

The Rev. I. E. Bill having assumed the financial responsibilities of the "Baptist and Christian Visitor" from this date, and having undertaken to complete the obligations of the present proprietor to his subscribers, all persons indebted to the undersigned for the paper are requested to pay the sums due to Rev. I. E. Bill, or his Agents, as soon as possible.

October 1st, 1862.

Our Friends would oblige us by sending in their contributions early in the week as on account of Mail arrangements it is desirable we should, hereafter, go to press on Wednesday evening.

New Brunswick Baptist AND CHRISTIAN VISITOR.

ST. JOHN, N. B., THURSDAY, OCT. 23, 1862

The Fullness of Jesus.

The infinitude of Christ Jesus the Lord is the hope of the redeemed. All the fullness of the God-head dwells bodily in him. In Christ boundless love suggests, infinite wisdom devises, omnipotent power executes, and grace supreme and eternal saves. It pleased the Father that in him should all fullness dwell. The heavens, even the heaven of heavens, can not contain the ocean fullness of Jesus. It knows no limits, but overflows with an exuberance which will ultimately fill the universe with his glory. "Out of his fullness have all we received grace for grace." Dr. Guthrie, of Scotland, thus expatiates on this delightful theme:

"Mountains have been exhausted of their gold, mines of their diamonds, and the depths of the ocean of their pearly gems. The demand has emptied the supply. Over once busy scenes, silence and solitude now reign; the caverns ring no longer to the miner's hammer, nor is the song of the pearl-fisher heard upon the deep. But the riches of grace are inexhaustible. All that have gone before us have not made them less, and we shall make them no less to those who follow us. When they have supplied the wants of unborn millions, the last of Adam's race, that lonely man, over whose head the sun is dying, beneath whose feet the earth is reeling, shall stand by as full a fountain as this day invites you to drink and live, to wash and be clean.

I have found it an interesting thing to stand on the edge of a noble rolling river, and to think, that although it has been flowing on for six thousand years, watering the fields, and slaking the thirst of a hundred generations, it shows no sign of waste or want; and when I have watched the rise of the sun, as he shot above the crest of the mountain, or in a sky draped with golden curtains sprang up from his ocean bed, I have wondered to think that he has melted the snows of so many winters, and renewed the verdure of so many springs, and painted the flowers of so many summers, and ripened the golden harvests of so many autumns, and yet shines as brilliant as ever, his eye not dim, nor his natural strength abated, nor his floods of light less full for centuries of boundless profusion. Yet what are these but images of the fullness that is in Christ? Let that feed your hopes, and cheer your hearts, and brighten your faith, and send you away this day happy and rejoicing. For, when judgment flames have licked up that flowing stream, and the light of that glorious sun shall be quenched in darkness or veiled in the smoke of a burning world, the fullness that is in Christ shall flow on throughout eternity in the bliss of the redeemed. Blessed Saviour, Image of God, Divine Redeemer! in thy presence is fullness of joy; in thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore. What thou hast gone to heaven to prepare, may we be called up at death to enjoy!

We are making preparation as rapidly as possible to commence our new series of the "VISITOR." Our friends may rest assured that we shall urge the work on as rapidly as possible. Let the subscription that be filled up so that we may know how large an edition to issue. Let the aim be 2000 COPIES, as the very lowest estimate with which to commence the new series. Paper, publication, and all appertaining to the "Visitor," demand henceforth prompt payments from all concerned.

Postage.

It is necessary for us to inform our agents that when they enclose us 38 cents in an unpaid letter it costs us just 7 cents at the office in St. John, thus reducing the 38 to 31 cents. Money mailed at this rate costs us nearly £20 postage. Our agents and subscribers will see at once that no business could bear a postal taxation of this kind. We hope, therefore, when small sums are paid into the hands of our agents in future that they will keep the money until it amounts to a few dollars at least. Where we are taxed with postage it is better for the agent to prepay the letter and charge the postage to our account. There is an additional charge of 2 cents on every letter not prepaid.

The Rev. Mr. Hall will preach next Lord's day in German St. Baptist Church in the morning and evening at the usual hours. The sermon in the evening will be especially addressed to young men. All young persons are respectfully invited to attend.

A protracted meeting will commence with the Upham Church, Titusville, on Friday evening, 31st inst. The usual invitation is extended.

A. B. MACDONALD.

Educational. The resolutions respecting the educational affairs of the Denomination which were adopted at the Meetings of the Associations this year were important in themselves, but they will be of no value unless carried into effect.

The Eastern Association led the way by cordially agreeing to the plan recommended by the committee for raising one thousand dollars by a contribution of twenty-five cents from each member composing the churches.

This plan was proposed by a sub-committee of St. John brethren, appointed by a committee held in that city in June last, and must commend itself to every one, provided it be faithfully and generally acted upon. The Western Association no less cordially adopted the same resolution, and all the circulars have now been forwarded, so that the matter is fairly before the Churches.

The time is certainly not unfavorable for the accomplishment of the object, the harvest has just been gathered in, the fruits of the earth are abundant in quantity, even the fears of a deficient hay crop which were felt at the beginning of the season, have not been realized, and in consequence of frequent rains through the summer the supply of fodder will be adequate to the wants of the Province.

There has not been added to the calamity of commercial distress the further calamity of scarcity. All classes will benefit by this abundance. It adds to the wealth of the community. Let us as good stewards make a right use of the bounties thus conferred upon us!

Another important object to be secured is the attendance of students at the Institution, without which no effectual progress can be made. This is the season of the year when an influx of youths from the country may be expected. The farm labours of the summer are nearly over, the winter months are approaching, what more profitable use can be made of the leisure of short days and long nights than by acquiring the mental culture which will fit a man for any of the duties of life?

I have been informed of the intention of several to avail themselves of the opportunity of study which the coming winter will afford. And I would invite others who are hesitating to decide upon taking the same step.

Doctrinal Preaching.

We agree with our correspondent *Frere* that God's word should be preached faithfully, and that the sublime doctrines of grace should have a prominent place in the teachings of the gospel ministry. Let these doctrines have the same place in our preaching that they occupy in the Holy Bible. But we must not fail to remember that the same scriptures which teach doctrine furnish admonitions, precepts, experience, etc. The man therefore who preaches at the expense of practice does violence to the requirements of Christianity. The doctrines of the Bible are profitable to us, only in proportion as they are interwoven with our religious experience, and wrought into a thorough christian life.

We trust none of our ministers are so recreant to the responsibilities of their high vocation as to shrink from a full declaration of God's truth. It is sometimes quite as crossing to the minister's feelings to deal plainly with the conscience of his hearers as it is to dwell upon the foundations of the christian hope, may more so. The inspired Paul proclaimed the doctrines of grace in all their fulness, and yet no man ever commented the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God more faithfully than he did. Paul was a model preacher,—doctrine, experience, practice, each had its place in his ministry. If we take him for an example we shall not "shun to declare the whole council of God."

"He that hath my word let him speak my word faithfully." God's word is very distasteful to the carnal mind, but more especially that part of it which speaks of His distinguishing love towards His people. His choice of them before the foundation of the world, and his unchangeable purpose to bring all whom He has given to His Son, to the mansions prepared for them in Heaven. And this dislike is not confined to any particular class of people. It grows in every unrenewed heart, because the carnal mind is enmity against God, and not subject to His law. For this reason preachers of the Gospel may sometimes be tempted to pass by and neglect to preach those truths lest they should displease their hearers. But nothing is gained by such a course, though a great deal of injury is done. It is strictly forbidden in God's word—"all scripture is given by inspiration of God and is profitable;" therefore, it should all be preached. But it is very evident that there is a growing tendency to omit those doctrines of the Bible which relate to God's purposes. Election is a word which many are afraid to mention, although it is so often repeated in God's word. If the truth of the Bible offends people it is a plain proof of the depravity of their hearts, and of their enmity to God, and therefore those parts of it to which people most object should be the more faithfully preached in order to show in a clear light that man by nature is unrepentant to God, and thus to lead him to seek for reconciliation through Christ.

The tendency of the times is perhaps not so much to disbelieve in the doctrines of distinguishing grace as to hide them from the people. And for what reason? Because they are thought to be unprofitable. Thus men make themselves wiser than God, who plainly informs us in his word that "all Scripture is profitable." Such a course is attended with most deplorable consequences. In the first place the Lord's people are deprived of the privilege of listening to the most comforting doctrines in the whole Bible, because most calculated to inspire them with strong confidence in God, and thus to enable them to realize their interest in all the blessings of the gospel, without any possibility of being separated from the love of Christ. It is highly dishonoring to God;—keep back part of His word when he has told us to preach it all, and also tends to bring the truth into contempt, for, what is omitted will soon be doubted and finally disbelieved. May God help us who preach his truth, faithfully to proclaim it all as we find it in His word. Then will we receive His blessing. His people will be comforted, and sinners will be truly converted and enabled to adorn the doctrine of God.

For the Baptist and Visitor.

A Sketch for the Young.

I am not much addicted to writing "Obituaries." I have no special objection to them, provided they be very short, and contain, though not the whole truth—for it is not more than likely that that would be satisfactory to the friends—yet nothing but the truth, and for that, as a general thing, a few words would suffice.

Still, it happens now and then that some circumstance connected with the death of a fellow-being may be worthy of record as affording to survivors, instruction, encouragement, or admonition. Such a case I have now before me. Anne Phillips, an interesting girl of some fifteen summers, lies now in death's cold embrace. Tomorrow she will be laid in the narrow house appointed for all living. She never made a public profession of religion. She had but little conversation on the subject until recently, with her mother, or any member of the family. Though she expressed herself more freely to one or two of her intimate friends and associates, who, a short time ago were baptized and united with the church in Fredericton. A little more than a fortnight ago she fell suddenly ill of a fever, which, complicated with a still more terrible disease of the head with which she had been afflicted for years, hurried her into eternity. For the first few days of her illness everything seemed to go on favourably. No danger was apprehended. But without any remembrance of the disease took an unfavourable turn. The fever raged violently, reason departed, and the agony of the dying sufferer was terrible to witness. Though subsequently she seemed rational at intervals, yet, her strength was so reduced, and her mental faculties so impaired that she was unable to hold satisfactory conversation on any subject. It was sad to witness her dying agony; but sadder still to see her pass away without whispering with her expiring breath, a hope in Jesus, or leaving the desired testimony of her acceptance with God.

But what was the joy and surprise of her friends to find in her pocket the day after her demise, a paper written by her own hand, embodying the substance of her religious experience, and desire to unite with the Baptist Church in Fredericton. The paper commences thus: "My dear friends—It has been my desire for some time to come forward and confess my faith in Christ publicly. He has said who ever shall confess before men, him will I confess also before my Father who is in heaven." Then follows a statement of the circumstances which led to her first religious awakenings, and to her "determination" as she expresses it, "to become a follower of Christ." These facts, she had intended to relate at the last Conference meeting; but when we were engaged in the solemn exercises of that meeting, she was tossing in anguish on her bed of death. That she did not profess her faith in Christ at an earlier date, is, as we think, to be lamented; but how great a comfort to her widowed mother, and to us all, to find on record by her own hand so clear and satisfactory a testimony of her interest in Christ and her attachment to Him and His people.

But here is a loud admonition to any—to all—who may be undecided—halting—hesitating. Dost thou believe on the Lord Jesus Christ? Then confess Him openly—publicly—scripturally. Delay not. Seize the present opportunity. To-morrow it may be too late. Thou knowest not what a day may bring forth. Do you love the Saviour? What says He?—"If ye love me keep my commandments." Will thou not obey Him? Canst thou not give up all for him, that thou mayest receive and enjoy Him? O for a heart to sing—

"Through floods and flames if Jesus leads, I'll follow where he goes; Hinder me not shall be my cry, Though earth and hell oppose."

J. C. HURD.

Fredericton, Oct. 14th, 1862.

Look at the Preacher.

Look at him while he is preaching, says the *New York Observer*—

1.—Because he is speaking to you. He speaks to all that are present. You do not drop your head or avert your face when a friend or any man speaks to you in the street. Acknowledge by looking that you feel that you are spoken to.

2.—Because looking at him is a proper return, so far as it goes, for his pains to interest you. He puts himself into communication with you, and your attentive gaze is obedience to his virtual solicitation

that you be in communication with him. It is simple justice.

3.—It is politeness too. You would call one rude and ill-mannered who should avert his face when you attempted to speak to him. Politeness in the social circle should go with you into the sanctuary.

4.—It is kindness too. You can do the preacher service—perhaps a very great service. He is anxious to instruct, or profit you, in some way. It will gratify him to notice your fixed gaze. It will cheer him. Perhaps he is troubled at his own conscious deficiencies, or at the inattention of others. Your kind look is "cold water to a thirsty soul."

5.—Would not you, if the preacher, like the same treatment now sought for him? Would not that hearer's attentive gaze at you do good? Can you refuse to do as you would be done by?

6.—Look at the preacher, because there is power in your example. It will rebuke the unkindness and impoliteness of others, whose averted faces and wandering eyes show that the laws of kindness and courtesy have lost dominion in their hearts.

7.—Look at him, because it will help you fix your attention more seriously and firmly upon the all-important truths he is trying to impress upon your heart.

Here are seven good reasons for doing what will cost you but little effort, and which is certain to be profitable and honourable to yourself, polite, kind, and cheering to the preacher, and greatly useful to others.

From the London Freeman.

The Baptists among the Two Thousand.

It has by many been too hastily assumed that the ejected clergy of 1662 held few opinions in common with modern Non-conformists; and it has even been the fashion in some quarters to affirm somewhat superciliously that in all but a few minor matters, which their punctiliousness magnified into importance, they were at one with the party which ejected them. A little investigation shows, however, that with regard to a large proportion of the ejected this is the reverse of the truth. Many were the shades of opinion which separated them from one another as well as from their antagonists, and amongst these opinions that of the Baptists was not wanting. It may surprise many to learn that believer's baptism was ever preached from Church of England pulpits, and practised by any of the clergy. It must be remembered, however, that in the period preceding 1662 uniformity was not enforced. A Baptist clergyman had signed no assent and consent to paedobaptism, and a voluntary might refuse to receive tithes (as some did) and accept for his support the free-will offerings of the people, still retaining his incumbency.

That Baptist sentiments had many adherents during the Commonwealth is clear. The Protector favoured Baptists, perhaps partly through the influence of Milton, whose Baptist opinions are well known. Soon after the Restoration a Paedobaptist champion thus significantly entitles his pamphlet, "An Essay to revive the Primitive Doctrine and Practice of Infant Baptism." When the sequestered clergy were reinstated at the return of Charles II., a special exception was made against those who had discontinued infant baptism. These and other facts show that Baptists were numerous, and it is probable that a larger number of the Two Thousand were of this persuasion than can now be ascertained. Mr. Calamy, though generally impartial, had rather an unfriendly feeling for the Baptists, and does not always memorialise this part of their Nonconformity. From his pages, compared with those of Crosby, about thirty may be discovered, whose names, &c., were as follows:—The Rev. H. Jessey, M. A., rector of Saint George's, Southwark; J. Goshold, Charter-house school; J. Maisters, Magdalen College, Oxford; Wheeler, rector of Cranfield, Beds; W. Dell, rector of Yeldon, Beds; P. Hobson, chaplain of Eton College; G. Fawnes, vicar of High Wycombe, Bucks; F. Bampffield, vicar of Sherborne, Dorset; T. Jennings, rector of Brunfield, Gloucestershire; E. Frewen, of Kemply, Gloucestershire; T. Paxford, rector of Brunfield, Gloucestershire; P. Frewen of Kemply, Gloucestershire; J. Head, of the same county; J. Tombes, B. D., vicar of Leominster, Herefordshire; W. Woodward, of Whitechurch, Herefordshire; D. Dyke, M. A., rector of Hadham, Herts; L. Wise, of Chatham-dock, Kent; R. Adams, vicar of Humberstone, Leicestershire; Thos. Ellis, rector of Lopham, Norfolk; Edmund Barber, rector of Somerley, Suffolk; J. Harding, D. D., rector of Brinkworth, Wilks; R. Brown, rector of Whitelady Aston, Worcestershire; T. Hardecaste, vicar of Bramham, Yorkshire; T. Froude, rector of Cheriton, Glamorgan-shire; J. Miles, rector of Ilston, Glamorgan-shire. Besides these about twelve are mentioned by Crosby as Baptist sufferers for conscience sake, whose names also occur in Calamy, but concerning these the identity is uncertain.

Of those above-named some appear to have embraced Baptist sentiments after their ejection, or at least the contrary can not be proved at all. Several, however, were Baptists, both in principle and in practice, while they remained in the National Church. The most conspicuous names are those of Mr. Tombes, Mr. Dyke, Mr. Bamfield, and Mr. Jessey. The reader will find very interesting accounts of these in Calamy. The two former had been on the Commission of Triers during the Commonwealth, the only Baptists on that commission. Mr. Tombes was a great disputant, and once entered the lists in public discussion with Baxter on the Baptist question. The great Presbyterian called him "the chief of the Anabaptists"; and on one occasion "publicly asked pardon of God and him for some unhand-some things which, in the warmth of debate, he had said against him." He suffered much on account of his opinions, though afterwards he was the friend of more than one bishop, and was even introduced to the King. Mr. Dyke, though a Baptist, was one of Cromwell's chaplains-in-ordinary. His last years were spent in ministering to the congregation at Devonshire-square, London, where he was succeeded by Mr. Adams, another of the Two Thousand mentioned above. Mr. Bamfield suffered more than most of his contemporaries. The story of his apostolic labours and frequent imprisonments is a very interesting one. One of these imprisonments was of eight years' duration. He died a martyr to the truth, having been seized while preaching to his congregation at Pinner's-hall, and lodged in Newgate, where his constitution, naturally delicate, succumbed to his long-continued privations.

Mr. Jessey was, perhaps, the greatest of all, conspicuous alike for scholarship, piety, zeal, and sufferings. He was an indefatigable student. "The original languages of the Old and New Testaments were as familiar to him as his mother tongue." The masterwork of his life was a new translation of the Bible, in which he was assisted by scholars of various countries. To his great sorrow he did not live to complete it. Archbishop Bancroft supervised this work, and "altered it in fourteen places to make it speak the political language." Mr. Jessey placed over his study-door this appropriate motto—

Amice, quibus hinc ades Aut agito paucis: aut abii Aut me laborantem adjuva.

He was equally distinguished for charity, entirely supporting above thirty-four families. He was much interested in the conversion of the Jews, and in 1657 sent £300 to Jerusalem to relieve the wants of its inhabitants, then impoverished by war. In 1644 he was led to study the question of Baptism by some of his congregation. He took the precaution of consulting several eminent ministers, but they failed to satisfy him of the Scriptural authority of infant baptism, and he became a Baptist. Before the Commonwealth he suffered much from persecution, and after the Restoration he was ejected from his living and imprisoned; soon after which he died. The account of his last hours is very touching. The funeral of this Baptist rector was attended by thousands. "I wish," said a controversial opponent, "that there were more such anti-Paedobaptists as he." He is the only one of the Baptist confessors honored with a portrait in the "Nonconformist Memorial," where we see him attired in a rabbinical-looking skull-cap, large white collar and Geneva cloak, his face unspoiled by the razor, his eyes thoughtful and kindly expression,—a man evidently to be loved as well as respected.

SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION.—At a meeting of Sabbath School Teachers a few days ago, in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association, a Sabbath School Association was organized. The Hon. W. B. Kinross was elected President; Mr. A. Rowan, Vice President; and Mr. Geo. King, Secretary.—[Globe.]

About \$10,000 worth of Nova Scotia cents arrived by the steamship *Asia* at Halifax, on Wednesday last.

OBITUARY.

Died on the 11th inst. at her father's residence in Burton, S. C. Jane E., daughter of David and Jane Turner, aged 22 years. The deceased professed the religion of the Saviour in the 18th year of her age, and was baptised into the fellowship of the Baptist Church in Upper Georgetown by the late W. D. Fitch. From that time to the end of life she exemplified the christian character, and although for the greater part of the time deprived by ill health of attending the public worship of God, yet she enjoyed much of her Saviour's presence, and was always cheerful, and being a favorite of all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance; she also enjoyed a liberal share of christian society. During her last illness, in which she was an extreme sufferer for five months, she was the most happy person it has ever been our lot to visit; the enemy was not permitted to exact upon her, nor the son of wickedness afflict her. She lived in the sunshine of her Father's presence, and sighed only for the better land; she would always ask visiting christians to pray with her, and never lost an opportunity of administering to the unconverted which within the sound of her voice, and even sent for those who did not otherwise come. Thus exemplifying the truth that the true christian, only by his life, and not by his words, can be made good-by, she sweetly fell asleep in Jesus.

Her remains were taken to the burying-ground at the Baptist Church, Upper Georgetown, on Tuesday the 16th, and committed to the mother earth in full and certain hope of a glorious resurrection. The occasion was improved by the writer and Bro. Bikeney. The following select pieces were chosen for the occasion and sung—1st, "sister thou art mild and lovely," etc., to the tune of Mount Vernon from Matt. 18, 43. 2nd, "The sinner was once a sinner, and deep interest," and many felt that they could bless God for the christian's hope. May the good Lord sanctify the bereavement to the good of the kind family and all concerned, is the prayer of the unworthy writer. F. O. REES.

Died, of consumption, on the 8th inst. at his father's residence, Burton, S. C. George, son of Stephen F. Estabrooks, Esq., aged 27 years. The deceased became the subject of serious illness, which, through the mercy of God, resulted in a change of heart previous to his departure, so that he was able to leave to his sorrowing friends the strongest balm of consolation—the assurance of a good hope through grace. His remains were interred in the burying-ground at the Baptist Church, in Upper Georgetown, on Sabbath the 12th. The occasion was improved by the writer, and Bro. Judson Bikeney. The attendance was large and solemn, and we hope that lasting impressions were made. May the grace of Christ be the support of the mourners. F. O. REES.

Secular Department.

The Hon. Messrs. Tilley and Howe left in the R. M. S. Arabia to-day, as delegates from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, respectively, to the Colonial Office, on the Intercolonial Railway.—Express, Oct. 17th.

OUR FUTURE: WHAT SHALL IT BE

NO. IV.

Profitable commercial relations with the United States do not demand annexation to them. It would, no doubt, be greatly for our advantage to have free commercial intercourse with our nearest foreign neighbours. And while peace continues between us and them, under any circumstances likely to occur, our trade with them will be comparatively large. We have valuable articles to export which they need. They furnish in turn various products which we will gladly take. If when the Reciprocity treaty expires the adjacent States again united, shall be disposed to drive a hard bargain with us, skilful management on our part in the disposal of Colonial resources by land and by sea, and in negotiating the terms of international trade with the American government, would, we believe, enable us to obtain a commercial treaty favourable to both parties; other than this we could not desire.

Should the United States, however, adopt a hostile commercial policy toward us, it would do for us what the war of 1812 did for the New England States—give an early development to native manufactures, for which a perfectly free inter-colonial trade would furnish a suitable and expanding market.

But the liberal policy of Britain is gradually opening the great markets of the world, as well for the advantage of her enterprising colonists as for the benefit of her own artisans in her sea-girt isles. Our merchants, our ship-builders, our manufacturers gradually imbibing the spirit suited to the times, will launch forth more adventurously into the great deep of the world's commerce and enterprise—multiplying the articles fitted for exportation, and securing for them in distant and, as yet, untried markets, a remunerative sale. A vastly extended domestic trade, altogether healthful; and a more various foreign trade would render us less and less dependant on the good will or wise policy of any one foreign power.

The probable political future of the Great Republic is by no means of an inviting character. Should the seceded States, at last, be completely subjugated by Northern arms, and brought back to the so-called Union powerless, in chains—their property confiscated, their houses ravaged, their slaves emancipated by servile insurrection with all its attendant horrors; the wounds inflicted on Southern pride, Southern honour, and Southern rights would be too deep and deadly to be healed for many a long day. In this case, the Southern people, smarting under an intolerable sense of wrong, inflicted upon them in daring violation of the most sacred principles of republican government, and in contempt of their own most cherished traditions, would wait and watch and plot for a more favourable opportunity to renew their attempt. Who that takes note of the fierce hatred even now displaying itself between the rival factions in the North— a hatred on the Democratic side more heartily, more intense, more contemptuous than is felt by that party toward the revolted South—who that observes how hostile to the interests of the West is the prohibitory policy of the North and East, and what facilities State governments constitutionally possess for preparing for civil war—who will venture confidently to predict that the desired Southern opportunity will never arrive, or that when it next comes it will not find the contending States more equally arrayed against each other, than in the present struggle?

The grand principle on which the Federal government claims to be founded—the consent of the governed—has received so rude a shock in the present disastrous strife that it will prove one of the most astonishing facts of history if long continued, commotion do not ensue, finally culminate in a terrible explosion in which the Republic as a great, free form of human government will forever perish.

The very policy which the subjugation of the South will necessitate must directly tend toward this suicidal result. For the American Poland could only be held firmly, we will not say in but, under the Union by armed hordes of American Cossacks. The reduction of so large an area, with its courageous and desperate people, to a conquered, territorial condition, kept under the yoke by an iron, military hand, would demand the continued maintenance of huge armies, and the suppression, in the end, everywhere throughout the Union of the great guarantee of personal freedom. Military despotism resting upon a broad democratic basis of faction and fear would dominate the land. Southern subjugation, then, as an index of the hereafter signifies for the Union either final future disruption, or final consolidation under a hideous, hateful military tyranny.

But it is by no means certain nor yet highly probable that the South can be subjugated by the North—despite the Presidential proclamation which if acted upon by him will earn for Abraham Lincoln the almost universal designation of mankind. Now if the Southern States shall succeed in maintaining their independence, consolidating their power and developing their resources—and their statesmanship, generally, heroic and almost unprecedented self-sacrifices on behalf of what they deem their rights, render them worthy of such a re-