

SELECTIONS.

From the Westminster Review.

'MANIFEST DESTINY' OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

(CONCLUDED.)

Several other States have assumed the same attitude towards the decision of the Supreme Court that Massachusetts did before in regard to the Fugitive Slave Act by her Personal Liberty Law. The action of the Legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania has been open and decided. That of New York, reported as early as the 9th of April, denouncing the Washington judgment as unconstitutional and altogether intolerable, and recommending certain resolutions, which were passed by large majorities. It will be enough to cite the first:

Resolved, That this State will not allow slavery within its borders, in any form, or under any pretence, for any time, however short, let the consequences be what they may.

On the 1st of May, the Pennsylvania Legislature pronounced on the decision of the Supreme Court, that it was null in law because it was gratuitously offered, wholly uncalled for, and to no purpose, if the judges themselves were right in declaring that Dred Scott was not, because he could not be, before the Court. The judgment was further declared to be 'a wanton attack on the sovereignty of the free States, and an impotent attempt to nullify the established laws of the country.' The Legislature of Maine passed two Acts, which received the Governor's approval in April, protecting the liberty of all colored persons touching the soil of the State, and providing them with all possible aid, legal and executive, in case of their being arrested as slaves; and the New England States have all, we believe, declared, in one form or another, that they do not intend to yield up their laws and liberties; and there seems to be no doubt of their following the lead of Massachusetts in regard to sound Personal Liberty laws, as in other matters. In Connecticut, twenty years ago, there was no justice to be had on behalf of the teachers of children of color, or of the pupils; as was shown in the case of Miss Crandall, who could obtain no protection from the mob. On that occasion, the courts declined to decide the question whether negroes were citizens; but now there is no document to which the present crisis has given rise, that exceeds in condemnation the Report of the Connecticut Union State Committee on the Dred Scott decision. In pious old Rhode Island, the clergy have constantly endeavored to exclude social subjects, under the name of political, from the discussions of the 'Young Men's Christian Association,' and all mention of the colored race was therefore tabooed. But the 'young men' have no mind to be tongue-tied at such a time; and they have consulted President Wayland, the model moral philosopher (in their opinion) of their country, and he has replied that no topics seem to him more fit for Christian discussion than the duties of different races of men to each other, the obligations of social and domestic relations, and the individual trust of personal freedom, and the duties which belong to it. Such a piece of counsel will be like the sound of a trumpet throughout the old Puritan group of States. While we write, we learn that the fervor has spread beyond the Puritan States. The 'Christian Young Men's Association' of New York has sustained the loss of a dozen 'evangelical clergymen' in one evening, in consequence of the declaration that the duties of justice, peace, and good will, which they assemble to discuss and promote, must be considered as owing to persons of all complexions. The clergy cannot stand this doctrine; and they accordingly withdraw, leaving the 'Christian Young Men' to get on in their studies under the light of the spirit of the time, as that of the Church is withdrawn.

Ohio takes the lead of the Western States; and, as a part of the territory dedicated to perpetual freedom by the Ordinance of 1787, she has the strongest interest in the decision of 1857. No time was lost by the Legislature in enacting 'that it shall be unlawful to confine in the Penitentiary of this State, or in the jails of any county of this State, any person or persons charged with simply being a fugitive from slavery.' Our readers need not be informed that Ohio knows more about fugitive slaves than perhaps any other equal area of civilization. Kidnappers are the local horror there, as Indians are in Oregon, and disoriented slaves in Louisiana. It is in Cincinnati that negro mothers slay their own infants with virtuous intentions, to save them from the hell of female slavery. It is there that, on the river frontier, fugitives cross by scores and by hundreds, when the ice affords a passage ever so perilous; while on the opposite lake-frontier on the north, the bright side of the picture is seen—that of the sailing away of the wanderers for the free soil of Canada. In Ohio, the 'Underground Railway' is busiest; unless, indeed, the activity of the other great branch, through Pennsylvania, New York and New England now rivals the western one. We observe, also, that Maryland is fiercely denounced by Southern newspapers as rapidly going over to the free States, and especially as affording the safest path for fugitives to the North. It is through Ohio, however, that the greatest number of successful escapes is supposed to be made: and the noble list of ruined hosts is remarkably long in that State—the list of good men and women who have suffered loss for the sake of speeding the fugitives on their way. It was in Ohio that a constant influx of facts, visible incidents, and strong emotions filled the large heart of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and made it overflow into the general heart of the world. Year by year, petitions are sent up to the Legislature of Ohio, demanding the dissolution of its union with the slave States; and at length some notice is granted to these petitions,—enough to proceed upon, if the demand become prevalent. Meanwhile, the State is in fact outside the

pale of the Union, like Massachusetts, from the incompatibility of its laws relating to personal liberty with those recently enacted at Washington. The only recognition of the new Supreme Court law in any of that group of States seems to be in the way of joke. Some fugitive slaves being brought to the bar at Chicago for stealing fowls, their counsel pleaded that they were not amenable to law, a recent judgment of the Supreme Court having decided that negroes were not citizens, and had no business before the tribunals, on any pretence whatever. He carried the court with him. Some jocosse railway travellers of dark complexion have refused, on the authority of the Supreme Court, to pay more than freight for their journey. Being simply things, they contend, they should be charged cents by the foot, and not dollars by the head. Ohio has much discredit to overcome from her former hardness to the colored race; and a pro-slavery clergy seems to exercise a most unwarrantable influence throughout the western region: but it is not to be imagined that, in such a crisis as the present, the lovers of freedom, and citizens pledged to republican self-government, should not be strong and determined enough to defend their right against encroachments which they are especially called on to defy. The commerce 'down stream' is no doubt a powerful consideration with the merchant class in Cincinnati: but there is a northern shore, with a practicable road of traffic beyond the lake; and there are western States whose freedom is of the utmost importance to Ohio. The establishment of free labor in Nebraska and Kansas, and the whole north-west territory, would compensate the Cincinnati merchants for any loss of custom from the lower Mississippi: but there is no danger of such loss: for Ohio is of more importance to the slave States than they can ever be to her. Ohio, being already in collision with the federal laws, may be confidently reckoned on as one of the revolutionary group, if the slave power compels such an issue. As for the most westerly States, all north of Missouri have acted decisively in favor of the establishment of free labor in Kansas. Iowa is to vote, next August, for or against the proposition that people of color are to have the suffrage on precisely equal terms with whites. The mere proposition, whatever may be its fate, is a revolutionary act; and the support it meets with shows that a great number of the citizens are rendering themselves responsible for such a step at such a time. Wisconsin is no less agitated. The action there on personal liberty legislation is too extensive and protracted to be fully cited here. The whole group of north-western States and Territories have opened roads, set up mails, forwarded supplies, furnished armed guards, and bodies of militia,—done, in short, all they could to compensate for the stoppage of the river communication during the struggle in Kansas. They have, if not a larger, a more exclusive stake in the establishment of free labor than any other part of the nation; and they will be well able to prevent the extension of slavery, if they give a due welcome to the immigrants from Europe and the Eastern States, who are always pouring in to occupy their fertile plains.

Does such a survey as this convey any idea that the free States will yield obedience to the decision of the Supreme Court, and will invite the benumbing touch of slavery to paralyze their activity—to empty their treasuries—to debase their citizens into the condition of 'mean whites'—to banish literature, gag the press, pervert or silence the clergy, and convert a condition of eminent freedom and commercial prosperity like that of London, into a state of depression, distrust, and poverty, worse than that of Jamaica just before the abolition of slavery? Who can believe in such a possibility? And yet, the North has much to do to give the world assurance that the impending revolution will be worthy of a comparison with the former. The free States must now either yield or resist. It will not suffice for the Supreme Court to rescind its judgment, while its present constitution is such, that a repetition of outrage may happen any day. An attack has been made on the sovereignty of the State, which must be decisively and finally repelled, or, on the other hand, submitted to; and either alternative is revolution. If even a middle way could be found, that would be a revolution too, because it must include more or less sanction of Southern encroachment; and that is irreconcilable with the principles of the Republic. Meantime, the free States are perhaps not more disreputably unready for their great duty than in the case of eighty years ago; while their resources of numbers, wealth, sagacity, ability, and activity, as infinitely transcend those of their opponents as those of Great Britain exceeded the forces of the revolutionists in the former conflict. The Northern States, having all the power in their own hands, might have spared their country all talk of revolution, by simply main-

* Our anticipations are already confirmed. The following is extracted from *The Times* of June 12th:

'A despatch from Cincinnati, of the 29th of May, says:—"Deputy United States Marshal Churchhill, and eleven assistants, left this city last Tuesday to arrest four persons in Mechanicsburg, Champagne County, Ohio, charged with harboring fugitive slaves nine months ago. The arrests were made on Wednesday, when a writ of *Habeas Corpus* was taken out; but before it could be served, the United States officers, with their prisoners, were beyond the bounds of the county." Another writ was taken out in Green County, and served by the Sheriff, assisted by a large crowd of citizens. The United States officers resisted, and several shots were exchanged; but finally the United States officers were overpowered, taken prisoners, and brought to Springfield for trial for resisting the Sheriff in the discharge of his duty. The greatest excitement prevailed. The United States Marshal telegraphed the Secretary of the Interior to-day for instructions regarding the arrest and imprisonment of the United States officers, but the nature of the instructions received in reply has not yet transpired.—Judge Leavitt, United States District Judge, issued a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to-day, and the Marshal has gone to Springfield to serve it. In case resistance is offered, it is reported that the United States troops will be called out."

taining their constitutional liberties by constitutional means. They can never be absolved from the crime of having allowed their country to be dragged into the abyss of revolution: but it is inconceivable that, now that a choice is imperative, they will allow a quarter of a million of citizens, who cannot attain prosperity in their private affairs, to rule seventeen millions of active citizens, who, if they have no great public virtue to boast of, can at least buy up the whole South ten times over.

While the Southern and federal leaders and newspapers declare themselves scandalized at the treason and rebellion of the North, what is the condition of the slave States? The North declares it to be one of nullification of all the great principles and laws of the Union, from end to end of the list of States.

It is true, the press is nowhere free in the slave States. So vigilant is the censorship, that the readers of the few newspapers which exist, have no more knowledge of their real condition than the citizens of Paris. The best, as well as the largest part of the world's literature is unknown there, because it breathes a freedom unsuited to the climate. There is no freedom of trade in the South: not only may a bookseller sell none but enunciated and permitted books, but a planter or merchant must deal only with firms or individuals supposed to be well inclined towards slavery. The mail service is violated to such an extent, that the contents of the bags are well known to be at the mercy of the postmasters, who are compelled to detain and destroy all documents which seem to them to threaten 'the peculiar institution.' The citizens have no security of person, property, or residence, being liable to assault or any such mob-incitement as happens somewhere or other every day: incendiarism is a besetting peril wherever slaves are at hand; and if a man sells an obnoxious book, or entertains a mistrusted guest, or speaks his mind where walls have ears, he is ordered off at a few hours' warning—only too happy to get away with his life. These are the ordinary conditions of existence in the slave States; and with us they would be called revolutionary. There is nothing of an organic character in such a mode of life. But the chronic distrust and instability of ordinary times are freedom and security, in comparison with the present condition of affairs throughout the slave States.

We have spoken of Virginia. Pursuing the frontier line, Kentucky comes next. So deep is the discontent with slavery there, that nothing short of Henry Clay's great influence could have sustained it for many years past: and now there is a scheme afloat for buying out the inveterate slaveholders, in order to allow to others a choice between free and slave labor.

The notion is of opening the soil to settlers, in the same way as in Virginia; and it will be for the slave-owners then to decide between emancipating their negroes, or selling them to the South, as it is well understood that slave and free labor cannot exist on the same soil. In either case, Kentucky would pass over to the Northern interest, as it should naturally have done many years ago. We should have rejected as a fable any such scheme as this, but for the fact that freedom of the press has been achieved by a heroic family,—not without many sufferings in person and estate, but still with final success. Mr. Bailey has dared all that his neighbors could inflict, and after much mobbing, incendiarism, opposition of every kind, and repeated ruin, he has fairly established a newspaper (*The Daily News*), which tells the truth, and advocates the abolition of slavery. That he, and Cassius M. Clay, who emancipated his negroes years ago, and withstood mob dictation, are tolerated in Kentucky, prepares us to believe anything within the bounds of reason as to the improving prospects of the State. Meantime, her posture is revolutionary, which ever way it is looked at. The recent slave insurrection is a fearful warning. For some weeks the impression in Europe was that the insurrection of last winter was, as usual, a fancy of the slaveholders, who have been in a panic hundreds of times within the quarter of a century which has elapsed, without any such outbreak: but the evidence is irresistible that there really was some tacit understanding among the slaves of a large group of States, that they should rise on Christmas Day, and achieve the work to be set them by Colonel Fremont or his friends. Southern politicians had themselves to thank for such a result of their stump-oratory. The slaves heard predictions from the wisest men they knew, that the success of Fremont would occasion the overthrow of slavery; and there were plenty of 'mean-whites' at hand to establish concert among them, and supply them with muskets and ammunition. The chaotic state of society which ensued in a dozen States, where the women and children were gathered into camps, and their husbands and fathers organized into a patrol, while negroes were hung in long rows, or burned alive, or whipped to death from day to day, was a remarkable preparation for such a revolutionary crisis as the Supreme Court has since brought on. Any abnormal condition of the States on the free shore of the great rivers must be at least equalled by that of the slave States opposite. The Kansas question is too large for our bounds at present. We can only observe in passing, that nowhere is the conflict of principles more remarkable than in Missouri. That State is held answerable for the troubles in Kansas; and yet, in the very country of the Border Ruffians, the desire for the blessings of free labor and free speech is so strong, that many people (much better judges than we can be) imagine that Missouri will ere long be purged of the bully element of her population, and allowed to live according to her own convictions. Others fear that the movement is a mere sham, to be carried on only as long as it is the interest of Missouri to keep terms with both parties. However this may be, such a condition of such a territory is a fresh revolutionary element thrown in among the conditions of the time. We observe that the result

of recent elections in Missouri—in which 'the anti-slavery ticket' was carried by a majority supposed to be due to the votes of white laborers—is regarded as intently by the Northern States as by the excitable and alarmed South. The *New York Tribune* calls it 'a democratic uprising, such as no Southern State has ever before known.' 'In St. Louis,' the writer goes on, 'we see the commencement of a process by which slavery is speedily to be driven from all the most enterprising and vigorous of the slaveholding States.' This has a somewhat revolutionary aspect: and the Southern newspapers take the same view. They propose to regard the three States of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, henceforth as suspected members of the Union, and to prohibit all importation of slaves from any of them. Such a proposal shows how they are regarded as slave-breeding States; and surely everybody but the writers of such articles must see that such treatment must have the immediate effect of joining those three great States to the Northern section. By the latest accounts, this question of the frontier slave States seems to be producing a schism at the South.

The rest is easily told; for the slave States are much alike in their temper and in their liabilities, while they may differ widely, as Mr. Olmsted has shown, in the theory of their governments and the welfare of their fortunes. Louisiana admits more and more of the proprietorship of land by the mulatto sons of planters, while South Carolina clamors for a re-opening of the African slave trade; but both are in a condition of discontent and panic. Neighboring States may show a contrast of oligarchical and democratic institutions, but all are alike at present under a madness of panic which is equally ludicrous and pitiable. For instance, various Southern papers call upon the citizens to keep a vigilant eye on all female strangers, who appear as school-mistresses, governesses, lecturers, or travellers, as 'the Southern States are rustling with the petticoats of emissaries sent by the Abolitionists.' A certain Mrs. Emerson, who lectures on phrenology, has created a whimsical sort of alarm in South Carolina. It appears that she is tall and robust; and her hearers, always on the look-out for Abolitionism, and being unable to discover any thing of it in her lectures, got it into their heads that she was a man in disguise. Her chattels were seized and searched: among them were letters from persons in half the States of the Union, an envelope directed to a person in Massachusetts, a lantern, and a side-saddle. It does not appear that there was any thing suspicious in the letters, and the side-saddle was rather a damper to the theory; but the lantern and Massachusetts envelope were made the more of: and the lady is packed off with all speed, being informed that if she returns, or goes elsewhere in the slave States, she shall be lynched as men are who come with lanterns and saddles. Such insane terror is no laughing matter, when it leads to the cruel assaults and murders which are recorded in every newspaper which arrives from the South; and the treatment now inflicted on travellers and strangers who venture there without a complete set of safeguards, is enough of itself to cause a hostile separation of the two sections of the Union. One would think that gipsies are sufficiently familiar and pretty well understood every where; but a Virginian newspaper of repute, which lies before us, assigns a new character to the wandering tribe. The gipsies in Virginia are 'emissaries of the Abolitionists,'—richly paid to gather the negroes to their camps to hear their fortunes told, and be intoxicated by promises of setting their heels on their masters' necks. The money of the Abolitionists is spoken of as if they carried bags of gold at their saddles, like the French Emperor; whereas they, for the most part, trudge about, and have no coin to lavish, having been impoverished, or prevented from getting rich, long years ago. One of the strongest signs of the times is the energy devoted to the spread of Romanism,—a zeal by no means confined to Catholics, who yet are abundantly ready to improve the occasion. A stranger may be excused an incredulous stare when told that Protestants of the slave States are eager for the propagation of Romanism. The residents need no explanation. They understand how precious is the safeguard of the Confessional, while planters and merchants of all faiths are living in the same constant dread of incendiarism and insurrection. That 'Spiritualism' should be pressed into the service is equally inevitable; and 'the spirits' make just the responses that might be anticipated. There is to be 'blood' at Washington, and fire on plantations, and a triumph of Liberty at last, or a reign of negro ferocity, according as the replies are made to pacemakers or planters, frightened women, or haters of the Abolitionists. Virginia newspapers record the speeches and receive the letters of leading men who, whilst discouraging the South Carolina scheme of re-opening the African slave trade, insist that the industrial classes ought every where to be slaves, and must be so in the United States; and the immediate consequence of grave proposals from high quarters to make slaves of the Irish and German immigrants is, that the kidnapping of whites is seriously on the increase. Seamen, waiters, and other servants, travelling merchants, all kinds of itinerants, are liable to capture at some defenceless moment; and unless they can prove their freedom within a certain time, are sold for the payment of jail fees. A strolling actor was thus kidnapped lately; and we could fill many pages with narratives of this kind, authenticated by public proceedings. It is a common threat, when slaves escape, that for every slave who obtains freedom, a free person shall be caught. Such a threat cannot be literally fulfilled; but it certainly appears that the disappearance of free persons, of all ages and complexions, becomes more frequent as 'the Underground Railroad' becomes more frequented. Through all times, the owners of slaves have been anxious parents; and the wretchedness of some can be appre-

ciated only by those who have heard on the spot how whole families of young children have died separately or together, by poison or other means of murder. Now, the woe spreads on the other side of the frontier; and the disappearance of children (especially those of dark complexion) is no uncommon incident. We are wont to pity the Berber parent whose sons are captured to be made eunuchs, and whose daughters are carried off for slaves: how can we endure our sympathy with Christian parents, of the same race and rearing with ourselves, who do not trust their children out of their sight, lest they should be sold into the cruellest slavery in the world in their native country! Mr. Chambers tells us what he has heard about this:—

'The practice of kidnapping white children in the Northern States, and transferring them southward, said to be notoriously on the increase. We see mentioned that, in the city of New York alone, a man as thirty children, on an average, are stolen yearly; it being shrewdly guessed that many of them are carried to the markets of the South, where a good price for them can be readily obtained. If there be the slightest truth in the supposition that gently nurtured infants are so abstracted from the homes of their parents, nothing could give a more forcible impression of the horrors entailed on American society by the tolerance of slavery in its bosom.'—(p. 3.)

There seems to be a sort of general understanding that the turbulence of South Carolina may be taken for granted, and need not be displayed as one of the revolutionary elements of the case. 'The gallant little State,' as her citizens call her, was never known to be in a quiet condition and amiable mood for any length of time; and her citizens glory in a revolutionary attitude. South Carolina may therefore be left to assert her own claims to disorder and disloyalty; but it is necessary to remind our readers in the briefest way, that large assemblages, in the chief towns of the State last autumn, ratified with acclamations the proposal to summon the citizen for a march upon Washington, in case of Fremont being elected, to seize the Treasury, burn the archives, and make the Halls of Congress resound with the din of actual war. Thus did South Carolina take up her position in defence of the recent corruptions of the Federal Constitution, in opposition to the Northern citizens, who proclaim their fidelity to the fundamental principles of the Republic.

No revolution recorded by history has had a more serious cause or complete justification than is afforded by a sectional antagonism like this. Is it to be supposed that a sectional population yielding 2,900,000 votes should grant to a rival numbering 1,100,000 votes, (inclusive of the fictitious slave-suffrage), power to bring slavery and slaves among the children of free labor? and, again, to carry off the children of free labor into bondage on a slave soil? Can any one for a moment believe that such a thing can happen?

What then, will happen? The North has the numbers, the wealth, the good cause, and the sympathy of Christendom. The South (meaning the dominant party in that section) is so poor in numbers that the world at large will not believe the figures of the census: it is so poor in wealth that its annual convention of planters and merchants sends forth the same complaints, year by year, of want of capital and the high price of labor, on the very same page with threats of setting up steamers, rail ways, colleges, factories, and a complete new literature, whereby New York will be ruined as a port and England supplied with cotton without any intervention of Northern capitalists; threats that New England colleges will have no aristocratic youths within their walls, to be corrupted with vulgar notions of constitutional rights and the dignity of work; while a bright day will open on the whole class of pro-slavery authors, whose works are henceforth to supply the place of the literature of all past ages. The business of expurgating books from every other part of the world, and of creating a complete set of school-books suitable to the South, is actually confided to a committee, headed by a bishop, and chiefly composed of university men. The committee was to meet for consultation at Columbia, South Carolina, on the 18th of May last, and work was meantime provided for it by the discovery that even 'Grimshaw's History of the United States,' a text-book in almost all schools, was not exempt from the taint of Abolitionism. Grimshaw says, 'Let us no longer declare by words, but demonstrate by our action, that "all men are created equal," &c.'; and the organ of the Louisiana planters asks, on quoting this, 'Are such sentiments to be instilled into the minds of our children? If not, then banish Grimshaw's History from our schools and academies. Men will not regard them (the postulates of the Declaration of Independence); but they may warp the more impressionable minds of uninformed and unreflecting childhood.' This appears to us revolutionary in the highest degree,—that the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence should be regarded as warping the mind!

No hindrance has been offered to the Southern scheme of domestic policy; but it does not appear to be yet instituted: and the question recurs why a people so subject to disappointment, failure, and poverty within their own States, has thus far overriden a rival of ten times its own force. The answer is a sorrowful one. The South has a will, and the North has not. A common average of righteousness will on the part of the North would have preserved the Constitution, and dealt with the great anomaly long ago: but the only righteous will was in the Abolitionists, who are, and always will be, outside the political and the military sphere. If the Northern heart and mind once fairly kindle at the altar-fire of the confessors and martyrs of the cause, every thing may be at their disposal as regards federal relations; because all the power, except that of will, is on their side; but then the slave States must be regarded as delivered over to the horrors of a servile war. Half a million of the slaveholding class will be at the mercy of their 'mean-whites' and negro

neighbors, from the hour when the North effectually repudiates slavery. The South would doubtless try the experiment of a military despotism in the several States; but the loss of Northern aid, and of the cotton market of Europe, would be fatal from the outset; and they could not compete with the cotton growth of free labor. In short, such a position would be wholly untenable. To the next question—what else?—there is no present answer; and herein lies the unmistakable token of revolution,—not merely impending, but actual. The mist of the comet blurs every thing. We can only ask questions: and the first questions are, whether, if they wished it ever so much, the American people could now wait four years for such a reversal of parties as a presidential election may effect; and, next, whether the strife about slavery-extension can be suspended for the fifteen years required for the reversal of the preponderance in the Supreme Court. There can, of course, be no such suspension of the vital social interests of daily life; and those who say most about waiting, best know that it is impossible.

As for us, we decline to prophesy amidst so dire a confusion, and under the shadow of so black a thunder-cloud. The one thing we are sure of is, that the old Constitution, laden with new corruptions, cannot serve and sustain the Republic. We believe that if a radical reconstitution is not immediately agreed upon, there must be a dissolution of the Union,—the slave States being subject to the curse of a military despotism, and the perils of a servile war. It hardly appears that there can be a question about this: but of the issue, we cannot venture to vaticinate. Our trust is, that the Abolitionists will not abate a jot of that strong will which renders them the real antagonists of the South; that they will press on the more strenuously as the critical moment discloses itself; and that, by upholding in the sight of all men the democratic principles which first gave them a country, they may justify that instinct of the highest minds in the Old World which has recognised them, amidst the depressions and obscurities of a quarter of a century of adversity, as the ten righteous men who should save their city.