EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6 ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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All remittances are to be made, and all lett to the pocuniary concerns of the paper are to be ted (FOST PAID) to the General Agent. Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents p

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pen r The Agents of the American, Massachusette, Fe mis, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies orised to receive subscriptions for The LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial (committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the part, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund paper, viz.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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VOL. XXXI. NO. 34.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1600.

The United States Constitution is "a od

d with successful and exclusive separate and exclusive, in the Handling owners of slaves, in the Property of the Senate and in the Property in the interest of power in the interest of the highest state of the highest st

with death, and an agreement with hell."

Refuge of Oppression.

THE POLICY OF THE PEOPLE.

A revival of the Crittenden Compromise, or the A revival of the Crittenden Compromise, or the presentation of any basis of a similar nature for the settlement of dir national difficulties, will soon be THE PEOPLE. There are strong indications of the appearance of a sober second thought, which, when fairly placed before the elliphtened classes, who are at present so much in two of a continuance of the war, must produce a more respectful entertainment of the Kentucky statesman's wise, as well as fraternal plan. History is now furnished with the "actual cause" of the existing conflict — the responsible party is known—and, instead of urging us as a nation to the verge, perhaps, of extermination, they should be held in the light of revolutionists, as selfish as they are fareful.

who may have conscientiously opposed th eation of the war, have not been ignorant of the fact that Senator Seward's best Friends have openly beaned that he, with other members of the Repub-fican Cabinet, FORCED THE PEOPLE OF CHARLESTON TO FIRE UPON THE FLAG. Is truth, many Republicans hove been elated with what they have called "the most splendid diploma-ic act" of the Auburn Secretary,—in a word, the

act" of the Auburn Secretary,—in a word, the nguration of the war.

Let these things be kept before the public, and in 10 the habit of condemning honest citizens for sets sentiments applied with firmness and ability inst the party spirit which yet lurks among the ductors of the war, let the "policy of the peo
"— the adoption of the Crittenden Comprose,—be an object of unceasing effort.

We are not destitate of a proper regard for the whings of any man who may have been not only companion but the follower of Henry Clay; and mag the Republicans it is but reasonable to ask by they, who in former years clung to the princise of that noble soul of the West, cannot now raland endorse the mediation of his best friend?

CITIZEN.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION ..

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

Missus. Editions.—Mr. Wendell Phillips, in an arbires delivered August 1st, represents the condition and circumstances of the negroes in the West links since Emancipation so entirely different from all the facts and statistics, that, in my opinion, they should not be allowed to be spread broadcast over the North at the present time without a rofutation. I am aware that it is a hopeless task to combat the lerion of falsehoods put forth by the fanatics of the Aboliton school; but a few of the facts, which are indisputable, as to the consequences of emancipation in the West Indies, may at the present time do god. Mr. Phillips represents the negroes as os showed and thrifty, that they are not necessitated to labor for others. He says, "the real complaint has never been, that the black man would not work." And again, "England exports to these idnals, I may safely say, double—perhaps I might say four times the amount of manufactured articles that she did in the days of slavery. There has been moment when two looms in England were not kept active to supply the demand of the West Indies, for one before."

Now what are the real facts, as shown by official Messus, Epitors,-Mr. Wendell Phillips, in an

pt active to supply the demand of the West Ins, for one before."

Now what are the real facts, as shown by official
ures, statistics, and the solemn testimony of their
n historians? In Porter's Progress of the Naa, we find that the exports of British produce
d manufactures to the West Indies, in the year
18, the year of emancipation, amounted to the sum
13,393,441. In 1841, only three years after the
nancipation Act, it had decreased to £2,504,004;
din 1849, only reached the sum of £1,821,146.
1838, Jannaica exported 69,613 hhds. sugar, 2,7,540 lbs. ginger, and 13,551,725 lbs. of coffee,
1850, the exports had fallen to 36,000 hhds. of
par, 729,276 lbs. of ginger; 3,127,2% lbs. of coffee,
din 1857, she exported 30,459 hds. of sugar,
4,157 lbs. of ginger, and 7,095,623 lbs. of coffee,
shows conclusively that the productions of the
land have diminished more than one half since the
man-ipation Act; and the legitimate conclusion to
drawn is, that if the negroes only produce onelif what they did before emancipation, they only
we one-half the means to purchase British manuctures.

tures.

It may not be affiss to close this communication a short extract from the History of Europe, by Archibald Alison, the eminent English historian. man is more jealous of the glory of England than and it is his boast, as well as of every other glishman, that no slaves breathe the air upon the lof England or her colonies. I quote from Vol. of the 2d series, pages 142, 143:

"It is difficult to say whether the West India proprietors, the negro population in the islands, the sable inhabitants of Africa, or the manufacturers of the mother country, have suffered most from the change. It appears from pastiamentary returns that the produce of Jamaica, within three years after emancipation took effect, had decreased a third, and within ten years, that of the whole West Indies had fullen off a half. As might be expected, with so proligious a decline in the produce of these once magnificent settlements, that the means these in-labitants enjoyed of purchasing comforts and luxures, the exports of British manufactures and produce to the West Indies had diminished a half." Mr. Alison further says: "Disastrous as the results have been to the British interests, both at home and in the West Indies, they are nothing to those which have ensued to the negroes themselves. Generally speaking, the incipient civilization of the negro has been arrested by his emancipation; with the cessation of forced labor, the habits and tastes which pring from and compensate it have disappeared, and savage habits and pleasures have resumed their ascendancy over the sable race. The attempts to instruct and civilize them have, for the most part, proved a failure, the dolce far niente, equally dear to instruct and civilize them have, for the most part, proved a failure, the dolce far niente, expally dear to the unlettered savage as the effeminate European, has resumed its sway, and the emancipated Africans dispersed in the woods, or in cabine erected amidst the ruined plantations, are fast relapsing into the state is which their ancestors were, when torn from their natives of histories or directed to was not and the state is which their ancestors were, when torn from their natives are the resumed to the results that the results have results the results of the state in which their ancestors were, when torn from their native seats by the rapacity of Christian avaience. Negro emancipation has not failed because it was prompted by benevolent motives or directed to philanthropic ends, but because, in the prosecution of these cuts, the lessons of experience and the observation of facts were utterly disregarded. The latter were brought before the people in the most forcible manner, but met with no sort of attention, the public mind being entirely carried away by the alluring phantom of DESTROYED SLAVERY. They made the savage free, without his having gained the faculty of self-direction; thence the failure of the whole measures, and the unutterable miseries with which

stood on British soil. They learned a lesson on that day, which, we trust, they will never forget.

But to the programme of the occasion. The meeting was called to order, and D. Macfarlaue, Esq., was chosen President. He thanked the audience for the honor conferred upon him, and introduced, in a very happy manner, the orator of the day, Mr. Wm. J. Watkins. The large audience evinced an ardent desire to see and hear this gentleman, on account of his reputation as a popular orator. His speeches, reported in the Globe, through our recent political struggle, have won for him a reputation which those might covet who prate about "negro inferiority." Mr. Watkins was in his happiest mood, and spoke for three hours, being enthusiastically applauded during the delivery of his masterly oration. He briefly reviewed the history of the British West India Emancipation movement, and dwelt upon the fact that it was through continued agitation on the part of British philanthropists, that the grand consummation was effected. In this connection, he eloquently adverted to the labors of the American abolitionists for the overthrow of slavery in that Republic. Men and women, said he, often cling to the illusory imagings of error with as much tenacity as to the living realities of an axiomatic truth. It is not easy to tear away the mould-covered hatchways of old, and venerated theories, so that heaven's sunlight may reveal their native ugliness; nor is it a light task to pluck up the deep-rooted foundations of systems and institutions which have received the baptism of centuries. But the law of progress is the law of God. And the history of the world assures us, that in the institutions when have received the captism of centuries. But the law of progress is the law of God. And the history of the world assures us, that in the irrepressible development of this primal law, there has always arrived an era when all opposition has proved abortive, and the truth has beamed out upon the darkness, in all its incandescent glory; when its property of the graye, has instituted but the property of the graye, has a short extract from the History of Europe, by Archibald Alison, the eminent English historian. Dani is more jealous of the glory of England than, and it is his boast, as well as of every other glishman, that no slaves breathe the air upon the of England or her colonies. I quote from Vol. of the 2d series, pages 142, 143:

"It is difficult to say whether the West India portions, what the slave power have thrown up, said he, a highway through which the oppressed shall yet reach the star-spanged goal of their aspirators.

Cause of chalacteristics.

Mr. Chresoox (the Hon. Secretary) then read letters expressing sympathy with the meeting from T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M. P., Gen. Perronet Thompson, and Gen. Dupuy, the Haytian Minister. Gen. Thompson in his letter said:— If the British West India Islands, on the first appointment of a Ministry inimical to slavery, had done what has been done by the Seceding States—stormed the forts occupied by the troops of the Sovereign, privateered against the commerce of the country, and raised regiments with Lord Grey's coffin for a standard.—I suppose nobody doubts what would have been the course pursued as the means of removing the whole mischief with the least amount of blood and danger. An English commander-in-chief as he found himself in command of a competent force, he did not move forward with a declaration of this kind—'Slavery is non-existent in all places occupied by the British forces. Slaves are invited to make no movement before the liberating force arrives in their own parish. Violence out of the field of combat, either by whites or colored, will be put down by military force as soon as they can be reached. As fast as any district is occupied, volunteers from the colored population will be invited to join the three West India Regiments and the Lard Transport Corps, on terms which will be notified. Planters willing to continue their works by giving present support to their laborers, will receive immunity for the past, on entering the British camp, and military protection for the future. Vagrants found committing depredations will be sent to a punishment-gang. It is submitted that a general officer who did not do something like this, would lose caste; and that those who should try to hinder him, would be defective either in judgment or in principle."

him, would be detective either in judgment or in principle."

The Rev. W. H. Bonner was then called upon to move the first resolution, which was to the following effect:—"That on this, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, this meeting would joyfully record the satisfaction which it feels in the retrospect of the results which have followed from the Emacipation Act of 1833, which have demonstrated that that Act was not one more of national justice than of sound policy; it would also rejoice in the fact that the liberated population have, by their conduct, triumphantly vindicated their capacity for freedom, as well as their right to it, and have demonstrated the safety and advantage as well as the duty and necessity of immediate and unconditional emancipation." The Rev. gentleman, in the course of his remarks, read a long and interesting communication from Mr. Roycroft, a missionary just returned from San Domingo, upon the condition and prospects of the colored race upon Turk's Island and in San Domingo and interesting communication. upon Turk's Island and in San Do

The Rev. Dr. Hewlet seconded the resolution. He said it had cost the country twenty millions sterling to liberate the slaves in the West Indies, but never were twenty millions better laid out than in this cause. This was the universal opinion of Englishmen of the present day, but his friend, Mr. George Thompson, would very well recollect the opposition at that time to emancipation. It proceeded, however, from those who had vested interests in the continuance of slavery, and seldom from those who could judge with honesty and impartiality. Notwithstanding the sterling value of able-bodied slaves, they were not treated with the care which any Essex farmer would bestow upon

The aggressions of the slave power have thrown upon as all he, a highway through which the oppressed shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the slave power have thrown upon the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the slave power have thrown the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the slaves, they were not treated with the slave proves the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aggression of the shall yet reach the star shall provide the shall yet reach the star shall provide the shall yet reach the star shall provide shall yet reached the star shall provide shall yet reached the propriet of the Canadas, to a committee of gentlemen residing in Toronto, was quoted developed and is a more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of slavery. The cestates are much believed that the time of slavery the sale with the united states and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented. The improvement which has taken by lace in the religious condition of all classes, and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly the proprie

it has been attended. Such have been the consequences of seeking prematurely to enancipsis menquences of the form of the province of the feed of the seek and the warring element historian. Shall we profit by the lesson? If my feebe we had not always the seek of the province of the feed of the province of the feed of the province of the feed of the province of the province. The chief celebration was at Drummondville. The day was bright was the proper of the province. The chief celebration was at Drummondville. The day was bright most lovely appared. The inhaliatant of the wild must be untiful; it seemed that nature had donned her most lovely appared. The inhaliatant of the wild must be commodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but not lovely appared. The inhaliatant of the wild hence the bodget. There are in that vicinity a large number of self-enancipated slaves — those who cross one manufactures, and an always was beautiful; it seemed that nature had donned her most lovely appared. The inhaliatant of the wild have been commodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but no longer driven by the lash to unreach a becommodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but no longer driven by the lash to unreach a becommodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but no longer driven by the lash to unreach a becommodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but no longer driven by the lash to unreach a becommodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but no longer driven by the lash to unreach a burden by the commodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden, but no longer driven by the lash to unreach a burden by the commodities, bought and sold as beasts of burden by th

Mr. Washington Wilkes, in supporting the resolution, said, whatever might be the degree of the period with which they regarded the issue of the war, they could not but deplore the fact itself. When the scene of war is not the ocean, the comon pathway between nation and nation, but the soil on which both combatants were born, how much compate, were its becreak. Men from North and soil on which both combatants were born, how mucin greater were its horrors! Men from North and South intermarried, and intermingled so that no one could tell on seeing an American from what State he came, what side in the struggle he would take. (Hear, hear.) We could only regard the Ameri-cans as another branch of the same great family with ourselves, so closely were we identified in lan-mage, in history. in religion, and almost in laws. with ourselves, so closely were we identified in language, in history, in religion, and almost in laws in pointing out, therefore, the causes and the issues of this war, let the language of sympathy towards their brethren be used. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the cause of the war, they could but feel that the language of the resolution was a truism, and that only by the destruction of slavery could the war be lastingly terminated. (Cheers.) That had been the evil and bitter root which had brought forth the harvest of disaster. They could not blame the founders of the Republic. No men could be more pure from human passion and infirmity than they who laid the foundation of that noble structure. It was not now a question of liberty, for the slave only, but of liberty for the white population of the North as well, for the South demanded nothing less than this — that no man should speak or print a word against slavery, or do a single act which should North as well, for the South demanded nothing less than this—that no man should speak or print a word against slavery, or do a single act which should help a slave to escape: Suppose their elect were placed in the chair of the Father of the Republic; give to them a facile Congress; allow them to recast the American statute-book: they would so pervert the Constitution that America, instead of being the widest canopy of freedom under heaven, would become the darkest den of despotism. (Hear, hear.) Years ago, their own poet had warned them when he said,—

ed, of future wars might be removed, and that great nation be made free, and one with us, in spreading the principles of liberty all over the globe. (Cheers.)

"There is a poor, blind Samson in the land."

(Cheers.) We repeat the warning to-day, and we say, "Be wise in time; be generous, and thereby say, "Be wise in time; be generous, and thereby prove yourselves sagacious." They had met that night to commemorate a great act of justice, and on this occasion he hoped they would address the "american people through the press in the language of generorsquarent to the cause of justice. American people through the press in the language of encouragement to the cause of justice. Mr. Wilkes then referred to the annexation of San Domingo by Spain, urging the duty of England to protest against such an outrage on international law, and concluded amidst loud cheers.

The CHAIRMAN announced that John Anderson was to be placed for his education under the care of Dr. Hewlett, and also that a benevolent lady had volunteered to buy his wife and children out of slavery forthwith. These statements were received with great applause.

slavery forthwith. These statements were received slavery forthwith. These statements were received with great applause.

Mr. Thomeson moved and Mr. Emenezer Burn the seconded a supplementary resolution to the following effect:— That this meeting desires to express, in emphatic terms, its indignant reprobation of the conduct of Spain in annexing the negro republic of San Domingo by the combined influences of treachery and armed force; that it deeply sympathizes I with the Dominican people, who have been made to suffer this grievous wrong, and also with their Haydian time fellow-countrymen, who are placed in a position of great difficulty and danger; and, lastly, it requests the chairman, of its behalf, to make known to her Majesty's Foreign Secretary the strong conviction it entertains that England has not fulfilled the day, in this matter, inasmuch as she has failed the day, in this matter, inasmuch as she has failed the day, in this matter, inasmuch as she has failed the day in the strong of which Spain has in emphatic terms, its indignant reprobation of the conduct of Span in annexing the negro republic of San Domingo by the combined influences of treachery and armed force; that it deeply sympathics with the Dominican people, who have been made to suffer this grievous wrong, and also with their Haptian fellow-countrymen, who are placed in a position of great difficulty and danger; and, lastly, it requests the chairman, of its behalf, to make known to her Majesty's Forcing Secretary the strong conviction it entertains that England has not fulfilled her duty, in this matter, inasmuch as she has failed to protest against the crime of which Spain is shackles struck off; for every man who is held in bondage is in a condition of rebellion, open or secret, against the rearrant to the future safety of our emancipated fellow-subjects in the West Indies, as by a feeling of just compassion for the victims of Spanish lawlessness and ambition."

John Anderson, the fugitive slave, then came forward, and declared how grateful he was for the kindness of the English people, and how happy he felt to be among them. He then gave them a short resumed of the circumstances of his chase and the England have no violence done to the maching, and was instead to the English people, and how happy he felt to be among them. He then gave them a short resumed of the circumstances of his chase and the English people, and how happy he felt to be among them. He then gave them a short resumed of the circumstances of his chase and the fall of Digges, which are already so familiar to the English public. He gave his account in such a modest but frank manner, that he won the applaus of the meeting, and was listened to write the condition of shared to the meeting, and was listened to write the condition of the deposition. Leaded for the future safety of our emancipated fellow-subjects in the West Indies, as by a feeling of just the protest of the same?

John Kanderson, the future of th

NO MOBS.

mbers the Hon. Caleb Cushi Everybody remembers the Hon. Caleb Cushing's famous Bangor letter, written in January, 1860, in which the writer predicted that if the Republicans should elect a Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and if Connecticut and New Hampshire should, at the then approaching elections, sustain the Republican policy, there would be a general smash, "social convulsions, hostile combats in the town streets, predatory guerrilla bands roving up and down the country, shootings and hangings," and, to wind up, "cruel war—war at home, and in the perspective distance a man on horseback with a deawn sword in his hand, some Atlantic Casar, or

rimed interference with savery, air. Cushing said:

"Shall we in Massachusetts continue to nourish the
ientiments of mutual rancor and hostility upon an abstract question wholly beyond our reach and authoriity? I five do so, we well know the consequences.
We know that not only must the Federal compact
break by its own weight, when we shall have to say
farewell to the vaunted glories of the American
Union, but when there will be the more terrible and
lismal spectacle of civil sear upon our own soil in Mussuchusetts. When we look forward to the consequences of a disruption of this Union, is the North
to invade the South, for the purpose of carrying on an
armed prosecution of these projects of interference delusion and a shade. Will the North do it? Art there not gallant and patriotic men enough in th State of Massachusetts, who, if any such Lraitoroù purpose should be attempted against the South, a wa uf invasion for the destruction of the Union and the Government of the Union—are there not men enoughere to seize the traitors by the throat, [loud cries of "Yes, yes," and great applause.) and say, "Yo must walk over our bodies; you shall not engage it this fratricial, suicidal civil war with your fellow citizens of other States." I say, that whenever this state of things approaches, that war will not be uno

tain the Union."

It is very well known that the Southern traitors were stimulated in their attempt to overthrow the government by the expectation of aid from the Northern States, and it is easy to see that such declarations as those we have quoted from the Fancuil Hall speech and the Bangor letter went far to encourage their treasonable purposes. But it is not our object to bring Mr. Cushing from his retirement for the sake of linking his name with the rebellion. Our purpose is to call attention to the necessity of union, harmony and order among the people of the loyal States. We believe there is an overwhelming majority of the people of the free States in favor of sustaining the general government in its efforts to maintain the integrity of the Union and the sway of the Constitution and the laws; in fact, that there is substantial unanimity on this question. There are plenty of men and newspapers and the sway of the Constitution and the laws; in fact, that there is substantial unanimity on this question. There are plenty of men and newspapers which are trying to make some political capital out of questions connected with the war; and there are unquestionably some men who, like Ben Wood and Vallandigham, and the editors of the few notorious secession sheets in New York, Connecticut, and Ohio, are as openly as they dare to be in league with the rebels. These last clamor for peace, not only at the expense of the nation's dishonor, but because they desire the nation's dishonor. They would be glad to see Washington captured, the President of the United States a fugitive, and themselves recipients of fat salaries under Jefferson Davis. But the former class do not mean to sacrifice their loyalty and their political hopes to the cause of their quondam friends. We would preserve this substantial unanimity by our political action this fall, and by keeping to the extreme verge of toleration in our dealings with those who are of the class pledged by Mr. Cushing and others to get up a civil war on Northern soil, as a diversion for the benefit of the South. We know very well the reads the Daug News, the Day Book, the Bridgeport
Farmer, and some other newspapers, and which has
proved too much for the loyal citizens of Concord,
N. H., and Bangor. We know that there has been
far too much lenity exercised by the Government
toward spies and traitors in Washington and in
Northern cities; and that there is quite as much
reason for making war upon them as upon the secession army intrenched at Manassas. We remember the story of the trumpeter who was held equally
guilty with the soldier, though he did not bear arms,
but only an instrument for rallying the host to battle. We appreciate the metaphysical distinction of
the late Reverend President of Harvard College,
who, upon the appearance of a disloyal article in who, upon the appearance of a disloyal article in the Boston Courier, remarked that he "did not ap

government, leads them to the commission of over acts of treason, we would have them punishes But no mobs in the free cities and towns of the North—N. Y. Tribuse.

The destruction of a newspaper office in Concord, New Hampshire, has been speedily followed by a similar act of popular vengeance in Bangor. For aught we know, the Bangor paper may have been as unwise in its treasonable talk, and may have given as direct provocation to individuals, as its New Hampshire companion in misfortune; but we cannot help suspecting that the fate of the latter hastened the crists in the affairs of the former, and that if there had been no mob in Concord, there would have been none in Bangor. Examples of this sort are contagious in the extreme, at a moment of great popular excitement like this. The man who has shrewdly calculated the limits of public forbearance in his own locality, must be prepared to meet the additional peril occasioned by some outbreak elsewhere, and to find his reliance upon the good sense and prudence of the community, whom he daily outrages, suddenly impaired by the effect of some bad precedent set elsewhere. And he must also be prepared to find that, after the ice is once broken, a much smaller provocation will rouse the active animals.

mostly of the multitude, than was necessary to ex-cite the original movement.

We trust that the patriotic and liberty-loving me of New England will take these things to heart, an will be warned by the first steps in a work of mi chief which, once fairly on foot, will be a shame an a cause of repenitance for them forever. Let the

sentiment, which has become unanimous under pressure, but by its own spontaneous action. still maintain that this is the case, but where are to turn for evidence to counteract the impress produced by such proceedings as we have lately corded? Let the North beware how it suffers moral effect of its noble and universal zeal to be stroyed, by acts which shall serve to confound general harmony of opinion and action here, we the enforced agreement which is at once the shall weakness of the South.—Boston Daily Adv.

SOUTHERN LYING.

The Richmond correspondent of the Charleston Mercury, who claims to have been on the field of the late battle, gives full details of the death of Senator Foster, of Conn., who was in his seat the day after the battle! He also asserts that documentary evidence was found on the field of battle, that McDowell's army was 130,000 strong!
The Charleston Courier's correspondent speaks of

the capture of 500 wagons, and provisions enough to feed an army of 50,000 men for twelve months. The same correspondent tells the following pleasant little stories: little stories:

The same correspondent tells the following pleasant little stories:

"Alluding to barbarity, reminds me of something I heard last night. I wrote you that the enemy, when they came to Manassas to bury their dead slain in the battle of the 19th, commenced intrenching themselves. They formed their intrenchments of human bodies; took their dead comrades, and pling them one on the other dug d trench, and threw the dirt over the bodies to form a breastcork. I am not sure but it is wicked to relate anything so borrible, and admit that a civilized man was guilty of it, but it is true, notwithstanding.

I saw President Davis this morning, who gave me many interesting particulars. Yesterday I learned much from Col. Chesnut, and this evening Gen. McGowan entertained a large circle with many amusing incidents. The enemy crossed the Potomas with a grand army. Gen. Scott, in a splendid carriage, drawn by six fine horses, passed part of the day at Centreville. Mrs. Senator Witson, of Massachusetts, and other ladies, were with him. One was a lady of Centreville, with whom Gen. McGowan afterwards spent the evening."

The correspondent of the New Orleans Picayune does his best to rival his competitors in the matter of invention. He asserts that "a great number of civilians and ladies attended the army on its march."

The correspondent of the New Orleans Transmanders has best to rival his competitors in the matter of invention. He asserts that "a great number of civilians and ladies attended the army on its march," and that in their flight they scattered "trunks, band boxes, hoop skirts, and everything belonging to ladies' attire. Here, too, is another fiction from the

same mint:

"Among the curiosities brought in here is a carriage, which many believe to have been the carriage of Gen. Scott himself. It is a complete domestic establishment on wheels, with partor, dining-room, bed, sofa, and everything that could conduce to the comfort or convenience of the occupant. The captors subthere was also found in it a bath, which the General is supposed to have used to cool off his gouty feet."

points? How long will it be before we shall recognize the fact that men like the hero Tallman, who nize the fact that men like the hero Tallman, who killed the pirates and secured the vessel, in order to escape being sent into slavery, are the very men to fight against slaveholders and tyrants? How long shall we delay to use every means within our reach, to weaken our enemy, and to bring a speedy end to this war?—New Bedford Republican Standard.

NO TERMS WITH TRAITORS

THE SUBMISSION OF THE REBELS THE SOLE CONDITION OF PEACE.

To the N. Y. State Democratic Committee

To the N. Y. State Democratic Committee:—

I make no apology for criticising Democrats, since I am myself a Democrat. Nay, almost can I say, "If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in" Democracy, "I more." For I have spent much of my life in inculcating it. Moreover, my Democracy is not a half-way, but an extreme one—a Democracy as broad as mankind; and so jealous of Government as to allow its presence not only not in the Church, but not in the School—mowhere, indeed, save in the one legitimate Governmental office of protecting persons and property. That mine is the genuine Democracy as manifested by the little patience, which the current and spurious Democracy has with it. Nor need I make an apology for praising Republicans, since I have never been one of them. And I need not fear that any thing that I shall say of Democrats or Republicans will expose me to the charge of office-seeking, since I am one of the few who, at the expense of being called very eccentric and very foolish, sternly refuse tog oin the ways which lead to office.

The proposition made to you a few days ago by the N. Y. State Republican Committee was both

I am one of the few who, at the expense of being called very eccentric and very foolish, sternly refuse to go in the ways which lead to office.

The proposition made to you a few days ago by the N. Y. State Republican Committee was both wise and magnanimous. It was magnanimous because coming from the stronger to the weaker Party. I regret that it was declined. Its prompt and cordial acceptance would have strengthened the hands of the Government, and brightened the prospects of patriotism. But there is a reason given for declining it, which I much more than regret. It merits abhorrence and denunciation intense and universal. Republicans, ay, all right-minded men, whether Republicans or Democrats, demand of the rebels immediate and unconditional submission. But you would have "the Federal Government hold out terms of peace and accommodation to the dissevered States." Is this the policy of most of the Democratic leaders in the different States?—and is their Party to be rallied to espouse it? If so, then is there more reason than ever to fear the result of the war—of the war which is waged so earnestly by our foes, and with so little and so divided heart by ourselves. Gloomy indeed is the prospect, if even this little heart is to be made less, and the breach in this divided heart to be made wider by this threatened unpatriotic attitude of the Democratic Party Gloomy indeed the prospect, if the great Party, which comprises nearly half the men of the North, is to exhibit such a spectacle of meanness as in its espousal of this policy it will —such a spectacle for our foe to feed his pride, and strengthen his courage, and build his hopes upon!

The North would be left without spirit to continue the war, after a proposed "accommodation" or compromise in her name. For what would the

and build his hopes upon:

The North-would be left without spirit to continue the war, after a proposed "accommodation" or compromise in her name. For what would the proposition imply but her admission that the rebels are at least partly wrong in resisting it?—what but her admission that our Government and Nation are either so reduced in power as not to be able to suppress a rebellion, or so reduced in dignity and self-respect as to be willing to bribe even rebels into forearnee? What, in a word, would the proposition imply, but her admission that the Government and Nation are not worth preserving? For to treat with armed rebels is manifestly to throw both away. There is not a respectable Monarchy on earth that would consent to do so. But far rather might it treat with armed traitors than we—we who have and There is not a respectable Monarchy on earth that would consent to do so. But far trather might it treat with armed traitors than the words are trained by the solution of the ment to spoil it.

A sword in one hand, and a bribe in the other! We can never conquer in this wise. Possibly we might, were our foe like ourselves. But neither of his hands bears messages of peace. Both are busy in dealing out death. And not only does he scorn to propose compromises, but as utterly and openly does he scorn to accept them. How exceedingly disingenous, in this light, is your attempt, and is every other attempt, to make an issue with the uncompromising enemies of the Rebellion, by proposing compromises! You know perfectly well that there can be no compromises. Nevertheless, you continue to urge them. I will not say with the purpose—though it certainly is with no other effect than to divide and destroy us.

What boots it that we are two or three times as numerous as the enemy, and have ten times his

than to divide and destroy us.

What boots it that we are two or three times as numerous as the enemy, and have ten times his wealth, if we are divided, and he united?—if, whilst with him, all speak one language, there are with us numberless lips, pens and presses that speak for him? Secession Regiments allowed to march daily through Baltimore would not be as dangerous tour Cause as are her Secession Presses. And similar is the danger of such Presses in New York. The Regiments could be watched and controlled; but the demoralizing influence of the Presses cannot be hindered from going over the whole land. These Presses plead their Constitutional rights! But, just as sure as that the Southern Conspirators, who have flung away, the Constitution and armed themselves against it and the nation, have no Conspirators, have no Constitutional rights, so sure is it that they who remain among us, and yet identify themselves with the Conspirators, have no Constitutional rights to persons in the circumstances of the conductors of these Presses: and this nation must either cease to live. The Constitution was not intended to afford protection to those who help on Meleyle was against itself and its loval subjects. ity, or cease to hvo-intended to afford protection on to those who help on bloody war against itself and its loyal subjects. But what if there are Constitutional or other laws which seem to give shelter to such traitors? The necessities of war, among which there is scarcely one more urgent than the suppression of newspapers that are in the interest of the enemy, rise high above all laws. May the mob suppress them? No—but the War Power may. That Power, which has the jield to head was a belief and the interest of the head to give the best the right to head was a belief and the state in the state of the state pers that are in the interest of the enemy, as a manager of the control of the co

No—but the War Power may. That Power, which has the right to break up a bridge when, in its judgment, the measure is called for, has right under the same condition to break up a Press. But this, you will say, is to recognize in the War Power the boundlessness of despotic power. Admitted. And the nation which, in a war for its very existence, hesitates at such recognition, exhibits more of the harmlessness of child's play than of the terrible carnestness of war. What makes our comparatively smalls foe so effective? It is that the South is so earnest and so wise as to leave her War Power untrammeled, and entirely free to use all the means of the South, and to use them as it will. This wicked war would soon have been ended had our Government, or, in other words, our War Power, felt the like liberty. Very different woulf have been the present condition of things, if the Northern Government had felt the same liberty as the Southern to use black men. Whilst the South is wholly and hotly determined to maintain South-the newspapers say that our Government has in vited Garibaldi to take part in this impracticable and ridiculous work. It cannot be true. For, though our Government may feel bound to pursue this wretched policy of going for Liberty and Slatery and Soldier of Freedom by inviting him to identify himself, his magnificent fortunes and his worldwide fame, with this wretched policy. Our Government will never invite Garibaldi to take part in this impracticable and ridiculous work. It cannot be true. For, though our Government may feel bound to pursue this wretched policy. Our Government will never invite Garibaldi to take part with it.

By the way, is there not gome danger that, if the

North shall continue her present unfriendly and contemptuous attitude towards the four and a half millions of Northern and Southern blacks, this attitude will, especially when combined with Southern professions and premises, have the effect to bring this mighty element into a sincere, and as appalling as sincere, identification with our foe?

Is it a wonder that every step of Jefferson Davis is confident and defiant, and that so many of Abraham Lincoln's are timid and hesistating? It is not. For, whilst Jefferson Davis represents a people of one heart and one purpose, Abraham Lincoln is obliged to panse, and calculate how far and how fast such men as you, and the masses you influence, will let him go. Unhappy man I—for, whilst the other President is cheered and strengthened by the entire davotion to his cause of all around him, our President is cheered and strengthened by the entire davotion to his cause of all around him, our President is tunder the constant and withering remembrance that it will depend upon his success in conciliating the enemy at home, whether the country will be able to conquer its other and less dangerous enemy. Simpleton that I was for believing that the shots at Fort Sumpter would turn all the Republicans, yes, and all the Democrats into Americans, and thus make the war a very short one! Having never worn the chains, nor experienced the debauchment of party, I was ignorant how hard it is to break the one, or get curred of the other.

You profess to be in favor of "the vigorous prosecution of the war." Of course you do—for the people are; and to get influence with them, you must make them believe that you are. But there is only one way for you to be what you profess to be at this point. It is to help the Government carry on the war. But you point to "the hundreds of thousands" of, Democrats in the Army to prove that you are. All bonor to those "hundreds of thousands" and all dishoner to you! Deeply do you wrang them, insultingly do you degrade them, by identifying yourselves with them. In

Republicans for the savagor of the coordinate of the first far above such meanness and wickedness, and stand shoulder to shoulder with Republicans. I cannot affirm that you will not suc-

Republicans. I cannot affirm that you will not succeed in bringing over the Democratic masses to your guilty ground; but I can affirm that you do not represent them now.

You do not fail to extol the Constitution. Of Not do not fail to extol the Constitution. Of course not. Messrs. Breckinridge, May, Burnett, Vallandigham do not. For the politician not to extol it, when his purpose is to gain something from Americans, would betray as great a lack of cunning as would the omission of the hypocrite to commend the Bible, when he would gain something from Christians. But, gentlemen, I trust an indignant public will teach you that the present is not the proper time for turning men's minds from the Country to the Constitution—from their urgent duties, amidst the appalling necessities of the one, to their composed study of the requirements and their prolonged admiration of the merits of the other. It is but a poor sort of philanthropy which distresses itself over the great value of the clothes that the drowning man is carrying with him to the bottom. Very unseasonable is the reading of the "Rules of the Hotel" to its inmates, when the Hotel is on fire. But not more so than to remind Americans of the Rules of the Federal Constitution, when rebels are at their throats.

Lde not expose myself to the charge of making

I do not expose myself to the charge of making light of the Constitution by setting the country above it. For much light of the Constitution by setting the country above it. For much more have I written, and much more have I spoken for it, than has any other Dem ocrat, living or dead. And it is not for parts of the more have a spose of the corat, living or dead. And it is not for parts or corat, living or dead. And it is not for parts or constitution that I have written and spoken; but for every line and letter of it. And I have not dishonored the Constitution and its Authors by admit-

honored the Constitution and is Authors by admit-ting it to be necessary to go outside of it for proofs of its meaning; but I have honored both by insist-ing that it is its own sufficient interpreter. The cry of "The Constitution! The Constitu-tion!!" is at onee the most bypocritical and mis-chievous of all the cries with which treason is filling chievous of all the cries with which treason is filling the land. Our Government is earnestly and hon estly intent on saving the nation; and it is for the life of the nation that our Government be confiden in and sustained. Whoever then seeks to weaker its bonds is a traitor. But of the most wicked an effective form of treason are they guilty, who, taking advantage of the popular idolatry of the Constitution, unsettle the popular confidence in the Constitution, unsettle the popular confidence in the constitution, unsettle the popular confidence in the constitution. unsettle the popular confidence in the ent, by charging it with disregard of the ion. stitution, un Government Constitution.

Government, by charging it with disregard of the Constitution.

I hope, gentlemen, that you are not traitors. But, if you are not, then are you greatly to be piticed for so strongly seeming to be what you are not. If you are not more concerned to conquer the Republican Party than to conquer the Rebels, then never did any men's attitude more belie their spirit. That your purpose is to inspire your Party with the deepest distrust of the Government is too obvious for even you to deny. That your success in this would complete the ruin of your country, you may not see. Nevertheless, you would see it, were you not blinded by party zeal. I think you will not be able to carry with you the County and Town leaders of your Party, much less the party itself. Strong as is the partisan spirit in your Party, I think the spirit of patriotism in it is stronger. I believe you will not be able to rally an opposition Party at the North. As there is but one Party at the South, so there will be but one at the North. All the South is for the Rebellion, and all the North will be against it. I believe that the Government will stand, and that you will fall. I believe that the Democratic as well as the Republican Party will consent to postpone the procession. that the Government will stand, and that you will fall. I believe that the Democratic as well as the Republican Party will consent to postpone the prosecution of party purposes, and the gratification of party predilections, until the Rebellion shall be conquered, and the country shall be safe. That done, and I shall be as willing to see each Party go its own way, as I shall be glad to see all the wrongs of the South (if there are any) abundantly redressed, when she shall have ceased from her Conspiracy, and laid down her arms. But a curse on the Party that raises its head before the war is ended! And not one word of peace, not one leaf of the olivebranch, nor one concession, however small, to the rebels, so long as they are rebels. Much as they are worth, and they are worth much, because they are our fellow-men, the Government and the Nation are worth, vastly more: and both Government and Nation will perish, if there shall be the slightest stooping to those who are in arms against both. You would have it understood that the Republican Party would consent to "the separation of the States." I confess that I preferred such separation, if peaceful, to war. But the Republican Party has never proposed it. There is not one Republican in one hundred who would consent to it. Moreover, there are ten Democrats who would.

I have not failed to notice that, in your Call of the Convention you trop under the post party below matriot.

I have not failed to notice that, in your Call of the Convention, you too put party below patriot-ism. But in vain is it that you do so. "Actions speak louder than words." Never, after you de-clined the generous No-Party Proposition of the 'Republicans, has it been in your power to profess clined the generous No-Party Proposition of the Republicans, has it been in your power to profess yourselves to be above party, and yet enjoy the reputation of being sincers. Your mistake was a great one. Cunning cannot correct it. The only remedy is your repentance.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1861.

SECESSION AND THE WAR.

replication from our unknown correspondent "J. W." to some criticisms upon his first communica-tion, may be found in another column. It is not our habit to prolong a personal discussion with any one. leavoring at all times to state our sen plain language, tersely and without circumlocution we are content to submit them to the good sense an

We hardly know where to find "J. W." on th

estion of Southern secession. He now says that he approves of that secession; nevertheless, he adds— fou deny that the Secessionists have any cause, while the colonies had the greatest, to change ode of government. A disinterested arbitrate to a fair decision on this point." Is the en, of so difficult solution, that, because o question, then, of so difficult solution, that, because of our geographical position, we are disqualified from rendering an impartial verdict? If so, why does he venture to conderin "the present secession of the South"? For wherein he disables our judgment, he cripples his own. "As a general thing, extremists are both wrong." That may be; but who, in this case, "the condensation of the second secon are the extremists? Are the President and his Cabi are the extremists? Are the President and his Cabinet, because they are endeavoring to preserve the government which they are under oath to uphold, to be put in this category? Are Generals Scott, McClellan, Wool, Fremont and Banks—are the brave soldiers under their command—extremists? Is every one agextremist, who sees no justification whatever for the traitorous course of the Secessionists? There were but two parties in the Revolutionary struggle—to wit nies and Great Britain: w tremists, and so unable to "come to a fair de respecting their alleged grievances? Or did they not make a just issue—so just that the whole civilized world, Great Britain included, has since recognized the rectitude of their course, and applauded the spir by which they were actuated ? But the present issuis equally just on the side of the government, and such will be the verdict of mankind. It was truthfully said by Hon. Owen Lovejoy, at its commencement, that there had never been so causeless and inexcusable a rebellion since the revolt of the apostate angels, as de scribed by Milton. No language of impeachment of condemnation is too severe to apply to the rebel-Theirs is perjured villany, colossal criminality, ur bolism. In the most malignant they are humani hostes generis. In their present att tude, they deserve the execration of heaven and earth "If partisans were right," says "J. W.", "no in ermediator in the shape of law would be necessary." But the position we hold toward the administration not that of a partisan : we neither voted for it, nor ac r more than a quarter of a century, we ment, for reasons satisfactory to our own conscience neither casting a ballot in any instance, nor endorsing any political party as such. Our mission has been to criticise and condemn, more or less, all parties, and every succeeding administration. In consequence of ts pro-slavery guaranties, as recognized and acted upon by the nation ever since its adoption,—and noth-ing more positive or conclusive than this assent can or need be adduced,—we have steadily proclaimed the U. S. Constitution to be, (in the language of the prophet,) "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and pronounced the certainty of its overthrow. Under these circumstances, we have no "par-tisan" feelings to gratify, but occupy a thoroughly independent stand-point, so that we can render true judgment between the contending parties at the present time; and we say, on the merits of the issue, that the conduct of the Secessionists combines all conceivpirates on a scale unparalleled in the annals of huma depravity; and we further say, that they have re ceived neither wrong nor menace from the ment, and that all their charges against it are the first magnitude, coined in the mint of an inferna malignity, and circulated to subserve the purposes of

malignity, and circulated to subserve me paramata a satanic ambition and a soul-imbruting system. the merit of the case is not made a part of the Declara tion: there is no exception: it says, 'All just govern ment is only by consent of the governed —the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the theory." What version of the Declaration of Independence our anonymous friend may have in his posession, we do not know; but ours reads as follows

session, we do not know; but our reads as follows:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the government; that, the hencer any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that goef ernaents long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience that the shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and issurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under aboulate despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been then under abouted espotism, it is their right, it is their new guards for their future security. Such has been then under abouted espotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been then the provide in the provide of the such provides of government. The history of the present king of Great Brita'n is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all hacing, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To racve Titis, LET FACTS BE SUBMITTED TO A CANDID WORLD."

What, now, becomes of the assertion of our correpondent? Is "the merit of the case not made a par of the Declaration" ! Is not "the degree of oppresion, or indeed any at all, a part of the theory Why, from the time when an instrument first became inscribed upon parchment to the present, none mor every thing savoring of lawless usurpation, or fa ious discontent, or frivolous complaint, was ever re corded, than the Declaration of Independence : and is as gross an absurdity, and as great an ou attempt to find in it even the slightest justification of the rebellious South, as it would be for the "father of lies" to quote the Sermon on the Mount in favor all deadly sins! See what the revolutionary father asserted as fundamental and self-evident truths—for will bear recapitulation :-

1. The endowment of the whole human race. I their Creator, with an inalienable right to life, liberty nd the pursuit of happiness:

2. Governments are instituted to secure these rights

3. Whenever any form of gover structive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it: 4. Governments long established should not h

hanged for light and transient causes:

5. But when a long train of abuses and usurpa tions, pursuing invariably the same end, evinces

design to reduce the people under absolute despotism it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off suc government, and to provide new guards for their fu ture security. Such was the theory of the revolutionary fathers i

regard to rebellion, or the substitution of one form o government for another in self-defence. In what di they find their justification for withdrawing their alle e from the mother country? In the fact that such has been the patient sufferance of ther nies: the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of REPEATED INJURIES AND USURPA-TIONS, all having, in direct object, the establishment

an absolute tyrinning over these States. To prove this, let | QEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

FACTS be submitted to a candid world.

How for bliked the logic—how grand the theory—how for bliked and accurate the statement—how discriminating and just the exceptions in favor of revolution—how ample their justification, by their own standard, through a long and bitter experience—and how manly and sublime their closing appeal, "To the first be waited to a candid world"? this, It facts be submitted to a ca facts been wanting—instead of them, substituted—and had only a factious and had lies been substituted—and had only a factions and lawless temper of mind, in the furtherance of a thoroughly despotic and inhuman object, been displayed—would they not have covered themselves with infamy, and made their revolution abhorrent to mankind? They were not thus inconsistent in the issue they presented, but cheerfully put themselves on grial and a small world according to the access and rethey presented, but cheerfully put themselves on trial before a candid, world, according to the FACTS, and re-

ceived an applauding acquittal.

To which of these specifica confederates subscribe! Do they maintain that men are created equal, and possess an inalienable right to liberty? Or have they not expressly made slavery fice corner-stone of their political edifice? Are they not in revolt with sole reference to the safety, on and perpetuity of that horrible system They believe governments are (or, rather, should be)
instituted to secure the rights of men-stealers and
traffickers in human flesh, and not the rights of the people. And as for any "injuries and usurpations they lave to complain of under the governmen nothing of the kind has occurred in a single instance So far from it, they have always exercised controlli power in the government, from the administration of Jeferson to that of Buchanan inclusive.

Of course, we do not need reminding that the revo-lutionary fathers were subsequently untrue to their own Heaven-attested Declaration, inasmuch as they either held slaves personally, or by general complicity; but their infidelity did not affect the doctrines pro ulgated by them in that immortal instrument. they been faithful and uncompromising, no "slave holders' rebellion" would now be desolating the

"J. W." claims, by long and close study, "to be tolerable judge of the laws of political economy." I he thinks that driving millions of laborers to unre-quited tell, under the sole stimulus of the lash, an making them as marketable as cattle and swine, car ulite general wealth, or even "make both ends meet" by the severest calculation, we are quite sure he is laboring under a delusion. No prosperity, by the flat of Almighty God, can be the natural product of "the sum of all villanies." The tendency of the South is steadily and irresistibly to bankruptcy. This is not altered by the fact that the free labor, and namfacturing skill, and commercial enterprise of the North derive from the raw material of cotton remu thanks to the Southern oppressors! No to a just God who has so ordered it. Every branch of Northern industry would be greatly benefitted by the abolition of slavery; so that neither Northern capita nor labor has any pecuniary motive for the prolonga tion of that wasteful and destructive system onceracy" and "shipocracy" alike, though how blind to the fact, would reap much larger rewards if free labor were substituted for slave labor at the South We "speak the words of truth and soberness."

In order that our correspondent may advance in his politico-economical studies, we advise him to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" Helper's Impending Crisis, the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, and the 18th chapter of Isaish—in the last of which he will find a very simple and thoroughly effective plan, divinely prescribed, for the abolition of slavery, with all its re sults duly set forth. Read-believe-rejoice!

A BRIEF PROTEST.

Though cherishing a profound respect and loving regard for our noble friend and champion, Wendell Phillips, I must enter my protest against assimilating the cause of the man-stealing tyrants and traitors of the South—who, having misgoverned, corrupted and disgraced the Republic for sixty years, are striving to kill because they can no longer misgovern it-to the cause of the enslaved Poles, Hungarians and Ital-

The parties to this war are the free whites, so call ed, of the North, and the slaves of the South, of the one part, and the robbers, oppressors, despisers, aye and murderers of both, of the other part.

John Randolph, in a call upon some ladies in Vir ginia, found them busy in making up clothes to be sen to the Greeks at the time of their war with the Turks.
"Ladies," said that hater of shams, " the Greeks are at the door ! " Can we be mistaken as to who are the Greeks, and who the Turks, of this contest, or or God will rest? It is the battle of Armageddon, be tween good and evil spirits. I have nothing to say a to the sides which the spirits must respectively take but I will say that the sides are not by their accessio made equal, and the two causes confounded

"Thrice is he armed, who hath his quarrel just, And he but naked, though locked up in steel, Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

"The cause of the war" begins to be an importan topic for discussion at the present time, notwithstand-ing the attempt of the newspapers throughout the land to settle the question.

All the leading journals in the loyal States deny

that the slavery question has any thing to do with re-gard to our waging war against the South. They say we are fighting the South because they rebel against the Government-because they have robbed us of the

Federal property, and refused to obey our laws.

Now, is the American press so weak and blind as
to suppose that the masses of the people are to be satisfied with this explanation? Are thirty millions of the most intelligent people on earth to accept this version of the matter, without consulting their own true knowledge in regard to it? Hand a child two tin nick the silent one is disc is to-day with us, in regard to the complicated and un-satisfactory definition of the "Cause" of the war-handed out to us by the press. We do not accept it—

But, back of all this, we hear the rattle of th chains of four million slaves. This is the rattle which reverberates in the heart of the American people, and it will continue until the last link is severed that holds bondage. It would cost but a very few lives, and little money, to conquer the South, if we would apply the weapon to the heart of the enemy-touch her in the tenderest spot, (slavery,) and the victory is ours. But we are told "that time has not yet come." Why.not come now, and save thousands of dollars, and millions of lives, which we must pay? I told a negro, the other day, that I thought our Government, ere long, would furnish arms to "contraband" fugitives. "Never." exclaimed the negro, "as long as Massachusetts refuses to receive us int home." I fear this is too true. But the time must soon come when the negro will be allowed to fight for his liberty. A. W.

The Atlantic Monthly for September is received. Contents:—1. The Shakespeare Mystery. 2. The Bath. 3. Saccharissa Mellasys. 4. My Odd Ad-The Bath. 3. Saccharissa Mellasys. 4. My Odd Adventure with Junius Brutus Booth. 5. My Out-Door in the Standy. 5. A Sermon in a Stone. 7. Agnes of Sorvento. 8. The Advariance. 9. The Young Repealer. 10. Bread and the Newspaper. 11. "Under the Cloud and through the Sea." 12. Journal of a Privateersman. 13. The Advantages of Defeat. 14. Ode to Happiness. 15. Elizabeth Barrett Browning. 16. Reviews and Literary Notices. Recent American Publication.

lications.

A very interesting number, as usual. Ticknor & to that effect from whatever are unlawful.

Fields, 135 Washington Street, Boston, Publishers.

6. That no power exists to arrest by the military

PART III .- [CONTINUED.]

In the last war with Great Britain, 1812-15, no pro tracted incursions were made into Southern territo and few descents on the slave coast, yet a large m ber of slaves escaped to the British camps and sl or of war. They were so stupid as to run away from "happiness" to "misery," from "kind masters" to "Cochrane the pirate." Those persons were altreated and disposed of conformably to the preceden established by Carleton; but the British government contrary to its course in that case, consented to make

In 1836 Gen. Jessup, commanding in the war, made, with the approval of Cass, Secretary of War, an alliance with the Creek nation, by which on certain conditions they were to furnish from six hundred to a thousand men to serve during the war. One of the conditions was that they should have "all the conditions was that they should have "all the plunder they might make from the Seminoles." that it was understood, that they were to have and to hold as slaves all the negroes they might capture. This was a revival of the most ancient barbarism, but quite in keeping with the general character of the con-test. The Creeks captured about one hundred men, women and children. These persons having been brought, after a long imprisonment and various tudes, within the military department of Gen. Gaines tudes, within the military department of Gen. Gaines, were protected by him as prisoners of war, and sent off, in the style of Sir Guy Carleton, in company with their friends and allies, the Seminoles, to the West Mr. Giddings, in his "Exiles of Florida," has given an exciting and humiliating narrative of infinite chicaneries practised by the Executive, the War Department and Indian Bureau to effect the enslavement of the confederate and the confederate for the those unoffending people. In contemplating the dread-ful moral and physical desolation, which marked that wretched maranding of a slave democracy and govern-ment for innocent blood and merchantable bones, it is inexpressibly grateful to listen to the wholesome voice of one honest and energetic man. of one honest and energetic man; and to witness the triumph of an carnest and timely utterance in behalf

of justice, liberty and humanity.

Mr. Giddings, in one of his late letters, sums up the rguments of Gen. Gaines as follows :-

"He asserted that in time of war all slaves are belligerents as much as their masters. The slave men cultivate the earth, and supply provisions. The women cook the food, nurse the wounded and sick, and contribute to the maintenance of the war, often more than the same number of males. The slave children equally contribute whatever they are able to support the war.

He could enter into no judicial examination of the He could enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bones and muscles of another as property. As a military officer, maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms, he could not know what the laws of Florida were. He could be guided only by the laws of war, and the laws of any State must yield to the safety of the Federal Government."—Doc. House of Representatives, 2d Session 25th Congress, No. 225.

Under color of a sale by the Creek captors to American dealer in human flesh, an attempt was made by civil process to wrest his prisoners from the pos on and jurisdiction of the General. He appear at the bar, and vindicated the rights of the prisoners and his own authority, citing in support of both the well settled laws and usages of war. In conclusion

"I have not yet learned while acting in my official capacity on oath, to take the responsibility of doing that which is repugnant to law, unjust and iniquitous, as I verile believe any favor shown to this claim would be."

In 1838 Gen. Taylor, having succeeded Jessup in the chief command, but not in unscrupulousness subserviency to slaveholders and hunters, refused deliver to them his negro prisoners; demanded by a crowd of Florida claimants as fugitive slaves. He old them he had no prisoners but "prisoners of w They insisted upon seeing them. He replied that "no man should examine his prisoners for such a pur-

pose," and he ordered them to quit his camp.

The world has adjudged it a crime and a blunder in Bonaparte, that he did not at the commencement o the Russian campaign emancipate, re-nationalize and arm the Poles. But he was seduced and entangled by his fatal Austrian alliance, just as Great Britain was in the war of the Revolution, by her tenderness of the supposed interests and deference to the wishes of the at slaveholding Tories of the Carolinas.

A delusion from which even the truest and most thoughtful are scarcely exempt, prevails in respect to local limitations of the war power. That power, like the Constitution, acts upon persons without necessary reference to State lines. As the civil jurisdiction of the United States extends to all citizens and resident in peace, so in this civil war the military is capable of eaching all rebels wherever they may be. Congress has declared and the President has proclaimed no war against State nor section. A gang of conspirators have defied the laws, seized the muniments and sought the life of the nation. War thus evoked aims its weapons at the conspirators and parricides, their aiders and abettors, wherever they may be found, the same in Missouri as in South Carolina or Eastern Virginia, and the same in Western Virginia and Maryland as in

True, there may be no need of marching or mustering an army at every point where traitors may con ederate and make war upon their country, either directly or by giving aid and comfort to the slave con ederacy. But whether such need exist, is a question for the superior civil and military authorities of the nation. It is for them, in the exercise of a sound discretion, to determine where there are traitors and ene-mies sufficiently formidable by their numbers, or by the secret complicity of local authorities, for of war to smite. Wherever that may be, within the boundaries of the Union, or on the wide ocean, there may they, and must they, if faithful to the duties with which they are charged by this people, so prodigal of their blood and treasure, strike. And the seat or seats of war thus determined, do by necessary implication of martial law; and all persons and property, with the sphere of the operations of armies, must be subrattles, one with and the other without the rattler, ject to the rules and exigencies of war. As far as cirblend by common consent the action of the civil and military powers, leaving to the former the exercise of all ordinary magisterial and administrative functions, which do not impinge upon the sterner, and, for the time being, more necessary and vital activities of

By the Constitution, property of every descripti belonging to any citizen or resident of the United States, may be taken for public use, "just compensa-tion" being made therefor. This is also a war power, and was exercised by both parties in the Revolution ary war, each giving compensation to their friends, and stripping those whom they respectively regarded as enemies

Thus I have shown :-

1. That we have at present an unquestionable legal right to receive or capture slaves to any extent within and from the territory of the enemy; and to receive those fleeling from traitors and enemies everywhere,

whether they be considered as persons or property.

2. That we may employ, enlist or discharge them, paying them fairly in the two first cases, and rendering them in the last such protection and aid as we would any loyal white deserter or refugee citizen, escaping to us from our enemy's hands.

3. That there is no power conferred by law, mu-

to orders affords no justification, inasmuch as all orders

arm, or return a fugitive slave to any claimant, how.

arm, or return a luginite starte to any ciannant, how-ever loyal he may profess or prove himself to be.

6. That the Government has a clear right, either directly or by tile leaders of its armost, so call the slaves from service on the side of those attempting the life of the Republic, to the side of those defending it. As property, they may be taken—1, to weaken our enoughes, strengthen ourselves, and hasten the achievement of a beneficial and permanent peace; 2, 28 are ment of a beneficial and permanent peace; 2, 28 are ment of the cause of the war, and the only result. slaves from service on the side of those at next of a consequent of the war, and the only possible moval of the cause of the war, and the only possible? preventive of future wars—whether we form one or more powers of perpetual discords in a delusive pase; and 3, as a necessary punishment of crimes, habita to Southern slaveholders as a body. Among thus

any be reckoned

1. Thousands of cowardly and cruel personal outages and murders of Northern citizens, mmitted no offence."

ommitted no onence.

2. Scores of felonious assaults in both Houses of s, culminating in an attempt to assassinate a in his seat, a deed applauded, defended and memorized with a unanimity unusual even for memorized with a unanimity unusual even for the South; and all for the suppression of freedom of de-bate in the highest legislative and executive council of ne nation.

8. And with the same intent fatal duels, frequent

challenges to the duel, continual menaces of the duel, and deadly insults designed to provoke it or degrade aim who refuses it, whereby the Senators and Repre him who refuses it, whereby the conducts and hepre-sentatives of the North have been placed, during the sentatives of the common government, in the whole existence of the common government, in the insidious dilemma of violating law and moral principles, and incurring the general conde les, and incurring the general condemnation and aver-ion of their friends and neighbors at home; or personal humiliation and fashionable ostracism sonal humination and lastitonable ostracism at the seat of Government; or of compounding with all three by knuckling to insolence, abandoning rights, duty and self-respect, and betraying constituents and co

cration of the ballot-box, the sceptre of the sovereign people, and committing some hundreds of brutal murders, together with rapes, and sacking and burning of towns and dwellings in Kansas, for the exburning of towns and dwenings in Annas, for the ex-tension of slavery.

5. Texas acquired by fillibustering, and in sequence

a cowardly and rapacious war, unconstitutionally be-gun, and unmercifully prosecuted against weak unof-fending, suffering and distracted Mexico,—both transactions involving the guilt of myriads of murders, and both for the extension of slavery.

6. Other fillibusterings in Lower California, North-

Mexico, Cuba and Central America, and therewith some ten thousand other murders, for the extension of slavery.

7. Punic faith in violating a compact of peace of

their own proposing, and enviously destroying great interests of their own creating.

8. The systematic violation of letters and printed

orrespondence for nearly thirty years, at the pleasure of every postmaster or of his familiars, throughout the entire South.

 Proscription of honest and capable men, and the bestowment of official honors and emolument upon the incompetent and dishonest, until the honors had become null and the emoluments the rewards of prize fighters at elections—the pay of mercenaries, enlisted to extend slavery and maintain the baleful predominance of the Slave Power, whereby the exercise of the most vital function of the government, the dis-pensations of that earthly providence, called federal patronage, had long degenerated into a mean and base barter between sectional jealousy, ambition and rapacity on the one part, and individual greed on the other—an unexampled and frightful system of bribery nd corruption—in effect, a new slave trade, wherein white slaves" bave been bought and sold in the District, and in the interior of the White House a

10. Burning wretched bondmen at the stake, someimes by sentence of the law, often by mobs, without single effort, public or private, to efface this horror

of the age.

11. Sacrificing by over-driving and under keeping, by cruel and unusual punishments, and by solder and mortal violence, more thousands of human vic-tims to the god of gain than were offered up by the Carthagenians, from a far higher motive, to their Moloch

12. Reviving slave trading piracy, and inaugurating Jeff. Davis piracy.

13. Conspiring and making war for the destruction

of their country, because they are no longer permitted to pervert its power, corrupt its morals, and disgrace its name.

As persons, all the slaves are "within our reach" by means of that undying love of personal liberty, which glows in every human bosom. To their quickened sense, the dead silence of despotism only makes of the South a whispering gallery. The smallest mutter from the Cabinet or the camp of liberty to them reach-es with electric speed around the vast dome, and can ment myriads to our side, making mmon at a m them rapturous defenders of the nation, instead of forced assistants of its bloody assailants. D. L. C.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM "J. W." NEW YORK, August 12, 1861.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

It had not been my intention to offer any further at each not been my intention to due any number remarks, in relation to the matter of my communica-tion to your journal, as published on the 2d August; merely wishing to bring to the notice of sincer Ab-litionists, rather a new, but yet it is believed a context to the property of the property of the public view, of the motives and purposes of the war, viz., that it is an attempt by the Northern aristocracy to eep slavery in the Union, under the Constitution keep slavery in the Union, under the Containable that guaranties it. Hence, that the statement of may journals, that the abolition of slavery is the intenso, I look upon as altogether fallacious. The opinion the legal officer of the government, published in or papers of to-day, can only confirm the view I have stated. Even captive or runaway slaves are to be restored or paid for in due season. marks upon my article were, as an old friend (per-haps next to Dr. Channing, the very oldest sincere Abolitionist) states, "no reasons, only illustrations and declamations"; hence, perhaps, it did not need to offer any further observations. I would ask, how ever, as respects your 7th, and last point, (that "J. W. has nothing but sneers and censures for the North, and apologies and excuses for the South,") to have d out where the latter exist. On the contrary, pointed out where the latter exist. On the contrary,

J. W. disapproved of the present secession of the
South, whether it had a doubtful right or not, as et-South, whether it had a doubtful right or not, as the plained in my article, and echoed in one in the Debia Mail of July 20,* (which ought to be a neutral print, if any one can be.) If, however, the Liberture be lieves in no such thing as neutrality; that they was do not take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results that they are the most account of the side of the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results that the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; then is 7th results the most take a side must be wrong; the most tak nark is perfectly natural. As to the 6th remark, J. W. admits that it is the right of all others, equally

less, such judgment on the part of others they are bound clearly to prove, from the agreement that bink all. If that makes it a matter of doubt, it is expe-diency forms the judgment, riot facts. In constraint a law-document, we take facts, not expedience, and ask what clearly defined rights either party has under the agreement. If one has been omitted to be conthe agreement. If one has been omitted to be considered or noticed at all, the opinion is but an inference either way. The 5th remark of yours is answered by the same

with the seceders, to judge of the "cansa injuris," excessing of secession. Great Britain took exactly the view of the case in 1776. So did France. Neural less, such judgment on the part of others they are bound closely to have the proportion of the second of the seco

argument. You deny that the secessionists have any

"" A number of these States declare that faith as obbeen kept with them in the compact of confederation.
Whether they present the right to so terminate the
tribust leaves to the right to so terminate the
tribust leaves to the right to so terminate the
tribust leaves to the right to so terminate the
able to its own cause. What we have to my is this, that it
so something more than mourreful, it is monatrous, that
the source and disgrees to humanity that, on a point that so
the right leaves the shocking spectacle of an atom
the right leaves the shocking spectacle of an atom
to subjugation; of or soil, government and freedom to decide their or
of reself-government and freedom to decide their or
the reserve the reserve to the Southern States we

cause, while the Colonies had the greatest, to change their mode of government. A disinterested arbitra-tor could alone come to a fair decision on this point. If partisans were right, no intermediator in the shape of law would be necessary. As a general thing, ex-ternists are both wrong. But you do not seem to see, that the merit of the case is not made a part of de of government. A disinterested arbitra see, that the short is no exception; it says, "All just government is only by consent of the governed" the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all is not part of the theory; and Mr. Lincoln, in Congress, a part of the theory, and arr. Lincoln, in Congress January 12, 1848, says, "Any people anywhere, hav-ing the power, have a right to rise up, shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits cristing government, and form a new one that suits them better; or any portion of a people may do so." I repeat, then, that the right of secession was a doubtful oue; not that clear case to warrant secession and crill war, nor coercion; and so thinks the Dublin Nation, as aforesaid.

As to remark number three, it is readily conceded that the Southern leaders believed that "slavery had hatle or no security under the new order of things"; but that, is no sort of argument against my position as respecting a Northern "cottonocracy" and "ship-ocracy," who had grown sich out of slave labor, which leads me to remark number two. "J. W. atwhich leads me to remark number two. 5. W. at-ributes the great prosperity of the North to this very institution of slavery," and, "we answer that it evin-ces not only interior demoralization of spirit, but gross ignorance of the laws of political economy." Now, as J. W. was an associate of Daniel Webster of the Free-trade party in 1820, and has ever since paid steady attention to the subject, he ought to be a tolerable judge of the laws and merits of political econ ony. The argument in the Liberator is, that slavery is the sum of all villanies; ergo, its labor has not only hankrupted itself, but been a positive loss to the North; "it has cost the North a vast deal more than it has ever produced." Aha! that's it, is it! Why, then, did not the North cut loose from it thirty years ago, as a simply prudential measure! Again, "if free labor had from the beginning been substituted for slave labor, the whole country would be thousands of millions licher than it is "; but we are speaking now of the North, not the whole country. Besides, what is meant by free labor! Black labor or white! Free black labor has existed in Hayti for more than half a century, but there is less trade there now, than there was when we were colonics even. Is free white labor meant? If so, it is not unlikely that, did the Southern climate suit a free white population, the whole country might have been millions richer; but it does not follow that the North, under suck a competition, would have been. There must certainly be a profit from the labor of four millions of slaves; and if, as the Liberator says, "slavery is not a self-sustain-ing institution—never makes both ends meet, &c.," there does the profit go to ! Is not J. W. right in saying the North gets it! The Liberator says, "The simple fact is, that the South grows a valuable raw naterial, which the free North, by her mechanical ingenuity, and manufacturing and commercial enter-prise, is enabled to convert into valuable articles of merchandise, &c." - Exactly so; the Liberator has hit the mark; but does the North do all this without profit? Agriculture at the South carnot make "both ends meet," but how about the working up its pro-Is not this species of industry in all coun tries the most lucrative? How, then, "has the South cost the North a vast deal more than it ever produced"? This raw material is certainly the foundafon, on which Northern "mechanical ingenuity," &c., 500, on which Northern "mechanical ingenuity," &c., converts it into such valuable results. In short, by the Liberator's own showing, my saying is proved, that "the North gets the kernel, and the South the mere shell." Would it be so, if it were all free labor at the South,—black or white? Would not the profits ere equally divided even if more raw material rere produced! So long as all, or nearly all, the in-festry and enterprise are at the North, must she not of necessity have the "best of the bargain"? The Liberator itself proves it; and, therefore, can the conclusion be escaped, that the interest of the North is slave labor, and a war well worth while to On the other hand, the interest of the real. friend of the slave is peaceable separation; for while we have him in the Union, it is even more the interest of the Northern magnificturer, than the Southern planter, to make him work to the utmost. These may e all new views to Northern anti-slavery men, but

let them be examined. Lastly, as to remark number one, as to seeing feasible project for the abolition of slavery-" This indicates that with him, liberty is not a principle, is not the natural condition of man," (and then a long list of that the North sees no feasible project for the abolition of prostitution or gambling; perhaps the Liberator sees principle." This is exactly the same argument. have ever succeeded beyond regulating; and why? Because a greater evil is apparent. That is the difficulty with slavery. You copy a sermon of Rev. W. J. Potter. "It is not possible, nor desirable, to fix my details of any scheme of emancipation, because we want that the scheme should be fixed by the South iself"; he says, and "the same humanity that bids as give freedom to the slave, bids us do so without narrchy and violence, but with its proper blessings of order, prosperity and peace." Here we have the story. We cannot act without the cordial conmake a government matter of it; a forced step without the concurrence of the South. Have we thereby led the South any nearer to any plan of abolition, or the reverse? The South alone, as Mr. Potter says, can form any feasible plan; they alone have the experience. They have (many eminent men) desired emancipation themselves; have they ever shown a feasible plan? Consider what it comes-the education of the slave, the laws of enforce ing work, the interest of the master the interest of the North, and of all the countries depending upon the product of slave labor; the future of four, per-haps ten millions of blacks; the compensation to be made to the masters, as was but thought just by Great Britain in liberating her slaves; the desirathe North, despised everywhere. Was there ever a question fraught with such stupendous considerations? Can even the Liberator answer it? Such generalization, as exists in remark number one, may be truisms and correct sentiment, such as we all maintain towards on, gambling and intoxication; but, in action, we must be practical. We must see clearly, almost beyond a doubt, every step of our way. It is not enough that we have a correct principle, and apply it hap hazard, because it is so. We do not go round, and tell every one that such a man is a cheat, because he deceives us; yet that is a correct principle, almost a duty. Principle and discretion should always go together. Is it a wonder, then, that the writer thould say the the ild say that he pever saw, a completely feasible plan of abolition, nor heard of one by any eminent statesman or philanthropist? If the Liberator has, it must have transcendant ability, and ought to lay it before the public. J. W. is satisfied, for the present, with the immense step forward, of cutting loose slatery from the Northern shoulders; if, as Mr. Potter was the State of says, the South only can justly emancipate, they have the chance, and may be forced to do so in arrang ing their European bus ss connections. Is not this a better opening than Northern coercion, civil war and bloodshed—even if these were intended for emanon, instead of the reverse?

New Music. Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washing 1. Let me kiss him for his Mother. With brilliant Variations for the piano; by Charles Grobe.

2. Child of my Heart: Words by Blanche D'Artois. Music by C. E. Kimball.

3. Rosalie. O, thou wert bright as opening day. By E. C. Schastjani. E. C. Sebastiani.
 River Side. Baracolle, by Wm. Horatio Clarke.
 La Bella Rose Mazurka. By R. R. French.

THE DESIRABLE RESULT.

"Whate'er thou purposest to do, With an unwearled seal pursue."

With an unwearied seal pursue."

The guiding and controlling power in the present struggle, the ultimate occasion whereof is acknowledged to be alavery, is far from exhibiting, in its present stage, a professed radical tendency. In what it may eventuate, in the progress of its career, is quite uncertain. This somewhat depends on the length of the war, the persistence of the contending sections, the favorable or unfavorable results of the successive battles to be fought, the chances of reaction among battles to be fought, the chances of reaction amon the people on either side, and the probabilities of ti nnerstrence of other nations, for various reasons best known to themselves. As the matter now stands, the Northern army is composed of various elements, po-litically considered. Democrats and old-line Whigs march, shoulder to shoulder, with Republicans of every grade,—their war-shibboleth being "Defence and vindication of the flag, and preserval Union." Under this sign, they propose to wage the war, to crush the rebellion, to conquer the enemy to reestablish the integrity of the Union. Rigi observance of the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, determination to discountenance and suppress slave revolts, and Congressional admission that slaves are not only property, but national property, subject to taxation as such by a national law, to defray national expenses, are prominent features thus far developed and maintained both by the Administration and its friends, as well as by the Democrats. All these items tend, to a certain degree, to justify the Southern views on these subjects. They are advo-cated as proofs of fealty to the Constitution; and yet, on other matters relating to the employment of the navy, at least, and to the Habeas Corpus Act, this nent is strenuously claimed by many to have been ignored or set aside.

Why this fatherly tenderness on those points, and

actual disregard on these, when it is well known and universally admitted what is the real occasion of the war; and when it is evident that a settlement of the irritating question alone can afford a sure guaranty of permanent peace; especially, too, when it is so obvious that a state of peace is the only condition under which the republic can thrive? Foreign nations have their eyes upon us; and their inference of our wishes will be deduced from our practical admissions, which we cannot consistently gainsay, as officially announced by our national policy. They are interested specta-tors of our acts and their tendency, as affecting their interests. Many of them regard us as freenien, practicing self-government in a land of freedom, which spreads wide open its arms for them to come and participate in our blessings. They consider this country the safety-valve of the world; and our example should convince them that our invitation to them is cordial. and worthy of their acceptance. Can we do this by keeping ourselves in the uncertain quicksands of revolution and civil convulsions? And can we avoid these fatal evils without removing their cause? Why then extenuate the matter, till the country is frittered down to impotence? When all are agreed as to the funda-mental cause of the difficulty, why not seize the bull by the horns and the hydra by the throat? Otherwise, let the Constitution be observed in all

its parts, until it may be altered. Let no more gov-ernors be appointed by the Executive over the territories; no more organic acts be framed and imposed by Congress to organize territorial inhabitants who have the constitutional right, on the principles of self-government, to choose their own rulers and legislators, as servants, and not as colonial masters; let no more restrictions be harnessed upon Southern chattels than upon Northern, nor the haboas corpus writ be suspended so questionably by the President's sanc-tion; let no menacing ships-of-war be arrayed, with out constitutional sanction, against a revolting State, nor the guns of a fort, bought by the whole nation fo Congress virtually or directly order it to be done; let none of these be done, and there will be no need of their subsequent approval by Congress, and scarcely need of reference to the policy of Washington in the famous Pennsylvania insurrection of 1794. For a violation of these provisions will furnish quite as valid precedents for further violations on future emergencles, as the act of secession, if now countena similar nature. And though it may be deemed by some Republicans sufficient excuse for such viola-tions, to plead "salus populi suprema lex est," we can-not but agree with John Selden, that "there is not anything in the world more abused than this senanything in the word of example it as if we ought to forsake the known law, when it may be (in our opinion) most for the advantage of the people, when it means no such thing. It is not salts populi suprema lez est, but eats it is in all the laws you make, have a special eye thing. It is not salus populi suprema lex est, but esto: that is, in all the laws you make, have a special eye the good of the people." Besides being a very ed man, his memory is still more endeared to us by his choice of the motto, LIBERTY ABOVE ALL THINGS

The mere physical conflict of war will only dem strate such facts as the comparative strength, skill, re-sources, of the respective armies; which is the stronger more skilful, or more fortunate, and not which is right It does not even determine whether the clergy as chaplains of the North, differing as they do sectionally, and diverging in rare harmony from their eighteen centuried gospel standard of Peace, are more correct in their imprecations and orisons than Southern preachers. But its effect may add four or five States from the border-line to the free States, and thus weaken the hold of slavery on those farther South, for a future harvest to freedom, and a jubilee release from servitude. No credit therefor, however, will be due to the professed intentions of either army, or of the adstant are partially awake. Baiked by the stavenousers in their usual pursuit of mammon, they look up and their usual pursuit of mammon, they look up and stand aghast at the new developments of a tyranny that they never before cared for, or attempted to understand. Many are more willing than ever before to hear and learn something of the vile system that seri-We are sure, does not appear in the programme. too, that it energetically agitates the forbidden ques-

the world and as a home for its family of fremen, if a mere conquest by physical force be achieved, a forcible re-instatement of the Flag in the South be efble re-installment of the Flag in the count of the Flag in the County of the used as the cement, why cannot intermediate condi-tions be imposed to harden that cement? It is not necessary to exterminate the negro, nor to discard his wound the sense of justice in the minds of reasonab and tobacco, and no other class of laborers can supply his place, let him remain at reasonable wages, and the profits will accumulate rapidly to his employer. This would break down both slavery and aristocracy, and back in 1 give the North a free pass all over the South, thus constitutionally allowing "the citizens of each State all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several was the cause, the evil was very apparent, and reached much further than the better influences could their own firesides.

In such suggestions, we cannot see any more flagrant violations of the Constitution, which in certain practical respects has become a dead letter, and will doubtless so continue under the present and recent practical respects has become a due at reter, and will of the present and record that the total abolition of slavery is the absoluted by the state of things, than have been tolerated for years by all sides. To have a popular instrument observed, it should represent the people's wishes; and if ours needs amendment, our compromise should embrace provisions for the purpose. Nor can we see that war is more profitable than free labor, whether it be black or white. Our aim then should be, in yindicating the provisions for the purpose. It is not stated that the total abolition of slavery is the absolutely necessary work of to-day. They must be taught to comprehend some of the higher principles of Justice, Liberty, and Right. They must be made to feel that, if they could save the remnant of their formers of the provisions for the purpose. Nor can we see that war is more profitable than free labor, whether it be black or white. Our aim then should be in yindicating the provisions that such ineffable meanness would be unworthy any needs amendment, our compromise should embrace provisions for the purpose. Nor can we see that war is more profitable than free labor, whether it be black or white. Our aim then should be, in vindicating the flag and the Union, to do something, in the expensive and degiructive process, for the enhancement of these emblems in value to this nation and to the world, to us and the world's posterity.

"O. S. M." next week. We have many more com-

EMANCIPATION THE ONLY CURE.

DEAR LIBERATOR: We all see the evi We all see the evils of stavery at last, we also that the only cure for them is emancipation. Would to God that we had earlier understood that there can be no abiding union or prosperity, save on the basis of liberty to all! We hope we are approaching emancipation. Still, it is at best a blind and tardy progress. pation. Still, it is at best a nume and Emancipation by force has its objections. It would mot leave the slaves in such relations with their masters as would make improvement and progress at all easy. It would remove slavery politically, but not matter as would remove slavery politically, but not matter than the principle of th casy. It would remove sizery pointourly, but not intellectually or morally. The hostility of race would be only increased. The roots of slavery in the pride, the avarice, and the cruelty of the human heart would remain as rank and rife as ever, and would soon send up a yet more poisonous growth of sin. It would irritate the masters so much that they would continue The firmest Union men at the South would suffer the most by a forcible emancipation. To compromise, or to recognize secession, is to give up all possibility of emancipation. Either would be wrong and ruinous-Yet a continued war may tempt us to do one or the other. War itself I can look at only as too wicked a means to be justified by any end. War is to me only a compound of anger, strife, contention, envy, malev-olence and revenge, with idleness, debauchery, and general demoralization. There can be no war without the war spirit, without hatred of our bre we do not yet see. While the nation approved of slavery, it saw no evils in slavery. We have made up our minds that war is right, and closed our eyes to its evils. The evils of war will come upon us only the faster. War must weaken and demoralize us, and thus lessen our power to help the slave. Still, one course remains. The first of August tells us what we ought to do. We can emancipate the slaves, and at the same time pacify their masters. We can make the destruction of slavery the restoration of the Union. We can bring about the only abiding peace, a peace founded on justice, freedom, and universal a peace founded on justice, freedom, and universa content. We can make master and slave equals friends and co-workers. Let government assist every loyal slave State in emancipating, educating, and em ploying the slaves. Let the portion of the govern ment compensation to the whole expense corre to the alacrity with which the State accepts terms. The Northern border States, Maryland, Kencipation, 1st, by dread of the expense of co tion, and, 2d, by the temptation of the profits of slave tion, and, 20, or the companion of the protecting for the South. The latter hindrance has perished; let us remove the other also. If we begin with them, there will be so much gain in principle. Other States will soon follow. The government which offers to free them from all the evils of slavery and war, poverty and anarchy, would present strongest possible claims on their ob rather, their gratitude. We can afford to be magnan mous enough to spare their lives and property, and to remove the great obstacle to their prosperity and progress, with little immediate loss, and great ultimat gain to the whole Southern people, and large immedi ate profit to the most rich and powerful of the citizens. Is this possible? Yes, for it is right. Is there not at least possibility enough to make the measure worth considering? It would be expensive, but not nsive as war, for war settles nothing; but ation with compensation will settle every o expensive as thing. It is what must be done first or last, or slave ry must continue, and all real union perish. Sooner r later, we must buy and free the slaves, and the coner, the better. Every day of war makes us less able to offer, and the South less willing to accept CAMBRIDGE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MISSION.

DANVERSPORT, August 8, 1861 FRIEND GARRISON, — The question, whether, in view of the times, Anti-Slavery men should hold fewer meetings than usual, is being discussed. My nterest in the cause is the only excuse that I have fo saying a word upon it.

saying a word upon it.

Opinions here are various; but to me the matter appears thus:—To hold them as a mere form is uscless; to hold them in mere bravado, or because of opposition, is no bette. We injure ourselves, and consequently our cause, when we get off the right track, on either hand. If we make our meetings what we ought to make them, we cannot possibly what we ought to make them, we cannot possibly hold too many, though we tax to the fullest extent all our abilities, moral, intellectual, physical, and pecu-niary. But, if in our meetings we forget the grandeur character which the cause demands. Partial failure ablest speakers. At least, they seem to forget when they spend precious time talking upon comparatively small side issues. Excitement and anger almost al-ways come at such times, and they bring with them a more bitter loss than that of wasted hours. Little bickerings and personal attacks and disputes have no rightful place in anti-slavery meetings. seem to me that taunts and gibes are fittest weapons for anti-slavery uses. Denunciation, bitter and long-continued, and carried to the extremest verge of truthful exaggeration, injures the heart of him who in-dulges in it, and all who hear it, whether friend or foe.

The work is great before us. The people, at last, are partially awake. Balked by the slaveholders in too, that it energetically agitates the forbidden ques-tion; and who can silence, the voice?

A separate confederacy might be deemed by some a thorn in the side; but would not an impending fear of another rebellion continually disturb the na-tional success and depreciate its value as a member of there a better time to speak. But it is not well to or unjust attacks. Criticism is needful, often, and ent? It is not wholesome; but, if carried so far as to grievously sary to externment the negro, not to discard me,

If the be exactly adapted to raise cotton, sugar
men who are not personally concerned, it must be
tobacco, and no other class of laborers can supply
lace, let him remain at reasonable wages, and the
prejudices of the people were needlessly played upon, until angry retorts were made; and these bein back in much the same kind, the whole meeti belittled. It was no lack of earnestness, or ability to aid the cause, that led to such results; but, whateve follow. The work that anti-slavery men have before them is so great, that no labor should be wasted, and no strength misapplied. The people are to be convinced that the total abolition of slavery is the abse civilized beings - that such wickedness is st bring, sooner or later, a deadly curse upon them.
They must be made to understand that no wealth They must be made to understand that no wealth of earthly advantages, no strength of numbers, no intellectual greatness, no art of diplomacy, no politi-cal jugglery or statesmanship, no wisdom or power of man, can possibly save a people from suffering the utmost penalty of every persistence in crime. And

more than this, let Anti-Slavery laborers still try to bring the people to a stronger love of the absolute Right, and to induce them to stand by it at whatever cost, and, with their best efforts, encourage them to grasp the great ideas of the age, and become equal to the demands of the times.

Respectfully,

N. P. Jr.

THE TRIAL HOUR.

DEAR GARRISON:

Am I too desponding in expressing my forebodings that our trial-hour is at band! To my mind, the clouds are shutting down with thick darkness. There may be a "silver lining" the other cide, but sober facts and daily observation impel me to deep and rather gloomy reflections. The truth is, among the mass of the people there is nothing but inhustingly towards the negro. His race is hated, and "whom we hate, we injure." The bare acknowledgment of the manhood of the slaye would change the whole tide of affairs.

Politicians are on the slayt. Already are they be.

ginning to divide with the choice rather to "reign in hell than serve in heaven." They seize upon the appalling depression in business—persuade the poor hell than serve in heaven." They seize upon the appalling depression in business—persuade the poor that something must be done to avoid destitution—that the dollar and bread are more than the "nigger," (to use their common and degrading dialect). They look toward the suppression of free speech, lusting for power to work mischief on the heads of Abolitionists. A citizens' or mass meeting was called in Milfor last Thursday evening, to induce men to voluntee for the war. At an early stage of the pro owing, among other resolutions, was read and pass

"Resolved, That Abolitionism is not, nor do we wish
to have it the issue involved in the present conflict between the North and South; and that we believe the
man or party of men, who tramples under foot, or gives
to the flames the Constitution of the United States
as being "a. covenant with death and an agreement
with hell," is as deserving of the scaffold as Jeff. Davis and his coadiutors."

True, a large majority of those who compos meeting were foreigners—recreant countrymen of the land that gave birth to the noble O'Conhell. However, the Chairman was a most esteemed gentlema of the Republican party, and several of his associate were present, dissatisfied, no doubt, with the gross er of the meeting, but quite too tame and sient in such an hour. Surely, this is not the time for Abolitionists to "lie upon their oars"-not the time to suspend our meetings. Now, if ever, we should

With a heart for any fate."

I have been incited to these reflections by the stirring words of our devoted and ever-vigilant friend, Parker Pillsbury, from whom—on the eve of his de-parture for the far West—I have just received a imely note :-

timely note:—

"CONCORD, (N. 11.,)

DEAR FRIEND:—* ** I should haste to Milford, as you desired, but my destiny seems to be ever towards the setting sun. In a fortaight, should my plans succeed, you will hear of me beyond the Alleghanies. * * * I came near getting mobbed last Sunday, for saying even less of Southern men and means of downce than Gov. Sprague said last week to his Logislature. Phillips was right at Abington on the First. Our Government is a 'murder work a set of fellows never did. We continued to starder work a set of fellows never did. We continued to the first fiscation. A portion of the cavalry on thang a spy, when we know that all our plans are revealed by him, and the army defeated in consequence. Postspone our meetings! By the woes of the enslaved, NO!

Postspone our meetings! By the woes of the enslaved, NO!

Let our cry be, as at Marengo,

Let our cry be, as at Marengo,

Let our cry be, as at Marengo, Haring

That it was a most period us the fact that we were in reach of the shell from Fortress Monroe and the steamers which had from Fortress Monr

All hands to the work! Henry T. Cheever says well, in the last Standard, what is the work of the 'Pronounced Abolitionists,' at this time. For one, I will try to do just that, while my voice is as loud as the sparrow's on the

May Heaven smile upon the faithful labors of our rother, and grant him strength "sufficient unto his Milford, (Mass.) Aug. 19, 1861.

THE WAR AND SLAVERY.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,—Some weeks ago, in noticing General Butler's twaddle naswer to a rebuke from Governor. Andrew, you devoted a few words to the "Horrors of St. Domingo." In one of Mr. Phillips's speeches, he alluded to an insurrection of slaves in a Danish West India island. The popular ideas on the dangers of freeing slaves are utterly disproved by these two instances: the popular mind will soon open to a demand for such information. In freeing the slaves of the Southern States, the North will seek relief from the ntolerable burdens of the present war, and will readiy listen to what, from party spirit and religious preudice, it has heretofore denied, very willing of an thirty years' war on slavery, our friends have acexcuse to do what its own interest cumulated every fact bearing on this subject. Possibly Mr. Phillips has combined them in one of his noble speeches. If so, is it in a pamphlet form? Mrs. Child's "Right Way, the Safe Way," is invaluable as bearing on British West India emancipation. But the leading facts of all the instances of negro emancidensed in a modest sized pamphlet, will sell well in a few months.

The war looks somewhat discouraging at present.

Lyon in the South-West corner of Missouri, and But-ler in the South-East corner of Virginia, eight or nine hundred miles apart, with Rosencranz in Western worus the things that are, instead of "the things that are not." The determined spirit of the North in action and words still lacks the high enthusiasm of a contest for principle. The national anthem died "a-borning." What was there to sing about? Libsurd a Proclamation, dated the 16th. declaring out to the declaring the state of the state o erty could not be the hurden of the se have kicked her out of camp: all the lawyers, from Sumner to Breekinridge, have thrust her from legislative halls; have hounded the police after her, as if she had been a drab of low degree. Nobody would acknowledge her with a black face. So they all hoot at her, and call her "nigger." If here and there a man re monstrates that liberty, whether red, white, or blue y, whether red, water, erty, they howl and gnash their erty, they howl and gnash their even black, is still liberty, they howl and g teeth, and ask him with inconsequent logic, want your daughter to marry a nigger? Is a nigge equal to a white man?" So the goddess is suppressed, and the people scoff at her because just now she is black. But why should she monopolize all the glories of national song! Why don't some enthusiastic Douglas Democrat string his harp to the glories of "Popular Sovereignty"! some tuneful Breckinridge man pipe on "State Rights"! or some gallant Republican immortalize the theme of "Free Soil"! Why, in short, don't Everett compose a hexameter on "The Union, the Constitution, and enforcement of the Laws," and have it sung in the Ledger? The arguments and appeals applied by the Abolitionists to the American e cience are now being seconded by four handred millions of argur a far more sensitive part of the American organism, , its pocket, and the Abolitionists will be called on to furnish the excuse for putting down the slavery at whose bidding they have so long been mobbed, and the National Hymn may yet be sung in the name of Liberty. Respectfully yours,

DISLOYAL PAPERS IN NEW YORK. e following is the presentment made by the Grand in the case of certain papers in New York city.

"The Grand Inquest of the United States of America, for the Southern District of New York, beg leave to present the following facts to the Court, and ask its advice thereon:

to present the following facts to the Court, and sak its advice thereon:

There are certain newspapers within this district which are in the frequent practice of entouraging the rebels now in arms against the Federal Government, by expressing sympathy and agreement with them, the duty of acceding to their demands, and dissatisfaction with the employment of force to overcome them. These papers are the New York daily and weekly Journal of Commerce, the daily and weekly Day Book, the Freemas's Journal, all published in the city of New York, and the daily and weekly Eagle, published in the city of Brooklyn. The first named of these has just published a list of newspapers in the free States opposed to what it calls 'the present analog's sur'—a war in defence of our country and its institutions, and our most sacrod rights, and carried on solely for the restoration of the Government.

most sacrod rights, and carried on solely for the restoration of the Government.

The Grand Jury are aware that free governments allow liberty of speech and of the press to their ntmost limit, but there is nevertheless a limit. It a person in a fortress or an army were to preach to the soldiers submission to the enemy, lie would be treated as an offender. Would be been or culpable than the citizen who, in the milst of the most formidable conspiracy and rebellion, tells the conspirators and rebels that they are right, encourages them to persevere in resistance, and condemns the effort of loyal citizens to overcome and punish then, as an 'unholy war'! If the utternance of such language in the streets or through the press is not a crime, then there is a great defect in our laws, or they were not made for such an emergency. The conduct of these disloyal presses is of course condemned and abborred by all loyal men; but the Graud Jury will be glad to learn from the Court that it is also subject to indictment and condign punish.

THE BURNING OF HAMPYON—THE REBEL INCEN-DIARRIS CONFESS THEIR GUILT. It will be seen by the following letter, copied from the Petersburg (Va.) Express, that the rebels confess their gullt in burning the town of Hampton, an act which the Richmond papers have attributed to the Federal troops, and have as most cruel and diab

CAMP AT BARTLETT'S, August 9, 1861. CAMP AT BARTLETT'S, August 9, 1861.

On Wednesday evening, it was decided by General Magnuler to be expedient and proper to burn Hampton. In furtherance of this object, just after dark, the troops were moved from in sight of Hampton to another road which approaches nearer to Newport News, and not far from the town. The Old Dominion Cavalry, under command of Capt. Thillips, and the Mecklenburgh Cavalry, under command of Capt. T. F. Goode, and a command of infantry, under Col. Hodges, were detailed for the hazarglous purpose of firing the town. The cavalry companies marched in front, and the infantry behind.

cavalry companies marched in front, and the infantry behind.

Just here I will state that an efficient fortification had been thrown across the main street by the Yankees, but the guns had all been removed. We marched to the fortifications, carried our horses off fron the street, and then dismounted. Infantry were detailed hold our horses will see we were to execute the work. We marched down the street, and while a consultation was being held, a brisk fire opened from the sentinels at the bridge upon us. They were supposed to be from forty to one hundred strong. An order was then issued for the reinforcement of the infantry, which was no sooner given than Col. Hodges joined with them in double quick time, and rushed to the spot. The rascals only fired once after the infantry made an attack upon them. They ran off as fast as their cowardly legs could carry them. No one on our side was injured.

be seen from the fact that we were in reach of the shell from Fortress Monroe and the steamers which had been seen lying about, and also the fact that the Yan kees had a regiment of infantry not far from, the bridge, and could have easily made an attack on us. Having, the advantage of the light from the burning, houses, they could have opened a most disastrous fire upon us. There was danger, also, of a reinforcement from New-port News, although Gen. Magruder had guarded all points with pickets.

Sr. Louis, August 14, 1861.

The rebels in this State are conducting their warfare upon principles worthy of Thugs and Comanches. Assassination is their strong point, and they seem to delight in the indiscriminate slaughter of friends and foes. A few days since, an aged and infirm citizen was shot dead upon his own porch. Two old and peaceable residents of Potosi. Washington county, with their wives and children, are here, stopping at Barnum's Hotel. They were driven from their homes, and spent one night concealed in the woods, to avoid the tender mercies of the rebels. Last Statuday, a friend of mine from Kansas was coming East on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, when a volley of a hundred shots was fired into the train from a clump of trees which it had just passed. As he was on the rear platform of the last car, his position was peculiarly exposed; but he dropped flat upon the floor, (as did the passengers inside the cars.) and thus escaped injury. Night before last, a train on the Pacific road, west of Jefferson City, was also fired into from an ambuscade. A rifle ball struck the conductor, Fred. Whipple, entering his right side, penetrating the lungs, and passing completely through his body. Its force was spent as it came out on his left side; his clothing stopped it, and it was afterward found in his boot. Mr. Whipple died in a few hours. He was a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, and a man universally beloved. He leaves a family in California, Missouri. This atrocious practice of firing Sr. Louis, August 14, 1861 found in his boot. Mr. Whipple died in a few hoursHe was a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, and a
man universally beloved. He leaves a family in California, Missouri. This atrocious practice of firing
into railway trains and endangering the lives of women and children, as well as men, will never be suppressed until a terrible example is made of some of
the murderers. They should be treated as outlaws
from the human race, and shot down wherever they
are found. The trains frequently carry, among other
passengers, Federal soldiers, and for the remote chance
of injuring some of them, they seem willing to shed
any amount of innocent blood.

A negro was brought into Washington on Fri hundred miles apart, with Rosencranz in Western Virginia, and Prentiss at Cairo between, hold the advanced positions of the Northern forces, about tory or fifty miles North of that 36 30 line which your compatriot, the revered Webster, and many other compatriot, of yours in Boston, gave us so positively to understand was God's ordained boundary of slavery. I remember at the time I read those eloquent sentences, of feeling glad to be assured of so gratifying a fact by such a great man. I am sorry it don't turn out as Mr. Webster said, and am afraid it will take a good deal of Boston money to make Mr. Webster's words the things that are, instead of "the things that are, instead of "the things that they would be be suchered if they words the things that are, instead of "the things that they would be unchered if they such a great man. I am sorry it don't turn out as Mr. Webster said, and am afraid it will take a good deal of Boston money to make Mr. Webster's words the things that are, instead of "the things that they would be that these negroes had

ANOTHER PROCLAMATION. The President has issued a Proclamation, dated the 16th, declaring all commercial intercourse between the secoled States and other parts of the United States to be unlawful, and other parts of the United States to be unlawful, and all goods and merchandize passing to or from the said seceded States, with the vessels conveying the same, to be forfielted to the United States. Also, that from and after fifteen days from the date of the Proclamation, all vessels belonging to any inhabitant of the States in rebellion, found at sea or in any port of the United States, will be forfeited.

PHILADELPHIA, August 19th. Pierce Butler was arrested this afternoon by the U. S. Marshal, by order of Mr. Cameron. He was taken to New York this evening, en route to Fort Hamilton.

It is stated that Pierce Butler's arrest was caused by intercepted letters giving information to the enemy.

intercepted fetters giving internation to the enemy.

Among the important events of last week is
the arrest at Washington of C. J. Faulkner, of Virginia, the late American Minister to France. He is
suspected of laboring in behalf of the Confederation
abroad, and is supposed to have been appointed a
Brigadier General in the rebel army.

Easton, Pa., August 19th. The office of the Sesti-nd newspaper, which has been advocating peace and compromise, was gutted to night by a mob. Colonel Johnson, Congressman elect, was burned in effigy, and made to show his colors. Intense excitement pro-

The Among the cheering events of the week is the complete success of the great movement of the Government for securing means to carry on the war. The Banks of Boston, New York and Philadelphia have agreed to loan the Government one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, probably the largest loan ever negotiated. Here is substantial loyalty. The London Times need give itself no farther anxiety about the interests of English capitallists in this matter.

J. B. LYON.

Hubbardson. Mr. E. H. Heywood of Boston gave an address in Hubbardston on Sunday, 11th finst, on "The War." The Unitarian church had beer engaged for him the week previous, and notices of his meeting were read from the pulpits. But during the week some throublent individuals threatened disorder, and the parish committee deemed it proper to revise their decision. Boisterous efforts were unade to prevent his obtaining any place to fulfil his appointment; but, on the guarantee of three responsible clitices for rent ins obtaining any place to that it adjusted to the one of the object of the objec

PRIZE OF \$100.—The Church Anti-Slavery Society has reissued its offer of a prize of \$100 for an acceptable tract which is not to exceed twenty four pages, on the question: "How shall Christians and Christian Churches best absolve themselves from all responsible connection with slavery?" This prize was offered last year, but the number of competitors was few, and the efforts were not deemed worthy of popular circulation. The time is now extended to January 1, 1862. Manuscripts are to be sent to either of the following Committee on adjudication: The Rev. J. C. Webster, Hopkinton, Mass.; Deacon J. Washburn, Worccester, Mass.; the Rev. Sannel Souther, Worccester, Mass.

DEATH OF PROMINENT CITIENS. Deacon Samu-el Greeley, a well-known Boston citizen, died at Swampsoot, on the 16th inst, aged 78 years. He was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1802, and has been a member of the Legislature, and also of

the Board of Aldermen.

Nathaniel Faxon, Esq. for so many years a leading member of the shoe and leather trade, at the well-known sign of the big shoe, Dock Square, died in the city, 16th inst., at the advanced age of 84 years. Mr. F. came to this city a poor boy, weeked industrously, and rose gradually until he accumulated a very large

fortine.

A despatch received in this city Monday morning from Plymouth, Mass., announces the death of Rev. J. S. Clark, D. D., for many years Secretary of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, and at the time of his decease Corresponding Secretary of the Congregational Library Association.

Gen. Fremont has wisely established martial law in St. Louis, appointed Major McKinstry, of the U.S. Army, Provost Marshal, and arrested the President of the Board of Police Commissioners, John A. Brownlee. The Provost Marshal has issued stringent orders against wearing concealed weapons, the sale of fire-arms, &c., and a fleet of steamers has been concentrated at St. Louis for safe keeping.

New York, August 17th. The Herald reports the liscovery of an attempt to blow up Fort Columbus, on Jovernor's Island. Four men are represented to have one there Monday night, with the intention of laying train to blow up the magazine and destroy several. hundred tons of powder, and a large number of solders quartered there. The authors of the infamous scheme escaped. The sentry who passed them to the Island is missing.

scheme escapea.

Island is missing.

The Income Tax. The National Intelligencer says that the President of the United States will pay seven hundred and twenty-six dollars, and each member of the Cabinet two hundred and sixteen dollars under the tax on incomes laid by Congress.

of the Cabinet two hundred and sixteen dollars under the tax on incomes laid by Congress.

The "Shark Guards," a company of New Hampshire volunteers, embraces in its ranks several men who measure over six feet, and one who towers up to the height of six feet and seven and one half inches.

inches.

THE PRINCE NAPOLEON COMING TO BOSTON. It is stated on good authority that Prince Napoleon will visit this city in about two weeks. It is his desire to avoid all public display.

Thorace Greeley, who has been confined to his house for the last three weeks from serious illness, is recovering, though still unable to attend to business. He had a severe attack of brain fever, which at one time threatened to prove fatal.

The "Fraternity" propose to observe the ning anniversary of th forthcoming anniversary of the pirthany of the law of Theodore Parker by suitable exercises at Allston Hall, on Friday evening, the 23d inst. Brief addresses will be made by several of Mr. Parker's friends, interspersed with music, and the occasion

vill doubtless be one of much interest. Free tickets of admission may be had at the Anti-Wendell Phillps, W. Addresses by L. Garrison, E. H. Heywood, and others.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifeen years' experience in the Homeopathic treatment if diseases, offers-her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity. References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.;

John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D.,

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to P. M.

DIED—In Springfield, August 11, of cholera infantum, RAYMOND DANFORTH, son of E. W. and Frank O. D. Clark, aged 10 months and 9 days.

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
NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.
West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL.

THE next Torm of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on Wednesday, Spt. 4, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please ad-dress WM. S. HAYWOOD, Principal. Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

HE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The lo-I for the accommodation of transient Bearders. The lo-cation 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. S. NEWELL.

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY GERRIT SMITH: containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Species—ope of them delivered lately, on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY, July 19.—4t No. 121 Nassau street, N. Y.

\$40 PARKER -\$40 Sewing Machines.

PRICE PORTY DOLLARS.

PRICE PORTY DULLMAND.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a Silver Medal at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Associated, and most substantially ients owned and used by these parties, and the Parker Sewing Company. They were a Medal at the last Fair of the Mochanies' C ciation, and are the best finished and mos made Family Machines new in the market. Sales Room, 188 Washing

GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

nted everywhere. All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice. Boston, Jan. 18, 1861.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY. Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Mas

Charitable Mechanic Associatio

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is a constructed that it embraces the combinations of the vao constructed that it embraces the combinations of the va-ious patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler t Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay A Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from \$40 to \$120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that thay cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another Feature which strikes your committee favorably, vis: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double look-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite fait and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that account.

Boetry.

NOT YET.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT Oh country, marvel of the earth!
O realm, to sudden greatness grown!
The age that gloried in thy birth,
Shall it behold thee overthrown? Shall traitors lay that greatness low? No, land of Hope and Blessing, No!

And we who wear thy glorious name. Shall we, like cravens, stand spart Shall we like cravens, stand spar-when those whom thou hast trusted The death-blow at thy generous he orth goes the battle-cry, and, lo! rth goes the battle-ory, sets rise in harness, shouting, No!

And they who founded, in our land, And they who founded, in our land,
The power that rules from rea to sea.
Bled they in vain, or vainly planned
To leave their country great and fre
Their sleeping ashes from below
Send up the thrilling murmur, No!

Knit they the gontle ties which long These sister States were proud to wer And forged the kindly links so strong For idle hands in sport to tear-for seornful hands aside to throw

Our humming marts, our iron ways, Our wind-tossed woods on mountain Our wind-tossed woods on mountain The hoarse Atlantic, with his bays, The calm, broad Ocean of the West, And Mississippi's torrent flow, And loud Niagara, answer, No !

Not yet the hour is nigh, when they
Who deep in Eld's dim twilight sit,
Earth's ancient kings shall rise and say,
"Proud country, welcome to the pit!
So soon art thou, like us, brought low!"
No, sullen group of shadows, No! For now, behold, the arm that gave

For now, benoal, too arm task of Strong, as of old, to guard and save—
That mightly arm which none can stay—
On clonds above and fields below,
Writes, in men's sight, the answer, No!

From "Temple Bar" Magazine.

THREE TIMES.

First time I saw my Love, my eyes Were gladdened with a sweet surprise; There woke a thought that never dies, That bright June morning. A vision, fairly clad in white, Dawned softly, freshly on my sight, And in her hand were roses brig June roses, pure from speck or blight,
My Love's adorning !

Last time I saw my Love, she lay All pale, all silent, cold as clay; The light of life had died away; O, sad and sweet last-time!
And still she were a robe of white,
And on her pillow, lightly prest,
And in the hand that lay at rest, Solemnly on her peaceful breast, Were roses-buds not opened quite-Gathered before their prime A tender care had laid them there; But my dead Love was far more fair

Next time I see my Love, I know A glorious garment, white as snow,
On which no stains of earth can show
A garment meet for heaven—
Will robe the form I love to see; My angel-love, who waits for me And holds a palm of victory For earth's white roses given.

OVER THE WAY.

Gone in her childish purity, Out from the golden day; Fading away in the light so sweet, Where the silver stars and the sunbeams meet, Paving the path for her silent feet, Over the silent way.

Over her bosom tenderly The pearl-white hands are prest; The lashes lie on her cheeks so thin, Where the softest blush of the rose has been, Shutting the blue of her eyes within The pure lids closed in rest.

Over the sweet brow lovingly Twineth her sunny hair; She was so fragile that Love sent down From his heavenly gems, that soft bright crown, To shade her brow with its waves so brown, Light as the dimpling air.

Gone to sleep with a tender smile Froze on her tender lips, By the farewell kiss of her dewy breath, Cold in the clasp of the angel Death-Like the last fair bud of the fading wreath Whose bloom the white frost nips

Robin husbed in your downy bed. Do you miss her voice from your glad duct, When the dew in the heart of the rose is set, Till its velvet lips with the essence wet In orient crimson glow?

Rosebud-under your shady leaf, Rosebid—noder your anany areas, Hid from the sunny day— Do you miss the glance of the eyes so bright, Whose blue was heaven in your timid sight? It is beaming now in the world of light Over the starry way.

Hearts-where the darling's head hath lain Held by love's shining ray— so you know that the touch of her gentle hand De you know that the touch of her gentle Doth brighten the harp in the unknown I Oh, she waits for us with the angel band Over the starry way.

SAFETY OF THE RIGHTEOUS. "Fear not; for they that are with us are more they that are with them."—2 Kings, 6:16.

The wicked and the base do compass round ne wicked and the base do compass round The pure and humble in their righteous way, and with fierce onset, and the trumpet's sound, They seek the servants of the Lord to slay; They trust in wealth, or in the eruel sword, Vain idols, that cannot defend or save ! Yan 1404s, tast cannot detend or save:

They fear no threatenings of God's holy Word,

But, trusting in themselves alone, are brave.

But though no human help the righteous know,

They fear not in the last, the trying hour:

God, through his graedous love to them, doth show hosts and ensigns of his power. Which compass them about on every side, In whose protection they may safe confide

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Thy hill-tops, New England, shall leap at the cry, And the prairie and far-distant West shall reply; It shall rell o'er the land, till the fartherest gien Gives back the glad summons again and again.

Oppression shall hear in its temple of blood,
"And read on its wall the hand-writing of God;
Niagars's terrent shall shunder it forth,
It shall burn in the sentinel star of the North.

It shall blaze in the lightning, and speak in the fall Slavery's fetters are riven asunder,
And Freedom her rights has triumphantly won, And our country her garments of b

The forests shall hear it, and lift up their voice, And bid the green prairies and valleys rejoice; And the Father of Waters join Mexico's sea In the anthem of Nature for millions set free.

The Diberator.

HENRY C. WRIGHT TO JAMES HAUGHTON.

On which rests the Responsibility of the present War of Bullets and Bayonets between Liberty and Slavery, the North or the South?

MONROE CENTRE, (Maine,) July 20, 1861. To JAMES HAUGHTON, Dublin, Ireland:

DEAR JAMES—In a recent letter to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, you ask—"What is H. C. Wright doing in this crisis?" Doing his duty to his God and his kind, in resisting tyrants, by such means as to him seem just, and adapted to the end.

I have carefully read your letter. Two prominent points are presented in it—[1] that this way of

by the North; (2) that Abolitic ists have swerved from their principles, as Abolition ists and as Peace-men. In both I think you uninter itionally misjudge us. Allow me to narrate the simple facts respecting the origin and object of the overwhelming scourge that is now upon us.

Two antagonistic Ideas have been embodied in our

national government, as it has been administered eve since it went into operation, March 4, 1789—LIBER-TY and SLAVERY. The former is the thought of the North; the latter, of the South. From that day to this these two Ideas have been contending for th The issue has been—Shall Liberty or Slaree Labor or Slave Labor—Free Institutions Slave Institutions-hold dominion over the natio and over the continent?

As early as 1820, a plan was formed by the slave As early as 1502, a pain was formed by the sate-bolders to subject to Slavery the entire national do-main, together with Mexico and all Central America, and the islands adjacent. The Missouri Compromise was then formed, giving over all south of 26 deg. 30 min. to slavery, and nominally excluding it from all north of that line. In the discussions in Congress at that time, this plan was clearly unfolded. It seeme that time, this plan was clearly unloused. It seemed so wild and improbable that the North laughed at it; but from that hour the Slave Oligarchy have kept that object steadily in view. It was then determined that slavery should be made to triumph, in the Union, or out of it; by the aid of the Federal Government, or on its ruins. They expected to do it by its aid. It had wholly subserved the slave interest thus far In every instance where the two Ideas had grappled tery in the Legislative, Judicial, or Executive department of the Government, slavery had triumph ed. Slaveholders, having forced the North into sub jection in the Missouri conflict, were emboldened to jection in the Missouri connect, were embourned think that, in due time, they could compel it to allow slaves to be held and protected in every Northern State, and in all the territories.

From 1820, slaveholders bent their energies to have

it recognized as a fact, by every department of the government, and by the whole people, that the secu-rity, perpetuity and unlimited extension of slavery were guaranteed by the Constitution. Slavery inter-preted that instrument to suit itself, and compelled Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Executive, and through them, the whole people, to accept its interpretations. The will of the slaveholder supreme law of the land. By threats of dissolu tion and civil war, the North was driven to admit the Constitution to be just what he said it was. In fact the will of the slaveholder became the Constitution of the National Government, and nearly every State government, North as well as South. To speak, to print, or in any way to act, or even to think or feel for libagainst slavery, was deemed unconstitution that is, against the will, the interests and designs of slaveholders. Slavery, as an Idea, or an abstract right, must be acknowledged, and slave-labor, slavesociety and slave-institutions, as actualities, must be protected and perpetuated under the Constitution The entire nation seemed to be prostrated under the feet of the slaveholder, and to have lost the power of domestic, social, commercial, literary, po-litical, religious, or military resistance to his insolent and bloody rule. Governors of Northern States, and the Presidents of the United States, in their annual messages, recommended that resistance to the en-croachments of slavery should be made treason croachments of slavery should be made treason against the Constitution and Union, and punished as

In 1830, William Lloyd Garrison inaugurated a WAR OF IDEAS against slavery, and in defence of freedom and free institutions. He arraigned slavery before the tribunal of Humanity, as a wrong which no the tribunal of humanity, as a wrong which no power in the universe could make right—as "the sum of all villances." He called for its immediate and unconditional abolition. Earnest, determined, and philanthropic souls gathered around him, to prosecute that holy war unto death or victory. To understand this war of Ideas inaugurated by Garrison, and the work which he and his coadjutors found before them to be done, I would revert to the fact, that tw Ideas had been embodied in the government—LIB-ERTY and SLAVERY. These two Ideas had taken possession—the latter of the South, the former of the North. In their nature they were antagonistic and irreconcilable; and a truce or a compromise be tween them was as impossible as between and fire, or truth and falsehood. The church, the school, the college, finance, commerce and local government; the entire individual, domes tic, social, ecclesiastical, literary, financial and politi cal life of the South, were based on slavery; the entire circle of life in the North was based on liberty The habits of thought, feeling and action, and the en tire character of the South, were the natural fruits of an Idea that turned human beings into brutes and chattels; that ignored, absolutely, all rights of proper ty, person and family, and made men, women and children mere articles of merchandise, to be bought and sold in the shambles. The habits of thought and feeling in the North were, in part, the natural fruit of an Idea, that asserted and respected these rights and revolted at the practice of holding and using mer as property.

and character of the North an liberty. Events favored slavery; and free life, free society, and free institutions fell prostrate before the piratical tyrant. The North became the mere body-guard of the slave-breeding, slave-driving, slave-tra-forts in the South—Sumter and Pickens—were preding South-the mere watch-dogs of its slave-barraocons. The first thing to be done, in their war of Julius and the rabels. In their hot hate and madness, they gathered ten thousand armed men around Fort Sumlife, in all its modes of manifestation, from the doter. minion of slavery; especially to rescue the literature, the press, the politics and religion of the North from that debasing and insolent rule. We said to the people-"Wherever you feel it your duty to live and act, whether in the Church or in the State-whether act, whether in the cluster in the cluster in the state whether in the put in a political or religious party—whether in the put of dollars due from the South to the North; confiscation of stocks and bonds held by the North against the communion-table-there live and act for liberty, the South: the blockade of the Mississippi against the

and against slavery."

It was supposed, that if the war of Ideas could be

have proved, that, in case the war of Ideas should calminate in their defeat at the communion-table and hallot-box, they would inangurate a war of bullets, and compel the North to meet them on the field of blood. They have appealed from the field of Thou are to the field of Dearts.

Of course, in arraigning slavery, and calling for its overthrow, the Abolitionists arraigned and condemned every thing in the social, religious, political and commercial institutions and customs of the country that sanctioned and sustained it. Near the beginning of this war of Ideas, John C. Calhoun declared that such a war against slavery, and against the character of slaveholders, was far more to be dreaded by the South than a war of bullets and bayonets against their lives.

In sthe prosecution of this war, the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, as national bodies, were divided into Northern and Southern, enslaving and non-enslaving divisions. Slaveholders could find no security for slavery in a union with Northern their chief corner-stone. The discussion respecting the Bible and Church support of slavery prepared the minds of millions in the North for a discussion of the question of a Constitutional and Governmental supnicetion of a Constitutional and Governmental sup-port of slavery. A political party arose in the North, that denied the constitutional right of slavery to exend itself into territory beyond that which it and carried it to the polls in several successive presi non-existence of slavery where it now is, but its non-existence where it is not. "No further extension of slavery" was its motto. On this issue, its final tri-

imph seemed secure.

The slaveholders took the alarm. More lo menacingly than ever, they threatened civil war and the overthrow of the Government, should the Repub-lican party get possession of it. True to their pur-pose to secure the lasting empire of slavery in the Union, or out of it, by the aid of the government, or on its ruins, they began more openly and to prepare for the final struggle. They for f the Republicans got control of the Government, they could no longer use it as a means to further their plans. Hence, they matured their scheme of Secession in all its details. They saw that the Govrnment, in the hands of the new party, must have reedom and free labor for its basis; and, consequent ly, must come to mean the non-existence as well as the non-extension of slavery. In short, as they viewed it, it must become an Abolition Government; the active, deadly, eternal foe to the existence, prosperity, perpetuity and propagation of slavery.

Under these circumstances, "the peaceful, quiet ecession," of which you speak, was out of the question. Secession with them meant the total and abso-lute destruction of the United States Constitution and Government; an exterminating war upon a fre Constitution, a free Government, free labor, free in thing that has the prefix free to it."

Secession-the formation of a Southern Confede racy, based upon slavery and slave-labor as its "cor-Constitution and Government, and the substitution of their slave Constitution and Confederacy in its stead, with Washington for its capital—this was their pro-gramme. Leading Abolitionists penetrated their plan nestly exposed it. But the Northern mind, generally, could not or would not take the slarm. The will be the slarm.

seemed too vast, the crime too dark and horrible.

Meantime, the slaveholders proceeded steadily and stealthile, the stavenours proceed attains and stealthily to carry out their plan to destroy the old government—as, follows:—To run it in debt—to de-prive it of its means to pay—to ruin its credit—to seize and retain its forts, arsenals, custom-houses and -to send its navy to distant seas, beyond its reach for immediate use—to rob its Northern armories and navy-yards, and place their contents in slave States, and within ready reach of slaveholders—to distribute its troops into slave States—to corrupt the when the time for action came—to have all foreign embassics filled by slaveholders—to call conventions in the slave States, and formally declare them out of the Union-to form a new government, professedly recognizing slavery as its basis, and its support as their only object-to repudiate all debts due the North in the South—to confiscate all stocks and bonds held by the North against the South—to inaugurate a system of privateering (piracy) against commerce, peculiar institution" of the North-to drive all Northern men and women out of the South, or compel them federacy-to get that confederacy recognized by for eign powers—to prostrate commerce and manufac-tures in the North by withholding cotton, and thus drive it to bankruptcy and ruin-to excite mobs in al Northern towns and cities to put down all exposure and opposition to slavery and the plans of holders—and, finally, to expel the Administration Washington, seize the capital and the archives of the United States government, and inaugurate there the slave confederacy as the only actual government of the country, and compel the entire North into subjec tion to the rule of slavery and slave institutions.

Such is the plan which is known to have been m turely formed in all its details, previous to the advent of the present Administration on the 4th of last March. In most of its details, it has been literally carried out. That Administration, on its assuming the reins of the government, found the treasury in debt \$25,000,000; its resources dried up; its troops scattered where they were controlled by the slave holders, and but one ship of war, of any account, a its command; its Northern arsenals plundered, and its Southern arsenals, mints, custom-houses, and forte mostly in the hands of the traitors, and the principa ently, the entire life of the South must, of consequency, the entire me of the south mast, of mostly in the names of the traitors, and the principal necessity, be as hostile to the life of the North as is officers in the army and navy resigned and resigning, slavery to liberty. There could be no more harmonial of the traitors, and the principal necessity, be as hostile to the life of the North as is officers in the army and navy resigned and resigning and gone over to the interests of the slave-breeding South, than between the two moral and eternal conditions on which they are founded. Northern life must yield to slavery, or Southern life must yield to labor, and free homes, must fall beneath the iron and

vented by the government from falling into the ho of the rebels. In their hot haste and madness, of seventy under Anderson, and opened their bat teries upon them, simply because the governmen sought to supply them with food. The ten thousand chivalrous (1) and valorous (1) Southrons triumphed over the seventy. Repudiation of two hundred millio of dollars due from the South to the North; confis of two hundred million and against slavery."

It was supposed, that if the war of Ideas could be made to culminate in the North, in a majority in Northerners found in the South; the Church and State, at the communion-table and ballot-box, against slavery, and in favor of freedom and free institutions, the South would submit to that decision, and allow the majority to rule in regard to who were hastening to the defence of their capital who were hastening to the defence of their capital decision, and allow the majority to rule in regard to the existence, extension and perpetuity of slavery, as in all other questions of social, religious and governmental polity. Thus it was hoped by Garrison and his associates that the great and irrepressible conflict between Liberty and Slavery might be settled in a bloodless battle of Ideas. How faithfully, how earnestly, how heroically the Abolitionists have labored to work out this bloodless result in favor of freedom, the history of the past thirty years will attest.

But, even Abolitionists have labored to murderous character of slavery, and the bloody designs of slaveholders. These had determined, as events of slaveholders. These had determined, as events

ments of their own plans and purposes; for it is derived from the public speeches and documents of Davis, Stephens, Yancey, Wigfall, Cobb, Rhett, Wise, and many other living actors in this great movement to secure, propagate and perpetuate slavery and slave institutions; from the organs of this slave confederacy, and from the speeches and action of the Southern plotters and perpetrators of tresson against justice and humality for the last forty years. To this end, the South sought the abolition of a government, designed to "secure the blessings of liberty," and to place in its stead and in its capital a government designed to secure and perpetuate the theft, robbery, concubinage, murder, piracy, and barbarism of slavery. Slavery could not be secure while liberty was allowed to exist by its side. Slave labor and slave institutions could never be raft while free labor and free institutions were tolerated by them. A governree institutions were tolerated by them. A govern free institutions were tolerated by them. A govern-ment based on slavery could never be sustained, while a government based on liberty was allowed to exist in its presence. This, Cathoun and all the prom-inent men in this movement to sustain "the sum of all villanies" well knew.

The North, so far as this war is concerned, stands receively in the same relation to the South as the

recisely in the same relation to the South as the raveller holds to the highway robber, the victim to the midnight assassin, or the peaceful merchantman to the pirate on the high seas. The highwayman says, "Your money or your life"; the traveller must fight, yield or die. The midnight assassin says to his victim, "I shall kill you, or you must kill me" the victim must kill or be killed. The pirate says to the merchantman, "I shall slaughter and plunder you, or you must kill and plunder me." Shall he resist, or die ! Not one in a hundred of the Aboli-tioffsts, not one in ten thousand of the Northern peo-ple are prepared to die, when such an alternative is esented, rather than kill. They believe in an armed efence of freedom and free institutions, and in armed nslave them. The South says to the North, "Th lecisive hour is come. I appeal from the battle of deas to the battle of bullets; from the field of thought to the field of death. Slavery and liberty can no longer exist, each in the presence of the other; the grave is lug, and one or the other must be buried in it so deep and safe that no resurrection trump can awake it." Such is the issue thrust upon the North by the

South. Do you wonder at this great uprising !- that the North has sent four hundred thousand armed men to meet their enslavers on the field of death? and that four hundred millions of dollars are appropriate to their support? Tested by their own acknowledged law of life, they would prove themselves to be what Davis, Stephens, Yancey, Wigfall, and the slaveholders generally, have declared them to be-"the mos ardly, most contemptible, and most detestable o " were they to do otherwise.

"Quiet, peaceful secession"! You and I are partners in business. We differ in our modes of conducting our business. I insist on my way. You will not yield. I secode—i.e., L proceed to destroy your business; to burn your shop, your stores, your goods, and You rise to defend yourself; to resist my assaults, and place me in a position where I can no longer endanger your existence. I cry out against you as a coercionist, and say, "Why not allow me quietly and peacefully to secede?" Exactly thus it is between the North and South. Slavery says to liber ty, "Why not let me quietly and peacefully secede? e.. Why not lie still, and let me cut your throat? When liberty starts into life to defend itself, and place slavery where it can no more harm any one, shall her friends say, "Let the pirate alone—you cannot sub-

Be assured, my dear friend, all the calamities r sulting from this war of bullets, between the North and South, whether they be felt in this or in other lands, will, by the historian, be laid solely to the slave-The North would gladly have de in a battle of ideas culminating in ballots rather than in bullets. As decided by the ballot of last fall, the n bullets. As decided by the ballet of his land, and so south would not accept it. They resolved to appeal to a battle of bullets, and to compel the North to accept a battle of bullets, and to compel the North to accept the challenge, or be slaves! Time will decide whether a bullet can do more to sustain and perpetuate slavery and slave institutions than an idea had

In view of my narrative of facts, I ask you, and all our friends across the sea, to judge whether the North is deserving your sympathy and support, or your con-demnation. I cannot but look to this conflict as one that must surely end in the ultimate abolition of sla er, as it looks to me, can stay the hand

You think we ignore our peace principles, in ou manner of treating the war. I would like to make answer to that at another time. Meanwhile, God SPEED THE RIGHT!

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

REBEL ATROCITIES ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

SHOCKING TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED.

Almost too horrible for credence is the statement of the bayoneting of men who were disarmed and wounded, and incapable of further hostilities; it is humiliatingly sad to have to believe that our surgeons were charged on and cut down by the rebel cavalry, while engaged in their professional duties, and while under the shadow of their surgeon's green searf and flag—to believe that our hurt and dying men were deliberately stabbed with bayonets, and cut to pieces with sabres, and trampled with savage glee and malice under the hörses' hoofs of the Black Horse Cavalry—to believe that ambulances, filled with wounded men, were blown up by skillfully projected shells—to believe that every group of four men, seen bearing from the field a wounded soldier, was made the target, not of the musket of a common soldier, not of a single piece of artillery which might be thus aimed by a single excited and irresponsible gunner, but of whole batteries of rifled cannon, aimed, elevated and fired by command of the officers in charge, whose field glasses were brought into constant requisition to determine the ex-Almost too horrible for credence is the statement tamou, auncu, elevated and fired by command of the officers in charge, whose field glasses were brought into constant requisition to determine the exact distance, and insure the ulmost precision of aims but when to these atrocities is superadded the statement that a hospital, filled with wounded men and attending surgeons, surrounded by ambulances, and dying the hospital flag, was shelled, and was afterward deliberately set on fire and burned to the ground, broiling alive our suffering and helpless wounded men, the assertion is too monstrous to merit belief, until established by evidence of a nature that cannot be controverted.

To give the statements of surgeons and other officers, who were eye-witnesses of these things, is the object of this letter.

Be it understood at first that I shall give no irre-

Be it understood at first that I shall give no irre

Be it understood at hirs that I shall give no inter-sponsible testimony. I shall not give any of the thousand rumors flying about of outrages said to have been seen, but which cannot be traced and positively established. I shall give no statement of thousand rumors flying about of outrages said to have been seen, but which cannot be traced and positively established. I shall give no statement of common soldiers, many of whom are willing to testify to numberless butcheries, but who were, perhaps, excited, and certainly not in a position to see as much as they perhaps supposed. I give only a few accounts, taken from the lips of officers, of things which they themselves saw, and part of which they were.

To advance backward, and give the conclusion before stating the premises, I will say that the proofs are overwhelming and incontrovertible, that our surgeons were systematically murdered; that our surgeons were systematically blown up by shells; and that at the last were there and then deliberately butchered.

The Surgeon gathered up his instruments, and started to retire to the rear, again to resume his last even to retire to the rear, again to resume his surgeon dispute his rank and office, the infantry and a full battery of rified cannon played on him till he was out of their reach—he was combined to dress his wound; but the rifie cannon commenced playing on them, and drove them from the field. They retreated, four men bearing the shalls; and then deliberately butchered.

or slave institutions shall have abiding and exclusive empire over this nation and the western continent.

You ask, "Is this statement of facts true?" Yes, if the siaveholders are to be trusted in their statement of their own plans and purposes; for it is to ments of their own plans and purposes; for it is derived from the public specches and documents of their own plans and purposes; for its derived from the public specches and documents of their own plans and purposes; for its desired from the public specches and documents of their own plans and purposes; for its desired from the public specches and documents of their own plans and purposes; for its desired from the public specches and documents of their own plans and purposes.

the stories that are told of even this sort of work—but that our wounded men were systematically murdered is unquestionably true, for the same indeous work was going on in all parts of the field at once; and the murderous business was performed, not by isolated soldiers, but by bodies of men under the special command of officers of high rank, and evidently in pursuance of a pre-arranged plan.

There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that, if not all, at least certain divisions of the rebel army had instructions not to take any prisoners, and not to let our wounded men be carried off the field. I proceed to adduce my proofs.

For the information of the uninitiated, let me premise certain things that are so simple that it may seem folly on my part, but I think it will have its use. An ambulance is a spring carriage for carrying off wounded men. It is of a peculiar build and appearance—its character easily recognizable at the longest distance at which it can be seen at all; and let me say that it can no more be mistaken for any other carriage than a trotting sulky can be mistaken for a locomotive engine.

A surgeon always wears a green sash, not only in our own service, but in every army of every civilized nation. The trimmings of his uniform are green, and therein they differ from every other officer. It is no more possible to mistake a surgeon for an officer of hostilities, than to mistake a drummer-boy for a major-general.

When, on or near the battle-field, a surgeon finds

ilized nation. The trimmings of as uniform are green, and therein they differ from every other officer. It is no more possible to mistake a surgeon find an officer of hostilities, than to mistake a drummer-boy for a major-general.

When, on or near the battle-field, a surgeon finds it necessary to make temporary arrangements for the care of the wounded, he selects a place as much sheltered as may be—generally in a ravine or behind a hill, and, if possible, under a tree. When the surgeon goes to work, he generally takes off his green sash, and hangs it on a prominent branch of the tree, or displays it on a musket stuck in the ground—the idea being to fly the green scarf in the manner of a flag, to show that the place is under the immediate care of a surgeon, and is to be respected accordingly. Whether the surgeon that displays his flag or not, his position cannot be mistaken for anything else. The wounded men lying about, the cruel instruments in view, the busy doctors in their shirt-sleeves, and all the surrounding, attest the insture of the business there going on, and appeal, in the name of our common human nature, to the best feelings, and the safest protection of the contending armies, both sides indiscriminately. Now to authenticated facts.

Lieut, S. R. Elliott, of the 79th Regiment N. Y.

and appeal, in the name of our common human nature, to the best feelings; and the safest protection of the contending armies, both sides indiscriminately. Now to authenticated facts.

Lieut. S. R. Elliott, of the 19th Regiment N. Y. V. M., (Highlanders.) was standing near Col. Cameron of his regiment, when the latter was struck by a shot, and fell mortally wounded. The lieutenant and others instantly rushed to the fallen officer. Lieut. Elliott, with twelve men of the fifth and tenth companies of his regiment, raised the Colonel, and started to bear him off the field. No sooner was this group of men discerned by the field telescopes of the enemy, than they were made a target for an entire battery of rifled cannon and a number of infantry. The shots struck on every side of them, being aimed with great precision, and they were soon covered with dust thrown over them by the flying balls. Finally, a shell thrown by the rifled cannon battery struck in the centre of the group, exploded, and killed five men of those who were bearing the dying Colonel. The battery continued to play on them until they were out of range, but they escaped without further serious casualties.

range, but they escaped without further serious casualties.

Lieut. Elliott says that the shots which struck near them were not the chance shots of a general engagement, but were aimed at them specially—they were discovered by the field glasses of the rebels, and then the guns were aimed directly at them, and played on them till they were out of range—and with what murderous effect has been stated.

stated.

There was no possibility of mistaking the nature of this group, or their humane errand. The rebels saw a number of men bearing from the field a wounded officer, and instead of withholding their fire, invariably the practice of a civilized foe, they scientifically took the exact range of the retreating group, and brought a whole battery to bear on them, killing nearly half of them before they had succeeded in placing their dying Colonel, in a place of safety. safety.
Col. Wood, of the 14th New York Regiment

Col. Wood, of the 14th New York Regiment, Brooklyn, being wounded, was placed in an ambulance, and was being carried off the field. The ambulance was fired at persistently by a battery of rifled cannon. A projectile from one of these guns at last took off the top of the ambulance, passed on and killed three men of the Rhode Island Battery, and dismounted their gun. The fire was kept up so unremittingly, that the men in charge of the ambulance were forced to leave it. In this case, also, the archiberge was made a special target; and was

bulance were forced to leave it. In this case, also, the ambulance was made a special target, and was fired at until it was probably destroyed.

Lieut. Colonel Joseph J. Chambers, now commanding the New York 28th Volunteers, the Colonel being wounded and in the infirmary, tells the following story:

Lieut. Colonel Chambers was in the thickest of the fight, and while he himself was bastening for rein-

Lieut. Colonel Chambers was in the thickest of the fight, and while he himself was bastening for reinforcements, saw near the brook (Bull Run) a rebel deliberately bayonet one of our wounded men, who was lying near the bank of the stream. Even in the exigency of the moment, Col. Chambers wheeled his horse, rode up to the rebel, and shot him dead.

Surgeon Barnes, of the New York 28th Volunteers, was in the fight all through, and came out of it in his shirt-sleeves, having lost coat, sash, watch, and all his surgical instruments, having been charged on by the Black Horse Cavalry, and compelled to leave the field, being driven from under a tree leave the field, being driven from under a tree where he had established his temporary quarters and where he was attending to the wounds of abou twenty-five injured men, part of whom were seces

sionists.

Surgeon Barnes went up to the battle-field in the rear of the attacking column, and as soon as our men began to fall, he took a position with his assistants under a tree, in a little ravine. The wounded men were brought to him, and he took off his green sash and hung it on the tree, to signify that the place was under the charge of a surgeon. The injured men were brought in rapidly, and in fifteen minutes he had under his charge nearly thirty. As fast as possible, he attended to their hurts, and in a short time had been compelled to perform a number of capital operations. He amputated four legs, three arms, a hand and a foot, and attended to a number of minor injuries. By this time the enemy had discovered the placely and the nature of the business of the men in charge, and began to pour in musket balls and projectiles from rifled cannon. The place became unsafe for the wounded men, and it was seen to be necessary to remove them. The Surgeon's assistants and servant had become separated from him, and he had no one to send for ambulances, and was obliged to leave the wounded men and go himself.

It was no easy matter to procure ambulances enough, and it was probably thirty minutes before the Surgeon returned with the necessary assistance. When he returned, he found that every one of these wounded men had been bayoneted or sabered, and was dead. They were literally cut to pieces.

Sum up these facts. There were thirty men, all dangerously hurt—they had all been cared for by the Surgeon—they were lying on the grass in agenies of pain and thirst, with bandaged stumps of limbs, resting on the little bamnicks—with their severed legs and arms scattered about—and, if more could be needed to show the nature of the place, the Surgeon's green seah was flying as a flag in the tree, and the Surgeon's instruments were lying in Surgeon Barnes went up to the battle-field in the

could be needed to show the nature of the place, the Surgeon's green sash was flying as a flag in the tree, and the Surgeon's instruments were lying in sight, and yet these thirty helpless men were there and then deliberately butchered.

things which they themselves saw, and part of which they were.

To advance backward, and give the conclusion before stating the premises, I will say that the proofs are overwhelming and incontrovertible, that our wounded men were systematically murdered; that our ambulances were systematically blown up by shells; and that at the last, our hospital, a church building, was charged on by cavalry, who rode up and fired their revolvers through the windows at the wounded men as they lay on the floors, and at the surgeons where attending to their wants, and that the enemy persons who were attending to their wants, and that the enemy eventually set fire to the building men.

Of course, in the excitement of a battle, there will occur cases of individual cruelty to prisoners, and perhaps we should be slow to believe many of

behind, for supposed greater safety. It was soon found that the continual bursting of the shells made it more dangerous outside than within, and the Colonel was again taken inside the walls. His wounds were dressed, and he was, as soon as possible, removed from the church to Fairfax, and thence in

were dressed, and he was, as soon as possible, removed from the church to Fairfax, and thence to
Mashington, where he is now rapid;
The shelling and ultimate burning of this church
a secreted by a cloud of witnesses.

Lieut. Colonel Elliott, of the 79th (Highlander)
N. Y., saw the rebels shelling the building while
the hospital flags were flying. He states that the
hospital was made a special target, and that the
attempt by them to destroy it, and slaughter our
wounded men, was deliberate, and was followed up
with the most peristent perseverance.

The surgeon of the 71st New York Regiment
Militia was in the hospital, and saw the shelling
and the attempts of the rebels for its utter destretion.

and the attempts of the rebels for its utter destruction.

Lieut. James Wilson of company G, New York
2d Militia, had charge of the wounded men of is
regiment, whom he escorted to the hospital (SudjeChurch) and placed them in care of the surgeon, is
himself remaining to render assistance. In a short
time the Black Horse Cavalry charged down to the
church, firing in through the windows with the
revolvers at the wounded men as they lay on the
floors, and at the surgeons in attendance. A number of men attempted to escape through the doors,
and were sabred as they came out.

With Lieut. Wilson was a young man named
M'Cook, who was a son of Judge M'Cook, of New
York. Wilson and M'Cook ran out of the building
to escape, when they were met by the Black Horsa
Cavalry. M'Cook was shot through the spine, dead,
and Wilson was taken prisoner. Wilson afterwards
and Wilson was taken prisoner. Wilson afterwards
to escaped; one of the two men who had him in charge
being shot by our men, and he himself then shot
the other, who was a captain of the Black Horsa
Cavalry.

Some members of the New York Litt dieses of

Cavalry.

Some members of the New York 71st discovered Cavalry.

Some members of the New York 71st discovered a lieutenant-colonel of an Alabama regiment wounded, and lying on the ground. He threw up his hands and begreef for his life, to which response was made, "We did not come here to fight wounded men." They took him to the hospital, (Sudley Church.) where he was cared for by our surgeons. He said, his wounds having been dressed, "Boys, I give you my word of honor that not a man in this hospital shall be injured while I have a breath of life."

It is said by some that the rebels removed their own wounded from this hospital; if they did not do so, then this Alabama colonel was roasted alire with our men when the secession army afterward burned

own wounded rom this hospital; if they did not do so, then this Alabama colonel was roasted alive with our men when the secession army afterward burned the building.

Some members of the 71st also found a wounded Georgian, whom they cared for, and took to one of our surgeons. After his wounds were dressel, he said, "This is more than we would have done for you." He added, "For God's sake, get out of this; you are fighting 100,000 men." This man was to impressed with the kindness of our men that be gave to one of the 71st his pistel as a keepsale.

Color Sergeant Charles Kent, of the New York Fire Zouaves, says he saw the death of Captain Downey, of company D, Fire Zouaves, a member of thirty-four engine company. He states that Downey was overpowered by a superior force; that he threw down his sword, and tossed his arms over his bed of show that he was unarmed, and as if begging for mercy, but that he was instantly transfared by a score of bayonets. Downey had led'his company in a gallant charge up to a battery, and the last words he is known to have said to his men were these: "Boys, remember, New York is looking at you."

Sergeant S. G. Goodwin, of company H, Fire Zouaves, we only series of the servers of the server Sergeant S. G. Goodwin, of company H, Fire

Zouaves, member of engine 30, saw on lying on his back near his horse; the severely wounded, if not already dead. severely wounded, it not already dead. One of the enemy rushed up to him, and thrice pierced him through with his bayonet.

The same man saw a rebel strike at one of our wounded men with a sabre—the blow missing the man's head, but cut off his hand. One of the Fire

Zouaves, who saw the cowardly act, instantly shot the rebel dead.

A member of the New York 2d says he saw one

the rebel dead.

A member of the New York 2d says he saw one of our men struck by the fragments of a bursting shell, and knocked down. Two secessionists rog up to him, and finding that, though momentarily stunned, the man was but slightly hurt, one of them rolled the man over, and the other deliberately cut his throat with his sabre. Other instances of the rebel manner of dealing with our wounded men I could cite, but the stories I have told, I think, will establish beyond questics the truth of the following conclusion:—

1st. That as this slaughter of our wounded was not the work of a single company, or regiment of the enemy, but was going on in all parts of the field at the same time, it was done in obedience to an order from rebel head-quartes.

2d. That, if this is the policy of the enemy, it is to be feared that our own men will retalate in kind, for their officers will never be able to restrain them in another action.

Every statement in this communication about the treatment of our wounded men by the enemy was taken by me from the lips of the officers, whose

treatment of our wounded men by the enemy was taken by me from the lips of the officers, whose names are herein mentioned, and who themselves saw the occurrences. Not a line is hearsay evi-dence.

STARTLING BUTCHERY.

with many officers and soldiers that participated in the contest, and of these, scores have testified to the most shocking acts of torture and barbarity practised upon our wounded by the rebel soldiers. Two fice appearing young men of the Massachusetts Fill told me of the inhuman butchery of one of their own comrades — a lieutenant in the company in which they belong. He was wounded in the knee, and fell into the hands of the enemy, after crawing some rods in his attempt to escape. He was surrounded by a small squad of rebels, one of whomdemanded of the wounded loyalist his name and place of residence.

manded of the wounded loyalist his name and particistence.

"My name, sir, is Frank Smith," replied the prestrate and bleeding soldier, "and I belong to the Fifth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers."

"Why don't you say at once that you're a G-d—d Arankee?" retorted one-of the rebel assain, at the same time displaying a long, murderous-losking knife, and with it making such demonstrations to show his bloody intentions.

The young lieutenant made no cowardly appeals for mercy, yet expressed his surprise at the treatment thus extended to a wounded prisoner of war. "You understand," said he, "that I have surrendered, and you certainly cannot mean to kill me!"

The immediate response to this was not beard by our informants, but they heard several of the rebels

ed, and you certainly cannot mean to an The immediate response to this was not heard by our informants, but they heard several of the rebels cry out, "Kill him! He's ad—d blue-bellied Yanke! Knife him!"

"And where were you that you did not shoot the villains?" I inquired.

"We were cut off from our regiment, replied one of my informants, "and were hiding in a thick clump of bushes, within a few yards of stragging bands of the enemy, and were watching a chance to make our escape. The least noise would have cost us our lives. Indeed, we expected every moment to be discovered, and share the fate of our comrade. Besides, one of our muskets was broken, so that we could have fired but a single shot. We staid till it was all over with poor Frank. He did his best to defend himself; but his arms were held by the covardly devils, while the infernal butcher with the bowie knife cut his throat, as near as we can judge, almost severing his head from his body!"

This is a difficult story to credit, and I should have listened to it with more of doubt than confidence, had not the tears and chocked utterance of the narrators afforded strong evidence of their sincerity, and the truthfulness of fheir tale of butcher, and blood.—Cor. Chicago Tribune.