LITERATURE.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT OWEN. Philadelphia: Ashmead & Evans, No. 724 Chesnut street. 1866. Pew blographies can be so warmly commended to general popular favor as the work announced above, and which has been thrown into the book market during the past week. It is what it professes to be, in the truest sense of the title. most biographies are indiscriminate ealogies. and many rise no higher than the unqualified, fulsome panegyric. This is a Life; and it seems to be strictly true to life, to its virtues and to its faults. A faithful biographer should be both. Sculptors and painters may immortalize the bad as well as the good qualities of subjects—the vice of Cleopatra, or the virtue of Elizabeth of Hungary; the bloody Mary, or Lady Jane Gray. The highest merit of art is fidelity; so the chief merit of biography is truthfulness. A biographer, what ever his partialities, must be faithful to the life of his subject and faithful to the demands of pure

morality. In the work before us we have a good

illustration of such fidelity. This, indeed, con-

stitutes one of its many attractions. Robert Owen, the subject of the work, was undoubtedly one of the most notable men of his generation. He was naturally endowed with every remarkable talent. Those talents he improved by assiduous and commendable self-culture; such culture as is made possible by the learning and labors of diligent scholars, who rarely get credit for being what all truly great men are-self-made men. To these intellectual qualities he added an unquenchable ardor of temperament, if not a glowing warmth of heart, kindled and kept alive by enthusiastic humanitarian benevolence, or a refined, indomitable ambition, or an incongrueus, yet inseparable mixture of both. Under the pressure of such stimulants he prosecuted business with untiring energy; and, after amassing a handsome competence for private comfort, devoted the surplus gains with lavish prodigality to the execution of favorite schemes of universal social and

Thenceforth his life was wholly absorbed in the prosecution of these schemes, in efforts to commend them to others, and to secure influential aid in their general adoption. To describe these schemes, therefore, to analyze the principles on which they rested, to show their excellence or their defects, to follow up and report the various experiments made with them, and point out the causes which wrought the utter failure of those experiments iu New Lanark, in Harmony, and in other places, was the biographer's proper work. And, as already intimated, he has very faithfully, yet kindly, performed the duty. His sympathies for the poor, neglected, and often oppressed laboring classes are manifestly as warm and sincere as these of Mr. Owen, He exhibits, also, as keen a discernment of existing social evils, and as benevolent a desire to have those evils alleviated. But, on the other hand, his judgment is not warped by those prejudices which controlled and distorted the opinions and schemes of the New

To all socialists, therefore, and to such as are disposed to look with some favor upon modern Fourierism, humanitarianism, or spiritualism; to all progressive reform associations and friends of radical agrarian movements; this book may be safely and warmly commended. They would find it a most interesting and profitable book, written in a style which makes the perusal of it like gliding along a smooth, swift current. The publishers, too, have produced the book in the best style of their art, and have made it, in every material respect, a volume of which the American press may be proud.

mIt is desirable that a cheaper form might be published, which would place the work within the easy reach of those who have but few dimes to spare for literary investments. We hope the publishers will find themselves encouraged to issue such an edition.

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Industrial Prospects of the South.

From the Times. If the newspapers reflect faithfully the condition of affairs in the South, the process of recuperation is going on steadily and surely. Even those journals which have from the first refused to believe in the possibility of cultivating cotton without negro labor-slave labor at that-not only confess that white labor may be made available, but that the "demoralized" slaves themselves are inclined to return to work with a will since they are satisfied that their freedom

is a reality. From the Southwest the reports are particularly encouraging. In Texas labor was perhaps less disorganized than in any of the Cotton States, and for this very reason the transition to the new status was in some respects more difficult. The planters had not experienced so fully the sufferings of war, and therefore found it harder to make up their minds to the final sacrifice which was submitted to elsewhere as a sheer necessity; but under the jud crous management of General Gregory the crisis has been met and safely passed. A letter from our special corres-pondent, published a day or two since, made some interesting statements upon this point, which the Texas journals fully sustain. Letters from the interior of the State, published in the Houston and Gaiveston papers, give positive proof that everywhere the planters are accomplishing far more than they had anticipated

under the new system.

The negroes are working more cheerfully than ever before, and those planters whose foolish prejudices led them to retuse to have anything to do with their emancipated slaves, have formnately succeeded, to a great extent, in securing white labor from the ammigrants who have been moving down from Missouri, from Arkansas, and from the eastward southern States. All through the tertile Brazos Valley new lands are being opened, for nearly every acre of old land is under cultivation, and cotton is being planted on a larger scale than ever before. In fact, such a breadth of land has been given to the staple that fears are expressed in some quarters lest the corn planted may not produce a sufficient

supply for immediate wants. The same hopeful story is told of the South-western Cotton States east of the Mississippl. The New Orleans Price Current, which was recognized before the war as the authority upon the cotton question, clung for some months, with all the tenacity of an old prejudice, to the belief that the cultivation of cotton without slave-labor would be virtually an impossibility, and that for the present season, at least, the world must be content with an insignificant crop from the South. In its issue of the 19th inst-this sheet concesses that the year has opened much more auspiciously than it dared anticipate a few weeks since, inasmuch as the negroes in Louisiana and the neighboring States have lately

exhibited a general disposition to obtain homes on plantations, and to return to labor. Some have engaged at monthly wages; others for an

interest in the crop. The Misatsippi papers tells substantially the same story. From the northern part of the State same story. From the northern part of the State the planters almost unanimously report themselves sanguine of making fair crops with the freedmen they have employed, and the Columbus (Miss.) Index, as an illustration of what may be done by moral sussion, tells of one planter who, "by treating his freedmen with kindness and forbearance, has kept with him fifty or sixty hands since Christmas;" not one of them showing any desire to leave the plantation for a day. From Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and North Carolina, such favorable reports as these could hardly be expected, since those States have comparatively but recently been delivered from the presence of our armies, and yet the accounts which come to us from that section are accounts which come to us from that section are

Let it be remembered, moreover, that these statements are not from correspondents who are travelling rapidly from point to point, and who can observe at the best but superficially, while various influences of which they may themselves be unconscious are operating to color their accounts. The reports that we have hastily summed up are made by journals most of which have again come under the control of their former proprietors and editors, who are, at the former proprietors and editors, who are, at the best, unwilling witnesses, and who write as they do because the facts cannot be any longer denied. To be sure, some of these papers tell us that there are many sections of the country that have lost half or three-fourths of their negro population, but they acknowledge that, in acrdance with the inevitable operations of the law of supply and demans, white laborers are gradually finding their way to these points, and in time will more than make good every deti-

It will not do to infer, however, because this recuperative process is progressing so satisfactothat the yield of cotton will at once equal that of the prosperous years before the war. This could not reasonably be anticipated. Besides the reduced amount of labor, there are very many contingencies, which may almost be called certainties, that will prevent this. Northern men who have gone South, sanguine of making themselves rich in a single season, will probably plant three or four times as much cotton as they can cultivate or pick. Then, as the New Orleans Price Current says, the negroes may stop labor at one or at another critical period, and thus neutralize entirely all that hey have accomplished. But whether the crop finally gathered shall be one million or two million bales, there is now every reason to heve that the South will pass safely through the terrible crisis that it so suddenly precipitated upon itself, and that a second or third season at the latest will see its labor system reorganized upon the free basis, with the negroes steadily gaining a consciousness of the fact that they are no longer slaves, but men, while here and there South there will be little communities of white laborers and of Northern men, which shall infuse a more vigorous element into the society of which they are to become a com-

The Russian Telegraph and the Russian Alriance. From the Herald,

We are glad to parceive that the House resolution introduced by Mr. Banks instructing the Secretary of the Navy to detail a steam vessel to assist in the construction of the Russo-American telegraph by way of Behring's Strait has been adopted by the Senate. It is of material interest to this country that we should have telegraphic communication with Europe, and inarmuch as the Russian scheme of Mr. Collins is the most likely to be immediately carried out, it is manitestly due to the Russian Government, which has so liberally sustained It, that the United States should afford every facility for its accomplishment. There exists also a st ong political reason why Russia should have our co-speration in this project.

Russia, of all nations in Europe, is the most consistent friend of this country; we may say the only one that in our hour of trul stood firm and stead(ast, the most honest observer of international law without permitting kinks or quib-bles to interfere with its fair interpretation. We gave material aid to the Atlantic telegraph enterprise by sending the Niagara to assist in laying the first cable, which was designed to connect this country with England-a nation which we have no reason to regard as over friendly to us during our late war. In this view we do not see but that it is vasfly more to our advantage to have a telegraphic connection established through Russia than through either England or

The late demonstration in Moscow, where the American Minister and Secretary of Legation were entertained at a great banquet by the Corporation of Merchants, was but an incidental expression of real sentiments entertained by the Russian people towards this country; and the language used on that occasion is all the more significant because it comes from the representatives of the commercial element of the central mercantile city of the Russian empire.

Mutual commercial interests, as well as the political analogy which in a measure exists between the two countries, are the links that bind them together, and have created a seemingly anomalous union between a republic and an autocracy, at which the London Times sneers as a curious evidence of extremes meeting, but which one of the speakers at the Moscow ban-quet very aptly explains by the truism that the love of the strong for the strong is both natural and profitable; a sentiment which our Minister, Mr. Clay, adopts when he says of Russia and America "that both of us have nothing to be ashamed of in the past, and nothing to fear in

A variety of circumstances have drawn the great Russian empire very closely into alliance with our people, and the estable hment of tele graphic communication will tend greatly to strengthen the connection. The Czar should not loose an opportunity of still more firmly cementing this spontaneous alliance by the exercise of better judgment in selecting the repre-sentatives of his Government in this country. He has been unfortunate heretofore in the class of men who have represented Russian interests here. It is not because Russia has to bear the traditionary reputation of barbarism that she should be represented abroad by barbarians. Society, which recognizes the force of such sensiments as we find embraced in some of the toasts at the Moscow banquet—such as "The progress of education and enlightenment in our commercial classes," and "The improve-ment of the moral and intellectual condition of the mill hands"—cannot be regarded as one of the elements of a barbarous nation.

The Press and Politicians of the South-A Word of Advice.

From the Herald. Loyalty. This is the word which we would now commend to the earnest consideration of the press and politicians of the South. The recent suspension of the Richmond Ekaminer by order of General Grant was a timely warning against a mischievous movement to turn the elements of the Rebellion into a social combination against "Yankees" and Unionists of all sorts in any way identified with the Union cause in the late war. The inevitable results of such a Southern social organization, if tolerated, would defeat all attempts at political reconciliation and harmony between the North and the South-between the Government and the Southern States —and between the Unionists and Rebels, and the whites and blacks, from Virginia to Texas. The fire-eating journals and politicians of the South, with very few exceptions, have yet to learn that their Southern Confederacy has been destroyed; that an honest submission to the consequences of the war requires an honest recog-nition of the Union, the powers that be, and the new order of things; and that a social war against Union soldiers, citizens, visitors, or emi-grants, is a foolish and suicidal game to any

outhern community. The magnanimous policy of Southern restora-

Southern journals and political leaders. the war, as before the war, they have been, as a rule, playing into the hands of the radical revo-lutionary faction of the North, in their efforts to keep alive the embers of the Rebellion. Now, if these leaders and organs of Southern public these leaders and organs of Southern public opinion wish to help themselves, their neighbors, and their respective States in getting back into Congress, they will prove by their works and their counsels henceforward that they are entitled to that generous forbearance and confidence manifested towards them by the Administration. tration. The masses of the Southern people must no longer be misrepresented and placed in a false position by their leading orators and newspaper organs. These Southern leaders and organs must change their tactics, and cease to furnish political capital to Thaddeus Stevens, I they are honest in their professions of gratitude towards President Johnson. The wagner who prayed to Hercules to help him out of the mud was required first to put his own shoulder to the

The Irrepressible Conflict.

From the Tribune. The essence of the late Rebellion was an as sumption that one race of men are born booted and spurred by the grace of God to ride, and another with bent backs and hoof-like hands to be ridden-that the wise and strong, because of their wisdom and strength, have a right to do as they will with the weak and simple. As A. H. Stephens well said, slavery, the incident or accident of other States, was the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy-that but for which that Confederacy had never been. Hence, every Tory, every Reactionist, in either hemisphereevery upho'der of the divine right of kingcraft or or priesteraft—was a Rebel sympathizer by while every republican, every socialist in the Old World, was a cuampion of the Union cause. Men do not wait to reason out such dif ferences—the King of Dahomey, had he been seasonably apprized of our quarrel, would have joyfully spared his brother Jeff. a legion of most bloodthirsty Amazons to fight for their common cause, though he detests and suppresses all secessions and rebellions in his own domain. The higher law of elective affinity would make him tolerant of treason and revolution, when their sim is the conservation of the copple and the auction-block for beings made in

It is impossible not to see in the recent utterances of our President a defermination to make war on the advocates of human equality before the law. If he had said to the black delegation, "Your people must wait. Educate your children; seek knowledge; be industrious; be frugal; be thrifty, and you will ultimately attain all you desire; but prejudice is strong, and you must not expect everything done at once"—we should have left that what he said was reasonable, and counselled acquiescence. So, if he had said to "There are some provisions in your Freedmen's Bureau bill which seem to me warranted and permicious; allow me to designate them, and to solicit their modification"we should have urged compliance with his requirements, even though we could not deem

them intrinsically sound. But his veto message is a declaration of warit can mean nothing else. It was not intended to convince but to dely Congress. There was not a Copperhead, not a Rebel in America who did not, on reading it, say, "This is the man for us—he talks just as we think and feel." We are confident that it will evoke letters of approba tion from Rebei fugutives in Europe, Mexico, and Brazil—that some of them will even offer to return whenever assured that "the President's policy" is destined to prevail. John Surratt may not yet he ready to condescend so far; but he will surely feel that he has not perilled life and incurred the pains of exile in vain.

When we ask the right of suffrage for the blacks, we are told that they are too ignorant and degraded to vote; when we ask that provision be made for educating them, the reply is that we surely cannot deem them in such crying need of education, since we consider them quali-fied to vote. Such is the vicious circle wherein their rights are dented and their prayers for justice derided.

Again: let us suppose the people of the United States to be thirty-one millions, whereof sixteen millions side with us, and fifteen millions with the negro-haters. They stifle the voice of three to four millions of us, and say, "Don't you see that you are a weak minority? You have scarcely a party in ten or twelve States"—the fact being that we are a majority in most of them; and that most of us are suppressed and nullified. And this in the abused name of de mocracy

Of course, the natural presumption is that all who would sell their souls to keep and those who would sell them to get office, piling upon one hungry party, can secure it a present pre-dominance. What if they do? With power comes responsibility. With action, differ-ence, A bleuded Copperhead and Rebel ascen-dancy, thinly veneered with office-holding and office-seeking Unionism, could not help assail-ing the national debt, disturbing the safeguards of our national industry, and many other things equally provocative of resistance. The new alliance, now being solemnized by salvos of artillery, can have but a short and stormy life at best; but give u power, and it cannot tail to explode by force of inherent repulsion.

We are of those who would gladly have accepted an installment of justice for the freedmen, and waited for more to a more favorable season. But, since we are driven to the alternaacquiesce in its absolute, flat denial. It has been proved, at a fearful cost, that slavery and cannot peacefully co-exist-that one or the other must give way. It is now to be proved that the systematic degradation of a race pre-cludes the general education of any race, and involves the perpetuation of indolence, unthrift, and barbarism for all. If we, as a people, need more lessons to make us wholly and nobly just we shall receive them and pay for them.

Dark hours are probably at hand; let none forget the way was cleared for the policy of eman-cipation by the want of heart and unsuccess of McClellan, Buell, and their kind, rather than by the courage, ability, devotion, and triumphs of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. So, though whatever of disaster and discouragement may he defore us, let us never doubt that the Republic is moving majestically forward to universal justice and universal freedom.

Party Aspects of the Veto. From the World.

The veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill has in fact-though probably not in intention-given the coup de grace to the Republican party. President Johnson was elected by that party, but he never belonged to it. In 1856 he supported Mr. Buchanan. In 1860 he acted with the extreme opponents of Mr. Lincoln. When the South seceded, he recanted no principle he had ever held, but avouched the robust sincerity with which, as a vigorous opponent of the Republican party, he had averred his supreme attachment to the Union. At the called session, in the summer of 1861, he put himself on record in respect both to the objects of the war and to the rights and position of the secoding States after its close; a record of the most deliberate formality. He offered, in the Senate, and persistently pressed to a yote, a resolution declaring "that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that collect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subluzation, or any purpose of overthrowing or intertering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired."

With this record Mr. Johnson was et an With this record, Mr. Johnson was, at an early stage of the war, appointed Military Governor of Tennessee; and, while in the exercise

of that office, he superintended a process of re-construction precisely similar to that which he

has fostered in other States since his elevation to the Presidency. He was still Military Gov-erner, with that consistent record, when he was selected by the Baltimore Convention as its can-didate for Vice President. The news of his nomination being immediately transmitted to Kashville by telegraph, Mr. Johnson, in response to congratulations, made a speech, of which the main point was that, by his nomination, the Baltimore Convention had recognized Tennessee as a State in the Union, whose citizens remained eligible to the most important offices in the

The purpose of this recital is to show that if the Republican party expected President John-son, to pursue any different course from that which he has actually adopted, they imputed to which he has actually adopted, they imputed to bim a servile suppleness, a degrading sycophancy to party, inconsistent with the character of an honest man. Their journals and Congressmen talk as if, by nominating him to the Vice-Presidency, they became the owners of his soul. But they selected him not for his advantage, but for theirs. As a stroke of party tactics they judged it expedient to strengthen their ticket by putting upon it a War Democrat, as a lure to Democratic votes—a safe stratagem, as they appropried the Vice-President is an open supposed since the Vice-President is an open supposed s they supposed, since the Vice-President is an official cipher, without influence in the Government. Mr. Johnson, as presiding officer of the Senste, would have had less power than is possessed by Mr. Foster, its President pro tempore; for Mr. Foster has a vote, and can participate in the debates, but a Vice-President cannot.

When a Vice-President thus selected because he was not a Republican, selected for the pur-pose of winning to Mr. Lincoln the support of War Democrats, is unexpectedly made Presi-War Democrats, is unexpectedly made President, what are his party obligations? Did the Republican parly acquire the right to domineer over his judgment? to tamper with his con-science? to insult his self-respect? to compel him to turn his back upon himself and stuling his whole political record? to make him a pol tical puppet to dance as they pulled the wires! Knowing what he was when they went out of their party to nominate him, they are bound to respect his convictions. Before they ventured to bandy insinuations of party treachery, it be hooves them to show that he ever professed party allegiance. Mr. Johnson never pretended to be anything but a Union Democrat, The Presidency is an office the Republican party never meant he should fill; and if the motive of the giver is the measure of gratitude, he owes

But supposing, to serve our argument, that Mr. Johnson had ever belonged to the Republican party, and that it had voluntarily made him President, how would the account stand between im and it up to this time? A party President is a recognized party chief, entitled to the cour tesies, at least, it inot to the influence, of that position. As the head of a party, he is, at the very lowest estimate, entitled to admission to the party councils, and may justly feel affronted if important steps are taken without the defer-ence of consultation. A party chief may have his judgment overruled by his associates, but they have no right to put upon him the slight and indignity of ignoring his existence, or to act in ostentatious disregard of his wishes. But how have the Republicans treated President Johnson? They condemned him without a hearing. They held a caucus and decided on a line of action opposed to what they suspected would be in his message, without waiting to listen to it.
It has been their chief aim to thwart him.

Bill after bill, on the most crabbed, ticklish, and exciting questions, have been concocted, adopted as party measures, and supported by a full party vote, without conferring with him at all, and with an unconcealed design to frustrate his policy, undo his work, and humiliate his pride. This is such treatment as no man of spirit would patiently bear from a party of which he was the

And now in relation to patronage. A party President is under an implied obligation to fill all the offices in his gill from the party that elected him; but, in other respects, he is entitled to the freest personal preferences. President Johnson, with unprecedented disinterestedness has waived the privileges of his position; he has ietained even Mr. Lincoln's confidential advi-sers; he has sought no personal by-ends of any description. The Republican party, in making him Vice-President, intended to give him no patronage. He has exercised almost as little as they intended. On this score they have no ground of complaint, much less any excuse for the persistent indignity with which they have treated him. They make a mighty awkward figure when they loam and accuse him of infi-

It is a sufficient reply, that he never belonged to it. It is another sufficient reply, that they have steadily retused him the deference due to i party chief. It is still another sufficient reply that he has forborne all the vulgar perquisites o his position, which he might have taken con-sistently with party usage. On his side, it is purely a difference of principle, in which his tault, if it be a fault, is not change, but per-

Can the difference be reconciled? To suppose it, is to suppose the Republican party can contique to exist after the public renunciation of its principles. If there is a reconciliation, they will go to him, not he to them. Such a surrender would demoralize and break down their party, and wipe it out of existence. But if they adhere to their principles, as he certainly will to his, the destruction of their party is equally inevitable. The same class of voters to whom they appealed in nommating him for Vice-President, will follow his political fortunes; and, as an efficient political organization, the Republican party cannot survive their loss. When the patronage of the Government is used against it nstead of for it, the disintegration will proceed space. From a sectional party, it will be rapidly reduced to a mere faction, held in contempt by a majerity of the people in every part of the

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