as that pursued by Lincoln from the first, would have been tolerated a single month. I believe a majority of the North are in favor of a sensible, and business-like, and truly military prosecution of the war, though this majority have not enough of numerical or moral strength to ensure an adoption of their policy. But even these, with all their patriotism, and all their hatred of the miserable policy and proceedings of the Government, have no clear comprehension of that justice that is essential to salvation. The great mass of them have all their lives been consenting to the murderous injustice that has resulted in this overwhelming calamity. Theirs at best is a death-bed repentance, even if at last they have awakened to a clear comprehension of "saving grace."

A united North, with the principle of justice as its basis of action, would be more than equal to the world acting in violation of that principle. But we are to have neither a recognition of justice, nor a spirit of union, and there is no salvation for us; for the reason that we have not the will to embrace the only conditions on which salvation can be secured. The star of this Nation must go down in blood. Such from the first has been the stern decree. Eternal Justice will not be mocked. The decree is just, and will be executed. After the storm shall have spent its fury, and the Government and all existing corrupt institutions shall have fallen by their own weight of corruption, there will, after a time, arise a Government and institutions that shall honor Justice and respect human rights.

Our true course, then, while we steadily and persistently defend the right, and always and everywhere denounce and expose the wrong, is to wisely prepare for the inevitable, and so shape our speech and action that we shall not have spoken or acted in vain. There will be no wisdom in throwing ourselves in opposition to the Government, at least so long as it is the recognized embodiment of the National order. Let our skirts be clear of all participation in any of the scenes or activities that shall inaugurate the "reign of terror." We may warmly and persistently protest against the reckless waste of life and treasure, but let us be pacificators (without compromise of right, or unholy or cowardly connivance at wrong,) rather than anarchists. So may we yet live to labor for humanity, and help to rear institutions that shall honor Justice and bless Mankind.

F. B.

What is it that Provides?

A "CHRISTIAN" brother asks me—"What is it that provides, if there is no God?"—My reply is—what is it that does NOT provide, if there is a god? Who will pretend that there are as many human wants provided for, as left unprovided for? And who will more pretend that the provision for the minority is not by robbing the majority?

O. S. M.

The President in February and the President in August.

The New York Tribune, in February, reported of the President as follows:

"It is known that it is the opinion of President Lincoln, as a lawyer—and no man can dispute his profoundness in respect of all Constitutional questions—that the rebellion of the Southern States against the Republic has, in fact, converted all their slaves into freemen. In this matter, we understand that Mr. Lincoln holds substantially the opinions set forth in the resolutions which Mr. Sumner lately offered in the Senate."

Now see here. In the Cincinnati Gazette for August 4, we have a report of President Lincoln's language to a committee of Reformed Presbyterians as follows:

"Had Slavery no existence among us, and were the question asked Shall we adopt such an institution? we should agree as to the reply which should be made. If there be any diversity in our views it is not as to whether we should receive Slavery when freed from it, but as to how we may best get rid of it already amongst us. Were an individual asked whether he would wish to have a wen on his neck, he would not hesitate as to the reply; but were it asked whether a man who has such a wen should at once be relieved of it by the application of the surgeon's knife, there might be diversity of opinion, perhaps the man might bleed to death, as the result of such an operation.

"Feeling deeply my responsibility to my country and to that God to whom we all owe allegiance, I assure you I will try to do my best, and so may God help me."

Looking at these things in their order as to time, how are they to be put together? Doubtless both of the representations are truthful. In confirmation of the former, stands his revoking of Gen. Hunter's order, pertaining to a million of these freed "persons." Why the revoking of that order, but to throw this million back, so far as it was in his power to do it, within the grasp of the self-deprived conspirators, to placate them and avert their political ire? The fact that he did this, is evidence that he saw the slaves gone beyond the reach of their chattelizers, unless by his interposition they could be thrown back into their power. Whatever there was of Gen. Hunter's order, one way or the other, as pertaining to the antecedent or consequent condition of the slaves, so far as they are now in Slavery the President is their re-enslaver.

Here then we have the Commander-in-Chief controlling this war, under the confessed conviction "that the Rebellion of the Southern States against the Republic has, in fact, converted all their slaves into freemen." Yet this Commander-in-Chief, under this conviction, has all this while been doing his utmost to return these millions of men, women and children thus freed, back into bondage. This he is doing to pacify the pirates, robbers and plunderers who have torn the Constitution in twain, spit on it and trampled it under their feet. Such is the price he is offering, to bribe back these breeders of con-

spiracy against the rights and freedom of the people of this Nation, to breed another like unto this by all the potency there is in them for such an infernal progeny. To this end he is now starting for his second million of the working men of the North, to make the sacrifice complete and satisfactory.

The "wen" comparison is worthy his whole proceeding—as also is his mouthing and cant about his "responsibility to his country and his God." His responsibility to his country is his responsibility to Slavery; and his responsibility to his God is his responsibility to a monster of oppression and unrighteousness. They whose heads can be muddled by such mockery, are fit thus to be dragooned into Slavery's service, by this muddled-brain manslaughterer—this wretched trifler with human life and assassin of human liberty—who has already too long been kept in countenance in this work of murdering men by hecatombs, by being called an honest, well-meaning man."

The Boston Courier, the New England leader and drummer-up of sympathizers with the conspiracy, said, last February:

"Gen. McClellan has been undoubtedly the chief obstacle, as being at the head of the army, to the emancipation scheme."

There is meaning in this. It was previously reported, and never contradicted in a manner to discredit that report, that McClellan threatened to resign his command unless the President would suppress Cameron's emancipation report. The President's infamous course in that eminently infamous affair is now a matter of history, and of so recent date that it need not be brought in here. For the practical effect, toward the re-enslaving of the millions and slaughtering the hundreds of hecatombs to accomplish it, it matters nothing whether the Commander-in-Chief has been bullied by his inferiors in office—his own appointees—or they dictated by him. By him and by them the salvation of Slavery has been put paramount to humanity, righteousness and permanent peace.

O. S. M.

P. S.—Just as I was finishing the foregoing, the papers arrived with another chapter of the doings of this plotter for the preservation of Slavery. The President has been visited by a delegation of Western men, including two U. S. Senators, desirous of permission to have something done in the way of arming colored people. The report of the interview closes as follows:

"The matter was then dismissed with reference to Lane's project, and the general policy. The President was plied with arguments against his decision, and the discussion gradually became warm. He finally exclaimed: 'Gentlemen, you have my decision. I have made my mind up deliberately and mean to adhere to it. It embodies my best judgment, and if the people are dissatisfied, I will resign and let Mr. Hamlin try it.'

"To which one of the Senators replied, 'I hope in God's name, Mr. President, you will.' The heat of the discussion seems to have arisen from the feeling

that the President was drawing back from the ground his visitors thought he had given them reason to believe he occupied."

There is the following paragraph besides:

"The President's refusal to accept negro troops, excites surprise among the parties interested in Gen. Jim Lane's plans. Lane stated positively that the Administration understood his intentions about enlisting negroes in Kansas, when they gave him his powers for recruiting there. If that is correct he must have been treated in bad faith. Lane will probably go on and do what recruiting he can in Kansas, and accept what negroes he can get as camp laborers."

The "surprise" to me is, that this actor in "bad faith"—this defier of the laws of Congress—this dictator of Congressional legislation, with vetoes in advance to screen Slavery—this insolent autocrat, self-created, self-enthroned, for the perpetuity of Southern sovereignty and Northern submission—should longer "surprise" anybody with his bad faith toward human freedom and fidelity to human slavery. Over, and over, and over, in connection with calling for recruits, we have been told that a better policy was to be looked for from the Administration. But as often we have been betrayed and butchered for Slavery.

O. S. M.

"Wisdom's Lessons."

The most important lesson for mortals to learn, and which is as yet in the main unlearned, is a true knowledge of CHARACTER. Mankind, in a thousand ways, are befooled and outraged, simply because they do not know the difference between a scoundrel and an honest man. In politics, in religion, and in social life, we see the same ignorance manifested.

The emotions portrayed in the poetry we publish this week, are such as have been experienced by thousands whose leading characteristic seems to be an utter want of discrimination between those fit and those unfit to be loved and confided in. These bitter experiences need to be learned, but they are valuable mainly so far as they teach the victim the importance of knowing in whom to place confidence. It is common to hear persons declare that they have "lost all confidence in men." Such only make confession of their own stupidity. Their own ignorance and folly has led them into trouble, and they have not yet learned that instead of all men being unworthy, they themselves have not known enough to discriminate between selfishness and unselfishness, integrity and falseness, sincerity and duplicity.

Charity is an essential element in a developed character. But true charity is not a disposition to place all men and things on a level. True charity does not require us to make no discrimination between things diametrically opposite. It is rather to give every one his due. There is no conflict between Charity and Justice.

To learn the true character of men and things, and then to treat all men and things according to their character, is the great lesson, the great virtue,

the great attainment of life. It is true that "Justice is always done." If there is a "Supreme Judge" who is to try cases between outraged innocence and designing villainy, I imagine that his jurisdiction is somewhat extensive, and that the rulings and decisions of his Court have immediate and universal application. Of such a personality I have no knowledge, but I do believe in certain immutable, eternal, omnipresent PRINCIPLES. If there is a principle of Justice, then justice is always done. If injustice may triumph for a while, and in certain localities, Justice is at once annihilated. Justice, so-called, that is not prompt, universal and complete, is not justice. It is not just that injustice should ever be done. It is just that the Eternal Laws should have their course. It is just that fire should burn. It is just that the fool should reap the natural reward of his folly, and just in proportion to it. If a person, more or less innocent, is made a victim of treachery or heartlessness, it is but just, and neither gods nor Christs have anything to do about it; except so far as persons by these names may understand the Eternal Laws, and be engaged in teaching their significance to their fellows.

F. B.

Destroy the Nest.

When I was a boy and spread grass after the mowers I often had wars with bumblebees. I had years of experience—and some of it painful—in that warfare, before I found out the one, true, effective method of procedure. At length, an old soldier of 1812 taught me how to treat the case. [What his having fought the British should have had to do with his knowing how to fight bumblebees, it is not necessary to know, or to conjecture; but he was a distinguished soldier, and he taught me how to conquer bumblebees.] The way was, to take the least possible notice of the bees, going directly to the nest and destroying that. As long as the nest is suffered to remain, the bees will fight and sting till the last one is destroyed. But the moment you have destroyed the nest, though you have not hurt a bee, they will stop stinging and fighting and be harmless. The reason plainly is, they have nothing left to fight for.

It will be so with the nest of venomous slaveholders. They will be venomous and will fight as long as Slavery is left them to fight for. Take away Slavery, and they will be harmless. Traitor Seward & Co. may murder the whole million of men they are now treacherously decoying into their service with small, despicable bribes, for the preservation of their political pet, that nest, that "peculiar institution," the surname of which—or, if you prefer, the original name—they want "unalterably," "irrevocably" interpolated into "the Constitution as it is," to cement and strengthen "the Union as it was"—and then they may draft another million and murder them—and then they may employ their press-gangs and drag the third million to the slaughter—while

they leave the nest, they will find the venomous things venomous and unsubdued. Take away Slavery, and the venomous "varmint"—as the old soldier called the bumblebees—will be as "harmless as doves." The next generation of them, not having Slavery to barbarize and brutify them, will be wholesome neighbors.

o. s. m.

The Reason Why.

The Chicago Tribune has a letter from a war correspondent at Huntsville, Ala., from which we extract the following: —[N. Y. Tribune.

"Has the fact not impressed itself upon your mind that the generals from the Border Slave States, as a general rule, are much sounder on the Slavery question as it relates to the war than those from the North? It has very often occurred to me that this was so, and very strange in being true. For instance, we have in Buell's corps, Rosseau, Johnston, Crittenden, Nelson and Jackson from Kentucky, who are major and brigadier generals—pretty important commands. All these men are for an energetic prosecution of the war—hard blows no matter who is hit, and tight lines, no matter whose mouth is sore under the bit. If a rebel has a negro and he falls into our hands, either of these mentioned would send him to the rear and put him astride a horse and make a teamster of him. If the slave's master turned Union, and came for his \$1,000 bill, they would dismiss him immediately without his negro, or put him astride of another horse and make a teamster of the master. Now all these men own slaves, Crittenden and Jackson a large number each. They are as much interested in them pecuniarily as Jeff Davis is, but they don't wince at it. On the other hand, we have Buell, McCook, Thomas, Sherman (Port Royal), Wood, and others who are from the Northern States. They don't own a nigger, and never expect to; but they are as fastidious and tender in regard to the rights in slaves of these stay-at-home rebels, as if the salvation of the Country depended on the salvation of Slavery. They cannot be brought to look upon slaves as anything but an article to be protected by numerous guards for the master, who says he rebelled to save his slaves. They go so far as to yield protection to those masters, even after it is known that they have been in the rebel army. Buell is making himself highly unpopular by this course, and if he does not take care, will unseat himself. Thomas is more quiet, but has yielded himself to this policy of Buell. McCook is roisy—loud, to an excessive and disgusting degree, in his professions of Pro-Slavery opinions. Port Royal Sherman is excusable: he hasn't any better sense. It was only a mistake in the man when it was said Sherman (Kentucky) was insane. Wood is from Indiana, and will eventually be found to entertain ideas not unlike, though hardly as extreme as, those of Jesse D. Bright. The fact is, that the generals from Kentucky, slaveholders as they are, are more rigid with rebels—more energetic in their war-making and their war policy—and far more practical in their views on and treatment of slaves, than the same rank of officials from the North. Can you tell why?"

The reason "why" is obvious. Southern men stand in their rectitude with whip in hand and command obedience. As many at the North as yield obedience make themselves meaner and dirtier than any born slaves. It is not that the free institutions

of the North make men mean. It is the work of Slavery, the Constitution and the Union. It is the legitimate work of "the Union as it was and the Constitution and Slavery as they are." As long as you cultivate such a tree you will have such fruit. So long as you have such a Constitution and such a Union with and for Slavery, you will have such Northern dastardliness and dirtiness—such base submissiveness. It is Constitutional—legitimate—organic.

o. s. m.

The Unuttered Prayer.

I ask the stars and the infinite sun,
That rule in the realms of space,
"O mystical stars, O regal sun,
Bow down from your dwelling place,
And say if in all the race ye have run,
The steps of a God ye trace."

But the infinite stars and the regal sun,
That travel the realms of space,
Heed never the prayer of the asking one—
If the steps of a God they trace,
They cling to the secret and still march on
In their olden marching place.

But still the prayer of the asking one
Goes up through the realms of space,
And I know that the stars and the regal sun
Shall yet tell me of all they trace;
I shall know of a God if a God there be—
I shall know of his dwelling place.

OEMCE.

"Not One Cent for Tribute."

When the President first advanced his plan of gradual emancipation, we commended it as a judicious palliative measure, calculated to prepare the people for what common-sense dictated must be a positive fact before the war could end; but now, we think, the time for setting aside all half-way policy has arrived, and imperative necessity requires a radical and sweeping system of operations. It is no less certain that every negro we can lay hands on is positively needed for military labor, than that the Nation should not be made bankrupt to pay for these negroes; and the "drafting" pressure, if nothing else, will make the whole people demand, in tones of thunder, that the blacks shall be taken and employed without payment of tribute to their rebel or semi-loyal owners. The country needs and must have more men at once; the North, already groaning under tax and tariff, is neither willing nor able to buy more; the people of the Border States do not volunteer; and the time has come for seizing the men we want, and setting them at that work in the war which it is their destiny to accomplish.

—[New York Sunday Mercury.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The NEW REPUBLIC has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammelled manner, but in no partizan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reforms, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes: the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the NEW REPUBLIC will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the ablest writers on Anthropological and Physiological science.

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