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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pet-nia, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies ofised to receive subscriptions for The Liberaton. following gentlemen constitute the Financia

The following genderic constitute the Financial militee, but are not responsible for any debts of the er, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmuni os, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

The United States Constitution is "A be with death, and an agreement with he

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 33.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1599.

Refuge of Oppression.

TO ALL LAW-ABIDING AND PEACE-LOVING CITIZENS.

A FOURTH OF JULY UNION MEETING.

Having convened at Sharon Centre, Medina Co., Ohio, on the Anniversary of the Freedom and Independence of this Confederacy, we wish to improve the occasion by mutual consultation, and an unrestrained and respectful expression of our sentiments upon the measures and policy which have blighted the interests and blasted the expectations of our once happy country. We cannot celebrate this day with joy, as we have done in former years. We despoiled of unalienable rights and privileges, and likely to be shrouded in the sable festoonery of mourning for the fearful sacrifice of human life in this unnecessary, unnatural, unholy and barbarous givil war.

mourning for the rearm's active to the sunnecessary, unnatural, unholy and barbarous citil war.

The inauguration of this war has alienated those who were friends—precipitated the border States to dissolve their connection with the general government—depreciated the value of real estate—ruined our commerce, and rendered bankrupt many of the most enterprising commercial men; and it has also produced a perfect stagnation in every business department throughout our country; and it has fastening upon our government an enormous glebt which will require the patient toil and economy of years to liguidate; effectually crippling all our operations for internal improvements; destroying all mutual confidence at home, and producing distrust and dishonor abroad. This frightful state of things could and ought to have been avoided by the adoption of honorable compromise measures. But Congress, composed of those who were hostile to the Seath, refused to do anything conflicting with the sectional Chicago platform, and even refused submitting the question to the voice of the sovereign people. The action of the Peace Conference, composed principally of Republicans, being referred to Congress for final action, was ignored by that body. The earnest appeals of Virginia—the mother of Seates—to save the Union, were hooted at.

Her soil is invaded by the general government, but destring to be neutral in this fratricidal conflict, have a military expionage placed over them, which has invaded State rights and set at defiance State autherity. And all this is done under the most solemn shigations to observe involate the articles of the

to observe isviolate the articles of the igations to observe invokate the articles of the indicherated agreement, and the Constitution of the nited States of America! All this is destructive that freedom and insignmentence, for which our es, on this memorable day, "pledged their lives, eir fortunes and their sacred honor" to secure, do to transmit unsullied and unimpaired to unborn

lenee we object, most seriously, to the high aded, unconstitutional, and illegal usurpations of party in power, which is subversive of sov-ignty, freedom and independence. And as quiet ceable and law-abiding citizens, we enter our

peaceable and law-abiding citizens, we enter our most solemn protest against the spirit and acts of moborcacy, illegally countenanced by the civil authorities, under a military despotism; and, Whereas, some of the peaceful and law-abiding rigzens of this county have been grossly outraged to threats of personal violence, for the exercise of hists guarantied to them by the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Ohio, and that said dutrages are known to the citizens of our county seat, and in all probability to the officers of the law, who connive at the indignities to peaceful citizens of the county, and make no efforts to suppress the violations of the law by a rampant mob—therefore,

peaceful citizens of the county, and make no to suppress the violations of the law by a int mob—therefore, olved, That we solemnly enter our protest all such outrages and violations of law and and that we will hold the officers of the law sishle for their dereliction of, duty, and for the substitution of mobocracy. Olved, That we are opposed to hanging, shoot-seases in the wear of the proposed to hanging, shoot-spatial that we are opposed to hanging, shoot-spatial that we have been and measures, because we better subversive of all good order and government, thing and enslaving to the noble faculties of intentiality, subjecting them to the decisions of intent and prejudiced judges and irresponsible to, and because such acts are violations of the er law " of God's moral government, which says, bear any grudge against the children of thy
ple, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'
ev. xix. 18); from which it is evident good govment is designed to save, and not to destroy hun life.

life. seeslyed, That we heartily approve of the fare-addresses of the immortal Washington and son, and that we have, from the first dawning bolitionism, frowned indignantly upon all atof abolitionism, frowned indignantly upon all attempts of that party to alienate one portion of our country from the rest; and that we will continue to office that dominant faction, which has become a fightful despotism, and which, under the mask of Union, is striving to perpetuate its power upon the ruins of our constitutional liberty.

Resolved, That we will suspend all social intercourse with the town of Medina, (except when required to attend the sessions of Court and to the payment of taxes) and that we will withhold our patronkag from the merchants, mechanics, &c., until we have the evidence that the citizens are effectually cured of their political madness, and have recovered the equilibrium of saneness and justice.

the equilibrium of saneness and justice.

Resolved, That we advise and encourage the formation of similar Union societies in every township in the county, for the purpose herein set forth. Wm. Roseberry,

J. M. Chatfield, Allen Pardee, Orlando Beach, J. Hamilton, W. F. Hess, S. A. Case, D. G. Briggs, Hervy Evans, Wm. Crane, Jr., S. A. Barrin, B. B. Briggs, G. G. Crane, Geo. W. Crane, A. L. Chatfield, John Spelman, John Spelman, Jöshua Hartman, Varren Crane, Ira Tatman, Jacob Rudesil, B. H. Willits, A. Laphier, George Willits, Roswell Willits,

Jacob Kuder Jacob Kuder, Jefferson Crane, Abiel Briggs, John Bennett, Justus Curtis, Isaac Wall, Joshua Hartman, R. Orton, W. H. Connel, W. H. Connel,
D. S. Pimlot,
Metcalf Bell,
Joseph Dressler,
Samuel Jones,
Adam Bremer,
John Coats,
Charles Wall,
John Wall,
Edwin Willford,
G. W. Andrews,
Andrew Andrews,
Andrew Andrews,
Andrew Andrews,
Wm. A. Dage,
Peter Smith, Lemuel P. Jones, John Plum, Daniel Corawal, Isaac John, Jacob Roseberry, Abram Keller, M. Bollinger M. Bollinger, Owen Switzer, Joseph Baughma Levi Baughman, Joseph Stover, Henry Chandler, Edward Chandler, Edward Chandler, George Chandler, George Plum, Samuel S. Jones, James Jones, Thomas Montgome David Reisander ones, s Montgomery David Reisender, Joseph Arnold, G. W. England, Geo. Null, Ephraim Andrews Ephraim Andrews, Ciero Loutzenheizer, David Loutzenheizer, David Loutzenheizer, Jacob Slanker, Charles C. Croster, Rufus Myers, Jonathan Everhard, John Jones, Jr., Aaron Jones, Aaron Porter, Samuel Porter, Mathew Frederick,

Holding Ferryman, William Crane, Sr., Wn. H. Dean, Adam Krider, Freeman Briggs, Samuel Fulmer, Samuel Bolland, J. C. Rudesill, L. A. Irvine, John J. Mohn, Gustave A. Eberhard. THE WAR.

bert Ferryman

Case, Britton.

. C. B as Brown,

Thomas Brown,
Wm. Irving,
George Plewes,
A. D. Crane,
Wm. H. Plum,
J. P. Britton,
J. H. Chaudler,
George J. Case

George L. Case, Daniel Lilly,

Holding Ferryman

The course of events within the last few weeks has opened the eyes of many of our people, especially in the country, to the greatness of the task the North has undertaken, in endeavoring to conquer the South; for this is the practical definition of Coercion, or, if preferred, of "Enforce the Laws," throughout the (late) Union. There is as much patriotism as ever, and as great a willingness to submit to privations, hardships and sacrifices, for the sake of the country. But as the people are accussioned to examine their own affairs, and form their own opinions as to the way things are going; so now they are beginning to inquire where is all this to end? What good will it do? Can we bring \$,000,000 of brave people into subjection by force of arms? If we could, what sort of a Union would that be? and what will it cost the North, in men and money, to accomplish such a result? These and similar inquiries are not confined to these who have always been opposed to the war, but induced also some, we believe many, who have little and many the proposed to the war policy of the government. Peace meetings and peace flags are heavening over neverting the proposed to the war policy of the government. Peace meetings and peace flags are heavening one proposed to the war policy of the government. Peace meetings and peace flags are heavening one proposed to the war policy of the government. Peace meetings and peace flags are heavening one proposed to the war policy of the government. Peace meetings and peace flags are The course of events within the last few government. Peace meetings and peace flags at

becoming more numerous.

A correspondent of the Boston Traveller, writing from Bradford, Vermont, says:—

"Although there has been no public action in oppo-sition to the war in this vicinity, there are numbers who, in season and out of season, early their opposi-ion to the administration to the extent of denouncing

The Newburyport Herald anticipates that a draft for troops and a direct tax for carrying on the war, each of which it infers will have to be made to in-

out of doors or starved, for any national purpose."

The Boston Transcript finds fault with the leniency of the government towards secessionists and

"If it be not rebellion—treason, that we are trying to crush, it would seem most economical, to say the least, to withdraw our forces, break up the blockade at once, summon Jeff. Davis and his associates to Washington, and enter upon an agreement to differ and separate!"

The Rochester Union, which has been an earnes

he war holds through still another winter, God only thows what the laboring man and his family will do. For God's sake, men of Massachusetts, open your yes and see where this infernal nigger business has rought you; and it will certainly ruin the country, niless the people rise in their might and crush it at once and forever.

once and forever.

Let the ball be started now that in November next will crush out Abolitionism forever, in Massachusetts.

Your, truly, "DOUGLAS."

Walfole, N. H., July 29, 1861.

Editor of Herald: Sir.—We were right glad to hear in your issue of to-day and yesterday a ring of the true metal. We looked at each other and asked, has the Herald a new editor. We looked again, and found it was the old editor, again taking a bold stand against the enemies of our country, (the Abolitionists.) and defending the principles of our late lamented statesman, S. A. Douglas. The administration will find it hard to continue the course they have taken in the war in which the course they have taken in the war in which the courty is involved. Had the Democrats of the North taken the course that Lincoln laid out in his Message, ("Let it be shown that a party that can carry an election can put down a rebellion,") the North would have, long ere this, been under the reign of Jeff. Davis. In our town, if a Democrat ventured to express a doubt as to the result of our first battle, he was called a traitor and rebel, and out of forty Wide-Awakes in this town, only two have gone to the war; the rest cannot leave their families or business. Can the merchants of Boston suffer, and continue to suffer, till ruin stares them in the face, and still support that humbug (Andrew)? Will the Democrats continue to preserve the Union, and still be abused by the Republicans? After the Blacks have all got an office, either in the capacity of foreign ministers, custom house officers, or any other place to get a good salary from government, then, perhaps, they will remember those who are doing the fighting for the preservation of the Union, and not till then. If all the Democratic weather the decided stand the Herald has, we should soon see a change; the Blacks would ecose their abuse, and treat the WALPOLE, N. H., July 29, 1861.

Let us hear, from day to day, from the Herald, those editorial remarks that will stimulate the Democrats and fall like a bomb-shell in the camp of the enemy. The Herald will be sought for in Walpole with that eagerness that it was through the late Presidential campaign.

The Democracy of Walfole.

—Boston Herald.

The 'secessionists point to the election of such men as Sumner, Wilson and Andrew, as evidence of unfriendliness on the part of the people of Massachusetts. We do not now believe, and never have believed, in these men, and shall oppose them, believing them to be unsound. The advocates of the doctrine of non-intervention believe that to be the only having may high the country can become The action of the Democracy in Ohio and other States shows that if the war is to be prosecuted on the basis of Abolition, it will lose the support of these who have furnished a majority of our volunties. Relimore Patriot says of the war

(E) Gen. Butler has written a letter to the Sectory of War about the negroes at Fortress Money. If Gen. Butler thinks they are free, why don't nem run? Why does he continually rais questions, and force the administration to give opin ions which may have a bad effect upon the Union His talk is rich about being a humane man when "It, will not be the most surprising thing in the world if our own capital should yet be taken by the enemy before the administration shall have recognized him even as a belligerent. The federal civil automated him even as a belligerent. The federal civil automated him even as a belligerent. insed him even as a beligerent. The federal civil authorities are decidedly punctilious. They will not make any concessions to the Southern people, lest their action be construed into some sort of recognition of the rebel authorities. They will not recognize the Jeff. Davis power as entitled to beligerent rights, for a similar reason. Hence there can be no exchange of prisoners; but the embarrassment accruing from this abnormal state of things is pretty much all on our own side. And the eventual mortification resulting from such recognition—which must sooner or later inevitably take place—will be all the greater, for being forced upon our government after long and obstituate resistance. This war cannot possibly be terminated in any manner whatever, without at least a recognition of belligerent rights on the part of the Southern Confederacy."

any manner whatever, without at least a recognition of beligerent rights on the part of the Southern Confederacy.

We might quote from other journals, but the above will suffice. We do not apprehend any sudden reaction or popular upheaval, but such premonitory symptoms indicate that the people are beginning to look into their own affairs, and that they will not long be satisfied to lavish their blood and treasure upon a measure which promises "much loss and no gain," as our President Lincoln expressed it in his April Message.—New York Journal of Commerce.

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

Newdurtfort, July 29, 1861.

Editor Herald,—Your leader of this day is just the thing; it this the nail directly on the head. We must kill the Abolition party in Massachusetts,—that will do more to show our Southern friends that we are really friends to them, than all other things combined. If we had treated the South respectfully, this disastrous war might have been prevented; but John A. Andrew must send the blackest of Black Republicans to the Peace Convention, and do all in his power to prevent other States from sending Union-loving men.

This was should be stayed as soon as possible. The people will suffer terribly next winter; and if

Selections.

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA. TO IRISHMEN.

TO IRISHMEN.

35 ECCLES-ST., DUBLIN, 28th June, 1861.

It has frequently been my privilege, during the last five-and-twenty years, to address letters to my countrymen on various interesting topics. Temperance, peace, anti-slavery, have often, engaged my pen, in earnest appeals to them to take the side of truth and justice, so that Irishmen might always be found in the ranks with those who were laboring for the advancement of civilization over the whole earth. Once more, my countrymen, I appeal to you on behalf of the wronged and down-trodden—or behalf of these who dare not speak for themselves—but for whom you can speak, and speak with effect. I ask you to put forth the power you possess to have justice done to the colored people in America. Now is the moment for Irishmen to prove to the world that they really love liberty, and that they themselves deserve to be free. A civil war is now raging in America, in which Irishmen, who have become citizens of the United States, are taking an active part. This war has been avowedly undertaken by the seceding Southern States for the maintenance of slavery—for the maintenance of that infernal system which places man on the auction-stand, and sells by a the highest hidder, as if he were a brute, or by the seceding Southern States for the maintenance of slavery—for the maintenance of that infernal system which places man on the auction-stand, and sells him to the highest bidder, as if he were a brute, or some inanimate article of merchandize. The whole world should rise up in moral indignation against a system which makes man a thing of sale and purchase. This civil war in America has, as I have said, original-the in the Southern States, for the maintenance of system which makes man a tung of sale and purchase. This civil war in America has, as I have said, originated in the Southern States, for the maintenance of slavery; and the Northern States are indignant, not because such is the object of the South, but because the resolution of that portion of the States which has declared for secession, dissolves the United States into contending parties. This the North asserts is rebellion, and must therefore be met by force, and put down with the strong hand. If Northern men came nobly forward with the declaration that slavery should no longer be permitted to exist in any portion of the Union, the sympathies of the whole world would go along with them in the struggle; but no such righteous manifestation has been made by them. Hurt pride, at the insolent Searing of the South, appears to be the sole motive for the indignation manifested by the North; and of the widespread expression of indignant popular feeling, which has resulted in the general arming of the population in that section of the Union. This feeling is not deserving of the world's sympathy,

ter one another, and there is no none principle ac-tuating either party. What can Irishmen do to make the free States what they profess to be—real-ly free States—and to turn the sympathies of the civ-ilized world on the side of the North? They can do much, both directly and indirectly. Irishmen at home can implore their countrymen in America to take the side of freedom, in its widest acceptation. Every letter that we send across the ocean should home can implore their countrymen in America to take the side of freedom, in its widest acceptation. Every letter that we send across the ocean should be filled with entreaties to our kindred not to disgrace their name or their lineage by fighting for the insane idea that the Union shall be maintained and slavery gustained also. I hold that fighting is always a folly and a crime; but mad and wicked as it always is, it becomes ten-fold worse when it is waged against liberty and justice. We should plainly tell our countrymen in America, that they have been too long unfriendly to the rights of the colored people, and that the time has arrived for them to declare themselves the honest advocates of freedom—the determined opponents of any system which puts a shackle upon a single human being. Irishmen in America, you have the power to turn the scale in favor of equal freedom for every American citizen; for the colored man as well as the white man. Your influence is great; exercise it now, in favor of liberty and justice, and you will do honor to yourselves and to old Ireland. If you be false to those principles, if you fight to keep the black man in holes in several will have a blasted character. and your ly and nobly, and without a moment's hesitation, that freedom for all shall be at once proclaimed throughout the land. I say to you, fight not at all, for fighting is a folly as well as a crime; and it is in throughout the land. I say to you, hight not at all, for fighting is a folly as well as a crime; and it is in direct opposition to the spirit and to the precepts of Christianity; but add not to this guilt the sin of shedding human blood for the maintenance of slavery, in the land of your adoption. The curse of God and the anathema of outraged humanity must visit you for wickedness such as this. Men and nations appear for a time to escape from the consequences of their crimes; but a just retribution comes in the end with the same certainty that the night follows the day. The guilty complicity of all the United States, in the sin of slavery, is now producing the only fruit that could be gathered from such a course of crime. Terrible, indeed, will be the punishment if repentance and restitution for the wrong done for generations, to the colored man, be not at once made by this people. I hope the sword will soon be sheathed, and that the fierce passions now in the ascendant, may soon give place to wiser and better counsels. Slavery is the fountain from whence all these bitter waters flow. Peace cannot be where slavery exists. I am, countrymen, faithfully yours, JAMES HAUGHTON.

From the Vermont Chroniele.

From the Vermont Chronicle. DEATH BEFORE SLAVERY.

STRINGTIELD, VT., June 10th, 1861.

Mr. Editor :—If the stirring scenes of the past few months have quickened the circulation of the blood, the anticipated events of the future are likely to raise and sustain it at fever heat. "We are in the midst of revolution," was the commencement of a speech in the Senate chamber, on a memorable occasion, and we may well adopt the same language, but cannot add as did he, "hitherto bloodless."

To the inquiry, "What is the cause of all this commotion and preparation to shed human blood?" but one reply in response comes from every tongue,

from the legislative hall, the pulpit and the press, down to the school-boy of ten summers: SLAVE-RYI and any attempt to recordile the latter with Liberty, civil or religious, ia as utterly prepositorous as to attempt to recordile Christianity with profanity and blasphemy. And the moral gulf that divides them, is as wide and deep as that which separates Abraham and Dives. The encroachments of Slavery upon Liberty have been more and more apparent for an age, till it is manifest its end must come, in blood if need be, or your mountains of granite must be leveled, and your mines of iron ore exhausted, to build bastiles to incarcerate all who hold opinions adverse to its claim to reign supreme. For a quarter of a century, I have acted and sympathized with a party.—few in numbers, but strong in principle, everywhere persecuted, in Church and State.—"Velent Abolitionists: a cognome more

SI LIBERT SLAW! WAR BEFORE TYRANNY! DEATH BEFORE SLAVENY!

My head is white with the frosts of fourscore winters; but the great Power aboye that has preserved my constitution and continued my health, almost in the vigor of middle age, may yet defer "marching orders," till I witness the overthrow of Slavery, God's will be done. But I percive that a great change must come over the free States, especially over the government, before my hope can be indulged that any decisive steps are likely to be taken in that direction; at least for the present. I am prepared to witness, as I have already, scenes enacted by those in authority, which would wring tears of anguish from any thing that had a heart. When six colored men had the courage, inspired perhaps by despair, to attempt to recover the liberty which God gave to man, and in so doing encountered perias and hardships which would have immortalized white men, to reach Fort Pickens,—only to be returned by Lieut Slemmer to the hell of Slavery, to writhe under the torture of five hundred lashes each, my blood rose to fever heat, and my indignation.

(1) Gen. Butler, since this was written, has much im roved in his ideas concerning the fugitive slaves.—En

GRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE FLIGHT FROM BULL RUN.

The editorial correspondence of Wilkes' Spirit of the Times furnishes the most connected and intelligible account of the battle of Bull Run that we have seen. The writer differs from most of the witnesses, in not attributing the beginning of the disorder to the teamsters or the civilians, but to the soldier themselves dispitable by seign the immediate der to the teamsters or the civilians, but to the sol-diers themselves, dispirited by seeing the immenor reserves brought on by the enemy, and startled out of their self-possession by the rapid movement to the rear of the caissons of the regulars for a supply of ammunition. His description of the scene is graphic:

ammunition. His description of the scene is graphic:

"The Burnside brigade was still upon the field, where they had received from Gen. McDowell the news of the victory, and consequently had heard, with the surprise that was equal among all our brigades, the angry respicent of the fight. They had seen, too, the other brigades file off toward the rear, but having no orders for such movement, and not being in the fire, the staunch Rhode Islanders, Wisconsinians, and 71st doggedly held their feet. But the muskety on our side was getting faint, and the great guns of the enemy, unprovoked from our almost exhausted batteries, were now but sparsely fired. Everything, therefore, indicated another full, and it could not be made certain to our minds but that we had really won the victory after all, and that the last cannonade was but the angry first of the enemy. Suddenly a cry broke from the ranks of "Look there! look there!" and, turning their eyes toward Manassas, the whole of our drooping regiment, as well those who were moving to the rear, as those who stood, saw a sight which none

who ever gazed upon it will forget. At a lon up the rise, and issuing from the enemy's ex left, appeared, slowly debouching into sight, a column of infantry, marching with slow and step, and looking, at this noiseless distance, mirage of ourselves, or the illusions of a pano Rod. by rod the massive column lengtheness. take their eyes from the majestic pageant, and, though experiencing a new necessity, were frozen to the sight. The martial tide flowed on, the lengthening regiments growing into thirty thousand men, with a mass of black cavalry in its centre, the whole moving towards us, as the sun danced upon its pomp of bayonets, with the solems step of fate. This was war; compact, well-made and reasoning war. It was war, too, in all its pomp and glory, as well as in its strength, and we at once comprehended we were beaten. In vain did our startled faculties dart alertly hither and thither for some hope; in vain did our thoughts turn quickly upon Patterson. It would not do. Johnson was there before us, with his cool, fresh thousands—and our Waterloo was lest. That steady and untried host outnumbered the whole of our worn and staggering columns, and it penetrated us with a conviction of resistless power. Decently, however, did we gather up our force, not by general order, but by one sensible accord, and sad, and pained, and wearied, yet conscious of victory as far as we had fought, we folded up our columns for retreat. The only ones whose hardlihood clung spitefully to the strife, were a few regulars at the batteries, who, with the infatuation of experts, and begrimed with the mire of battle from all ordinary recognition, kept peppering at such batteries as would still provoke their fire.

Among the last to turn their faces from the fight they had so gaily sought, were the Burnside brigade, which, accompanied by Sprague and its gallant Brigadier, and headed by all of its colonels, retired in line of battle, with orders to cover the retreat. Thus honored for its steadmens, the Burnside brigade, which, accompanied by Sprague and its gallant Brigadier, and headed by all of its colonels, retired in line of battle, with orders to cover the retreat, Thus honored for its steadmens, the Burnside brigade, which, accompanied by the state of the service made its charges in the morning, and how recklessly it always sought its way to the f

DEMORALIZING EFFECT OF SLAVERY.

The evil influences of slavery are fully shown in their effects upon the rebels. In order to extend this institution, they have sought to overthrow the government, and to do this, hesitated to use no means which they believe will prove effective. They appear to have completely lost sight of all this institution, they have sought to use no means which they believe will prove effective. They appear to have completely lost sight of all those moral restraints which are found in civilized communities. They make use of fraud and deceit whenever they think they can profit by them. They hate us so intensely that they outdo the practices of savages. In their warfare with us, they resort to the meanest trickery, and commit the most barbarous deeds. They have not only bayoneted and cut the throats of the wounded; they have not only impaled some and shot at others, as at targets; they have not only shot at women who were relieving the wants of the suffering; they have not only we find upon a hospital; but they have also fired upon a a surgeon in discharge of his duty, and even upon a surgeon in discharge of his duty, and even upon a surgeon in discharge of his duty, and even upon a surgeon in discharge of his duty, and even upon a surgeon in discharge of his duty, and even upon these are well calculated to arouse the indignation of all right-minded persons. They manifest a spirit of fiendishness unparalleled in modern warfare. They evince a harte of the foe and a disregard of the dictates of civilization which must win for the rebels the condemnation of the civilized world.

But the strange feature of this savage warfare warged by the South is, that it is waged for the extended which it knew was demoralizing, and which it saw was a bar to progress, the South has decreated war against it, and war to the knife. If slavery be that Christianizing institution which its assume the same the same the same that it was unwilling to have an institution which it saw was a bar to progress, the South has decreated war against it, and war to the knife. If slavery be that Christianizing institution which his assume that it is the progress of the person to the knife of the person to the knife. If slavery be that Christianizing institution which his calment to be, it is very singular that it should produce upon them such distingui

MASKED BATTERIES.

This new mode of carrying on war by means sked batteries, is a little more inhuman than than any maked batteries, is a little more inhuman than any mode to which resort has as yet in the world's histo-ry been had. If anything was wanting in order to make war wholly and completely horrid; if hitherto there has been a deficiency in the fiendish and sa-tanic department of war; the modern masked bat-tery has supplied the want and made up for the de-ficiency.

tery has supplied the want and made up for the deficiency.

Of course there can be no complaint, if it is admitted that all means of attack and defence are altewable and justifiable in the prosecution of war. We enter no complaint. We would only have our readers look at the chivalrous Southrons as they appear in connection with these masked batteries.

How they boasted and bragged before the wan begun of their superior provess! One gallant Southern knight could whip a dozen mean-spirited Yankee militia-men! A whole regiment of pealmainging puritans would be put to flight by a single-troop of blooded Southerners on their blooded horses! At mere sight of the aristoratie slaveholders, the Northern abolitionists would throw down their arms, and beg for quarter! Before the hot South Carolinians and the haughty Virginians, the canting New England hypocrites would melt like molasses candy in July! The vandal hordes from the North would shake in their shoes, like men attacked with fever and ague, and their craven hearts would quiver like disturbed calves foot-jelly, at the sound of the coming of the proud army of the South! No Italian beggar afflicted with scabies ever so itched as itched the brave Southerners to meet the pediling Yankees, two to their one, in open field light. with fever and ague, and their craven hearts would quiver like disturbed calves-foot-jelly, at the sound of the coming of the proud army of the South! No Italian beggar afflicted with scables ever so itched as itched the brave Southerners to meet the peddling Yankees, two to their one, in open field fight. No egg in mid summer, was ever spoiling so rapidly, no New York Bowery Mose was ever spoiling so all over, as were the Southerne blood and 'first family' men spoiling for one fight with the idepraved Free States army. We supposed after listening to all this brag and bluster, that the Southern army would be found upon the approach of our volunteers, standing in the clear similght, all drawn up on some wide level plain, in full and gorgeous battle array; that Southern arms and Southern prowess would have performed deeds of mighty valor, and have achieved most daring and heroic exploits, in fair, opea, hand to hand fight; that our soldiers would have been repulsed in every battle; and that finally the few of our men who might have escaped death on the field, would have been driven back home, their courage all gone, their colors all draggled, the Union all shivered in their bands, and Yankee Doodle clean played out. Such effect had this brag and bluster on some of our people, that they thought it would be wise to surrender before the fight; to pattern after Col. Crockett's coon, and come right down, without having any shooting.

But these high-bred Southern men of such high-lrag pretensions have disappointed us. Instead of proving themselves to be warriors, they have turned out to be sly assassins and sneaking murderers. They have avoided every opportunity that has been offered them, of meeting our soldiers in fair, open field fight. When but recently we advanced with some twenty-five thousand men, to give battle to

ney have avoided every opportunity that has been offered them, of meeting our soldiers in fair, open field fight. When but recently we advanced with some twenty-five thousand men, to give battle to their well-nigh fifty thousand, and they fresh and strong, and on their own soil, and familiar with the strong, and on their own soil, and familiar with the whole country; we found them — O, what valiant soldiers!—concealed behind masked batteries, and soldiers —concealed beams masses, timber, earth, grass and even trees, artificially planted. They thus took our men at a disadvantage. When one these batteries concealed by stones, timber, earth, grass and even trees, artificially planted. They thus took our men at a disadvayfage. When one battery was silenced, and they were driven on the retreat, they halted skulkingly behind another battery that they had thrown up in their rear, and again had the advantage of our men. And so it continued; our men constantly exposed to a most murderous fire, but steadily and bravely standing their ground, and all the while advancing; the bragging Southerners hiding behind battery after battery, and never daring, or very seldom daring to meet our men in fair, open fight. These masked batteries greatly strengthen us in the belief, that in this war the Southern heart is full of cowardice; that the Southern army dares not meet our army on equal ground with equal chances.

It is suggested that four men not only take more pains to discover these batteries, but that they destroy them by setting fire to the woods and grass in advance of their march. The snoke and flames together will drive the cowardly, sneaking rebels into retreat, or will force them to show themselves in open field. In this way we shall get a chance to teach them that they are no match for Northern, loyal soldiers, and that their safety will be best insured by their suick submission.— New Bedford Evening Standard.

A LOOK INTO A SECESSION MAIL-BAG.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6, 1861.
The most curjous and yet saddening sight I have seen is the contents of a Secession mail-bag, taken at Centreville, and filled with Southern letters from all

seen is the contents of a Secession mail-bag, taken at Centreville, and filled with Southern letters from all parts of the South, but mostly from South Carolina. I found the mail at the house of a distinguished officer of the United States Army, in whose possession it was placed. All of the letters had been examined, and their contents were mostly social. A single letter, from the Manassas post, mentioned the estimated arrival of troops at Manassas, just before the late battle, at 1,000 a day. This was the only public information of warlike importance. Some of the letters also spoke of the crops, and the general representation was that they were excellent, both of cotton and corn. Provisions, too, seemed to be plential enough, but in one letter there was a loud cry for salt, and in others for sugar, coffee and tea, and in another for clothing. One might gather from the total contents also, that there was a scarcity of arms and munitions of war.

But the most striking parts of all those letters was the intensified hate of most of the writers for the Northerners, and especially for "the Yankees," as most of the Northern people are called at the South.

But the most striking parts of all those letters we the intensified hate of most, of the writers for t Northerners, and especially for "the Yankees," most of the Northern people are called at the Sou Beelzebub himself, inspired by all the demons Pandemonium, could hardly have improvised me bitterness, contempt or passion. The temper of t letters written by the women was four-fold wor than the compositions of the men. In one place t "dear creatures," in petiticoats, were threatening get up full suits of female garments to present to t young men who would not volunteer for the war, put down the mean, invading Yankees! One am one girl wantes ner lover to kill a Yankee or two, and then come home to her arms and heart! Another female, a little more blood-thirsty, bid her lover God-speed in this work of killing Yankees! Another hoped the horrid creatures would be exterminated on the field of battle! Still another had minated on the held of battle! Still another had heard, and feared that the report was true, the horrid Yankees had sent some of their number to Manassas to noculate the Southern army with the small port!! This good woman had probably heard of two live Yankees who visited Canada, the one shak-

pox!! This good woman had probably heard of two live Yankees who visited Canada, the one shaking hands with everybody, and communicating the litch, and the other following close at his heels, with his boxes of itch ointent which were warranted to cure! At any rate, our South Carolina lady, (an Edgefield woman I believe,) feared that the Yankees would spread small pox, measles, and everyother contagious disease, to their excellent and amiable countrymen of the South.

In some of the letters there was a tone of piety mingled with bountiful reflections upon Yankee by-pecrisy and rascality. Now and then there was a prayer for peace, and an honest wish that the war was over! Kindness and good feeling toward friends and neighbors at home, with expressions of gallantry for soldiers "fighting the enemies of the South," were common enough. But toward us poor Yankees, or Northerners, there was no bitter thought nor coarse expression which did not find utterance. Somebody has to answer for all this boiled-down fanaticism and malignity—the teachings of a calumnious press, of vituperative public men, and of a general bad education.

The letters I read were generally not from the scalled letters I read were generally not from the

general bad education.

The letters I read were generally not from the so-called better classes of citizens. The school-master, if ever at home, was abroad when most of them were written. The expressions were common-place, and the style as atrocious as the sentiments utered were generally pernicious and vindictive.—Cor. N.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

We find the following passage in the proceedings of the House of Representatives:

Mr. BURNETT (Dem., Ky.) asked leave to offer a resolution calling on the Secretary of War to inform he House whether there be negroes in the Army of the United States who have been armed, and whether there are negroes the property of any of the revolted States, who have been used by our army in throwing up broastworks or impediments; and if so, at what

Mr. Burnery ineffectually again sought to introduce his resolution, to which at an early period of the day objections were made. He wished to know whether negroes were employed in the army. He desired to be informed from an official source. He had seen them in uniform, with rifles, bayonets, revolvers and daggers at their side. Why not, then, request the Secretary of War to tell us how many are in the Federal army?

Mr. Curns asked whether the gentleman had seen any negroes except as servants? Had he seen them in squads or companies?

Mr. Burnerr replied that one of the best fighters he had ever known was a Kentucky negro who went to the Valley of Mexico armed by the Federal Government. He did not belong to any company. Mr. Burnert further said, in reply to Mr. Curtis, that he had not seen negroes in armed squads.

Mr. Curris. Do you believe they accompanied the army in any capacity except as servants?

Mr. Burnert. I do not know. The question with me is, they were armed like others, and had no business there.

Mr. LOVEROY. Did not negroes sid Gen. Jackson

ness there.
Mr. LOVEJOY. Did not negroes aid Gen. Jackson in achieving the victory at New Orleans †
Mr. BUNNETT. I am aware of that.
Mr. LOVEJOY. I am for employing any muscle that can fight. [Laughter.] Adjourned.

Mr. Bunnert. I am aware of that.

Mr. Lovagor. I am for employing any muscle that can fight. [Laughter.] Adjourned.

Next to the sublime impudence of this Kentucky secessionist, the consideration which is forced upon the reader is the fitness of doing the very thing which he evidently intended to deprecate and denounce. For six weeks past, negro slaves have been employed to the number of twelve to fifteen thousand in throwing up fortifications and digging pitfalls for the Federal army at Manassas Junction. A large number have been similarly employed at Yorktown, Norfolk, Winchester, Pensacola, Memphis, and other strategic points. It is boasted that there are two well-drilled regiments of negroes in Beauregard's army, and it is known that Ben McCulloch has a greater or less number of Indians in his motley crew in Arkansas. Wherever negroes or savages can be employed, and yet this brazen traitor from Kentucky has the assurance to inquire whether there are any blacks in the army of the Union. Mr. Curtie's mild deprecation of Burnett's impudence does not seem to have been the most proper answer that could have been made.

What is the case before us? A pro-slavery rebellion of vast proportions—a rebellion instituted for the double purpose of overthrowing the Constitution and making slavery perpetual. For this purpose loyal slaves are employed in vast numbers and in various ways under the lash. Our own army, through a sense of honor or courtesy too nice to be appreciated by us, is sent forth under a strict injunction not to allow a single negro to come within the lines, on any pretext whatever. Even while this order is being penned, a negro is bringing into a loyal port a schooner which the vigor of his own arm has wrested from pirates whom the Government could not catch, and Gen. McDowell's ink is hardly dry before he finds it necessary to get the information from negroes necessary to conduct his own army with tolerable safety. Finally, he threads his way through roads and defiles, obstructed by negroes, plunges int

REBEL LETTERS.

The following letters came into the possession of Lieut. Hubbard, of this city, and were by him for-warded here, and handed to us by Dr. Tebbetts. They are rich and racy in ideas and orthography: "Failfax Court house July the 14 _

"Failfax Court house July the 14

Deer Sur take this opertinet of riting few lines hoping that the will find you and your wife in good helth as i am at present tank god there was no youse of riting anny Sonner to you i wold have riting to you Sonner to you i wold have riting to you Sonner to you i wold have riting to you suppose that you heird all from the Richardson Gards about this plase but there is one thing i have to say that the was thought noting hire these was put down as roudy set of men in Rechmond and all the way hire the hav acted the bagard have hird one of there one men say that a man wit a Green shirt wold Get noting to by anny where i am verry gad gou did not Com wit them or anny one i new we are in Camp hire and we hav hard

"Head Quarters Camp Beauregard Fairfax Court house vankee county I call it June the 29 61 Dear friend I now seat my self in order to let you no that I am as well as I could expect we have left bulrun and marched to fairfax Court house we left bulrun on the 21 about sundown and marched 12 miles that night we landed there about three oClock the next morning we were all broke down nerely we fellers that had the measles broke in the law office and short in there for it was praining the rest tellers that had the measies broke in the law office and slept in there for it was araining the rest of them fell down on the ground and slept in the rain we had avery heavy load to toat we had our ham-per-sacks full of provision our knaps sacks with our cloths and blankets our cartridge boxes full of car-

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune.] IMMINENT PERIL OF A SLAVE INSURREC-TION.

JONESBOROUGH, TENN., July 28, 1861. I take the stage hence for Morgantown, N. C., to-morrow, but will meantime drop you a few lines from this point. My journey thus far has not been altogether without adventure, especially that part of ther without adventure, especially that part of a Lexington, Kentucky, but of this I reserve till my return

ence from North Carolina is of a rath er exciting nature. In addition to the general and growing popular discontent at the miserable mismanagement of affairs since the State was plung mismanagement of affairs since the State was plung-ed into Secession, the most alarming apprehensions are indulged, of a fearful and bloody outbreak of the slaves. For months, this class of the population are indulged, of a fearful and bloody outbreak of the slaves. For months, this class of the population have been betraying great uneasiness, occasioned doubtless, by the unusual, and to them rather inexplicable military movements about them, and which they not very strangely suppose in some way to concern themselves. There are numerous rumors afloat to the effect that in some of the middle counties, servants have risen on their masters, and that whole families have been brutally butchered at midnight. To these reports, however, I am slow to give credence; I believe they are mostly the creations of maginations always lively to the latent perils of slaveholding society, and now especially distempered by the aggravated dangers of the times. But "where there is so much smoke there must be some fire;" and it may turn out that the facts have not been exaggerated, and that North Carolina, and

ain; and its horrors noment. It is state ed people of late, in the me section of the State, and some graphy shaveholding section of the State, and a surargely shaveholding section of the State, and preconcerted mischief, that an earnest requisition has been
made upon the Western Carolinnas, for the immediate moving to the disaffected quarter of Horse
Guardis, (who, by the way, are nearly all strong
Union men) to the amount of two or three regments, for the prompt suppression of the anticipated
maiss.

Union men, to the amount of two or three regiments, for the prompt suppression of the anticipated uprisal.

The white men of the endangered region, capable of bearing arms, with hardly an exception, are absent from their homes in the rebel service in Virginia, taking most of the available arms with them, and the women and children are thus left, by this infatuated desertion on the part of their natural protectors, utterly defenceless against brutallities and outrages, which the heart shudders to imagine. It is a fact of great significance—and I believe it to be a fact, for my informant is perfectly reliable—that the Home Guards have refused to proceed to the relief of their imperilled neighbors, under any other banner than the Stars and Stripes, and upon condition, furthermore, that the Secession flag shall be every where hauled down at their approach. Should an insurrection in North Carolina or any other Southern State, assume the formidable proportions which appear to be threatened in this instance, it would be the manifest duty of the Federal Government to promply intervene to put it down. We regard the Seceded States as still in the Union, in spite of the pretension of withdrawal made by the demagogues who now bear away there, and their people are evidently entitled to the protection promised in the National Constitution.

Considerations of wise policy would also dictate this course to the Administration; and there is no way in which the Government could more strongly commend itself to the affections and gratitude of the misguided people of the South, than by an act of such fatherly and beneficent protection. Again, it would discharge its plain duty to the thousands of loyalists, who are subject to a common danger with the insurgents, and more emphatically demonstrate the power of the Government, and to better purpose, than a secore of victories over the rebels themselves, upon the battle-fields of Virginia. Should

the power of the Government, and to better purpose, than a score of victories over the rebels themselves, upon the battle-fields of Virginia. Should this view be taken and acted upon by the authorities at Washington, the re-assertion of Union sentiments in the revolted States, would be immediate and universal, and the uprising of the blacks would become the providential means of suppressing the unholy rebellion of their masters against the best and most paternal Government men ever lived under and recarbilishing mon firmer foundations than at and re-establishing upon firmer foundations than at any time before, this mighty temple of civil and re-ligious liberty which now seems to be falling into ruins, under the parricidal hands of traitors.

The Wiberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1861.

INDICATIONS OF PROGRESS.

As time advances - as the rebellion and the wa instituted by the slaveholders are proceeding to bring forth their appropriate fruits—as Northern men come nearer to a full understanding of what dispositions and what principles are formed by the practice of are learning their appropriate lesson for the hour

last week's Liberator) is the most signal specimen of that the people are changing, and that the causes of this change must necessarily lead them much furthe i am verry gad gou did not Com wit them or anny to one i new we are in Camp hire and we hav hard this change must necessarily lead them much further duty to Bulding Batteryes and trinche and dril and in the same direction, and he selzes the occasion to duty to Bulding Batteryes and trinche and dril and pickeds and sterming and mouen but noting if we win the day wich i tink will plese godwe have 8 rig hire and more Coming every day from Richmand we do not the our that we will have i fite but we av reddy at anny time for it there is Som Splendig girls owt hire and very good nature to us i have have more to say For a few day rite to me sone and let me now how you and yeur wife is

Giv my luv to John McNsil and to all the men in the Shop and to Mr McLich and family. Direct your lether to cap Rett of Bookes gards 2 rig of S C volenteers

1 Raimen you umbel and throo Friend
PF CONWAY"

In the same direction, and he seizes the occasion to make himself conspicuous in the advance. His "coa hake himself conspicuous in the advance. His "caband" theory was an ingenius trick for an existing emergency, but its consequences showed him that the subject must be considered, approached, and acted the with script make himself conspicuous in the advance. His "caband" theory was an ingenity or head with script was an ingenity and with cross properties of emergency, but its consequences showed him that the subject must be considered, approached, and exading the properties of em character as to their office. General Butler accepts this duty from which his employers shrink. He speaks plainly of the new ground needful to be as speaks plainly of the new ground needful to be as-sumed, of the reasons which make it needful, and of his personal readiness to act in the premises; and, by demanding explicit instructions upon the very mat-ters which those employers had been evading and ignoring, he obliges them to make some open move-

ment towards a solution of the great probl The reply to this letter, sent by Simon Cameros Secretary of War, instructs General Butler (or seem to instruct him, for the language is circuitous and in-volved) to receive "into the service of the United

per-sacks full of provision our knaps sacks with our cloths and blankets our cartridge boxes full of cartridge which was very heavy our canteens full of water and our muskets and almost stilled with the dust we took one prisoner last night he was acaptain we put him in Jail we are going to march on them in a few days there are 5000 troops in ore miles of us our pickets are in one mile of each other we are going to drive them away and then go on to claxandre and storm it rite away we want to give them 2 or 3 good whippings before the fourth of July and they will make peace then I hear some of the men talking that old abe is beging for peace now you have Quit writing I shall have to come down on you about it.

We had aheap of sick men when we started to march we thought we would have abattle about day the next morning but nothing of it it will come though the blood is thick here where they had that battle in the street the yankey holowed dont shoot do pray dont shoot and run like blazes they did not think there was any tropes here the dread the South Carolinas tel Joel Nat is well and is doing well me and him stool gard last night off this morning tell him he had better stay at home and not come here for it wont do tell him to stay with his mother for the company knows he is not able to stand the camp they know it is not cowardice of nor do trey think any such of him lack give my respects to all the friends yours Wilson Hougin"

Wilson Hougin to a first the started to make the company knows he is not able to stand the friends yours Wilson Hougin"

Wilson Hougin to stay with his mother for the company knows he is not able to ottand the friends yours Wilson Hougin"

Wilson Hougin to stay with his mother for the company knows he is not cowardice of nor do trey the woold send him back give my respects to all the friends yours Wilson Hougin"

Wilson Hougin to make such organizations acception as acception as acception as acception as acception of the benefit of that service, whether their flight be took need to the mi very, he will have done more than the whole govern ent have yet done towards bringing this co Whether he will do this retermination. ins to be seen; but his antecedents authorize the supposition that he will not shrink from vigorously rsuing any course of policy which he has judged

A further sign of encouraging progress is seen in many of those members of the periodical press which many of those members of the periodical press which have hitherto been adverse to anti-slavery. In them we must recognize vacillation - an occasional mention of slavery as the source of the whole trouble, and needing to be treated as such, afternating with their customary nonenea shout carrying on the war solely to maintain the Union and the Government—as real ogress. As the war advances, as the burdens of it fall more and more heavily upon the people, as the rebels display more and more of those base and cruel and dishonorable traits of character which have become familiar and customary to them as slaveholders the change above-mentioned in our Northern editor will increase. They will talk less and less about re specting and guarding the "institutions" of highway robbers. They will hesitate less and less about desig nating that which is at once the enemy's weeks and wickedness as the chief point to be attacked in this war. Their praise and advocacy of Union will be directed more towards a prospective union of those who prize freedom for all, and who wish to found their government on that idea, than to that past, merely nominal union, which absurdly attempted to combine

slavery with freedom, and which has cherished the former well-nigh to the rain of the latter. Every new instance of a flag of trace fired upon by the rebels—every new hattle after which our wounded are bayoned by them—will cause more and more of these hesitating manufacturers of public opinion openly to say, Slavery must now be overthrown and exterminated! It is time to creat the viper whose growth we have been so foolishly cherishing!

Another indication of progress is seen in the condition and attitude of the more persistently pro-lavery Northern newspapers. Some of these (like the Courier of this city) are reduced to the necessity of crying out for help, and of representing large and speedy extra contributions as indispensable to their continuance. Others (like the New York Journal of Commerce) are redoubling their efforts for compromise, working with a seal which seems to show them seriously fearful that "their time is short." The paper last-mentioned dwells upon the evils of open contention, as if that were worse than the quiet continuance of an alliance used to between all rain us, if enoously fearful that "their time is short." The paper last-mentioned dwells upon the evils of open contention, as if that were worse than the quiet continuance of an alliance used to betray and ruin us; it caumerates the faxes which war will bring, as if these were worse than the continual eating out of our very congregations in the churches at Washington, as if the forms of public worship were more important than the substance of religion, and as if prayer for peace

Compromise.

In my judgment, these various and diverse signs of , point to successful progress far rather agement and retrogression.—c. k. w. o discouragement and retrogressi

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST AT ABING TON .- [CONCLUDED.]

AFTERNOON SESSION. At 2 o'clock, the meeting vas called to order at the Town Hall, when it was stated that there was a very large gathering of people stated that there was a very large gamering or people at the Grove, and a motion to adjourn to that place was put, and carric. Shortly after, the President (Mr. Garrison) took his position on the platform at the Grove, when the exercises of the afternoon were commenced by the singing of a hymn, "The Slave," to the air of "Scots wha hae," of which we give the pening stanza :-

"Lo! in Southern skies afar,
Mounted on Oppressions car,
Mounted on Oppressions car,
Rides a pale and sickly star—
God of Slavery!
Misery, with ghastly train,
Desiing horror, wee and pain,
Sweeps along his fell domain,
Like the troubled sea."

The names of the Finance Committee were then read, and they proceeded to the discharge of their im-portant duties, while the President addressed the meeting. He said the impression seemed to prevail agement of this cause, to abate one jot or tittle of their purpose to see that slavery is utterly abolished. He thought they had need of increased vigilance. They were in the midst of a great and solemn crisis; and if the nation was to be saved, it would be, under God, by the Abolitionists—by those who are resolved to make no compromise with the Slave Power, but to demand, in the name of the living God, that every slave shall be set free; proclaiming in His name, and by His authority, that, for this people there is neither no nor prosperity, so long as a single slave is left in his fetters on our soil. He hoped they would do all that they could, at the present time, by way of contribu-tions, to aid the efforts that would be made by those to whose hands the management of the cause had been entrusted.

to the war. We had vain-gloriously imagined, he said, hitherto, that, as a nation, we were invulnerable and immortal. All the warnings of the friends of the slave had been laughed to scorn, and it had been supposed that by no possibility could any harm come to us, as a nation. But now, the most tremendous civil war that the world had ever seen was raging between the North and the South—the pillars of the governthe North and the South—the pillars of the govern-ment were trembling—and men's hearts were failing them for fear. What was the cause of this state of things? Every intelligent and honest man knew it was SLAVERY. If, therefore, they hoped to have peace, prosperity and safety, the war must not be ter minated until "liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Freedom was spirators were slaveholders and slave-breeders, and slave-hunters, and only these. They were the party who were seeking to establish a reign of despotism which should blot but all our free institutions, as well as perpetuate slavery on Southern soil. They hate, claim that they hate, all that pertains to free be hoisted triumphantly here, as it was in Caro and Georgia, all our democratic institutions would be overthrown. What, then, was the obvious duty of as those in the midst of which they stood to-day, the government? Evidently this—to declare that, inasmuch as it is slavery that has committed this treason, the government, under the war power, and as a olish slavery. nothing but the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars in vain. He held the South to be perfectly invincible so long as we protected or respected her slave system. The South felt that she was unconand would be in the end triumphant because she saw that we were still bewitched by the sorcery of slavery, declaring, even in the midst of our sufferings, losses, bereavements, and enormous extreason and secession. "Where there is no fuel, the fire goeth out." The South dreaded nothing so much as goeth out." The South dreaded nothing so much as the liberation of her slave population; she dread-ed it more than she did the armies of the North, because a retributive Providence has so ordered it, that the knees of the oppressor shall smite together in the presence of his slave standing erect as a man. The slaves must be called upon to save us themselves and the country; for they alone could do it.

This would be a noble and glorious return for all the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon

What infatuation, as well as wickedness, in our overnment, still seeking to maintain and perpetuate by compromise, under the old "covenant when that covenant is trodden under foo the Slavocracy, and discarded forever by them! Let emancipation be proclaimed! He held it to be not omly a wise stroke of policy in war, but the imperative and Christian duty of the Government to do this. God had commanded us to "execute judgment in the God had commanded us to "execute judgment in the morning,"—that is, without delay,—and to "deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, that His fury might not go out like fire, and burn be-cause of the evil of our doings." In the altered state of affairs, a solemn obligation rested upon the people and the Government to emancipate those who are pining in bondage; and not to do this was to be guilty in the highest degree. They had a right to do it. The South was in bot rebellion, endeavoring to subjugate the whole country to her diabolical will. Under jugate the whole country to her diabolical will. Under the war power, the Government had a right to consult its asfety and the general welfare by removing the source of danger and division. Even if it were a destructive work to be consummated,—like burning their towns and cities, or confiscating legitimate property,—it might be done to any extent, under the

rished the rules of war. But it was to do no violen mit no outrage. On the contrary, it was no by the a work of inestimable beneficence and the contrary, it was to perform le beneficence and imperishable a work of inestimable beneficence and imperishable glory. It was to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free;" and thus to do the greatest possible benefit to the South, to return blessing for cursing, good for evil, and to bring salvation to the whole country. This great act of justice would certainly disarm and suppress the rebellious slave oligarchy, and bring the war speedily to a close. He held, therefore, that the only thing the friends of freedom had to do, there and every where, was to ery alond in do, there and every where, was to cry aloud, in thunder tones, to the Government, to lose no time in proclaiming to the millions in bondage in the South, that, as soon as they can place themselves under the mational flag, they shall find their freedom, and be pro-tected in it. Otherwise, he did not see a ray of hope for the North, or any nart of the country, so far as the tected in it. Otherwise, he did not see a ray of hope for the North, or any part of the country, so far as the war was concerned. None but the slaves could conquer the South, and that, not by the bloody process of insurrection, but by proclaiming their freedom under law. When slavery was abolished, the cause of the war would be gone, and the slaveholders would have nothing to fight for. This was to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and to bring it at o

the substance of religion, and as if prayer for peace were more important than work for righteousness; and the one thing which it finds to rejoice at is the establishment of a new paper in Cincinnant, called all, through those who are in bondage. We have form the Banner of Reunion, devoted to the advocacy of Compromise. made them marketable commodities them with four-footed beasts; and them with four-footed beasts; and now, in the ex-tremity of our suffering, we must look to them to save the republic by restoring to them their wrested rights. Joining their forces with those of the Govern-ment, they will strike terror to the hearts of the tyrant, and peace will soon be restored to our bleeding and dissevered country. My friends, our word must be—Emancipation for all in bondage! Emancipation under the national flag! Emancipation under the war imperative duty before God. (Applause.)

HENRY C. WRIGHT said he had a short speech to make, which he would put in the form of a resolution

Resolved, That slavery is the cause, and abolition the only cure, for the evils that now overwhelm the nation; and the sooner the people of the North accept that as the issue which they are called to meet, the better for 'all the peo-ple throughout the nation and the continent.

THE PRESIDENT. As many as are in favor of adopting Mr. Wright's speech will say "Aye." (A oud shout of "Aye.") It is an unanimous vote.

We are all ready for emancipation, thank God!

ANDREW T. Foss, of New Hampshire, was then introduced. He said he had often appeared before an anti-slavery audience, and he believed never with a lengthened visage. He had always been hopeful of meeting. He said the impression seemed to prevail in some minds, that there was a disposition in the ranks of the Abolitionists to consider their work so well-nigh accomplished, that they had nothing to do but to stand still and suspend all action; but he was not to stand still and suspend all action; but he was not aware of the existence of any such feeling. There was no design, on the part of those who had the manyagement of this cause to abuse no point or title of time, what does not often fall to the lot of thos who commence a great reform, the fulfilment of all their prophecies and the realization of all their hopes. He believed that in their day, they were to see every slave in the land a free man He was full of hope and expectation, because he

saw the North and the South arrayed against each other in battle array. He knew it was not an antislavery war, and that the government had declared their determination to preserve their "covenant with death and agreement with hell." But there was a power in the world other than the Constitution of this land. The American people and church did not believe in a "Higher Law"; they believed that the Constitution of the United States was the highest authority in the universe. He believed that there was a "Higher Law," and that that "covenant with death and agreement with hell" was annulled. He did not believe there was virtue enough in the Ameri-can people to abolish slavery. The voice of God, calling upon them to let the oppressed go free, had been unheeded. But they had passions, if they had not a love for truth and justice. This war had made a great many converts to anti-slavery, and among them, many of the clergy. Now, Dr. Adams was an abolitionist—gone to bed with Mr. Garrison (laughter and applause)—and Dr. Kirk, even, was praising his (Mr. G.'s) principles. He felt about them very much as the good old mother in Israel felt about one of her grandsons, who had been a very bad boy, and made a great deal of sport of religion, but who went to hear Mr. Maffit, and was converted. She went over to him, just as he was saying "Glory!" "Glory!" and exclaimed—"Don't you come out yet; you have been too great a sinner. You ought to eat more of the bitter yarbs of repentance!" (Great merriment.) So I say, they ought to "eat more of the bitter yarbs of repentance;"-but out they come! (Renewed laugh-

He believed that all this stir and con freedom to the slave. But he felt that it was a very solemn thing to be surrounded by circumstances such thousands of his fellow-men, in the South as well as the North-for they, too, were men; even those who matter of self-preservation, must abolish slavery. bayoneted the wounded on the battle-field were his full that was done, in his judgment, nothing was fellow-men—must be slain in this war. It was sad done; nothing but the shedding of blood in vain; and terrible to think of it. But what was the cause? The cause was slavery. Yet the people did not un-derstand it. Stephen A. Douglas had said that this was not a "nigger" question, but a question of the life of the government. But how came the life of the government in danger? Not from any cause under heaven but slavery. It was the slaveholders of this land who were the rebels, and in arms to-day against the government, and if all the slaveholders should lay penditures of money, that we have no wish or inten-tion to interfere with her accursed "institution." But let this government write the motto on her banner, heeded the word of Mr. Garrison, this question might "Freedom for all who shall rally under the Stars and have had a peaceful solution. If, when the Constitujustice, and made the Constitution for freedom, ex-cluding slavery, we should not have been where we are to-day. It was too late now-the time had gone by Something had been said in regard to whether

they should go on with their operations. By all

means. Every averment that had been made by the Abolitionists in regard to slavery for thirty years was now proved and demonstrated before the eyes of all men. This was the time to keep the eyes and ears of men open. Nothing but the anti-slavery sentiment could save the government from compromise. He did not feel very much concerned in his mind in regard to what the government intended or what measures they pursued in this matter. It was not for the gov ernment to say what shall be the issue of the war.
They might decree that not a slave should be freed;—
they could not help is. He did not believe that Abraham Lincoln or Gen. Scott, so far as the issue of this war was concerned, had much more influence upon it than a cab-driver in the city of Washington. They were determined to re-inaugurate the old Union, but it was not in their power to do it. Events ruled, not men. President Lincoln said he would not invade the soil of the Southern States; but now he had little less than a hundred thousand troops there. He had been forced to do what he did not intend to do. The bill just passed by Congress in regard to the confiscation of rebel property was capable of being construed into an act of emancipation that should free every slave in an act of emancipation that should free every slave in the land. He knew the government did not mean it; but he knew also that it could not help it, and every

black now hung over the land, but he saw the ma-light of liberty shining through the rifa. Those clouds would roll back, and we should see the day of peace and of freedom; and then, the Abolitonia peace and of freedom; and then, the Abolitionists would take an interest in the jinstitutions of the contry, and be like other men. But until the slare was delivered, he, for one, did not mean to be like other people. He meant to be a despised and hated Abolitionists, making all Hunkerdom mad. (Laughter and

pprause.)

I give you my word of cheer, said Mr. Foss, as be took his seat. "The Lord liveth; let the earth re-toice!" (Applause.)

Olco 1" (Apparate.)

PARKER PILISURY was the next speaker. He recommenced by reading the following resolution.

Resolved, That a "United North," to defend the Resolved, That a "United North," to defend the present Constitution, is no evidence, or necessary in dication, of hostility to slavery; but instead, while slave in surrections are to be suppressed, in the fearful words of Gen. McCleillan, "with an iron arm," and one fiding fugitive slave men and women are to be driven back, by hundreds at a time, to their tyram master by Northern generals, and so-called loyal citzens, as well in "seceded" as in "border States," are assured in "seceded" as in "border States," are assured to the President (since the war, as before) that they well in

by the President (since the war, as before, that mey
shall be religiously protected in their slave property,
and their system constitutionally and irrevoidly per
petuated by act of Congress, notwithstanding the war,
left to fear and to believe, that should the petuated by act of Congress, notwithstanding the var, we are left to fear and to believe, that should the whole adjustment of the present controversy be left to the powers that now direct and rule, the result vill to the powers that now allest and rane, the result was to possible gain to Humanity and Freedom.

Mr. Pillsbury said that Mr. Phillips had criticised Mr. Pillsbury said that air. Phillips had criticised the government, in the morning, with great force and great justice, as he thought, and he was ready to ad-journ, sine die, at the end of his (Mr. Phillips's) speech. journ, sine are, at the end of his (air. Philips's) speech. He thought the people had just cause to suspect the government of treason. He had no belief that there government of treason. He had no bettet that there was a man who had any idea of proceeding even to the extremes we had already reached. The North had hitherto been controlled by two classes of men: had, hitherto been controlled by two classes of men: political aspirants, who sought to turn the present tide of affairs to their advantage; and the army con-tractors, as destructive and loathsome as the "army worm" which had recently made its appearance in Massachusetts. The ten plagues of Egypt would scarcely increase the calamity when we had them

The people, Mr. P. said, were allowing the The people, Mr. P. said, were allowing themselves to be deceived with the idea of an "united North." It was true, the North was united; but It was still a Union and still to be a Union with slavery and star-holders. Hitherto it had meant nothing else, and we were indebted to the South for whatever progress had were indented to the South for whatever progress had been made; and if the South continued to act her part as favorably towards us as she had done, what-ever victory was achieved, we should at last swe it to ever victory was accuracy, we should at last swell to her. But for the cannonade of Fort Sumter, there would have been no beginning of the present var. But for the mob in Baltimore, there would have been no increase of the seventy-five thousand men originally called to the field. But for the attempts to poison nany called to the held. But for the attempts to poison the troops with strychnine and Virginia whisker, (the strychnine getting the worst of it in the compound,) and the piratical enterprise of Jefferson Davis, there never would have been that Northern uprising which we had to-day. Then the government was indebted to the Virginia Legislature for relieving the departments at Washington from traitors. They passed a law exiling them forever from the State if they re-mained, and there was a stampede of clerks out of Washington, just as there was of slaves to Fortress Munroe. It had been said, when the question was asked why they had been permitted to retain their offices, that the public interest absolutely required it. Now that they had gone, he supposed the "public interest" would subside. (Laughter.)

What the government had done hitherto had tended far more to sustain and defend the South than to de-fend the government, as a whole. He did not believe there was any intention to carry forward the struggle in the sense which Mr. Foss supposed, and he thought the public ought to be cautioned against all these fair appearances. He did not know but slavery would be abolished by this war, but he was very far from expecting any sympathy, much less countenance, from the government in such a measure. He should as soon have thought of fraternizing with Pilate and Herod because out of the cruciffkion of the Son of God might come the salvation of the world. It seemed to him that, in view of the action of the government in regard to the slaves, that they had something else to do besides assuring themselves that ultimately, in the administration of the Divine government, the slave system of the country will be overthrown. He saw no sign of the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, he saw every sign of all the horrors and calamities of the most frightful civil war known in history, with no good whatever to result from it at the end.

Mr. P. thought that, since the battle of Bull Run the public sentiment of the North had retrograded, and in confirmation of his divinion, read an extract from a letter in the Boston Herald, in which the writer says, among other things, that the Abolition party must be killed in Massachusetts, and that that would "do more to show our Southern friends that we are really friends to them, than all other things combined"! He also read from an edi Herald, in which it is declared-"The Herald will oppose all attempts to make this an Abolition war, or to foist upon the country the dogmas of Sumnet, Wilson and Andrew. These men have done mischief enough. The war should be brought to as speedy termination as possible, having a due regard to our national honor." While the distress and suffering and poverty created by the war were increasing, it be came them to attend to this under current of feeling which finds voice in such organs as the Herald and the Journal of Commerce in New York, and the Boston Herald. ment was a failure. There was no man

Our govern in it. The hour had come, and there was no man equal to the emergency. We had at the North nise-teen or twenty millions; and yet Diogenes, with his lighted lantern at noon-day, would search as hopelessly for a man among these millions as when he searched the streets of Athens for the same purpose, two thousand years ago. The politicians who controlled politic events had no anti-slavery heart in the matter. Be doubted not that Abraham Lincoln would rather abolish slavery than see it continue, and believed that the majority of the street treets of Athens for the same purpose, to Northern Democrats would be glad to get rid of that which had been the ruin of their party and of so many other parties; but then, they were without a controlling element at the centre. They were a great body, but where was the soul? There was no direction, no capability, and, what was far worse, no hosesty and no integrity. Politicians and parties had been tried before. The Whig party had been tried cause of humanity owed more to the Whig party, in the day of its departure, than it owes to the Republican party. There was no Republican party now. The only issue that separated them from the Douglas Democracy had been abandoned, and their action in regard to the organization of the Territories aboved that they showed that they cared no more than Douglas whether slavery was "voted up or voted down."

We had had, so far, the most convincing proof that the politicians had deceived us, intentionally, from the beginning. They had said that the South could so fight if she would, and would not if she could. When the South began the secession movement, they had declared that she was not sincere. He thought she cere; and warned the people to be ready for sincere action on her part. He told the Republican party that though they had succeeded at the ballo-box, there was yet another issue to be met, for this box, there was yet another issue to be met, no hallots were but the paper currency that was to be redeemed hereafter by a specie payment in solid bomb-shells and bullets; and they mobbed him for the declaration and the warning. The mob spirit pre-

*For the whole of this letter, dated "Newburypert, fuly 29," see Refuge of Oppression.

Mr. P. said he knew these might be called di-Mr. P. said he knew these might be called discour-raging words, but they were not discouraging to him. The truth was, they were deceived, and it was time that they knew it. The government intended com-promise—nothing more. There were traitors in the Calmet as well as in the army. There were traitors even in our midst, as well as in Baltimore and the cales States and when the hourborder States, and when the hour came, that treason would make itself heard and felt. Events had led by night and of cloud by day led the chi of the bondage of Egypt; and it was for th people still to command events. He remembered the Mr. Phillips once said it was the business of a state man to know circumstances. He went beyond that in his estimation of statesmanship, and thought it was the business of a statesman to shape circuit and to control them. Slavery was the cause calamity, as everybody was convinced. Then w tianity and a sound policy dictate in regard to it!
He should think, the removal of slavery as the of the evil. Yet where was the statesman who dare approach the subject in that light? Now, there was a proposition for a new compromise committee. He had seen the names of Millard Fillmore and Franklin Pierce mentioned, and expected, as he read along, to see the name of Lot's wife, and two or three n mics from the catacombs of Egypt. (Laughter.) What or like did such things as these indicate: Anything like carnestness of purpose? No. The government meant to sell out the people; and they had more to fear from their government than from Jefferson Davis and all his their government than from scheroson yas asked as army. He did not know where the sensibilities of the people were; waiting—waiting—looking to the Cabi-net and the government for aid and deliverance! I tell you, said Mr. P., the earthquake, the whirlwind and the still small voice of the spirit of d in them; and when they shall have passe and done their fearful work, if we also allow ourselve to be deceived, there will be none left in that day of disaster to lift up the standard of the spirit of truth

Mr. P. then proceeded to speak of the battles reat Bethel and Bull Run, the former of which he Great Bether and Bull Rul, the former of which was called a blunder, and the latter a great deal worse. It was downright murder, he said; and the blood of the slaughtered soldiers hung heavy on the skirts of Abraham Lincoln and all his Cabinet. The South, according to military men, had not made a single mili-tary blunder yet. He told the people, when they first commenced these military operations, that they mean g; they would have appointed better instru ey had intended or expected to fight. about military operations? Great Bethel could answer that. What reaso had they to expect anything better of Nathaniel P Banks? When he saw men professing to be engaged in an earnest cause appointing such instruments, he knew they were heartless, if nothing more. He did not believe there was ever a time when the Aboliionists were so much needed as to-day; and he was about the words as consistent of the fire enough from believing that the martyr age of the Abolitionists was past. When compromise came to be the order of the day again, he wondered what Mr. Phillips's life would be worth? Let the Abolitionists

Until we make our cause such, said Mr. P., that we shall be glorious, even in defeat, we shall not be wor-thy of victory. We have enough at stake, so that we might be defeated in a hundred battles and yet be the admiration of the world. Instead of that, a victory that would eclipse Waterloo, and entirely drown out the proudest achievements of Bohaparte, would only redound to the infamy and disgrace of a people who jeer of which is the propagation and perpetuation of shareer I have no higher opinion of Abraham Lin coln, and his Cabinet, and the clerks in the various departments, than I have of the President and Cabinet and clerks of the Coasedcrate States. They have sold us out, and they expect the Union and the con tinuance of the government to be their reward. It remains for you to say whether it shall be so. I want to see earnestness on the part of the people. want to see conventions called to express the opinions of the people. The President will act when the peo e command, and command in the peremptory tone hich the South has been accustomed to use whenever she has been obeyed by the North. The other day, a question came up which it was said the Presi dent had "under advisement." What did that mean and New England, the West and North-West would sy. But New York and New England see nothing but the glory of the war; and that very war is to be the destruction of liberty in this country. We have concentrate them in one invincible thunderbolt against the infernal institution; and until we have, why, fall ing on that rock, we are already broken; ere long, it shall fall upon us, and grind us to powder. (Applause.)

Mr. Garrison said that perhaps the true positio hopeful and jubilant speech of Mr. Foss, and that of Mr. Pillsbury, which was somewhat sombre and de-pressing. He (Mr. G.) certainly thought there was a very broad difference between the position of Abraham Lincoln, and that occupied by Jefferson Davis between the issue presented, as it respects free insti-tutions, on the one hand, and the rule of the Slave Power on the other, to the subversion of all freedom knew that the attempt was making by the govern ment to preserve the old order of things; but that was impossible, for the reason that the South would take nothing less than what she demands, and she demands so much that the North, with all her proslavery tendencies, would be unable to get down low enough to effect a reconciliation.

But they were asking the government to abolish But they were asking the government to abousan sharey. It was a very easy thing for them to say, "Mr. Lincoln, why don't you preclaim emancipation to the slaves in the South, and thus conclude the var!" But will the North sustain him in doing this! Mr. Pillsbury had said he believed that Abraham Lincoln would rather see slavery abolished than have it remain. Jefferson Davis would rather se slavery established, and freedom abolished. That was the difference between the parties. Then, why did not Mr. Lincoln abolish slavery? Probably, because he was not yet convinced that he would be su tained by the popular feeling of the North, without which he could do nothing. He (Mr. G.) believe that the Cabinet would to-day make a proclamation o freedom to the slaves of the South, if they could only be assured that it would be sustained by the popul sentiment. The question was, were the people d forget party names, at this crisis; and dihey see that, unless emancipation be declared th nation is going down to irretrievable ruin? He has his fears in regard to it; still, he would have the proclamation made, because he believed it would be rell pleasing to God; because he knew it would b right; because he was satisfied that under the power, it would be abundantly warranted; and be cause he believed that such a measure was the only the country. If the slaves were not emacipated, insurrection must follow civil war or acco any it; for when the slaves found that there was hope for them through the government, they would rise in their despair and desperation, and we should have a servile as well as a civil war to curse and desc late our land.

Mr. Phillips was loudly called for, (many being Mr. Phillips w

norning,) who came to the platform, and mad short speech, following the same general train o with great pleasure, and warmly applauded through

The President then said, that whether the audimared to endorse all the views expression or not, he had no doubt they we the resolution presented by him. by Mr. Pills

The resolution was again read, and adopted, with mly two dissenting votes

Miss MARY GREW, of Philadelphia, was then intr duced by the President, as one who had long be noble advocate of the glorious cause.

SPEECH OF MISS MARY GREW.

When Mr. Phillips told you that State street and Wall street demand now the abolition of slavery, for the salvation of trade, he might have added that Market street and Third street, in Philadelphia, join that cry. Pro-slavery, slave-hunting Philadelphia whose name you have connected with memories o Judge Kane and Com nissioner Ingraham, - God lin mself—Philadelphia now swells that loud cry from all our commercial cities, "Give us abolition of slavery, because we cannot live with trade!"

. If there are, on the face of the carth, any people have a right to exult to-day, Mr. President, it is surely the American Abolitionists. Who, if they may no has a right to sing "Glory to God in the highest" For we stand in the midst of our fast-fulfilling protions and see God's retributive justice proving tha "His mercy endureth for ever." Thirty years ago nearly, a few Abolitionists in this land stood up and declared to the nation that they were going to abolish the mighty institution of slavery. They were few world counts weakness, they were weak and, as the world counts weakness, mey were wear but they said to the nation, strong, and proud in it strength, "We will strike down to death this institu-tion which you cherish and in which you trust." And the nation laughed them to scorn. Their opponents (and who were not their opponents?) confronter them with the strength of the Church, with the powe of the government, with the wealth of the com and proved most conclusively that all these were against them. They pointed to the literature of the land, to the intellectual strength of the land, and demonstrated, so that they thought there was no reply, that all this force was against the Abolitionists who arrayed themselves in opposition to this mighty institution; and, thus confronting us, and thu pointing, on this side and on that, to the weapons of our adversaries, they said, as host after host marsha themselves against us, "How do you expect to suc ceed, in the face of all this, and in spite of all this? Undaunted, the Abolitionists calmly replied, "In the face of all this, and in spite of all this, and more than this, we expect to succeed, because 'the Lord God omnipotent reigneth'!"

Now, where stand we, after nearly thirty years of labor and of battle? We said, in the outset, to this proud nation, "God gives you your choice between the peaceful abolition of slavery and the dissolution of your Union; between doing justice to the slave and dismemberment." And they laughed us to scorn.
To-day, the Union is dismembered. To-day, that
proud nation, which, a quarter of a century ago, said, I sit a queen, and shall see no sorrow; who is the Lord that I should obey him, or hearken unto his voice?" is broken in pieces. To-day, we need utter no word to prove our predictions true. They are fulfilling themselves before our eyes; and that proud Union, instead of boasts, has taken up the cry and wail of distress, and now is struggling for life. Slav-ery, which it cherished, and against which we fought, now points its guns at the heart of the nation, and which shall go down in the struggle, God only knows But wherefore do we rejoice? It was said here

just now, that they who are fighting our battles or the battles of the nation, are not fighting for the freedom of the slave, and do not care to abolish slav-ery. Very likely they do not. It is not, and never was, in this nation's heart to do this thing. They may not mean it; but God does, and he, not General Scott, is leading our armies. What may be, or may not be, the result of this war, none can foresee; for none, in times like these, can predict to-day the events of to-morrow. None need to; least of all, the Abo litionists. Through all the intermediate stages of this war, through all the defeats and victories—little heeding what may be its aspect to-day or next week - the Abolitionist sees the one great aim and end the one great victory of the war. There is but on victory to be obtained, and all things else will be de That victory is the abolition of slavery - the wiping out of the cause of the war. To that end w see all things tending; to that victory we see God leading the armies of the nation. To that He has been leading his own hosts through this long struggle of righteousness against oppression. Who have fought out this battle ! They who, through evil report and good report, have kept well their pledges of fidelity to the slave; have sought ever that one end. They told the nation what God required of it, and the alternative which he gave it. Not on them rests, to-day, the blood of those who fall in battle; for the nation chose there was no help for the reverse. Therefore, this day, the anniversary of British emancipation - rather mournful to us, because we remember that there are no sadder words than "might have been"—is yet a day of great joy to us. We rejoice, because the deliv erance of the slave is at hand. And we are not to be discouraged by any of those considerations which ar so frequently urged upon us, that those who are car rying out God's will, unknowingly, do not sympathize with us; for God uses all instruments to do his work But why should we be either surprised or discourag when we see exactly the state of things which for years we have been predicting? Here we stand to-day exactly where, some twenty five years ago, our early est Abolitionists said the nation would stand if sh continued her warfare against God; and now the timid Abolitionist is half afraid to trust events to work themselves out; is half afraid that, after all, God will not keep his promises to man. We all know that it through terrible storm and conflict—it may be trough oceans of blood—that we as well as our nation are to pass, in order to attain this victors But what then? Is any thing worse than continued slavery? Are all the horrors of war which you can conceive, worse than the horrors of that continued war in which all the victories are on one side and all the defeats and suffering on the other? That is the as "opposed to the present war," are the Boston war which has been going on for the last thirty years and which we have been trying to bring to a peacefu end; and though we did not succeed in that, are we not to thank God and take courage that it is about to

We rejoice, then, to-day, as the slave's representa tives, standing here and seeing in the distance the day of his deliverance drawing nigh. We rejoice day of his deliverance drawing nigh. We rejoice that God has proved Himself again, as He ever proves Himself, true to his own words of promise or of threat ening. We rejoice for the sake of all those who have trusted in Him, that they have found Him true, and that they henceforward can trust, from their own long experience, as well as from the faith with which they began the war, that the weapons of his warfare are to be successful. And what then, my friends? Are we to take off our armor, fold our hands, and sit down feeling that the victory is already won? Not quite yet, because four millions of slaves still wear their chains; and we must not yet cease our work. The party which has brought the nation up to the point on which it stands to day, will surely not cease from their efforts, and allow the nation to slip backward from the height which it has attained; for you know that it is only by the continued efforts of the Abolitionists that any party in the nation has made any advance toward and it is only by their supporting strength that any party, in or out of the government, now stands upright, demanding the triumph of freedom Not now, just on the verge of victory, shall we let go our weapons. Not now, when all might be lost by their unfaithfulness, shall they fail, who for long years have endured persecution, the sneers of the world the threatenings, and the fulfilled threatenings, o

be brought to an end in another way?

of this nation—not now, when the nation is at last ready to join in our cry, shall we step down from our platform, or let go our grasp on the sword of the Spirit, by which, with God's help, we have won our victories. It shall never be said that the American Anti-Slavery Society has failed in its duty in the last hour—that its atandard-hearer has fainted. No, my friends, we must keep that standard floating yet a little while longer, let it coat what it may;—a little while longer, till it shall wave in the breeze that bears to us the slave's jubilee song. Then, thes we may fairl it, as we cry—"Not unto us, O Lord, but unto. Thee, now be the glory!" while the multitude take up the shout with which we commenced our warfare, and cry—"Hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!" (Loud and prolonged applause.)

E. H. Herwood was then introduced, who spoke very briefly, (the hour of adjournment being close at land,) but to great acceptance; and at the close of his remarks, the audience were dismissed by Rev. S. J. thay, with these parting words—"My heart's deal; and prayer to God for us all is, that we may be steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the lor via in the Lord."

fast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of t Lord; inasmuch as we know that our labor will n be in vain in the Lord."

ESSEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of the Essex County A. S

August 4th. The meeting was called to order by the Preside C. L. Remond,) of Salem, and, in the absence of the cretary, Joseph Merrill, of Danvers, was chosen C. L. Rem

ecretary, pro tem.

The meeting was addressed by the President in hi sual eloquent manner, by James N. Buffum, in his natter-of-fact arguments, and by A. T. Foss and Parker Pillsbury with their iron-linked logic, driving every nail to the head, and clenching it as they went. On motion, it was voted, that Eli F. Burnham, Ma-

ria S. Page, C. L. Remond, and Martha Bassett be a Committee on Finance.

On motion of Josiah Hayward, it voted, that when

we do adjourn, we adjourn to meet at half-past

o'clock,
Voted to adjourn.
Met agrecably to adjournment, J. N. Buffum, first
Vice President, in the chair.

Vice President, in the chair.

The following resolutions were presented by Parker Pillsbury, and accepted, and the meeting was addressed by Parker Pillsbury, John T. Page, John A. Innis, C. L. Remond, and J.-N. Buffun:— 1. Resolved, That the work of the true abolitionist

not done or materially affected by any charge whatever in the government, so long as it recognize slavery as an Institution to be protected and pro-longed, instead of execrated and exterminated. 2. Resolved, That slavery is a National and

Northern, as well as Southern crime, and the North cannot wash away its participation in it, in the blood of its Southern accomplices; however constitutional it may be to compel the seconded States back to their allegiance, and to restore the public property, se treasonably as well as feloniously seized by th 3. Resolved, That slavery and the agitation

abolitionists for its overthrow, are indeed the only causes of the present fearful hostility between the North and the South—illustrating and proving the "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT" doctrine, once so bold. ly enunciated, both by Secretary Seward and Presi dent Lincoln, and fulfilling the prophecy of the anti-slavery movement for thirty years, that slavery and slaveholders would rule the nation while it was possible, and ruin, when they could no longer rule

4. Resolved, That slavery being the grand cause of our present national calamity, a true statesman-ship, a high patriotism, an enlightened philosophy, a genuine religious faith, "and a decent regard for the opinions of mankind," would dictate its immediate and entire overthrow.

5. Resolved. That the necessity for such a measu is not only becoming more and more apparent every hour for the successful prosecution of the presen conflict, but is obviously the demand of

on motion of C. L. Remond, it was voted to adjou to haif-past 6 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION. The meeting was called to order by J. N. Buffum, and addressed by J. N. Buffum, A. T. Foss, Parker Pillsbury, and C. L. Remond. Voted, That we adjourn to meet at such the Executive Committe may appoint, three meet at such place a

The meetings, though small in numbers, were o universal interest. Members came from various parts of the country to help forward the "good time com-ing"; sure to come, in spite of the wiles of pro-slavery priests, and corrupt, lying, compromising politicial

The general feeling of the people is, that we ough to hold more of these meetings, to give tone to the public sentiment in this our day of trial. This meetings ing was more successful than some of us expected even financially not a failure, as the Agent's repo

JOSEPH MERRILL, Sec'y pro tem.

To Correspondents. A letter from W. C. (Gos port, N. Y.) has been received; but the previous letter of which he speaks, containing me pration of Aug. 1st, at Drummondville; we have an account of the same meeting in the Toronto - Globe but have no room for either this week.

The "Fraternity" propose to observe theoming anniversary of Theodore Parker by suitable exercises at Allstor Hall, on Friday evening, the 28d inst. Brief ad dresses will be made by several of Mr. Parker's friends, interspersed with music, and the occasion will doubtless be one of much interest

Free tickets of admission may be had at the Anti-

FIT ASSOCIATES. In a list given by the Journal under that head in this city, and further Courier and the Boston Herald.

NATIONAL FAST. A proclamation for a Fast, to b observed by the people of the United States of America on the last Thursday in September, has been signed by President Lincoln. It recommends prayer and humiliation, but says not a word of prayer and numination, but says not a work or reformation. It proposes fisting, but passes by in silence the "one thing needful" in our present exigency—the abolition of slavery.

THE WHOLE STORY TOLD. The London Specta has this paragraph under its heading of "News of the Week"

"The American Congress has voted the men and money required by the President, and twenty per cent. more, and the House of Representatives has affirmed, by 92 to 55, that it is 'no part of the duty of officers to capture fugitive slaves.' The hand moves slowly on the dial, but 'it moves, and when the finger passes the hour, the knell of slavery will ring out with a clang which will startle Europe."

ARREST OF MR. FAULKNER. Ex-Minister Faulk ner has been arrested in Washington, just in time to prevent his intended departure. Letters received by recent steamers show him giving aid and comfort to rebel agents abroad, as he has done to their allies here Some of his correspondence with Richmond has bee intercepted. A cavalry regiment in Winchester, Va. was waiting his coming as its colonel.

our weapons. Not now, when all might be lost by their unfaithfulness, shall they fail, who for long years have endured persecution, the sucers of the world, baldi said to him—"If your war is for freedom, I am the threatenings, and the fulfilled threatenings, of many a mob, who have stood against all the opposition What answer shall Minister Fogg make to Garibaldi 9.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

States army assume to send back fugilive slaves, and to compel, under the fearful penalty of disobedience of orders, the brave and high-minded men under their command in become allows.

of the slave-pens, to which they every now and the convert their camps at the bidding of some fragme of the old slave-oligarchy? The Fugitive Slave Act has ceased to exist for

The Fugitive Slave Act mas coased the Cohraitors and rebels. They have renounced the Cohristian and the laws, are lefying war against them and against the nation which ordained, and its government which administers them. Protection and all egiance are correlative. The denial of one cancel

same State where he made escape, nor within the same State where he made escape, nor within the District of Columbia. "Persons held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another," is the language of the Constitution. Those are the same who come within the of the Free States It is a principle of all municipal laws that any party

It is a principle of all municipal laws that any party may refuse and renounce a law passed for their special behoof. The South has renounced and disavowed the fugitive enactment with all the rest, and only asks that which is the first desire and greatest need of all riminals, "to be let alone."

To cap the climax of absurdity and iniquity, there

is in our camps, forts and ships of war, no tribunal, as provided by the Act, to try a man for his liberty; no proofs prescribed by it are adduced; in a word, non of its forms for the arrest, detention, trial or surrender of the person claimed, is, or can be, in those places observed; nor does any authority, created by this ac grant a certificate for "his taking off."

It is by the war power, and by that alone, that these dis-ereditable, rather, these devilish, deeds have been

For half a century, upon the plea that our hands were tied by the Constitution of our fathers, we have warmly repelled the reproaches, heaped upon us by the world, for shouting liberty with our lips, while cherishing slavery in our bosom; yet no soo our hands freed from the bonds of the slaveholders assaults upon the nation, than we apply ourselves with new vigor and a more devoted subserviency to do their dirty and flendish work!

"What trick, what starting-hole shall we now fire To hide us from this open and apparent shame." The foundation of the summary and terrible code of

arms, is the unavoidable necessity and duty of pros-teuting a just war with success, of executing jusfice upon wicked and bloody tyrants and aggres-sors; extinguishing the cause or causes, which enkindle their hostility, and procuring the speediest return of peace, compatible with the accomplishment of these objects. The return to enemies and traitors of their fugitive slaves is an implous and fatal antagonism to every one of these objects of the war, and consequently in self-evident violation of its laws. It is ming the war power to protract and aggravate the horof war. It is to spare its guilty authors, multiply its innocent victims, and confirm and perpetuate cause. It is an inexplicable crime again and oppressed, and an immeasurable wrong and injury to the people, who have, under God, the highest moral and legal title to the services of the sympathizing and well-affected of the whole nation. He who inhumanly and in violation of law rejects the offer of devote service to the republic, so long as she stands in need, and thrusts the devoter back to wicked torments and into the ranks and trenches of the traitors, whence he may never escape more, commits manifold moral treason, to say the very least of it. If he be a military officeracting under orders he should disobey them; for by the Rules and Articles established by Congress for the government of the army, no officer or soldier is bound to obey an unlawful order. If he act on his own responsibility, and with a design of "giving intelligence" and "aid" to the enemies of the United States, he ought to suffer death. If he err from mere force of habit and tradition, like the Scythian slaves, who after beating their masters in a succession of combats with ord, submitted trembling and terror-stricken, when their masters flung down the sword and drew their whips, he should be erased from the army rolls, as one crippled for life. If he be a cabinet or other high civil officer, directing or counselling the rendition of a slave by the military arm, he should be removed by the President, or impeached and cast out by Congress. A few stern and vigorous examples would teach our foes and friends too, together with the whole nest of most pernicious spies, prostitutes, and traitors in the metropo that it is not a cheap and trivial affair to attempt the

life of a nation, and the life of liberty. There is no principle or rule of war which authorize us to treat slaves, flying to us from traitors and rebels in any other manner than we would deserters and refu gees from their armies and hangmen, their lynch lav and prison-houses.

I might rest this point on natural right, on the power of civilized and Christian warriors to unmake slaves, whom heathen and barbarous wars originally made; and, above all, upon the total absence of any adverse principle or authority. But I will not do so. English and American history furnish positive and practica

Two days after the preliminary treaty of independen and peace between the United States and Great Britain thad been agreed to by Franklin, John Adams, and Jay, on the part of the United States, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, appointed with them to conduct the negotiation, arrived at Paris, and insisted upon the insertion of an additional article, stipulating that "no slaves or other property" should be carried off by the British army at the evacuation of the posts in their occupation. The demand was admitted by the British Commissioners, and the treaty so modified signed Commissioners, and the treaty, so modified, signed November 30, 1782.

the enemy's forces, or been captured by them, and not yet removed, were claimed by Washington under the above-mentioned article. But Sir Guy Carleton, commander in-chief of the evacuating army, rejected the aim, maintaining that his prisoners and protegés were not embraced in the stipulation. He undoubtedly re garded them as freemen and British subjects fro moment of their capture or reception, and so not touched by the treaty; and he took good care to secure their safety by sending them away in the first embarkation some months prior to evacuation day. Honor to the memory of the brave and faithful veteran! He consented to leave a list of these persons, to the end that those claiming to be their owners might try their luck, in ar application to his government, for compensation. course they failed not to make fierce reclamations. The question remained unsettled till 1794, when, by Jay's treaty, the claim was formally relinquished. This was one great cause of the Southern rage against the treaty and the negotiator. He was called by the Richmond Inquirer, "that damned infernal villain, John Jay."

[To be continued.]

Cowcoan, N. H., August 8. The office of the Democratic Standard was completely rifled of its contents this afternoon by a mob composed of soldiers of the returned lat. regiment, and citizens. The Standard, which has been a long time "secesh," published an article reflecting on the soldiers. They demanded a retraction, sind the Palmers, editors and proprietors, shook pistols and axes out of the windows and dared the mob, while the city authorities endeavored to quell the disturbance. The Palmers fired four shots, wounding two soldiers. The office was immediately gutted, and the materials burned in the street. The Palmers took refuge in the attic, but were finally found and carried to the police station under protection of the police, though with great difficulty.

THE "CONTRABAND" QUESTION.

that all existing rights in his the specied and maintained.

The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all the Constitutional rights of the States and the citizens of the States in the Union, hence no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged. The ordinary forms of judicial proceedings must be respected by the military than the state of the proceedings to the state of th indicial proceedings must be respected and civil authorities alike, for the enfor

forms.

But in the States wholly or in part under insurrectionary control, where the laws of the United States are so far opposed and resisted that they cannot be effectually enforced, it is obvious that the rights dependent upon the execution of these laws must temporarily fail, and it is equally obvious that the rights dependent on the laws of the State within which utilitary operations are conducted, must necessarily be subordinate to the military exigencies created by the porarily fail, and it is equally obvious that the rights dependent on the laws of the State within which military operations are conducted, must necessarily be subordinate to the military extigencies created by the insurrection, if not wholly forfeited by the treasonable conduct of the parties claiming them. To this the general rule of the right to service forms an exception. The act of Congress, approved Aug. 6th, 1881, declares that if persons held to service shall be employed in hostility to the United States, the right to their services shall be discharged therefrom. It follows, of necessity, that no claim can be recognized by the military authority of the Uniou to the services of such persons when fugitives.

A more difficult question is presented in respect to persons escaping from the service of loyal masters, it is quite apparent that the laws of the State under which only the service of such fugitives can be claimed, must needs be wholly or almost wholly suspended, as to the remedies, by insurrection and the military measures necessitated by it; and it is equally apparent that the substitution of military for judicial measures for the enforcement of such claims must be attended by great inconvenience, embarrassments, and injuries.

Under these circumstances, it seems quite clear that the substantial rights of local masters are still best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugi-

must be attended by great inconvenience, cuinoariasments, and injuries.

Under these circumstances, it seems quite clear that the substantial rights of local masters are still best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require. Of course a record should be kept, showing the names and description of the fugitives, the names and characters, as loyal or disloyal, of the masters, and such facts as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case.

of the masters, and such inces as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case. After tranquility shall have been restored upon there-turn of peace, Congress will doubtless properly provide for all the persons thus received into the service of the Union, and for a just compensation to loyal masters. In this way only, it would seem, can the duty and safety of the Government and just rights of all be fully reconciled and harmonized. You will therefore consider varself instructed to cover your future fully reconciled and harmonized. You will therefore consider yourself instructed to govern your future action in respect to fugilives from service by the premises herein stated, and will report from time to time, and at least twice in each month, your action in the premises to this Department.

You will, however, neither authorize nor permit any interference by the troops under your command with the servants of peaceabe citizens in a house or field, nor will you in any manner encourage such citizens to leave the lawful service to their masters, nor will you would be a service to their masters, nor

will you, except in cases where the public good may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped. I am, very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

obedient servans,
SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War. To Major General Butler, Commanding Department of Virginia, Fortress Monroe. ANOTHER BATTLE IN MISSOURI. — A band of one thousand rebels attacked a camp of Union men at Athens, Mo., on Monday morning, Aug. 5th, at five o'clock. There was a considerable amount of arms and ammunition stored in the camp, which comprised three hundred and fifty men under Capt. Moore. Fighting lasted about one hour, when the rebel thieves

Fighting lasted about one hour, when the received capt. Moore having been reinforced by 150 men from Centralia, Iowa, on the opposite side of the river, gave chase to the traitors for about a mile and a half, killing one, taking 18 prisoners, 30 horses, and two robel flags. Several rebels were also wounded.

After the fight six or eight rebels were found dead on the field. In the afternoon a bearer of a rebel flag of truce was admitted, who stated that they carried off fourteen killed, and as many more wounded and missing. The rebels were led by a brother of Exsenator Green. Three Unionists were killed and eight wounded.

Athers has a small town in the extreme northwest.

eight wounded.

Athens is a small town in the extreme northwest of Missouri, on the Desmoines river, about thirty miles from Keokuk. It is reported that the Union forces have been reinforced by 500 or 600 men from Iowa, and marched Sunday night in pursuit. The rebels were encamped eight miles from Athens, and another fight or foot-race has taken place ere this.

YET ANOTHER BATTLE.

Sr. Louis, Aug. 13. The following is an official report of a fight near Springfield, on Saturday of last week, by one of Gen. Lyon's sids:—
"TO MAJON GENERAL FREMON:—General Lyon in three columns, under himself, General Siegel, and Major Sturgie, attacked the converse of 1.2 clock.

"To Major General Fremont:— Ocucia Ayan in three columns, under himself, General Siegel, and Major Sturgis, attacked the enemy at 6 1-2 o'clock on the morning of the 10th, nine miles southeast of Springfield. The engagement was severe. Our loss is about eight hundred in killed and wounded. Gen. Lyon was killed in a charge at the head of his column. Our force was 8000 including 2900 Home Guards. The muster rolls taken from the enemy give his force at 23,000, including regiments from Louisiana and Mississippi, Tennessec, Texas Rangers, and Cherakee half breeds. Their loss is reported heavy, in

force at 23,000, including regiments from Louisiana and Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas Rangers, and Cherchee half breeds. Their loss is reported heavy, including Generals McCulloch and Price. This statement is corroborated by prisoners. Their tents and wagons were destroyed in the action. General Siegel left only one gun on the field. He retreated to Springfield with a large number of prisoners. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 11th, he continued his retreat on Rolla, bringing off his baggage trains and \$25,000 in specie from the Springfield Banks.

gage trains and \$25,000 in specie from the Springfield Banks.

The following is the verbatim report of the special messenger to Gen. Fremont:—

Early on Saturday morning Gen. Lyon marched out of Springfield. He came up with the enemy on Davis Creek, on Green's Prairie, four failes southwest of Springfield, where they had taken a strong position. Gen. Lyon fired the first gun at 20 minutes past 6, when the battle immediately commenced. A severe cannonading was kept up two or three hours, when the fire of Totten's artillery becoming too severe for the enemy, they gradually fell back towards their enemy, they gradually fell back towards their enemy, they gradually fell back towards their enemy, they find Gen. Siegel's artillery on the right, then began a terrific attack, and spread shughter and dismay in the ranks of the rebels, pursuing

ter and dismay in the ranks of the rebels, pursuing them to their camps. The shells from Totten's artillery set fire to their tents and bagage wagons, which were all destroyed.

A Louisiana and a Mississippi Regiment scemed to suffer the most, and were almost annihilated. Sometime in the afternoon, while Gen. Lyon was leading his column, his horse was shot under him. Immediately he mounted another, and as he turned around to his men, waving his hat and cheering his men on to victory, he was struck in the small of his back and fell dead to the ground. The command then devolved on Gen. Sieged.

Vectory, he was struct. The command then devolved on Gen. Siegel.

The pursuit was continued until nightfall, when our little army rested for the night in the enemy's encampment. On Sunday morning, Gen. Siegel, fearing the enemy might recover and attempt to cut his command off from Springfield, fell back on that city, where the Home Guards were stationed. Then fearing the great numbers of the enemy might induce them to get between him and Rolla, Gen. Siegel concluded to fall back on Rolla with his provision train and meet reinforcements.

At the time of the departure of the messenger, the enemy had not been seen, and it is probable that Gen. Siegel was not disturbed on his march. Ninety rebels were captured, including a Colonel of distinction, the messenger not remembering his name. The sword and horse of General McCulloch were among the trophics.

Reinforcements are on their way to Rolla, and Gen. Siegel and his army may be considered safe.

From St. Domingo we have advices to the 25th ult, stating that the war between Hayti and Spain is at an end, the difficulties between the two countries being amicably adjusted. The Spanish authorities declare slavery forever abolished in the Island, and threaten with severe penalties any person endeavoring to reinstate the system.—Tribuse, 12th inst.

Parson Brownlow's Paper Suppressed by the Rebels. A passenger from Richmond via Knoxville, Friday, reports that Gen. Zolifoeffer, at the head of the Tennessee troops there, suppressed Parson Brown-low's Knozelle Waig.

THE UNION TRIUMPH IN KENTUCKY. The Louis-ille papers bring accounts of the Union triumph at ers bring accounts of the Union triumph election in Kentacky. In the city of Lot Union candidate for the legislature w a unanimous vote. The Journal comme general result in the following jubilant sty

where did a party make greater and mor mined efforts to carry an election than the se-sists of Lonisville made to carry this. They re to all possible expedients for inflaming and ex-ing the public mind. They endeavored to im-people even to the pitch of foretble resistance. laws. They invented all sorts of false issues, and pressed them with their whole power and ingenuity. Their candidates thought to disguise their real position, and presented false issues in the hope of deciring at least a portion of the community. They resorted to appeals, to threats, to promises, to protest tions. Their organ put forth all its powers of persuasion, appealing alike to all the best and all the worst passions of human nature. All of them seemed to realize that their last hope was staked upon the conflict. And now look at the vote. Never, never was a party more utterly annihilated.

Of course our returns for the rest of Kentucky are very limited, but we have no doubt that the friends of the Union, the opponents of secession, have achieved an overwhelming victory throughout the State. If this is a fact, if a large majority of the men elected yesterday to the next legislature are Union men, it would seem to be time for the bitter conflict in Ken

yesterialy to the next fegislature are Union men, it would seem to be time for the bitter conflict in Kentucky to close. If the people, by a resounding majority, have still again pronounced their verdict in favor of the Union, the secessionists cannot longer attempt to keep up this unhappy and disastrous agitation and turnoil without willingly acting the part of mischievous and pestilent citizens."

BANGOR, Me., August 12. At 1 o'clock to day the Sangor Democrat, a secession sheet, was completely Bangor Democral; a secession sheet, was comple cleared out by a large number of people. Durin alarm of fire, a crowd of people entered the of cleared it out, and burnt the contents in the air Mr. Emery, the editor, escaped unharmed. Jones, a barber, who made some demonstration, also badly used, but was rescued and put in Jall.

The Richmond Examiner, of the 8th, says the rebel Congress, Tuesday, considered the bill for public defence. The bill authorizes the President to employ the military conformably to the act of March 16, and to accept 400,000 volunteers.

GARIBALDI APPOINTED A MAJOR GENERAL leading journals for two weeks past, to the effect that Garibald had tendered his services to the Federal Government, at last prove correct. His offers have been accepted, and he has been tendered an appointment as major general in the American volunteer army.—Journal of Commerce.

CONTRIBUTIONS C. K. Whipple, Russell Marston, C. Bradford, Mr. Adams, Richard Clap, Stephen and Martha 1 00 Daniel Holbrook, 1 00 H. W. Blanchard, 50 B. Hunt, 25 C. Ross, 10 00 Edmund Jackson, Edwin Thompson, 5 00 Mrs. M. W. Chapt Stephen and Marth Clap, C. Wellington, Hon. F. W. Bird, W. L. Garrison, Jr. Parker Pillsbury, A. L. Russell, Daniel Ricketson, George W. Gillmer, 50 Bunker Hill, 1 00 L. W. Noyes, 50 Miss Dora Neill, Bel-George W. Gilmon Horace H. Moses, Sarah J. Davis, C. H. Collins, Bates, B. Jackman, 50 Rev. S. J. May, 50 E. D. & A. T. Dray 50 C. A. Joy, 00 Mrs. Lord, 25 Luther Melendy, 56 Lewis McLauthlin, S. Cushing, B. T. Goodwin, Mary G. Richar M. W. Stet M. W. Stetson, H. P. Kendrick, Thos. H. Hinckley S. Gardner, Rufus Kendrick, Mrs. Kendall, 25 Cornelius Cowing, 100 H. M. G——, 50 Wm. L. Garrison, 50 Sophia L. Little, New-E. Hobart,

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Whole contribution, ST. MARY'S LAKE

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H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's lake, and are now in readiness to receive paients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthy
and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a
beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Bat-

beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Battie Creek.

The buildings are new, commedious, and farnished for
the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-rooms
are large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, chemical,
and electrical baths.

The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as these of
a spring from the granite mountain's base, is well supplied
with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any land.

Several hundred acress of the grand Old Oak Forest, immediately surrounding the lake, have been reserved for
pleasure-grounds.

pleasure-grounds.

The afflicted, requiring surgical treatment, will find this a most desirable establishment, where they can be placed

most desirable establishment, where they can be placed in the best possible condition to bear an operation, and re-peire the best of care afterwards.

Particular attention given to the treatment of diseases of the Eye. All operations performed that warrant a prospect of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for Cata-nact is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful Artificial Eyes kept constantly on and. Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous, and Chronic

rathlysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic diseases, will be treated.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her treatment unsurpassed by that of any physician now practising in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competant Medical profession.

woods, in the Gymnasium, and in boat-rowing, than which no better exercise can be found.

We intend, with the sid of competent help in every department, to make the Corne the invalid's Hosts, as well as a place for medical treatment.

Those coming as patients should farnish themselves with two comfortables, two lines or control spaces, one woollen blanket, and one half-dozen bath towels, or they can be farmished by the Cunz at fifty cents per week extra.

TERMS—From ST to \$10 per week, for treatment, board, &c., according to roomand care.

H. F. PETERMAN, M. D., Mrs. S. A. PETERMAN, M. D.,

To whom all letters of inquiry should be addressed, communication, to insure an answer, should compostage stamp for return letter.

St. Mary's Lake, Michigan, May 20, 1861.

J

WEST NEWTON English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861.
Both sexes are received as family or day pupils.
For particulars, address West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE

HOME SCHOOL

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on Weinseldy, Spr. 4, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address www. 8. HAYWOOD, Principal, Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle at, for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate. S. NEWELL.

Zoetry.

Walting-for tidings of him.

Trembling, the list she has studied
Of the lost on that terrible day,
But the paper his name containing,
Has been hid from her sight away.

She does not know mong the "missing That by others his name shall be read For they cannot bear to tell her
Till they know is he living or dead.

And so each day she is waiting From early morn till night, For the letter that never come - And he,-ah! he too is waiting

Though where we cannot tell ;

There was danger all around him, It may be that he fell. Perhaps he was one of the many
Brave soldiers, young and fair,
Who passed to the spirit-home that day;

Perhaps he is waiting there Or it may be-ah! we cannot tell, It were a sadder fate, Suffering, sick and wounded,

'Mong strangers he may wait.

Waiting—helplessly waiting, Yet knowing our country's need. Oh! the Summer flowers are blooming, And the birds sing blithely and gay,

But a cloud is over our sunshine For flow many are waiting to-day!
Sherborn, Aug 5, 1861. E. D. Monse From the N. Y. Evening Post.

The Battle of Sunday, July 21st.

BY ALICE B. HAVEN. walking so slowly adown the green lane, th Sabbath-bells chiming, and birds singing psalm With Sabbath-bells chiming, and the saling in the league with haste, pressing on o'er the slain, 'Mid the trampling of steeds and the drum-beat to In that cool dewy morning.

We—waiting with faces all reverent and still,
The organ's voice vibrant with praise unto God—
His face set like flint with the impress of will,
To press back the for, or to die on the sod—
My fell have recome health? My fair, brave young brother !

We-kneeling to hear benedictions of love, Our hearts all at peace with the message from Heaven fe-stretched on the field, gasping, wounded, to prove If mercy were found where such courage had striven, If mercy were found where such cour In the midst of the slaugh

Oh, God !—can I live with the horrible with !
Stabbed through as he lay, with their glittering steel,
Could they look in that face, like a woman's for youth, And crush out its beauty with musket and beel, Like hounds, or like demons ! That brow I have blessed in my dead mother's place

Each morning and evening since she went unto rest; Emoothing down the fair cheek, as my own baby's face Those eyes with her look, where my kisses were press For I saw hers-so tender ! Carses spring to my line! Oh, my God, send the hail

Of swift, ready vengeance for deeds such as this!
Forego all thy mercy, if judgment must fail!
Forgive my wild heart if it prayeth amiss—
His blood crieth upward! "Amiss ! "-and the strife of my clamorous grief

Is hushed into stillness ; what grief like to thine If my poor human heart, with it passions so brief, Is tortured with pangs, can we guess the Divine, With depths past all searching! know eyes more sender looked upward to Thee.

The side where the blood and the water gushed down From stroke fierce and brutal.

Help lips white with anguish to take up His prayer Help hearts that are bursting to stifle their cries; he should of the populace, too, has been there,
To drown pleas of justice, to clothe truth in lies—
To enrage and to madden.

They knew not we loved them; they knew not we prayed For their weal as our own, "We are brethren

plead—, necasing those prayers to Our Father were made,
When they flung down the palm for palmetto we said,
"Let us still hope to win them."

so loved that he gave !" We are giving to these The lives that were dearer to us than our own— Let us add prayer for blood, trusting God to appeare Our heart's craving pain, when He hears on his throne "Oh, Father, forgive them!"

"All Soft and Brown the upturned Fields."

All soft and brown the upturned fields
Lie mellow in the sun;
The very skies yield anguries Of better days begun ; A warmth, a fulness brooding there, Which nothing else could bring, sense of blessing in the air,

And shall the days of cloud and cold In truth no more be seen?

The snowdrop through the loosened mould Sends up its spikes of green, Fresh gold upon the willow falls, Son lights the uplands steep,—

And I am glad as any bird, It is a joy to be,—
There is no sound of life fresh-stirred
But brings delight to me. The flow of brooks, the cock's clear call, From distant hamlets borne,— My pulse beats happy time with all

Oh! Nature! thou my first, best friend With us was never any end Of confidence and rest : Here, no reserve, but frankest
No need for place apart—
I'do not fear to let thee hear

The beating of my heart !

THE FATHERLAND. FROM THE GERMAN OF CLAUS HARMS

BY REV. C. T. BROOKS. For which the heart in hours of trouble sighs Where flows no tear, no sorrow mars the song The good are happy, and the weak are strong Know ye the land?

The goal, the goal,
O friends, is there! Press on with heart and soul. Know ye the way—the rough and thorny road? The wanderer groans beneath his painful load; He faints—he sinks; in dust he lifts his eyes. "How long, O Lord?" the weary pilgrim sighs. Know ye the way?
It tends, it tends

To that blest land where every torment ends. Fnow ye the Friend—a man—a child of earth, Yet more, far more than all of human birth? That rough and thorny read his feet have tred Well can he guide poor pilgrims home to God. Know ye the Friend? His hand, his hand His hand, his hand

The Tiberator. The Highway of American Civilization.

A DISCOURSE, Preached at Music Hall, Boston, July 14th, 1861. BY REV. A. D. MAYO, OF ALBANY, N. T.

Luke 3; 4, 6, 6.—Prepare ye the way of the Lord.
Make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and
every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the
crooked shall be made small fill the trough way shall
be made smooth; and all fish shall see the salvation of
God.

In oriental lands, when the great king went abroad to bless any region with the light of his countenance, he sent before him heralds to declare his coming, and hosts of men to prepare a road fit for the journeying of the royal retinue. When John the Baptist came preachtance and remission of sins in the wilder ing repentance and remission of aims in the wilderness of Judea, he declared that his flerce and searching
gospel was but the building of a highway over which
one mightier than he should march to a peaceful conquest of the earth. Men were to be frightened into
repentance, subdued to obedience, "the axe to be liable
at the root of the tree," "the chaff to be burned in
unquenchable flame," that the loftier Spirit might apterms bestigned with the loftier spirit might apterms bestigned with the loftier spirit might apterms bestigned with the loftier of the spirit might apterms bestigned with the loftier spirit might apterms and by its of no consequence. God Almighty
and his recreant servant Jefferson Davis both know
that it announced the final triumph of an advanced
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that it announced the final triumph of ar, baptizing with the Holy Ghost and with fire

power whose shoe-latchet it is unworthy to unloose; even the sublime presence of a higher Religion and Society than has ever prevailed in these regions of the earth. Present events in our country have this significance — That a great movement for the general ad-vancement of Humanity has slowly grown and finally dom-inated in teenty of the United States; that in its ap-proach to the border of an adverse semi-civilization, it has found itself confronted by the common obstacles of barba-rism; that it has sent forth its armed herald to proclaim repentance, and build the road towards the cuty of and the Southern pole; that when that way is built, a Chris-tian order of Society will march over it, peacefully regen-ted to the cuty of the cuty of the cuty of the cuty houtile institution, restoring man to his rights, ance, and build the road towards the Gulf of Mexico and exalting a Confederacy of half-civilized States to the nion and a well-ordered govcompanionship of a pure religion and a well-ordered gov-ernment, through gradual and peaceful change.

To-day, assembled in the church of one who, as

much as any man of our generation, was responsible for what we now see, let us contemplate the religious significance of the present condition of American affairs. If we can look with eyes that penetrate the mist of popular excitement and delusion, we shall unthat this conflict in which the country is nov engaged is a religious contest. Its cause is the irresist-ible march of a higher religious life from the Northern towards the Southern States of the republic: in its way unearthing and driving to desperation all the powers of a decaying Religion and Society; and forcing them into armed revolt by the very presence of its exalted purposes: as wilful evil is always first driven to wanton madness by the appearance of sav-ing love. As it may be carried on under the direction of a humane and energetic administration of the U S. government, the war should become the agency of those higher ideas and institutions that must finally prevail over the whole land. If thus conducted and pressed to its true ending, its results are to be the opening of a vast area of territory, containing a popu en, to the influx of lation of millions of our countryn

1st. Behold how this mighty conflict has been caused ed by the irresistible growth of the North into a high-er form of religious faith, carrying along with it all social, national and political ideas and organiza tions! It is false to say that the Northern States have rated spiritually, as they have advanced in al prosperity. On the contrary, they have material prosperity. On the contrary, they have moved faster along the path towards an exalted religious faith, during the past quarter of a century, than lightenment and expansion of their Religion in the direction of an inspired Humanitarianism. The Religions of the past have chiefly been the absorption of man in God, and his consequent degradation as a being of this world. Christianity was originally the an nunciation of God in man; and the people of the Northern States of this republic have more clearly ap-prehended that essential feature of Christianity than the whole church of the past eighteen centuries.

Religion, in these States, during the period name has flowed with a steady current towards the recogni tion of the Divine in Human Nature, and the cons cration of human affairs. The Delty has chiefly beer worshipped on the side of his Infinity that h turned towards man, and best known as the Father, the omnipresent familiar Love. Jesus has been chiefly esteemed for his glorious Manhood, even in the churches that proclaim him God Almighty. The Scriptures have been drawn forth from the artificial sanc tity of cabalistic and priestly documents, and studied as the summit of human religious literature; and the characters and events therein described adjusted to their place in the history of mankind. Man has been regarded more in the light of his divine capacities an magnificent latent powers, than for what he actually is. The rights of man to all the freedom essential to develop that nature into divine proportions, have been every year more loudly asserted; and, as a conse-quence, all unboly institutions, inhuman relations and degrading social habits have more and more come under the condemnation of Religion; while Philanthro py has been the watchword of the most energetic ents of the day.

Living, as the present generation of Northern people has, in the very thick of this great onward in pulse, being themselves in the marching ranks of the great army of advance, they have hardly comprehended the impetus with which their order of society has gone on, and the depth to which the popular river, it has sped along, bearing conservative and radi-cal towards a point far ahead of the suspicion of either. Our Northern controversies between Orthodox an Liberal, Democrat and Republican, have been like th disputes of passengers in a fast-sailing boat. The hunker could be at the wheel, and the radical stir up the coals in the furnace, but both were in a ship headed the same way, both equally interested that it should be kept affoat. Of course, the velocity of the ald only be indicated by some great obstacle. In the North, there has been no obstacle large enough to materially impede the current. If, in districts, it has appeared to be clogged, so that impatient voyager it hardly appeared to move, in others it has glided on like a si-lent fate speeding to its destiny. One obstacle alone has been strong enough to check, temporarily, this tremendous sweep of the higher American life. The slave society of fifteen States gathering about it all the venerable associations of an obsolete theology, a decaying social aristocracy, and the monarchical princi in politics, has, during our remembrance, frown across the channel of this freshet like a grea mud island mountain, heaped with the refuse of cen-turies. Against that island have the grand waves of our civilization dashed with a maddening agitation pouring on in a more terrific force.

could learn the tendencies of Northern civili We could learn the tendencies of Northern civili-zation only by the outcry that came up against it from the land of oppression. One gathering shrick has come ringing from that quarter of the earth against us, as an infidel, anarchical, aggressive state of society. The far-seeing men of the South have med to vital distinction between our classes, parties and sects, for they have seen, what we did not, that we

were all headed one way. Our religion was driving towards the exaltation of Human Nature, and would inevitably carry every thing along with it, and fieredly precipitate Northern society in a war against their barbarism. Their efforts to resist this coward movement have always been regarded as temporary by themselves, and for the last thirty years used as the prelude to a dissolution of the Union. They have gradually sought to estrange their people from ours, to confirm their tendencies of society which differed from ours. They have forced out their progressive clairs into the North, and kept away the radical emigration from Europe. Their theology has retreated more and more towards mediaval absurdity, and their churches have parted from Northern fellowship as fast as could be. They have closed up their States against our literature, and stifled the expression of adverse opinions on all topics. Thus have they silently prepared the road of retreat to fee from us as soon as our first great political victory should come.

That battle was won last year. Whatever the pol ticians meant by it is of no consequence. God Almight lightened and sensible advanced men of the South were to be set above the mob of despots that had se regenerating the worst and restoring the 'vilest to the bosom of the Almighty Love.

So has the great cause of American Christian Civilization sent its John the Baptist down into the wilderness to preach—"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Our Prophet is a patriotic army of 300,000 men, marching, into the abodes of disorder, despotism and revolt, to announce the coming of a power whose shoe-latchet it is unworthy to unlose; severally correment should attempt to abolds slavery. for them to open the South to the influence of mor ideas were a sentence of that barbarism to a integration and death. The leaders of Sou saw themselves beaten on the field of ideas; and, such men always do, refused to submit, and appealed to the sword. The North responded like the break ing up of ice in her great rivers in the Spring, and is now flowing towards that devoted region,-an occa of steady power, every sparkling drop an armed ma

We have no disposition to shirk the responsibilit

for this conflict before the nations of the earth, in th war just as Jesus was responsible for the war just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of Judas and Pilate: just as Pental for the crime of the das and Pilate; just as Paul and the primitive churc were responsible for the martyrdoms inflicted by the emperor of Rome; just as Luther caused the Thirty Years' war; and our American ancestors the war o the Revolution; and every advance causes the resi tance and tumult inaugurated by its enemies. Trul prevail. If the obstacle is not too strong, the triumph is peaceful; otherwise, the victory comes through blood. The leaders of society in the South refused to be regenerated, however peacefully, by the advancing power of the purest religion and the highest modern life. In their madness, they have charged us with tyranny, and arrayed their people against us as en-emies. We accept their challenge. We, in behalf of God and Christ, and Humanity and Liberty, are the foes of all their evil, the friends of themselves and their posterity. Had they cooperated with us in building up a true Republic, there would have been no war. They grasped the sword to destroy the Re-public, and must abide the issue of the conflict. They are in a great hurry to destroy us; we are able to take our time to save them. Thus has come about this civil war, as we hear it called. It means that a higher form of religion had carried the society of th finding there a hundred thousand armed men opposing its passage, has gathered about it the tremendo cies of our modern life, and prepared to cross border and regenerate the country down to the Gulf, and out to the Pacific.

2d. From this point of view, we can discover the tru relation of this war of Independence to the religious advancement of the country. On the side of the North, it is a part of a great movement towards a high-er American faith, which shall include a purer civiler American faith, which shall include a pure ization. We are not now waging war to exter any class of men, or to crush out any social order by the n heel of military despotism. We have now no inten tion of subjugating the most unruly State to the condi tion of a conquered province. The mission of our arms is the same as our ideas, to develop a higher condition of ociety by the protection of the best elements of Republica overnment against their foes. There are more than to righteous men in every seceding community who, it otected and permitted to inaugurate a better tendence of affairs can finally regenerate their Sodom. The most violent confederate State contains citizens enough who are not only loyal to the Union, but desire to make the Union a Christian Democracy. It is the vocation of the military power to suppress the despotism that now crushes these men into the dust; to vindicate for them the right to use all legitimate means of eleva ting their own communities. There are also hundreds of thousands of deluded people who suppose that, in fighting their national government, they are resisting the most odious tyranny. It is the purpose of our military organization to dispel this illusion, and show these misguided soldiers their grievous misake. There is a political theory widely prevalen that palsies the loyalty of thousands of sincere and e men. We are to teach these speculators tha annation men. We are to teach these speculators than there is a nationality on this continent that, in the name of God and humanity, as well as by legal right claims their allegiance in behalf of mankind. There are also wicked and turbulent leaders to be defeated disgraced, and disposed of in a way that will best fu ther the great interests at stake in this contest.

Our army is therefore the rod in the hand of a pa ternal government, for correction and regeneration Never was it, therefore, so important as now that the nilitary should be held in strict subordination to the ivil power. The splendid volunteer force of 300,000 protection of our nationality, must be a machine in the hands of our governm nt to develop a reliabl patriotism. It is no crusaders' irrespo swung by flerce impulse against a barbar not an aggregate of petty armies, marshalled by par tisan leaders for demoralizing border warfare. It is in leed a fearful thing to behold an army of Europea limensions enrolled on our peaceful soil, and we mu all try to understand its legitimate use, or we sha and our remedy as hard to bear as our disease. Th not forget the cause of this colli army to remove that obstruction, so that American civilization may go on in its course of peacefu reconstruction of society. That military power mus be held tightly elenched in the hand of the civil au guided by the most comprehensive licy towards offenders. The voice of o higher civilization, speaking through our vigorous an humane administration, has already cried out "To thy tents, O Israe!"; and a mighty host has responded to the cry. The same power now commands us to restrain our impatience, while that assemblage of patriotic and intelligent citizens are taught the art of We must cease from our frantic cries fo mmediate and brilliant operations, and wait till ou army can go forth, arrayed with all that modern sci o and skill can devise. Then, if the interests of nationality demand a blow, let it fall like the bolt out of heaven, and crush whatever comes within it range. If comprehensive Christian statesmanshi nds us to wait for months, and hang over the

As far as I am able to see, the administration has vidently prepared to make this use of our army; to amploy it as an instrument for regenerating the South lever did a government begin a contest against a relicious district in a more Christian spirit. It has had noble auxiliary in our great Commander-in-Chief chose successes have never left a stain on American whose successes have never left a stain on American annals. Already we have seen enough to divine the spirit of the war; and we can point triumphantly to our volunteer army, in contrast with the host arrayed against it. Never did two hostile camps more certainly symbolize the ideas they are set to enforce. The army of treason, in its march, forces every country back to the condition of barbarism. It sweeps the land clean of the great public works that are the glory of our free industry. It burns the railroad bridge; blows up the dam; drains the canal; tears up the rails; cuts the wires of the telegraph, sets its privateers upon our commerce; plunders the farm; shints up the manufactory and the mine, and impresses the mechanic; destroys the property of its enemy; repudiates all mercantile obligations and plunders lit own people of their chief staples, under the transparent sophism of a cotton loan. It muzzles the press and tramples out free speech; closes the church and ophism of a cotton loan. It muzzles the pres nples out free speech; closes the church and school, and forces master and pupil, priest and parisl into the ranks. It is an army of destruction, a beas of ten horns and ten iron feet, butting, kicking, tram pling and bellowing against everything that wears the form of modern civilization. Its weapons are broker oaths, perjured faith, official theft, grand and peti larceny. It has yet not advanced one step beyond the original Indian method of warfare. Whenever its can prevail by overpowering preponderance of num-bers, or take advantage of the civilized forbearance of its foe, or skulk in ambuscade, it fights. Whenever challenged to open conflict, it flies or falls. Its gen-erals keep up the spirit of the rank and file by the stupid lies that our President is a sot; our cities in rebellion; our soldiers insatiate and lustful beasts our population a second edition of the Goths and Var It is the same kind of host and works by the conspirators against humanity has gathered in past days to affront mankind.

We have an army that for intelligence, cool and rational comprehension of its cause, bravery and en-durance, subordination and patriotic fervor, is unpar-alleled in the annals of the world. Behind it, proalleled in the annais of the second the arts of peace. Society in the North has undergone no essential change by the detailment of 300,000 from its midst. Wherever it moves, carrying the banner of American hope and prophecy, disorder subsides, industry is rerailroad is rebuilt, the river span wire re-united, the press, free discussion, absolute safety to all the interests of life reappear. It is the destroyed by rebellion, but carrying an adverse society army of restoration; not only replacing what has been destroyed by rebellion, but carrying new ideas into an adverse society. 300,000 pair of sharp eyes will now behold the nakedness that slavery and op-pression have brought on a glorious country, and the innacy to which it has reduced a noble people. 300,000 busy brains will pender the mighty lesson; and, if we mistake not, this march is the prophecy of nnacy to which it has reduced a noble a future immigration even more significant than the exodus out of Europe to America. Our army is to be the first practical manifestation of Northern civiliza-tion to the masses in the South. I have no apprehension for its bravery, endurance, zeal. I have an abiding hope that the ideas of our greatest statesmen true representation to that distracted region, not only of our invincible power and fertility of resource, but of the virtues and spirit that propose to restore and not

I fear more than anything, especially in view of occasional defeat and outrage, that low ferocity, which, under the guise of patriotic ardor, is clamoring, through a portion of the press and upon the streets, for a war of extermination. The foremost journals of the coun try appear to me to be so bewildered by the glare of bayonets, that they do not see the men beyond. It is easy to understand how a belligerent editor, or a merchant infuriated by the destruction of his business, o a politician on the chase for power, should thus seek to change the whole character of this war. It is al-ready proclaimed, in the leading journal of the city of New York, that this is not a political, but a military war. With all deference to the statergists of the Tra ment, going forth to restore a deluded people to alle giance, and not a military despotism ready to depos ophy, because it is not forcible, but weak, as barbarisn always is. The United States government, if in-spired by the force of modern civilization, can use a great army in the office of restoring the Union, on a higher basis than it has ever rested. Its force is not so much the logic of the bullet, the cartridg and the cannon, as the varied, far-reaching power of a mighty civilization, concentrated against a mad rebellion. Our greatest forces are behind our bayonets; we use them only to clear away the lumber that impedes us. Our army of three hundred thousand is only a band of pioneers, sent southward to level the mountains and fill the valleys, and make everywhere pathway for the approach of the second host of twent million of freemen, who will shoot through all the realms of darkness the rays of light and love and peace. If civilization demands the gallows for any rebel leader, the destruction of any stronghold of treason, the forcible sundering of any order of society, we must submit. But let our force be that of Providence, that only sends the freshet to fertilize the field, and the thunderstorm to purify the air. If our army can vindicate on every rood of our vast territory the right of free expression for American ideas, it will be the most magnificent victory ever achieved; a new revelation in warfare, as our system is in poli Christian man and woman strengthen the hands o the government to do that, irresistibly, but in the spirit of humanity and parental discipline, which shall chain these rebellious communities to us by an innd. Then this year's war will be only an episode in the grand drama of the establishment of

a higher religion and society on American soil. Indeed, it is our peculiar glory that we are strong enough to dispense with all rashness, revenge, piracy or rapine. We cannot afford to violate one precept of Christianity, in our dealing with our rebellious fellow sitizens. A barbarism that is smitten with mortal disease may as well die cursing and foaming; it is already damned, and it is only the difference of a few degrees of penal heat in hell whether it perishes deently or wrathfully. The men who lead this rebel ion, and the disorder of society they represent, have already done enough to cover themselves with infamy while the world shall last; they can afford to assassinate, rob, repudiate debts, murder for opinion's sake legalize savage modes of warfare, or whatever will console them amid the pangs of dissolving nature. whelm them is only in the beginning of its illustriou history; is to stretch down into ages of light and en every dark blood-spot on its rol nany, to disgrace our country by one questionable . It is warring in the view of heaven, and all represents heaven on earth; let its advance be ent the benediction of an all-wise and loving Provi-

3d. But let us look beyond this transient collision of arms to the more important movement of which it is the noisy herald. What has the new enthusiasm of the last months already done for the cause of advanced Religion; and if we prove worthy our mission, what nts may we hope from it in the approaching future!

The lover of a progressive Religion has only rea-

son to rejoice, thus far, over the great uprising of our

It has already united good men of all religi in a bond more vital than their sectar creeds in a bond more vital than their sectarian church. It is wonderful how these high walls of the-ological separation, that seemed unscalable six months ago, have suddenly turned out only walls of paper, "rolling together like a scroll" in the fervent heat of roung together are a serior in the error that we this great practical revival of manliness. I know the hearts of a hundred priests the day after the bombardment of Sumter better than from all our previous life together. We always ladt know these theological fortifications in which we played at besieging logical fortifications in which we played at besieging one another were the amusement of our idle years. That Sundity, we ceased the sham-fight of creeds and Pasim-books, overleaped our petty ditches, and clasped one another's hands, as we all fell into line at the call of Humanity. If that day severed a thousand hearts from us in the regions of rebellion, it brought together tens of thousands of religious souls that had all their lives imagined themselves each other's enemics.

It has also revealed to multitudes of men their real religious creed. In times of peace, when the social proprieties rule, it is hard for any body to know what he actually believes about God, man, duty, destiny. We fall among sets of people, schools, churches, cliques, and are overlaid by their platitudes till we imagine ourselves of them, and go on in parrot like

the President's proclamation was a call to every American—Right about! Face yourself!" Each of us, as our eye fell on the journal that Monday morn-ing, found himself confronted with a stranger—his own spirit. Many a spiritual braggart qualled that morning; many a modest man or woman shot up into a hero or a heroine; many a boy sauntered down to station a new-born man; many a parson shed his sur-plice and loosed his neckcloth, and stood up like unto his brethren. Men are now acting out what they really believe. Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, throws his canonicals out the window, and, waving aloft his commission of Brigadier from Jefferson Davis, pro nimself openly the pirate he always was at heart Dr. Spring, in the sleepy sancti church," hears the war-cry on Bro attic and tears down his father's old continental mus ket and regimentals, marches over to Philadelphia, and in a voice that makes the bones of Israel Putnam and Ethan Allen stir in their coff Old School Presbyterian Church to "present arms! We are all so mixed nowadays, that nobody knows his We are all so mixed nowadays, that nobody knows had old associates. The slumbering convictions that lay underneath the superficial crust of our humdrum life have exploded, hutling many of us "into the middle of next week," as the children say. There is a hail storm of ecclesiastics—churchmen who have thus been shot out of the opinions of the middle ages into the middle of the interestic terms. middle of the nineteenth century. It is beautiful to see the enthusiasm of these newly-awakened men; it is good to be reinforced by their burning zeal. We shall never again distrust human nature as we did; but know that Truth only is biding her time

when she seems dead.

There was never a time when man stood so well in the Church in America as to-day. A mighty practi cal danger has blown away, for the time, the cloud-land of future perdition for the non-elect. care now in the sanctuary is, how to feed, or nurse and cheer the soldier; how to keep the wolf from the door of his home while he fights for the Republic; how to console the widow and mother; how to dispose of the captive; how to care for the fugitive. This is only a beginning of a great career of Christian philanthropy. What a change, when fishionable young ladies no longer work altar-cloths and slippers and bands for the priest, but havelocks, and handkerchiefs, and solid trowsers for the soldier The next half century is to tax the practical power of the churches in caring for the race of bondmen who will be emancipated, and keeping up with the rush of emigration that our new States upon us. God will be served through good deeds done to his children.

And it is good to have such an expose of the ultra

pietism and ecclesiasticism in the American Church as now appears. Without exception, this side of our religion has thrown out the pirate's flag and gone over to the enemy. Through the whole revolted rerion, the Church plumed itself on its severe conserva tism in creed and policy. We now see that ecclesias tical infallibility means treason to Republican institu-tion. This revolution has struck the Roman Catholic Church amidships. It has demonstrated in America what the uprising of nationality has revealed in Italy, that the mass of adherents to this church, like all others, follow their priesthood just to the point where they resist modern society, and then leave them to prayers. The cry of American Freedom in her hour of peril brought Patrick and Herman to their feet, and when they had their hands upon the musket and were marching down to Washington, the Bishop wisely concluded to hang out the flag. Henceforth, the priesthood of this church, too, must follow, not lead the people. Twenty million of freemen will see what kind of religion is best for perilous times; whether rational Massachusetts or superstitious Lou isiana started first to relieve the capital. Religious infallibility means slavery of the soul, as treason means slavery for the laborer. Our people will put

these things together, and act accordingly.

It is a great thing thus to unite good men of all churches; to awaken the real creed of all citizens; to exalt man to his place in religious affairs; to unn ecclesiastical infallibility. It clears the way for much that is to come; it shows how much the Reformation has already accomplished. None of us dared to hope we had so shaken the foundations of religious despotism that one three-month would cast down so much that now lies flat, never again to rise. The spectacle is full of hope to the apostle of a pure and free Religion. For if this conflict is carried through as it can be and the Union reëstablished upon the overthrow of the right of secession and the black power that has dominated so long over us placed for ever in a secondary position, there will be such a mission ary field opened for our advanced Protestant Chris-tianity as this century has not witnessed. The South is not a land of darkness and decay, so much as a region arrested in its development by the temporary ascendancy of an insolent civil and religious aristodread of violence; show to the poor white where his interest lies; summon the latent culture and humanity that now slumber on so many lazy plantations to th the best ideas of modern society as will gladden all our hearts. The communities upon the border of the disputed territory are to be awakened to a new sense of religious need. Pennsylvania is to be aroused as by a great trumpet from her corrupt and sleeping conservatism of the past, and become conscious of her destiny in the coming regeneration. Maryland and Missouri are to come out of a baptism of fire, new communities. Washington is henceforth to be the ase of operations whence all those religious and so that have prevailed at the North are to radiate towards the tropics. The schoolmaster, the lec-turer, the free editor, the liberal preacher, will follow the flag, arousing the people who rejoice beneath its folds to a new sense of the grandeur of life in this new day. Before the gradual uplifting of the popular faith, slavery and the whole order of society it represents, or whatever of it survives the violence ordeal of battle, will gradually disintegrate and change

The condition of society in the Gulf States of this Republic is the logical child of the Spanish style of Religion and Government that was first planted in the New World. The spirit of that occupation was the New World. The spirit of that could not be en-staved to its gloomy faith and tyrannical politics. The animus of this rebellion against modern ideas is that old black blood coursing through the veins of the statesmen and generals and social aristocracy of that region. It has made a rush upward against the pro-

gressive life that dominates in the North, and, for a time, conquered a part of the border States for in battle-ground. This invasion means just what the great Spanish armada meant when it sailed up the English Channel; it moves upward with the tun randiloquent boasts and temporary success; it will end back under bare poles before the Northern whist scan acces under eary poics before the Northern while, wind, as did that distracted armament. The Precat end of this Northern struggle will be to carry our religious and social ideas down to the lowland ridge inhabited by the spiritual descendants of Certes and the French discoverers of the Mississipp. The be-der States will be saved to our civilization; whether der States will be saved to our civilization; whether the order of society that now crushes the Gulf reion will be gradually destroyed, or retire nearer the equator, is for the future to determine. But the Quator, is for the future to determine. But the carrying along with it an advancing Gulfization Whatever names the faith of the Republic saven ever names the faith of the Repub Catholic, evangelical, rationalisticthat infullible ecclesiasticisms, priesthoads and creds sell retire with the rebellion, and the Religion of God. love of man follow our arms as they gle der the sun of tropic skies.

Men on the eve of destruction often become proph ts. When the Senators of old Virginia in the last ets. When the Senators of old Virginia in the last Congress proclaimed that the Union was dead, and only a reconstructed Union possible, they were speak-ing by the inspiration of God. What they mean by "reconstruction" we all know; what God mean has manifested itself aiready among the mountains of their nanifested itself already among the mountains of their own State. Old Virginia claims to be the mother of the Union established by her great statesmen. new Virginia may be given the sublime office of innew Union in which all things will augurants are new ornor in water an units wa first be spiritually "reconstructed" in behalf of liberty and mankind; and gradually all institutions be made to conform to this exalted ideas. Let no man be so weak as to suppose all this is to be completed in his generation; but let no man be so foolish as to doubt that it must come with the growth of years. in the twilight of a new day, in which the fidelity of our people will meet a great recompense. The poorest use a friend of progress now can make of his influence use a friend or projectes not make on us inneance is to croak at to-day because it is not full of result that are sure to appear to our children. The best use to which we can all put our lives is to keep the use to which we can an put our nives as to keep the spirit of the people high, patriotic, indomitable; sid our government to crush rebellion against its authority; and stand behind the line of bayonets with the sharper. weapons of a progressive Christianity and pure society, ready to regenerate our falling foes, and con-firm our new friends. Patriotism, for once in the history of man, means the best religion; and the "Union" we seek to reëstablish that of with we seek to reëstablish that of which th Master prayed, "that they all may be one." work hard, take long and broad views, trust in man, and believe in Almighty God; for surely we are building the highway over which the powers of the coming age of light and peace and love shall march triumphantly to the kingdom of heaven on earth.

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