-AT-221' WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per annum

DF Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN LLARS, if payment be made in advance

All remittances are to be made, and all letters reting to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per

The Agents of the American, Massachuletts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for The Liberator.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :—Prancis Jackson, Edutud Quincy, Edutud Jackson, and Windell Phillips.

WM. LEOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

What order of men under the most absolute of

Two what order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an oldous and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the under-

than any order of nobility ever known. To call government this constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. ... It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States was consequently and the constitution of the state of the constitution of the state under the

was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of pipperty under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Conven-tion from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacri-fice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this conces-sion."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VOL.-XXXI: NO. 40.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1606.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SLAVERY.

We are gratified, in common with a vast portion f the people of the North, at the course taken by he President in the treatment of Gen. Fremont's roclamation. When we wrote last week that here convinced from the former declarations of the proclamation. When we wrote last week that we were convinced from the former declarations of the President, that the Administration must regret the course of the Western General, our view was received with considerable distrust, and even this slight expression of dissent from the practice adopted by one of the army officers was by some zealous people regarded as an interference with the prosecution of the war by the Administration. It appears plainly now, and we record it with satisfaction, that a headlong approval of whatever political plans are adopted by Major Generals, is quite as likely to be an interference with the designs of the President and his cabinet, as a judicious expression of opinion against them. Those of our cotemporaries who in their haste applauded the proclamation of General Fremont as "the way to carry on the war," find that way is not the Administration way, and that by approving it they have added to the embarrassment it has caused the Government, while the President is as fign to-day as ever in his resistance to the Abolition pressure which has been brought to bear on him. Upon this slavery question, we are convinced, as we have before said, that the President has maintained one constant and consistent idea, and that he may be relied on to carry out the views which he has always expressed. The question has been magnified into one of great importance by the constant effort to inveigle the Government into the toils of the emancipationists, and enlist the apply in a crusale against slavery. There is really no practical into one of great importance by the constant effort to inveigle the Government into the toils of
the emaneipationists, and enlist the argiv in a crusale against slavery. There is really no practical
difficulty whatever in the treatment of slaves by the
army, according to the ordinary principles of law or
the common rules of war. As to making our soldiers
slave-catchers, we apprehend that no one expects it.
North or South; and as to affording shelter to fugitive, we are unable to perceive on what principle
they are to be treated differently from poor persons
of any other color or position in the places where
they may be found. An advancing army will necessarily make what use it can of all property of rebels
an arms, and in doing so will, without waiting the
slow processes of courts, seize and consume provisious, transfer to their own uses all arms and numons of war, horses, wagons, and available goods,
sale will of course make the slaves of a robol violation
is incorporated to the control of the court of the
temperature of the court of the court of the
temperature of the court of the court of the
mentioned of many slaves, nor do we see how a people
in arms can expect any other result than this in the
immediate localities where the war is carried on.
But this, which may be called an accidental effect of
the war, in a very different matter from confiscation
of property, as that phrase is ordinarily and properit understood, to the perfection of which a legal prowar, is a very different matter from confiscation property, as that phrase is ordinarily and proper-anderstood, to the perfection of which a legal pro-ding is necessary, involving a conviction for trea-

n by a competent court. When the war in Virginia shall be over, the con-

son, or a decree of confiscation on account of trea-

son by a competent resert.

When the war in Virginia shall be over, the condition of slaves then in that State will become, as before, a matter of State law and regulation, while these who have been forcibly conveyed, or who have exaped into other States, will be subject to the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act. The confiscation and freedom, under the act of Congress, of any who have been actually employed by rebels for treasonable purposes, may then be pleaded in behalf of such as have thus obtained freedom, and the courts will recognize all decrees of other courts which shall have been made on that subject.

No possible course could be devised more likely to make the war permanent in duration to a period beyond the foresight of any man, than the introduction of the principle contended for, that all slaves of rebels engaged in rebellion shall for that cause and at once be and become free. This declaration, circulated over the Southern States, while it could do no possible good, would make the union of the entire South against the North for war to the end, an absolute necessity. It would hold up before every man and woman as the result of peace and submission, an immediate declaration of the freedom should be secured by the Government, and afuture in the South, as the consequence, from which humanity shrinks with horror.

As to any possible good to be derived from it, it

freedom should be secured by the Government, and a future in the South, as the consequence, from which burnanity shrinks with horror.

As to any possible good to be derived from it, it would be supposed that the experience of five months past was enough to dispel forever any such idea.

The apprehended uprising of the slaves, which was one of the elements in many men's calculations last spring, has long been seen to be without probability. No proclamation of liberty to the slaves will have any force to frighten the Confederates, but, on the contrary, such a proclamation would unquestionably add to their determination never to submit to the Constitution. The principle that the regulation of slave property is a State matter, only to be interfered with by the local exceptions which actual war recates, and only to be disturbed by legal confiscation under due process of law, is manifestly that on which the President intends that the contest shall be conducted, nor will be be likely to consent to any proclamations which shall be so general in their operation as to overthrow, in entire States, the confidence of the people that they may lay down their sms, and resume their peaceful occupations, at any moment when a general amnesty shall be proclaimed. If such a proclamation could operate as a legal manumission of slaves, it is very plain that no future proclamation could suspend its effect, or deprive slaves of the freedom to which they had become entitled by its issue. So that, without discussing its illegality, it is evident that, if legal and of force, it would forever overthrow the foundations of society at the South, a result which would gratify Northern Abolitionists infinitely more than a speedy and peaceable submission to the Government, and close of the war.

We trust that the firm course of the President in

war. We trust that the firm course of the President in We trust that the firm course of the President in the case of General Fremont's proclamation will be the end of the attempt to coerce the Administration into Abolitionism. We cannot but regard the occurrence as one of the most important which has taken place since the outbreak of the war, and we are well assured that it will not only strengthen the Administration in the estimation of the entire North, but will give great encouragement to the Union men in the border and Southern States, on whose labors so much of the future now depends.—Journal of Commerce.

MASSACHUSETTS SOLDIERS IN MARYLAND. atter from Carroll county, Maryland, speaking of the recent expedition to Lower Maryland, says the presence of Col. Cowdin's Massachusetts Regiment has convinced the wavering that even Massachusetts men could march through our county without interfering with the slaves. "I know of several instances," the letter continues, "where negroes seeking their camp were WHIPPED AND SENT HOME'!!

WHAT TO DO WITH AGITATORS.

In answer to the clamor of one of our local news papers. (itself not always over-scrupulous in the use of language.) that certain Abolition editors and clerical agitators should be incarcerated at Fort La-fayette, the Boston Courier offers a few practical

ayette, the Boson Courier ones a low practical suggestions. The editor says:—
"Surely, these newspapers and reverend parsons, with their confederates, stand on the very outer edge of flat rebellion itself; indeed, they are as inveterate foes of anything possible to be called a lenion of the States as the most inveterate seces-

with their contectates, stand on the very outer edge of flat rebellion itself; indeed, they are as inveterate foes of anything possible to be called a Union of the States as the most inveterate secessionists, because they openly declare they will have no Union, except on their own terms, which are out of the question. It is evident that the time must come when something must be done with them—but the question is—when and how?

In our judgment, nothing would tend so much to the public welfare, by the settlement of public opinion, as the prosecution of those pestilent newspapers and parsons. We desire to see neither mob law nor any arbitrary proceedings applied to them by the Government. We are firmly for freedom of speech and of the press, according to the fundamental provisions of the Constitution, and because anything short of this is totally inconsistent with the whole theory and practice of public and private liberty. But in order that this liberty of speech and of writing shall not become licentious, it is necessary to define it, and keep it within the bounds of justice and reason. In a free country, of all others, this is most necessary. Where there is the greatest temptation to licentiousness and opportunity for it, there it is most necessary that the ill-disposed should be most held under wholesome restraint.

We have suffered amazingly in this country for want of a sounder public sentiment on this subject. Nothing could regulate this so well as solemn and formal judicial proceedings. We propose, therefore, that the parties in question be properly indicted and brough to trial—either for their treasonable speeches and conduct, as the case may be, or as disturbers of the public peace and safety. By thorough investigation of the true principles of republican institutions at the bar, and by the solemn adjudication of a learned bench, let the case of these culprits be determined. As the result, if found guilty, let a sufficient fine and suitable imprisonment be awarded—enough to stop them effectually, and to

others inclined in like manner to offend. We should thus soon put men of more discretion and of a higher tone in the management of the press—which would then be as beneficial, as it is now too often mischievous—ranting elergymen would devote themselves to their proper vocation of the cure of souls, instead of bewildering themselves and others in polities, and thus public sentiment and public conduct might be essentially enlightened, raised and refined."

—N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

INCENDIARY PARSONS.

To deal leniently with reverend incendiaries like Cheever and Beecher at such a time is to imperil our own safety. Away, then, with all false delicacy in the treatment of those, who, to gratify their fanatical longings, would destroy the government. As a beginning, let the mad priest of the Puritans be sent to keep company at Fort Lafayette with that rival fire-brand of sedition, the Albe McMister. The Abe will have good society at the Fort—some staunch to keep company at Fort Lafayette with that rival fire-brand of sedition, the Albe MeMaster. The Abbe will have good society at the Fort—some staunch Catholics and educated men. But the company will not be complete till it is joined by Beecher, Cheever and half a dozen more of the shining lights of Puritanism, who will have plenty of time for discussion, and can enter into an "irrepressible conflict" with the "Errors of Popery" and the false doctrine, herey and schism of the Protestant Churches. Freedom of speech will be allowed within the walls of the Fort, where it can do, no mischief. We would suggest that Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Tappan and Jay should be added to the list of illustrious immates of the Fort, in order that they may enter into mortal combat with the pro-slavery prisoners, and that both factions may eat each other up, like the Kilkenny cats. The course of the President has knocked abolitionism on the head, but it has saved the country and prevented the war from degenerating into Mexican anarchy. If the ideas of the anti-slavery fanatics were adopted, the war would be interminable. Two-thirds of the people of the Southern States are to-day sound Unionists, and would so declare themselves if they could. But the policy recommended by the Tribune and the other aboltion sheets would totally alienate these men, and make them as deadly enemies as the most rabid secessionists. In the North, too.

Tribune and the other abolition sheets would totally alienate these men, and make them as deadly enemies as the most rabid secessionists. In the North, too, it would paralyze the arm of the government, and deprive the war of that general and enthusiastic support which is essential to its success.

It is as important, therefore, for the government to put a stop to the rebellious course of the Abolitionists as to seize secession sympathizers. They are both equally the enemies of the Administration. Not only ought the abolition presses to be squelched, and their editors sent to some fortress, but the conventicles of the abolition demagogues bearing the stille of a warmen? venticles of the abolition demagogues bearing the title of "reverend" ought to be closed, and the incendiaries themselves handed over to the tender mercies of the Southern rebels, in exchange for some of the valuable prisoners of war now incarecrated in Castle Pinckney, in the barbor of Charleston.

—New York Herald.

GEN. FREMONT, THE ADMINISTRATION.

GEN. FREMONT, THE ADMINISTRATION,
AND OUR ABOLITION ORGANS.

Our Abolition organs, including the Tribune and Evening Post, are close upon the verge of rebellion in consequence of President Lincoln's instructions holding General Fremont subject to the laws of Congress in reference to this business of the emancipation of Southern slaves. We can thus discover the extremities to which, for Abolition purposes, our anti-slavery radicals and their organs are prepared to push this war: They are prepared to set up the unauthorized edict of a military subordinate above the authority of the President and the government; just as another of our silly and malignant Abolition organs, the Times, was clamorous a short time ago for the removal of Mr. Lincoln by a mob, and the substitution of George Law as President or Provisional President of the United States, With regard to General Fremont, we have always been disposed to overlook his faults and to magnify his virtues, as a politician, soldier and patriot. But we must say that this late dashing proclamation of his, without authority and upon his own responsibility, was a very indiscreet proceeding in every point of view. No subordinate officer has the right to assume any such grave responsibility as this. The President, in his mild rebuke of Fremont, has dealt very tenderly with him; but they who, with the facts before them, continue to glorify the imprudent proclamation of Fremont, are counselling insubordination in its most dangerous form. They should be looked after, and taught a wholesome lesson upon that first duty of loyalty in this cross, submission to and cooperation with the government and its war applicy to save the life of the nation.—New York Herald. AND OUR ABOLITION ORGANS.

Selections.

THREATS OF JAMES GORDON BENNETT AGAINST THE SOUTH AND SLAVERY.

AGAINST THE SOUTH AND SLAVERY.

Bennett's Herald, (says the New York Times.) as a general rule—when it seeks to direct special indignation against a rival, does it by imputing to him its own villanies. Conscious apparently that what no-body dreams of stooping to censure in its columns, would ruin the reputation of any respectable journal which should publish it, the Herald ingeniously seeks to inflict its own character upon those whom it hates. It could not possibly do them a worse turn. It is doing precisely that thing in this case. It invokes the interposition of the government, and the summary vengeance of the mob, against the Times, Tribune, and Independent, for proclaiming that the warnow waged "can only end with universal emancipation." We have only ourselves to answer for; and, so far as we are concerned, the assertion is false. There is but one daily paper in the city, to our knowledge, which has taken this ground, and that is the Herald itself. When the war first broke outalmost immediately after the Herald had been compelled by a mob to stop its advocacy of secession and sustain the Union—it distanced the Liberator and the Anti-Slavery Standard in its fierce demands for a war against slavery. Here are a few paragraphs clipped from its columns:—

From the New York Herald, April 10.

From the New York Herald, April 19. With the secession of Virginia, there is going to be enacted on the banks of the Potomac one of the most terrible conflicts the world has ever witnessed and Virginia, with all her social systems, will be doomed

From the New York Herald, April 20. We must also admonish the people of Maryland that we of the North have the common right of way through their State to our National Capital. But let her join the revolutionists, and her substance will be devoured by our Northern legions as by an Arabian cloud of locusts, and her slave population will disappear in a single campaign.

cloud of locusts, and her stace population will disappear in a single campaign.

A Northern invasion of Virginia and of Kentucky, if necessary, carrying along with it the Canadian line of African Freedom, as it must do from the very nature of civil war, will produce a powerful Union reaction. The SLAVE POPULATION OF THE BORDER STATES WILL BE MOVED IN TWO DIRECTIONS. One branch of it, WITHOUT THE MASTERS, WILL MOVE NORTHWARD, and the other branch with the masters, will be moved Southward, so that, by the time the Northern army will have penetrated to the centre of the border slave States, THEY WILL BE RELIEVED OF THE SUBSTANCE AND ABSTRAC RIGHTS OF SLAVE PROPERTY FOR ALL TIME TO

Finally, the revolted States having appealed to may soon have to choose between submission to the Union or the bloody extinction of slavery, from the absence of any law any mich. absence of any law, any wish, any power

From the New York Herald, April 21.

From the New York Herald, April 21.

By land and water, if she places herself in the attitude of rebellion, Maryland may be overrun and subdued in a single week, including the extinction of slavery within her own borders, for war makes its own laws.

We are less concerned about Washington than about Maryland. Loyal to the Union, she is perfectly safe, negroes and all; disloyal to the Union, she may be crushed, including her institution of slavery. Let her stand by the Union, and the Union will protect and respect her—slavery and all.

From the New York Herald, April 22.

From the New York Herald, April 22. Accordingly, let old Virginia begin to pat het house in order, and pack up for the removal of het half million of slaces, for fear of the impending storm. She has invited it, and only a speedy repentance will save her from being dashed to piece among the rocks and surging billows of this dreadful revolution.

From the New York Herald, April 23.

From the New York Herald, April 23.

Virginia, next to Maryland, will be subjected to this test. She has seceded, and hence she will probably risk the breaking of every bone in her body. If so, we fear that every bone in her body will be broken, including Her backnose of SLAYERY. The day is not far off when the Union men of the revolted States will be asked to come to the relief of their misguided brethren, for otherwise the war which they have chosen to secure their institution of slavery MAY RESULT IN WIFING IT OUT OF EXISTENCE.

From the New York Herald, April 24. From the New York Herald, April 24.

In advance of this movement, President Lincoln should issue his proclamation, guaranteeing the complete protection of all loyal Union men and their property, but warning the enemies of the Government of the dangers of confiscation, negroes included. If Virginia resists, the contest cannot last very long, considering her large slave population, which will either become fugilities or take up arms against their masters.

From the New York Herald, April 28.

That we are to have a fight, that Virginia and Maryland will form the battle-ground, that the North tern roughs will succep those States with fire and sword is beyond peradventure. They have already beer excited to the boiling point by the rich prospect o plunder held out by some of their leaders, and will not be satisfied unless they have a parm and a nigger each. There is no sort of ex-aggeration about these statements, as the AGGIRATION ABOUT THESE STATEMENTS, AS THE PEOPLE OF THE BORDER STATES WILL SHORTL. ASCERTAIN TO THEIR COST. The character of the coming campaign will be vindictive, fierce, bloody and merciless beyond parallel in ancient or moder history.

From the New York Herald, April 29.

From the New York Herald, April 29.

The class of population which is recruiting in our large cities—the regiments forming for service in behalf of the Union, can never be permanently worsted. THEY WILL POUR DOWN UPON THE YILLAGES AND CITIES OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND, AND LEAVE A DESOLATE TRACK BEHIND, THEM, and inspire terror in whatever vicinity they approach. From the New York Herald, April 30.

From the New York Hereld, April 30.

It will be idle for Tennessee and Kentucky to attempt to escape from the issue, and to remain at peace, while the remainder of the country is at war. Neutrality will be considered opposition, and the result of a general frontier war will be, that slavery, as a domestic institution of the United States, will be utterly annihilated.

These are a few, and only a few, of the "incendiary" appeals daily made by the Herald to the passions of the North. Yet this is the paper which now invokes public wrath on other journals, upon a false imputation of using language infinitely less ferocious than that with which its own columns are filled.

PEELINGS OF AMERICANS ABROAD.

We take the following stirring passage from an elo-Pastor from Syria, by Rev. Daniel C. Eddy, D. D.— (published by John M. Hewes, 81 Cornhill, Boston.)

I return to you in the midst of civil war. I find hostile armies traversing our country. I find a hostile armies traversing our country. I find a man's foes to be they of his own household, and my soul shudders at the prospect yet before us. I venture to say that such an unreasonable, unnatural, merciless war was never entered upon. The robellion of Absalom against David, his royal sire, his mad endeavor to overturn the Hebrew thrpne, does not approach the enormity of this sanguinary conflict. The Sepoy rebellion, in India, was not as inexcusable as this war against the Federal Government by States whose soil we have perchased, whose firesides we have befended, whose debts we have paid, whose insults we have forgiven, whose injuries we have borne, and, alas!—God forgive us,—whose slaves we have caught and returned. Never, since God made the world, has a brighter and more beautiful flag been drabbled in a dirtier soil than that which fell pierced with swords in the streets of Richmond; never has treason worked to a moaner purpose, and with more villanous instruments, than than that which had South Carolian nullification for its hydra-head, and the Montgomery abortion for its cloves foot and forked tail. The name of Afrodd, which has been hung with a sable cloud, now begins to glow with lurid light, in comparison with those that in inky black are inscribed beside it; and the Roman Catiline looks saint-like, compared with some of the men who have plotted the ruin of this greatnation, and who, to consummate their purpose, have been willing to drench their land in innocent-blood.

The first intelligence we received of the commencement of hostilities was in Svria. We were soul shudders at the prospect yet before us. I ven-ture to say that such an unreasonable, unnatural,

have been willing to drench their land in innocent, blood.

The first intelligence we received of the commencement of hostilities was in Syria. We were told that eight thousand chivalrous men had overcome a half-starved garrison of seventy soldiers, and divided the immortal honor of-the exploit between them; that Massachusetts blood was soaking into the pavements of Baltimore's that the American lag, which no sovereign in Europe would dare insult, had been hooted by a mob, pierced with swords, trampled under foot, and rent to pieces; that an army of rebels was marching on Washington, to haud down the banner, every star, and stripe, and thread, and dot of which is redolent with freedom, and put up a bastard ensign, a piratical insignia, in and put up a bastard ensign, a piratical insignia, in again flap, of which the world should bear the crack of the whip, the clank of chains, and the groans of

over there of which the would should hear the count of the whip, the clank of chains, and the groans of the negro.

And that was all we heard! The account was meagre, and did not tell us how such treason was to be met, how such rebellion was to be quelled, and how such a government was to be preserved. A week,—a long and painful week must clapse ere we could hear again. It was a week of harrowing suspense, and I assure you that, as excited as you were here, your suspense could not have been as dreadful as ours. The very silence of the Syrian desert was cloquent with forebodings and fears. We questioned! Have the fires of patriotism all gone out? Has the love of liberty fled from Plymouth Rock to find a home in Italy, Hungary and Poland? Are the descendants of the men of Lexington, and Bunker Hill, and Valley Forge all dead? Will the people rise in their majesty, and defend the Constitution and vindicate the flag, or will the freemen of the North yield once more,—yield forcer? and let that base Palmetto rag float over the capitol, that counterfeit Montgomery constitution extend to the St. Lawrence, and that arrogant Georgian fulfil the boast he made, that he would call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill?

I must tell you that I was afraid of the North, of

slaves on Bunker Hill? slaves on Bunker Hill?

I must tell you that I was afraid of the North, of New England, and especially of Boston. I knew that the North had a conscience, but I also knew that warehouses and manufactories had been built upon it ten stories high. I knew that New England had a heart, but I was well aware that it was all covered up with place of cotton loves of shoes.

land had a heart, but I was well aware that it was all covered up with bales of cotton, boxes of shoes and cargoes of tea, and was afraid that its life-threes could not east off the mighty incubus.

The week rolled away,—a week of suspense, and we held our breath with pain. We had reason to suspect this now vindicated metropolis. The scene that was shimmering before my eyes, when I sailed, was that disgraceful mob in Tremont Temple, where, in obedience to the behest of South Carolina, free speech was trampled down and lay bleeding in the dust. The last sounds that floated on the air were the echoes of those compromise speeches made in Fancuil Hall, tempered and toned to be read in old Virginia.

"My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty, Of thee I sing; Land where my fathers died, Land of the Pilgrims' pride, From every mountain side, Lot freedom ring."

You know what has transpired since. You have lived an age, within these last four months; events have burnt themselves into the staple of time; have been written in letters of blood on the pages of history. When posterily reads, what a chapter it will be! Treason for thirty years working in the Cabinet, when a posterily reads, what a chapter it will be! Treason for thirty years working in the Cabinet, in the Army, and in Congress; fraud plundering the national treasury and the public arsenals; concerdice assailing with eight thousand men, and eighty thousand still behind, a half-starved garrison of seventy men; a ferocious mob murdering unoffending Massachusetts soldiers, while on their way to defend the Federal capital; a letter of marque issued by an ambitious pretender, for the encourages ment of piracy; the sacred tomb of the Father of his country threatened with robbery, and, as if it was not enough to tear Washington's Constitution to pieces, destroy his country and trail his banner in the dust, his ashes must be cast upon the altars of the oppression which he hated, to satisfy the Moloch of slavery. And then scene followed scene,

"Blood trod upon the heels of blood;"

"Blood trod upon the heels of blood; Rovenge in desperate mood at midnight met Revenge. War brayed to war,"

"Blood trod upon the heels of blood;
Revenge in desperate mood at midnight met
Revenge in desperate mood at midnight met
Revenge. War brayed to war,"
until now, in the harvest moon, Death centres as if
it were a pivot upon the ridge of the Alleghanies,
and flaps his raven wing over all the land. The
nation seems to have been passing over a gulf of
horrors, upon a bridge of sighs, all the way from
John Brown's gibbet to Manassas Gan. Who can
count the widows' tears as they fall? Who can describe the desolated homes? Who can number the
silent graves? Who can tell the ruin of character,
the blasting of hope, and the fearful crimes that will
follow, like a retinue of devils, in the track of this
fratricidal war? And what name will history give
to him who stands forth as the acknowledged leader
of this rebellion, on whose hands the blood is clotting now, as she enrolls him on her catalogue with
Nina Sahib and the murderers of the Marionites?
And now what of the future? Watchman, what
of the night? Can any one of you see any stars
amid the portentous blackness of this hour? You,
who stand in the midst of prostrate business prospects, who walk in the gloom which hangs over the
exchange and the market-place, who are menaced
by failure and bankruptey; you, whose honest dues
have been repudiated by your Southern creditors;
you, who clung to guilty South Carolina, praying
her to be reasonable, shielding her from reproach,
until she turned and stabbed you, and seft you home
bleeding and wounded; you, who apologized for the
South until she had well nigh brought down the
temple of our liberties, a heap of rains: tell spo., do.
you see any rays of light?

It seems to me that a division of our country is
an impossibility. We cannot have two or more
republics on this soil. God and nature have forbidden it. Neither of them, could they be established, would attain to any considerable respectability in the great family of nations, and between
them would be perpetual war. A peaceful separation seems to be rendered imp

ways of settling this question,—it is a dreadful alternative.

The first way, is to compromise, yield, surrender. A government extending over a wide range of country,—mast, to some extent, be one vast system of compromises. When the interests of one part conflict with the interests of another part; when opinions differ, and men cannot see alike, compromise and concession are the legitimate modes of adjustment. But no government can with any safety compromise the principle on which it is founded; to that is self-destruction; and there are some questions. compromise the do that is self-de struction; and there are some que never be made matters of compr tions which can never be made matters of co

THE GOVERNMENT OFFERING A BOUNTY FOR CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS.

FUR CUNIFICERRATE SUBJIERS.

The Government of the United States presents the only instance ever recorded on earth, where a government at war offered an immense premium for soldiers to join the ranks of its enemies. The late Act of Congress, known as the Confiscation Bill, does exactly that thing. The fourth section reads as follows:—

all covered up with bales of cotton, boxes of shoes and cargoes of tea, and was afraid that its life-throse could not cast off the mighty incubus.

The week rolled away,—a week of suspense, and we held our breath with pain. We had reason to suspect his now vindicated metropolis. The scene that was shimmering before my cyes, when I sailed, was that disgraceful mobi in Tremont Temple, where, in obedience to the behest of South Carolina, free speech was trampled down and lay bleeding in the dust. The last sounds that floated on the air were the echoes of those compromise speeches made in Fanuuli Hall, tempered and toned to be read in old Virginia.

The week expired, and behind the bar of the Ottoman Bank in Beyroot, ten of us gathered over a pile of English and American newspapers; our letters lay unopened before us. Wires and children were forgotten; our bleeding country was alone remembered. The intelligence was all we could desire. It told us that the Pilgrim spirit was yet aimed to be due, or his lawful agent of such person, to voke up arms wenkinded; that party ties were all sundered, and party interests all forgotten; that our young men had risen to arms, and our old men had blessed them as this went forth; that women and children were that the property of the control of the Linder were that the party interest all forgotten; that our young men had risen to arms, and our old men had blessed then so the property of the Linder States, they are the people were ringing to trample the traitions down that provide the property is the property of the Linder were that the property is the property of the Linder were that the property is the property and the provisions of this standard that the property is made to do, to absolve the people were ringing to trample the traitions down that the property is not to do, to absolve the people were ringing to trample the traition down our belocks, while cleak and the property is not to be thus r

To a universal sweep of rebel property "wherever found," our Government has made one exception. Slave property is not to be thus treated. While all other property "wherever found," if used in any way" to promote the insurrection, is "lawful subject of prize and capture," slaves can only be confiscated when they shall work on entrenchments,

or take up arms against the Government! Then they can be confiscated, and made "free men."

In Missouri, thousands of open rebels are in the field, fighting against the existence of the nation. As many thousand slaves are at home raising provisions for the rebel army. Two hundred thousand rebels now menace the Federal capital, with arms in their hands. Two million of slaves are raising provisions for these fighting rebels. In the name of our country, we ask, are these slaves being used "in any manner" in "aiding, abetting, or promoting "the insurrection? Can any other "property" be so important or so active in aiding this great treason? The whole white population, they claim, can fight, while the slaves do the work. If this be true, why make a distinction, and protect the slave property of the rebels, while all other kinds must be confiscated? Are we, if we meet a black regiment in the field, to refrain from firing on them, for fear Jeff. Davis, Beauregard or Lee may have "a person held to service or labor" among them? Must we still yield to slave-drivers, although they are in open rebellion against the Government? Are we still the cringing, timid waiters upon the mighty oligarchy who have so long shaken their whips in our face? Will we never cease to be poltroons, and to bow at the bidding of these dictators? Recent events give us great cause for doubt on the subject.—Ibid.

THE PROOLAMATION OF GEN. FREMONT

Events move towards war. Three months ago the nation would not have sanctioned, or the boldest general dared, so sweeping an act as that which the commander of our Western forces has just essayed in Missouri. And yet at the present time it is questionable whether even this bold measure, which declares a whole State under martial law, and which gives a free interpretation to the confiscation act of Congress, is at all in advance of popular opinion. The nation demands that this rebellion shall be put down, if not in one way, then in another, and it is not likely to stand splitting hairs very long about the propriety of this or that measure, so that it be forcible and successful. Whether slavery is or is not abolished in any particular instance, is in the minds of the majority of the people entirely subordinate to another question, whether the government shall be abolished. They are willing to give a large latitude of discretion to the government, and the Federal Generals, and for the prudent exercise of that discretion they expect, in the light of subsequent events, to hold them to a strict account.

Although the proclamation of Gen. Fremont appears at first sight to dissolve the relations of master and slave over a large portion of the State of Missouri, yet a moment's redection will convince any Events move towards war. Three months ago the nation would not have sanctioned, or the boldest gen-

Although the proclamation of Gen. Fremont appears at first sight to dissolve the relations of master and slave over a large portion, of the State of Missouri, yet a moment's reflection will convince any one that it is a statement of a result which war has already accomplished, rather than the proclamation of one which is new and prospective. Slavery is founded upon force. War inevitably interferes with such an artificial system. It brings a more or less complete disruption of all civil and social relations, and those which are least natural and self-existent of course are first to feel its effects. Owners run away from their slaves, and slaves run away from their slaves, and slaves run away from their slaves, and slaves run away from their owners, in the presence of an invading army, Indeed, from the very first, all intelligent men have perceived that the institution of slavery could but be incidentally gravely imperiled if it was not completely destroyed during the progress of this rebellion, although its destruction was in no sense the aim of the government. It is impossible that the march of armies, whether friendly or inimical, over the Southern States, can be reconciled with the safety of the "peculiar institution." The South, in taking up arms to extend the area of slavery, has resorted to the process most of all calculated to ultimately destroy it, and the longer the rebelliont continues, the less will be its power to resist its ultimate effects.

—Maine Evangelist.

FREMONT AND THE PRESIDENT.

The country has learned with anxiety and regret of the troubles between Gen. Fremont and the government at Washington. So far as these have to do with administering the detail of affairs, the public does not know the circumstances, and is not prepared to pass judgment. An investigation will settle who is to blame in this respect, and doubtless reform mistakes or abuses. But, in the other and far graver matter, of the difference as regards the line of policy to be pursued towards the rebels, the great majority of our nation is not only well-informed, but will insist upon having and expressing its own opinion.

own opinion.

One thing, we think, is entirely obvious. This is, that no document of the campaign thus far has been One thing, we think, is entirely obvious. This that no document of the campaign thus far has b received so favorably as the proclamation of G Fremont, putting Missouri under martial law, emancipating the slaves of those in arms against Government. No measure has done so much to spire public confidence—to convince our people it the administration is in

Government. No measure has done so much to inspire public confidence—to convince our people that
the administration is in earnest in its war with traitors, and is determined it shall be prosecuted till the
rebellion is put down. It emphatically marks the
period of the turn of the tide in our national struggle.
It indicates the point where the gloom of disaster
and despondency was succeeded by the light of hope
and confidence. Every man breathed freer after its
issue. We all felt instinctively that the administration was at last stiffened up to the energy which the
times required and the people demanded. This was
by no means confined to the radical class in the community. The conservative organs of public opinion
welcomed its appearance as well. The St. Lonia
Republican, the Baltimore Patriot, the Bostor Post,
sustained its positions, and more than justified—they
applauded its issue.

In common with these and other papers, we have
regarded it as the most wise in design and salutary
in effect of all the manifestoes of the campaignAnd it has been with peculiar satisfaction that we
have seen the readiness with which these papers
have penetrated and recognized the true character
of the proclamation. It is not an anti-slavery document in intention, or necessarily so in its effects.
General Fremont in drawing it up does not consider
slavery in its sentimental or moral aspects. He does
not pronounce upon it as an ovil, or as a blessing.
There is no attempt to treat it either in the one
character or the other. He simply looks upon it as
a power in the hands of the enemy, which has been
in the past, and may be in the feture, used to impede
the progress of our arms. He attacks it solely as
a method of weakening the hands of the rebels.
Whatever interpretation may be put upon it by
those interested to give it another meaning, this is
all that it will legitimately bear. The conservative
proes and the conservative people of the North gave
it this construction, and were satisfied with it. They
welcomed it, instead

the tone of the press and the people—which quickended the enlistments, and revived the business of our manufactories and marts of trade. Men saw the evidence of vigor, activity and carnestness which they shad all along felt themselves, and yearned to see displayed in the government, and the public pulse beat quickly in hopeful response.

It is just this feeling which President Lincoln's letter comes in to dampen. The letter is another of those discouraging and deplorable symptoms of hanging back which have cursed our cause from the beginning. There is no doubt, as this most unfortunate letter says, that Premont has gone beyond the limits of the law in his proclamation. But do not the circumstances justify him in this? Has not the country sustained him, as it did at an earlier day the President himself, when he suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus and put in force other extra-constitutional measures? Fremont's proclamation places the State under martial law—which, thanks to the halting policy of the government in allowing it to be overrun by rebols, is the only law which meets the requirements of its condition. When the present danger is removed, and the authority of the government is re-established in its borders, it will be time enough to insist on the scrupulous observance of the latter of the law of Congress. The martyred Lyon saved the State once, in spite of the administration, from relapsing into the present condition of Virginia. Fremont is straining every nerve to rescue it from the same danger a second time. In this he ought not to be interfered with. If he cannot do it within the limits of the United States laws, he must do as the President did in a similar exigency—execed them. To require him to do otherwise, is as absurd as to ask a man whose house is on fire to consult the Revised Statutes to see if the law allows him to play upon it through pipes of India-Rubber only, or if he may take gutta percha. The alarming necessity is to put out the fiames. It is absurd to waste thought upon technicalities i

"DOWN WITH HIM!"

"DOWN WITH HIM!"

We must say we are surprised at the extent and fierceness of the clamor which the press has so suddenly raised against Gen. Fremont, even though much of what has been said of his military management should prove to be true. In quarters where he was an idol two weeks ago, he is now represented as little better than a mischievous imbezile; and the variety of charges now generally brought to bear against him would, if as generally credited, break him down and sweep him into hopeless ignominy. Why is all this? Because Colonel Mulligan was compelled to surrender at Lexington—an event about which we are not sure that we have the most obvious incidents, such as the killed and wounded, in a reliable shape. We do not kynow whether Col. Mulligan was not ordered and expected to vacate Lexington, instead of making any stand; nor why Gen. Sturgis did not reach him; nor why Gen. Lane did not traverse his reported forty miles distance in four days; nor why the steamboats, with reinforcements, which were sent by Fremont with the expectation that they would arrive on the morning of the day in which Mulligan surrendered in the aftermoon, did not appear in season; nor many other particulars which are absolutely essential to a fair understandday in which Mulligan surrendered in the anternoon did not appear in season; nor many other particular which are absolutelly essential to a fair understanding of the case.

And yet in advance of this understanding, a great

ing of the case.

And yet in advance of this understanding, a great many journals are clamoring for the immediate punishment of Gen. Fremont, some even insisting that he shall be prevented from taking a personal share in the effort to recover Lexington and capture Friee's army. He has blundered—off with his head? Such is the policy now pursued toward the commander of the Department of the West. It seems to pass for nothing with his new detractors that Gen. Fremont was dropped, a few weeks ago, into a sphere where a migety army had to be created out of nothing at hand, neither asea, money, equipments, ammunition, transports, systems of any kind, nor popular interest. Since then, Fremont has worked eighteen hours a day, has gathered immense military stores, built railroads and made soldiers, after attracting them from the people by his own popularity. The Government has now thousands of good troops on the Potomac that it could not have had anywhere but for the attractive influence of Frenont.

But he has failed once—that is, granting (which we certainly shall not do at present) these new charges to be true in substance, for many of them in their specific shapes are so contradictory as to be evident failschools. Have we then had such brilliant and invariable success on the part of all our other efficiency coliticins and mublic advisors in general.

their specinic snaps are set to the same should dent falsehoods. Have we then had such brilliant and invariable success on the part of all our other officers, politicians and public advisers in general, during this crisis, that Fremont must be condemned unheard? We submit this is no way to treat those on whom we are to depend for arduous service in this great struggle. We say it not only in the interest of Gen. Fremont, but of Gen. Butler, who has allowed a conics of the same uns and downs, of est of Gen. Fremont, but of Gen. Butler, who has already had a series of the same ups and downs, of Gen. Rosecrans, of Gen. McClellan himself, who may need public forbearance to-morrow equal to the adulation which he enjoys to-day. Let Fremont's course have a fair and thorough examination, and let him, have a fair chance to show in the field whethret him have a rate hance to show in the net whether her his incontestable merits are so impaired by any defects that he is to be thrown aside as useless in this course when the press in general was glorifying him, and not having hesitated to criticise it in some important particulars, we now think it is right to say thus much in behalf of Gen. Fremont.—Boston Journal.

LETTER TO GENERAL FREMONT.

The following letter, signed by several pastors of different denominations in one of the principal towns of De Kalb County, Ill., has been sent to Gen. Fre-

Major General Fremont:
HONORED AND DEAR SIR,—The undersigned ministers of the gospel, representing, as we believe, nent in this part

ministers of the gospel, representing, as we believe, the unanimous and enthusiastic sentiment in this part of Illinois, the sentiment we trust of twenty millions of loyal citizens of the United States, desire hereby to declare to you our unspeakable satisfaction with, and gratitude to God for the position taken in your proclamation of martial law in Missouri, and especially for those words destined we trust to become historic and immortal by their fulfallment, viz: "Their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men."

We trust, dear sir, it will be grateful to your feelings to be assured, that in closet, family and Church, with millions of fellow supplicants, we daily cry to the Lord of Hosts, that He will be your "help and shield" (115 Psalm), to gird you and your army with strength from on high to carry those glorious words into speedy and complete effect, so that traitors and tyrants may fall before you, and the halleluighs of "vassals long enslaved," transformed into "free men," mingling with the music of the Star Spangled Banner, may cheer your triumphant pathway to the Gulf, and give you an immortal name by the side of a Moses, a Cyrus, a Cromwell, a Washington, as a liberator of mankind and a conservator of human freedom.

With prayers to God and hymns of freedom, we

with prayers to God and hymns of freedom, we send our Christian brethren to your army, and look to see the history of the old "Ironsides" and their noble "Protector." refenanced in this great wall. r," reënacted in this great valley

FREMONT. A long string of stalwart fellows were narching gaily down the street yesterday afternoon. FREMONT. A long string of stalwart fellows were marching gaily down the street yesterday afternoon. They all looked jolly, and nearly all had carpet bags. We inquired: "Which way, boys?" And the reply was the single word "Fremont!" There is music in the name. The boys go to him with a will, and more recruits can be obtained for his Department than for any other. Companies recruited for his had been based to be a based on the companies of the co any other. Companies recruited for his ive here nearly every day. Ask almost any sturdy young men who are evidently off army sava nere nearly even you. As a same any squad of sturdy young men who are evidently of for the wars, where they are bound, and you hear the name "FREMONT," given with a bearty emphasis and a glitter of the eye that tells how the gallant little man, with nerves of steel, lives in the hearts of the people.—Cincinnati Commercial.

LETTER OF GENERAL FREMONT.

Sr. Louis, Sept. 27. The following will apper in the *Democrat* of to-morrow: Just before leavi the-city, Gen. Fremont wrote this letter to a frier in New York:—

the city, Gen. Fremont wrote this letter to a friend in New York:

Sr. Louis, Sept. 26.

My Dear Sir.—I leave at eight o'clock in the mofning, and send you this lurried note in the midst of my last arrangements before starting. We have to contend with an enemy having no posts to garrison and no lines of transportation to defend or guard; whose whole force can be turned at will to any one point, while we have Leavenworth and from Fort Scott to Paducah to keep protected. I wish to say to you, that though the position is difficult, I am competent to it, and also to the enemy in the field. I am not able at the same time to attend to the enemy at home. It is a shame to the contry, that an officer going to the field, having his life in his hands, solely actuated by a desire to serve his country and wim for himself its good opinion, and with no other object, should be destroyed by a system of concentrated at tacks utterly witnout foundation. Charges are spoken of when there are none to be made.

What is the object of the repetition of these false-hoods, except to familiarize the public mind to the idea thiat something is wrong? Already our credit, which was good, is shaken in consequence of the newspaper intimations of my being removed. Money is demanded by those furnishing supplies. To defend

which was good, is shaken in consequence of the newspaper intimations of my being removed. Money is demanded by those furnishing supplies. To defend myself would require the time that is necessary, and belongs to my duty against the enemy. If permittee by the country, this state of things will not fail to bring on disorder. I am an exponent of a part of the force of the nation directed against the enemy of the country. Everything that is directed against mis is directed against it, and gives its gnemy aid an comfort.

comfort.

My private character comes in only incidentally. I defend it because naturally his reputation is dear to any man; but only incidentally. This is the foundation of many of my acts, and will be if I stay here. Everything that hurts, impedes or embarrases the work entrusted to me, I strike at without hestation. I take the consequences. The worst that can ever happen to me is relief from great labor. Yours truly. Yours truly, JOHN C. FREMONT.

COMPOUNDING FELONY.

BY LIEUT. GENERAL T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

It is amusing to see the different shades and grada It is amusing to see the different snades and grada-tions by which men make up their minds to befriend an avowed felony, like that which stole an African from his native land, and keeps him when stolen. And, besides this, it is a fine study, as throwing light on the construction of those human hearts, which, in not always desperately wicked, maintain a fair claim to the minor charge of being deceitful above all things.

on the construction of those human hearts, which, if not always desperately wicked, maintain a fair claim to the minor charge of being deceitful above all things.

Now, who could have supposed, that, when there was a fair and unmistakable opening for putting down the greatest existing blot on human society—an opportunity which small exercise of the faculties of a politician or the soldier must have told them would, according to all present odds, speedily be successful—that, with all this staring them in the face, there should have been such a bold stand, to the utmost limits practicable, made in England for keeping down the national movement against Slavery, and holding out all manner of comfort, solace, and encouragement to its supporters, and dabs of cold water in the faces of its opponents?

And first, why "on this most unhappy subject does it become us to abstain from whatever might be deemed to indicate an opinion upon the merits of the controversy"? Do men do so in any other instance? There might be situations where prudent men would not bring up a controversy foreign to the questions before the court. But would they seize that moment to introduce the subject for the purpose of saying it would be very improper to indicate an opinion? The mere fact of doing so is indicating an opinion in the strongest form. It is seizing the opportunity to say everything on the plea of saying nothing. This may be all very proper, and within the duties of an advocate. But it leaves no doubt of what the advocacy is. It may be in Quinctilian or not, but the practical bearing is clear. There are those of us who call it "a most happy subject," and sing their "Gloria in excelsis" with heart and outstretched voice.

Another form of persuasion to open our mouths, as the children say, and see what Heaven will send us (though spoken to before), is the "nameless horrors" are intieted by them on the defenceless of the felons! For goodness' sake, stand up between the felons, and the tresults of putting felons down! As said before, the

when the white women of the South petition against the right of buying yellow mistresses on the auction-block.

A milder form of the same devotion to the interests of humanity is in the question of "What is to become of the Negroes?" Think of their condition when there is no master to flog them into the right way, or keep them from those perilous acquirements of A, B, C, to which there is so strong a propensity in human kind! Or perhaps the objectors will stand on less romantic points. How are they to be fed, if they are not to have the "herring with one eye"? By what possible process can four millions of open mouths be filled, if you do not continue the present feeds from the head ostler or overseer?

Peeble specimen of things that walk in doublet and hose, did it never occur to you that they were to be fed as the negroes in the British West Indies were fed, by corking for toages instead of the processed er of cattle? Once let the military superiority of the North be fairly established—as in all reason would be done in one campaign, if there was not the idiotic resolution to do without the native allies—and see how the Southerners would flock like crows to the carcase, to pray for remission of their estates forfeited by unsuccessful rebellion, on condition of entering heartily into carrying on their cultivation as before, only by means of the negro with wages less than was the cost of keeping him before. There might be difficulties, as there are in eating an artichoke, which Gen. Scott would soon settle. Men must be blinded with a judicial pinch of snuff in their organs of vision, who can be led astray on this ground. But it is astonishing how hard an ill thing dies; how it twists and wriggles, and shows itself in forms which might deceive even the elect.

One more "last words" there is of the dying serpent, which is expressed in the hope that, at all events, the Northerners will pay the market price for the negroes. A decent suggestion and a comely, where rebellion has been tried and failed. Fancy it analied

One more "last words there is of the dying scrpent, which is expressed in the hope that, at all events, the Northerners will pay the market price for the negroes. A decent suggestion and a comely, where rebellion has been tried and failed. Fancy it applied in any other case; though there is none in which it would not be needful to apologize for the opprobrious comparison. But fancy that in any case the inagination may select, after a defeated rebellion the victorious party was asked to come forward with an offer to buy up the casus belil. Before the trial, there might be something said for an offer to buy up the stakes. But after, do there exist men so lost to all senso of what is honest or of good report as to push their neighbor on such an expedient—save and except, always, those who have some lurking bias, whether they know it themselves or not, to counselling a course so stamped with unprofitable imbecility?

Perhaps a light way may be thrown upon the present policy of the thing. It is to distract attention from the plain, straightforward course, by suggesting something else. It may carry with it some shallow show of followers, but they will neither be many nor strong. The hope of all men who have the ordinary share of brains or hearts is that the days of slavery are numbered; and happy is he who can tread down a snare on one side the Atlantic, though he cannot do more towards advancing the truth on the other!

The British ministry is already buffeted by the honest conservatives, for having most shamefully aided and absteted the Southern States under the poor plea of neutrality, and "dignifying the rebels with the preposterous title of a belligerent power, thus recognizing their right to hire hundreds of blood-thirsty pirates who infest the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico." To which may be added, the studied insult of sending reinforcements to Canada in the "Great Ship," instead of sending quietly afur et a messure as well disposed people would have done; and which the papers say is to be repeated. All this

earts of which government has don Elector, Sept. 7th.

The Tiberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 4, 1861.

The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those who are in favor of eternizing the accursed system of the property o slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern traitors—and who would prefer to see the Federal forces every where defeated, the blood and substance of the people expended to no purpose, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than have the oppressed sel-free under law, even though a satisfactory adjustment is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slavehold ers. Let the most active measures be at once taker cure the signatures of men and won -voters, to this Memorial, in every city, toy and village. A MILLION such can be easily of by energetic and concerted action. Forward!

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS

OCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND

To the Congress of the United States: The undersigned, citizens of

, respectfully submit — That as the present formidable re sent formidable rebellion against the nent manifestly finds its root and General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to al free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, n solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this able revolt is permitted to exist; your hon able body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition o slavery throughout the country - liberating uncondi-tionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while ot recognizing the right of property in man, al for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to th nent a fair pecuniary award, in order to fa an amicable adjustment of difficulties; an cilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; an thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent ter

D Editors of newspapers are requested to give this

mination, and indissolubly to unite all sections an

all interests of the country upon the enduring

RE-STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES, MEA-SURES AND OBJECT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In the month of December, 1833, a National Convention of the Friends of Impartial Liberty was held in Philadelphia, resulting in the formation of the American Anti-Slaveny Society, and the promulontion of a "Declaration of Sentiments." loctrines were set forth :-

"That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute prother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, piece of merchandise—to keep back his hir by frame or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of cliectaal, social, and moral improvement: "—and,

tellectual, social, and moral improvement: "—and,
"That all those laws which are now in force, admittithe right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly mad void; being an audacious assumption of the Diviprerogative, a daring infringement on the law of naturin a base overthrow of the very foundations of the socicompact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endes
ments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuo
transgression of all the holy commandments."

The plan agreed upon to effect the overthrow of this great iniquity was-

"To organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land; to send forth lecturers to lift in the voice, of remonstrance of search of fire treaty, and of rebuke; it of circulate, ungarringly, Anti-Slavery tracts and periodicals; to culist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb; to aid at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery; and to spare no exertions to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance."

The animating spirit of the movement was declared

"Such only as the opposition of moral parity to mo corruption, the destruction of error by the potency truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of lot and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

From the hour of its organization to the present time, the American Anti-Slavery Society has sacredly adhered to its principles and measures, as here laid down, which transcend all creeds and parties, all sectional rivalries and geographical divisions, and are based upon absolute morality, immutable justice, the based upon absolute morality, immutable justice, the divine law, and human nature itself. Nevertheless, during that long period, the Society has been per-sistently branded and assailed, in every part of the country, by all that is powerful in the State, and by the concurrent action of the Church, by the press and by the pulpit alike, as a functical and disorganizing combination, undeserving of any sympathy or en-couragement. Had its object been avowedly to en-courage highway robbery, piracy or murder, it could not have elicited more indignation, nor led to a more determined resistance! So thoroughly had the n virus of slavery in the body politic! Yet, four year after the formation of the Society, Daniel Webster, in a speech delivered by him at Niblo's Garden, New York, recognized the potency of its moral agitation as

follows:—

"On the general question of Slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The question has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper chord. It has a rankered the result of the property of the result of should all this be attempted, I know or norming in the Constitution, OR IN THE UNION ITSELF, which world NOT BE ENDANGERED BY THE EXPLOSION WE

Well had it been for the nation if it had beeded this truthful representation and solemn warning! Well had it been for the character and fame of Mr. Webster himself if he had subsequently acted upon these well

founded convictions!

For the first ten years of its existence, the An can Anti-Slavery Society was chiefly occupied in or-ganizing auxiliary societies, vindicating the safety and duty of immediate emancipation, revealing the hor-rors of the slave system, exposing and condemning the subtle scheme of African colonization, printin and circulating tracts, petitioning Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and making strenuous efforts to secure the cooperation o the various religious bodies in the land. It is true that, in the "Declaration of Sentiments' at the period of its formation, it was said:—

at the period of its formation, it was said:

"The people of the free States are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fatters of tyramy upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States: they are liable to be called upon at any mouncut to suppress a general insurfection of the slaves: they authorise the slave-cowner to rote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuals his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection, and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortraction to the territories, and send him back to be tortractively an enraged master or brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal: IT MUST BE EMBORISH.

very is criminal: IT SUST BE SOLEN UP."

It was not, however, till its anniversary in 1844, that, after long deliberation and discussion, the Society decided, by a nearly unanimous vote, that

"Fidelity to the cause of human freedom, hatred of oppression, sympathy for these who are held in chains and alvery in this republic, and allegiance to find, require that the existing intional compact should be instantly discoled; and that the motto insertised on the hanner of freedom should be, NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

As ample justification for this procedure, it was

of the United States, we are treated as of f of the country, and the National do is to our destruction. We are denied t then freedom of speech, the right of pe

"Three millions of the American people are crushed un-ler the American Union! They are held as slaves, trac-leted as merchandise, registered as goods and chattels. The government gives them no protection; the government ched as merchandies, registered as goods and chattel he government gives them to protection; the government their enemy; the government keeps them in chain there they like bleeding, we are prostrate by their side their sorrows and sufferings we participate; their strip is inflicted on our bodies, their shackles are fastened ir limbs; their cause is ours."

It was said, further, in regard to the body of slaveholders at the South:—

"We separate from them, not in anger, not in malic not for a selfish purpose, not to do them an injury, not not for a selfath purpose, not to do them an injury, not to cease warning, exhorting, reproving them for their erimes, not to leave the perishing bondman to his fate—0, no! But to clear our skirts of innocent blood; to give the oppressor no countenance; to signify our abhorence of injustice and cruelty; to testify against an ungodly compact; and to hasten the downfall of slavery in America and throughout the world."

The conclusion being

The conclusion being—
"We believe that the effect of this movement will be,—
First, to create discussion and agitation throughout the
North; and these will lead to a general perception of its
grandeur and importance.
Secondly, to convulse the alumbering South like an
earthquake, and to convince her that her only alternative
is, to abelish disvery, or be abandoned by that power on
which she now relies for safety.
Thirdly, to attack the Slave Power in its most vulners
ble point, and to carry the battle to the gate.
Fourthly, to exalt the moral sense, increase the moral
power, and invigorate the moral constitution of all who
heartily esponse it."
It will be seen by these extracts, that the grounds

It will be seen by these extracts, that the gro r Disunion, as advocated by the American Anti-lavery Society, were:—(1) Moral and religious—the

iniquity of the national compact, in certain of its pro-visidns. (2) Personal—relating to individual convic-tion of duty, and withdrawal from complicity with op-pression. (3) Relative—concerning the doom of the enslaved, with the Union as their enemy. (4) Patriotic —the friends of liberty being treated as outlaws throughout the South for their Anti-Slavery senti-ments, and thus warranted by the Declaration of Independence in desiring and seeking new safeguards for their own rights and liberties, as well as for those ield in bondage.

It will also be seen that the course to be purs

mplated no violence in any direction, no uprisforce and arms against the Government,ing but the exercise of a peaceful, lawful, constitutiona right of protest and reformation, using only the weapons of reason and argument,—FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF ES-TABLISHING THE FREEDOM OF ALL CLASSES UPON AN ENDURING BASIS.

Ever since its adoption, the Constitution of the United States has been uniformly interpreted and exe-cuted, throughout the nation, in support of its alleged pro-slavery guaranties. These originally provided shave representation in Congress, not for the protec-tion of the oppressed, but to increase the power of their oppressors; the prosecution of the foreign slave trade for a period of not less than twenty years; the recapture of fugitive slaves in every section of the Union; and the suppression of domestic insurrection of every kind. All these remain in full force, except the clause relating to the foreign slave trade

For more than seventy years, the people of the North have faithfully executed all the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution; answering scorn fully, in reply to the earnest remonstrances and solenn warnings of the Abelitionists, as did the Jewish peo-ple in the days of the prophet—"We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agree-ment; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves."
At last, the prophecy is fulfilled:—"Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon: therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant." 'At last, "judgment has been laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet; the hail has swep away the refuge of lies, the waters overflow the hid-ing-place; the covenant with death is annulled, and the agreement with hell no longer stands." The Union of 1789 is perfidiously overthrown by the very class which fashioned it at the beginning, and which until now has controlled its administration. Eleven slave States have organized themselves into a Southern Confederacy, proclaimed to the world their independ-ence, treasonably repudiated the National Government, resorted to robbery on the land and piracy on the ocean, and now menace the safety of the Capitol the ocean, and now menace the safety of the Capitol
at Washington with an army of two hundred thousand implacable enemies, who require as formidable a
host from the North to keep them in check; and the
end is not yet. Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri
are retained in a factious and unwilling connection only by Federal bayonets.

In this war of elements and breaking up of the foundations of the Republic, when new issues are presented and the relations of things are so essentially changed, it becomes the advocates and representatives of the enslaved intelligently to understand and clearly to define their true position, that they may not be tempted to compromise their principles on the one hand, nor give occasion for needless misapprehension

inexcusable ignorance on the part of those who put in No two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to

No two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to latter aim to give an unlimited range and lasting per-petuity to slavery and the slave trade. The former are animated by an unselfish and all-embracing philanthropy, seeking the welfare of the oppressor as well as of the oppressed, and desiring to put an end to all sec-tional animosities and divisions by the proclamation of universal freedom; the latter are under the control of an unappeasable selfishness, a satanic aspiration for universal dominion, an imperious spirit that would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven," and striving to break down, as intolerable nuisances, all the free institutions of the North. The former heartily subscribe to the Declaration of Independence, as defining the origin, nature and scope of human rights: the latter contemptuously trample that Declaration beneath their feet, and boldly give the lie to its self-evident their feet, and boldly give the lie to its self-evident truths. The former resort to no other weapons than those of entreaty, warning and rebuke, meeting all calumnies with patience, all insults with forbearance, all outrages in the spirit of marryrs: the latter are armed with bowie knives and revolvers, and ready to stab, shoot, or hang any Abolitionist who may venture mon Southern soil. In short, the former are all-adminupon Southern soil. In short, the former are laboring

necessity in the truthful language of the lamented CHANNIN

" The fre

It is demanded by the honest confession of John

tion has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the proy, and in the evening has divided the spoil." "It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South presented, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the sliphalation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of omerchandise, under the name of persons." "In the articles of confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of government came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—franced their subscription to the parchment, till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumingation could parify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedow.

It is warranted by the radical sentiment of Wil-

It is warranted by the radical sentiment of WIL LIAM H. SEWARD :-

and image,—endowed with the faculties, propensities, and passions, common to our race, and having the same ultimate destiny, can, by the force of any human constitutions or laws, be converted into a chattel or a thing, in which another human being like himself can have property, depriving him of his free will, and of the power of cultivating his own mind, and pursuing his own happiness; a property beginning with his birth, and reaching over and enslaving his posterity. I cannot believe that that can be stolen, which is not, and cannot be, property."

And again :-

And again :

"Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ophemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation."

"It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromise between the Slave and Free States, and it is the stratency of this west fact that renders all such vertured com-

Finally, Abolition disunion is warranted by the doc trine laid down by ABRAHAM LINCOLN :-

"'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I be-lieve this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

"This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who dray freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it." The cry of "treason," so long and so vehemently

raised against disunion Abolitionists by their enemies, proceeds not from any perception or appreciation of the cause of freedom and equal rights, but from traditional and idolatrous veneration of a parchment, or, more generally, from contempt and hatred of an unfortunate and deeply wronged race, whose sufferings excite no commiseration, and whose appeals for mercy are met with derision. But as the Constitution is, in its pro-slavery clauses, among the guaranteed rights of citizenship is the liberty of speech and of the press,— if not without limitation, at least to the extent of any amount of criticism upon that instrument, in whole or in part. The framers of the Constitution, conscious of their own fallibility, and of the imperfectness of the work of their hands, inserted in it a provision for its work of their hands, inserted in it a provision for its amendment ad libitum. "They were not bold or rash enough," says Judge Story, "to believe or to pronounce it perfect. They made use of the best lights which they possessed, to form and adjust its parts, and mould its materials. But they knew that time might largely a provision of the property of the provision of the provisi develop many defects in its arrangements, and many deficiencies in its powers. They desired that it might be open to improvement; and, under the guidance of the sober judgment and enlightened skill of the country, to be perpetually approaching nearer and nearer to perfection." It is, therefore, the lawful right of every citizen freely to criticise, and as freely to object to, any portion of the Constitution which he believes to be wrong in equity, injurious in practice, or destructive in tendency. Especially is he bound to protest against it wherein he conscientiously regards it as imposing unrighteous obligations and immoral duties, and to refine to obey it, be the penalty what it may; for, in the words of Algernon Sidney, "that which is not just is not law, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed." He may err in judgment, or be ethically unsound, or perverse in spirit and design; but his right to interrogate it, and to call its legal construction or moral character in question, cannot be invaded with-out violence to his citizenship. If he is honestly dis-posed, he can do no higher service to the country than to seek to perfect its organic law by denouncing what is wrong, and upholding what is right. Instead of this nable act, it is the duty of every good citizen: and, surely, the strongest motive that can be presented for the modification or abnegation of any constitutional clause is to show that it is inherently North, and the pro-slavery secessionists of the South.

No two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to each other, in spirit, design and action. The former ing liath this extent—no more." Distinguished for the sake of universal freedom: "the head and front of their offending liath this extent—no more." Distinguished for the sake of universal freedom: violence and disorder, and sought their end only through a rectified public sentiment, by the power of truth. Even the Southern Review concedes to them no wish to transcend the limits of ethical reasoning. It says:-

"We are of those who believe the South has nothing t "We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the Abolitonists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from their organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders therefore; from the instanations of their dangerous heresis into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the Abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this, they are not laboring to attract the non-slaveholding States with the belief that slavery is a sin against God; that the "national compact" involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be follered from what they term its blackets tain; is foulest repreach, its deadliest curse."

Certainly, they can neither desire nor receive a Certainly, they can neither desire nor receive a

higher tribute to their peaceful disposition and con-scientious integrity than this. The "dangerous here-aics" which they promuleate sies" which they promulgate may all be found in the Declaration of Independence and in the Golden Rule, and these in all ages have commended themselves to

upon Southern sell. In short, the former are laboring disinterestedly to save the country from ruin, and fill it with the abundance of peace, by extracting the only root of bitterness: the latter are desperately bent upon mischief, and "full of treason, stratagems and spoils."

"But," it may be objected, "between Abolition disuntion and slaveholding secession, the Union goes to the ground; and, therefore, practically, there is no difference between them." In a moral point of view, and with a due regard to the cause of freedom and humanity, the difference is infinite. The former is simple obedience to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship and the state of the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship and the state of the south, whose passions are "set on fire of hell," whose crimes and atroctites outrun numeration, whose pathway is red with blood and multimate to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to do evil"." "Have no followship with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine precepts, "Ye shall not go with the unfituide to the divine

pravity. In denouncing the course of these despense conspirators, and in promptly refuting their lying secusations and exposing their devillah machinations, the Abolitionists have not been behind the most realous partisans of the Government. Nevertheless, in department of the Government to be wholly in the right seal laring the Government to be wholly in the right, and claring the Government to be wholly in the right, and the accessionists wholly in the wrong, as relates to the precise issue between the parties, the Abolitionists abuse no jot or, tittle of their testimony against a pro-slavery Constitution and Union. That Constitution, could in Constitution and Union. That Constitution, could it be enforced, as hitherto, would still be "a coverant with death," and that Union, could it be maintained as from the beginning, would still be "an agreement with beth." But eleven slave States (virtually, all the with beth." But eleven slave States (virtually, all the union, and over the Union, and over the Union, and over the Union. with hell." But eleven slave States (virtually, of the slave States) are out of the Union, and over them the Constitution has no power. Theoretically, as well as sincerely, but none the less impotently, the Goranneerety, but note the tree the one, and to main ment is aiming simply to enforce the one, and to min-tain the other, in exact accordance with the orifical stipulations; practically, it is in direct and deadly a-tagonism with the Slave Power, to preserve whatever of democratic freedom and free matitudes remain in the land. When, in all the Southern Confederay, in the land. When, in all the Southern Confederacy, it is made a treasonable act to avow loyally to the old Union, to rally under the star-spangled baner in rapport of the Government, and to claim protetion under the American Constitution; and when President Lipcoln and his Cabinet are as completely onlaved in all the South, and would be as ignominosity dult the formers, as the most radical Abditioning, i.e. all the South, and would be as ignominiously dealt with, if caught, as the most radical Abolitionists; is apparent that the relation of things has essensially changed, and a new definition of terms is needed. While, therefore, our sympathies are with the German of the sympathics are with the German of the sympathics are with the German of the sympathics. ernment thus situated, we believe that it will fail to restore the old order of things; but, even if it should succeed, it would bring no real peace or unity to the puntry. The same moral objections would lie against country. The same moral objections would lie against the Constitution, on account of its pro-lavery guaraties; a more vigorous moral agitation would follow, to put down which, by lawless violence, fresh effort thes, it is put down which, by lawless violence, fresh efforts would again be made; and the same root of evil and source of division would remain, in due season to curse the land with fratricidal strife and civil war. But two alternatives are presented to bring the

present tremendous conflict to a speedy termination, namely :-either to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy on its own terms, or else to abolish slavery throughout the land, by one comprehensive act of the Government, under the var power: for it is nothing short of fatuity to suppose that a reconciliation can be made by any additional slavea reconciliation can be made by any additional stare-holding compromises, or on the original basis of the Constitution. True, the Government is still insanely hoping to subdue the rebellion, and to preserve the Union as it was; but, vast as may be its recorder, and mighty as are its armies, it must fail, for it cannot change the decrees of Heaven, nor master events beyond the control of human agency. Unquestionable, the North and the South ought to be united in indi soluble bonds; but one common government is needed from ocean to ocean. Unquestionably, a forcible disruption of the Union, if successful, must be attended with the gravest consequences and the most serious difficulties. Under these circumstances, therefore, with rampant treason thundering with its forces at the very gates of the Capital, it is not only the imperative difficulties. duty, but the glorious prerogative, of the Government, under the war power, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic transcription." quillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blossings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," to declare the imme-diate abolition of slavery throughout the land, and freedom and protection to every loval person found beneath its flag.

SUMNER'S SPEECH AT WORCESTER.

"EMANCIPATION THE CURE FOR REBELLION."

In the admirable speech of Charles Sumner before the Republican Convention held this week in Worcester, the very title of which, above quoted, expresses our "one thing needful," the accomplished order con-gratulates his hearers on a victory "already won."

This strong expression, which he repeatedly use,

and his equivalent declaration, "Already the country has been saved," are so painfully in contrast with the position of the National Government, compelled to keep an immense army in constant readiness for the defence of its capital, that I felt obliged to look back in the speech to recal the precise amount of the victory thrus claimed to be already achieved. It is expressed in these words, in the third paragraph of the speech,-

"Often have I exclaimed, in times past, that our first great object was the emancipation of the Natical Government, so that it should no longer be the size of slavery, ready to do its bidding in all things. But this victory has been won."

It is true that so much has been won. Our National Government is no longer ready to do the bidding of slavery in all things! There are a few things, such as the Capitol and the city of Washington, and the national mints, arsenals, fortresses and ships of vu, which our Government still withholds from the de-mands of slavery. But is this natter for boasting, or even for self-congratulation, while that Government is still ready to protect the interests of slavery every where but in the case of realists! Nay, worse! Our Executive takes pains to prohibit interference ever executive takes pains to product interference etc with rebel elavery, except so far as rebels on he proved to have used their slaves in acts of direct he tility to the nation! Worse still! Our Executive takes pains to check the action of those subordinates takes pains to check the action of those subconsists who have gone further than himself in commenting the great movement from which he has been welly and shamefully shrinking; takes pains to check and counteract all movement towards the very polywhich Mr. Sumner himself points out as indipensable to that far greater victory which yet remains to be

gained. No, we are not yet saved! And it is the Comnder-in-Chief of the army, and the elected head of the nation, it is Abraham Lincoln himself, who obstructs, by the exercise of his individual will, the ration's entrance upon that movement against slavery which Mr. Sumner has shown to be the direct course, and the only course, to success against the rebellion.

What, in this case, is to be done? What, but for

the people of the North to speak to this unfaithful setvant, who allows his local attachments and projudices to interfere with their interests, and even with the asertion and maintenance of their dearest rights, at tely and strongly to express to him their wish, that the rebellion be combatted by the immediate sdop tion of measures for the overthrow of slavery crisis is too momentous for ceremony or for delay.

The welfare of the whole nation is not to be sacrified. to the particular personal preferences engendered by one man's birth and education in Kentucky. Every Northern State is making immense sacrifices, not only of property, of every kind, but of the blood of her chi-of property, of every kind, but of the blood of her chidren, to sustain the Government that is now sacrificing their welfare to save unharmed the prejudices of Kery. If Kentucky cannot consent to sacrifice of of what she calls her "property," for the sake of what she calls her "property," for the sake of the calls her "property," for t the Union, in God's name let her at once join the reels! By joining them openly, she would do the aster infinitely less harm than by blocking the course of position to that rebellion, as at present. But if she will neither join the rebellion nor consent to the one movement indispensable to its overthrow, it is time in the Northern, and Middle, and Western States to go through the short computation necessary to calculate the value of Kentucky, and see if she is worth keeping with the incomplete. with the incumbrance of slavery. If she will not go with the Union, utterly and absolutely irrespective her slaves, why not leave her out of the calculated.

Let her go or not, as she likes, but, at all events, crub
the rebellion without waiting longer for her constil-

A communication from David Lee Child, Ed-a reply to the letter of inquiry from Dr. Grandin, a navoidably deferred till next week.

LETTER FROM JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ.

35 Eccles St., Dublin, 8th Sept., 1861.

35 ECCLES ST.; DUBLIN, SHI SCRL, 1901.

TO HENRY C. WRIGHT:

DEAN HENRY—The Liberator of Aug. 22d has come to hard, and in it I find a letter from you addressed to me, and purporting to be a reply to a letter of mine to Mr. Garrison, dated 29th May last. I am sorry you took so much trouble to point out to me, at great length, a serial wickedness of the South, with record to the the special wickedness of the South, with regard to the correct one. I needed no farther evidence on read. I believe wholly with you, that the South-ten who have revolted, are rebels—rebels withated too strong, or too severe. I concede this matter to you. The South "has not a leg to d on " in this transaction; and if Northern m and aver that the sword is a legitimate we use against their erring brethren, and tha sider them wrong in thus acting, and I feel assu e will prove them to be so. The sword has not the "Dissolution of the Union" been tial point at which we should aim, as the best, if r the only, means of securing his freedom? Has not this been the steady demand of the Garrison Aboli-tionists for many years? And now, when this great was an erroncous one. But let'us have the proe has yet been offered. If the dissolution of the Union be great national evil,—one which should be resisted a any cost,—the Garrisonians have been ene-mies of their country for the last twenty years, and I have not yet seen any recantation by them of this error. 1 do not yet see any reason calling on me to That Union was designed to perpetuate slave-breed-ng, slave-trading and slaveholding, so long as the laveholders wish to pursue these practices. Its overslaveholders wish to pursue these practices. Its over-throw is demanded by every consideration of mercy, e and expediency, and should be carnestly and veringly sought by every friend of mankind, slave States to withdraw from their alliance with the Southern lords of the lash alone in their infamy."
To this letter, although I doubted the propriety of your applying to foreigners for such a purpose, I gave alone were to be employed. If you will read my letter to Mr. Garrison of 29th May, again, you will see that these opinions are still entertained by me you wonder, then, that I should feel surprised their hopes on an exactly opposite issue 1 and that they should, moreover, give their entire sanction to

crowded columns of the Liberator, I shall not pursue wat the course pursued by friends in Ameri, whom I truly love and esteem; and I look forward with dismay to the future; not because of the out ems to me an insane determination of Northern mer conquer, by force of arms, the rebels that have rises nst lawful authority. If the thing be possible,— I do not believe it to be,—it can only be ac hed at such a waste of life, and of time, and o There are some points in your letter, notice, but I fear to write a long letter. If Southern en have such views as you apprehend, general in-nity must be their miserable condition. Do you, enry, ever "believe in an armed defence of free nd free institutions, and in armed resistance to slavcholders in their plans and efforts to enslave them," (the North)? These are your words, and they seem to come approvingly from you. My peace principles,—although I never was a non-resistant, elled peace,-to condemn all resort to arms, and steadily, "through evil report and through The wickedness of others is no justification of nduct on our part. The solemn question for any circumstances? I believe it is not. If you answer that question in the affirmative, it will then be for ou as an American, to consider whether your presnt war is just in all its bearings, and, if so, is it like-to be successful except at such a cost as may prove inous for many generations ? other point, and I have done. The

bloody and remorseless war, to sustain a Union they have often denounced as a "covenan

ays, "No slave shall tread upon the American soil." Then, and not till then, will the world care much which side wins. So far as the poor slave is concerned, it will be, until this declaration is made, "six of one and half a dozen of the other," between the belligerents in the general estimation of mankind. A pouring wet day has kept me within doors, and

inflict my opposing views upor you, and some other friends in America,-yet I would fain hope that there are not a few in that faraway land—whose distractions I hope will soon come to a termination—who will sympathize with me, and say, " He is right.

Affectionately, yours, JAMES HAUGHTON.

P. S. You smile at my idea of a peaceful separa-tion; the absurdity appears to me all on the other side. Surely the South would abide quietly, if the North permitted it. To use your own commercial en. I would say to the South, "You have been always a disagreeable partner, and I am heartly glad to be quit of you. You may dissolve the part hership without any fear of obstruction on my part Be off! and set up for yourself at once!" J. H.

Fart Day at Washinoton. The President's pro-clamation for the observance of the National Fast was duly honored in city and in camp. All of the church-ies were opened, and the congregations were fully equal to those of the Sabbath. At the Unitarian church, Rev. William Henry Channing, of Liverpool, England, well known to thousands of your readers, preached a fearless serimon to an immense congrega-tion. He maintained that there could be no peace so long as we ignored the cause of the war—staykny. It was an eloquent, able production, and was listened to with profound attention.— Washington corr. of New York Tribuse.

The Fast elicited able and telling anti-slavery discourses from Rev. Messrs. Manning, Stone, Alger, Weiss, J. F. Clarke, and others, in Boston.

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNTERMAND OF FRE-MONT'S PROCLAMATION.

For this, there must be great blame somewhere. A controversy taking such hold of stern conviction and

Frémont's proclamation is, that to the number of slaves belonging to rebels, and declared by the former to be forfeited and free, the latter adds all other slave

The act, therefore, greatly contracts that was of the President, by which he might call to the ser-vice of the country all the slaves within the country

ase of it to the extent which the act prescribes. ngress, it was a question of the tenth of a loaf or ne. They meant to put the President on the right ck. The President infers that he can proceed upon it no further than he is allowed by the letter of the law; in other words, that he can set free no slaves except they are employed in the "military or nava service" of the rebels. This is a correct legal in

The hale-as corpus act has been called in England "the greatest thing in the Great Charter"; it is the primary cause why Inquisitions, Bastiles and Siberias (not Angola-) Saxons in America. It was the high ty" should hold no man restrained of his liberty lon that he was restrained of his liberty according to the

Rights of 1689, prohibit the suspension of the privi-lege of the writ, except by Parliament; and every State Constitution in the United States prohibits it, spending is

The reason why the Constitution of the United the framers of it that anybody, in a land of liberty and aw, would ever conceive that it could be otherwise!

York. He did so on the plea of the necessity which

check an overwhelming force, which he had scarcely more hope of conquering than Leonidas the host of Xerxes. That force, and two or three more equal to best affected to the cause of the Union. It was the mournful and almost universal conviction of the coun-try, that Missouri, with all its loyal inhabitants, except, perhaps, St. Louis, was lost.

Baltimore, and on the route to Philadelphia. President has the same right to use his power over

Gen. Frémont had exercised his right with modera ron's order of "August, 1861," removed the distinc tion between the slaves of loval and disloval masters. so far as fugitives are concerned. Fremont restricted himself to the slaves of that class, whom Congress by law, and the House by resolution, had marked to be rned. Frémont restricted stripped; though there is reason to believe that he

stripped; though there is reason to believe that he might have gone further with the general and cordial concurrence of the loyal Missourians. It was not with them, but with Kentuckians, the President's countrymen, that the disastrous order, "dimming the shine" of the Pathfinder, originated. The Louisville (Ky.) Journal boasts of the achievement, and claims the honor for the Union men there!

I have sufficiently considered the false and fatal position of Kentucky, and in so doing, I have said, in substance, no more than the President himself did in his message to Congress. But Kentucky applauds her own "rotten policy," and in spite of it, she has been lauded by the lady of the President, a daughter of Kentucky. He himself is said to have stiffly refused at first to sign "the Confiscation Bill," because "it would cost us Kentucky." If these nineteen States, which have saved the Constitution and the Capital, and will save Liberty and the Union, could have been heard at that moment, they would have said, in tones of thunder, "Then, sir, it will cost us nothing that we would not willingly part withal." Through her venerable and most influential citizen and otherwise, Kentucky strove to seduce and bully the Republican party into a degrading and delivered compromise. The pressure was fearful, and appalled for a time the stoutces hearts. Ever since that, she has been playing with a steam-power of the thousand horses into the hands of malignant and murderous traitors. If slave-driving dictation can ever be tolerable to American freewen again it is examed to five a time the stoutces hearts. Ever since that, she has been playing with a steam-power of the thousand horses into the hands of malignant and murderous traitors. If slave-driving dictation can ever be tolerable to American freewen agains it seamed to five a time the stoutces hearts. Ever since that, she has been playing with a steam-power of the thousand horses into the hands of malignant and murderous traitors. If slave-driving dictation can ever be tolerable to norses into the hands of malignant and murderous traitors. If slave-driving dictation can ever be tolerable to American freemen again, it cannot be so from Kentucky at present; and it is as unsafe as it is in decent for her to attempt it, or the Government to listen to it.

D. L. C.

TO J. P. B.

If I now comprehend you, you do not propose a compromise, or amicable adjustment, with the traitors, but simply a formal recognition of the existing fact of their separate governmental existence. You would then enforce, if not otherwise accepted, certain condi-

slavery. And do you not suppose that this "community of barbarians," as you justly call them, would per imperil their institution by perpetual war, that peaceably suffering its overthrow by the imposi

th is in the utter destruction, in this o other wars, of the barbarism that has con

But why remove from them the character of rebels and invest them with the character of legitimate na-tionality? Why divest the North, in the eyes of the world, of the obligation for imposing the condition

COLORED VALOR FOR THE COUNTRY.

Mr. Nell permits us to publish the following private ned friend and an earnest

NEW BEDFORD, Sept. 18, 1861. ing statement in an account of the Bermuda Islands given in "Morse's American Gazetteer," Boston

If you had not already met with this addit

testimony in favor of the manly qualities of the Afri-can race, I thought you might like to place it among your valuable reminiscences of their noble deeds. (1) our valuable reminiscences of their noble deeds. (1)
I need not assure you how deep an interest I feel in the present conflict between the North and the South, trusting it will end in the setting free every victim of "the prison-house of bondage."

n his requisition upon Gen. Fremont to modify his ment learn the true nature of the struggle between and yet our fervent prayers to God must be, hasten the day of freedom to the oppressed, when every yoke shall be broken, and those who have borne

I fear, however, that the work of the Abolitionists is not yet done: to them, ere long, will our suffering people look for guidance. In the meantime, let us keep our armor bright and ready for action.

Yours, very truly, DANIEL RICKETSON.

(1) Here is a very recent incident :-

A COLORED SOLDIER AT BULL RUN. When Governor Sprague's battery was about to leave Providence or Washington a few months ago, the officers wished o engage the services of a colored citizen of that tate, as a servant. He replied that he was not a colored service of that

specimens of the flax production have been count which come very near the genuine article, if not fully up to the average of cotton. Flannel, calico, drilling and thread have all been made of the new flore, and with a remarkable degree of perfection. New processes for preparing the fibre give great entrangement to those who are embarked in the busi-

ING SQUADRON. The recent changes in officers in command of the larger ships of the blockading squadron are notworthy, as apparently indicating a disposition to entrust the important operations of that squadron to officers from seceded, doubtful, or border States. Capt. D. M. Goldsborough, who relieves Commodors Stratesham is activated by the commodors of the common of the commo cimeuit and paintui situations, rendering action timid and vaciliating that should be prompt and decided. A larger proportion of Northern officers would be quite as likely to induce a vigorous enforcement of the block-ade, and they should not be passed over to so great an extent to favor those from the South, when so much is at stake.—Boston Journal, Sept. 20th.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

the State Republican Convention,

Tuesday, October 1, 1861.

"EMANCIPATION THE CURE FOR REBELLION."

e, as in Others

Ticonderoga; but "in the name of slavery." Yes; in the name of slavery has all this crime, destruction

Ticonderoga; but "in the name of slavery." Yes; in the name of slavery has all this crime, destruction and ravage been perpetrated.

Look at the war as you will, and you will always see slavery. Never, were the words of the Roman crator more applicable: "Nuluan facisus extitit his: per te; nuluan flogitius nies te." Slavery is its inspiration; its motive-power; its end and aim. It is often said that the war will make an end of slavery. This is probable. But it is surer still, that the overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war.

If I am correct in this statement, which I believe is beyond question, then do reason, justice and policy all units in declaring that the war must be brought to bear directly on the grand conspirator, and omnipressent enemy, which is slavery. Not to do this, is to take upon ourselves, in the present contest, all the weakness of slavery, while we leave to the rebels its boasted resources of military strength. Not to do this, is to squander life and treasure in a vain masquerade of battle, which can have no practical result.

Believe me, fellow-citizens, I know all the imagined difficulties and unquestioned responsibilities are such as you will gladly bear. This is not the first time that a knot hard to untile has been cut by the sword; and we all know that danger dees before the brave man. Believe that you can, and you can. The will only is needed. Courage now is the highest prudence.

It is not necessary, even, according to a familiar plurase, to carry the war into Africa. It will be enough

a chain-breaker.

But there is another agency that may be invoked which is at the same time under the Constitution, and above the Constitution; I mean Martial Law. It is under the Constitution, because it is distinctly recognized.

And then again he asks, in fords applicable to the

present hour:—
"If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleaguered capital, is this besieged government to see milillions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the
futers which they are forging into swords? No! The
war power of the Government can except his institution into the
Gulf."

Gulf."

The representatives of slavery fumed and raged at these words, and at their venerable author; but no-body answered them. And they have stood ever since in the records of Congress, firm and impregnable as

the standard political size of the control of the c

to declare that the hour has come when they shall lash against the sky.

But may a good Providence save our Government rom that everlasting regret which mast snaue if a great opportunity is lost by which all the bleeding wounds of war shall be staunched—by which preserity shall be again established, and peace be linked by ever with liberty. Saul was curved for not hew-

the sham democratic, sham loyal, sham patriotic Bost ton Post speaks in the following Billingsgate style;—

Rev. James Freeman Clarke said he had two resolutions in the spirit of Mr. Sumner's speech, which he wished to present to the Convention. He did not desire in any way to prejudice the rights of any person not belonging to the Republican party, who had come into this Convention under this liberal terms of its call. We are in the habit of saying that the time for speaking has passed, and that this is the time for action only. We believe that, while engaged in war it is not worth while to bring up any questions upon which there might be a doubt. But there is one thing we ought to consider. If men are the muscles of war, if dollars are the sinews of war, ideas and convictions are the nerves of war; and unless we are fighting for, it is pretty certain that after a while our courage will give way. Every one who comes from Washington repre

Resolved, That while the people of Massachusetts ave confidence in the wisdom of the National Admin-

Mr. George S. Hale, of Boston, moved that the resmotion prevailed, and the Convention adjourned with out venturing to look them in the face! Poor timid, halting, huckstering, compromising Republicanism!

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Receipts.
Rec'd by R. F. Wallout: From Dr. D. S. Grandin, Mechanics Falls, Me., to redeem pledge, of May, 1860,
Thos. S. Greenman, Mystic Bridge, Conn, a donation. 2 50

Mrs. M. W. Chapman, Weymouth, Mrs. for expenses
of Abington Gelebration, 1 00

R. H. Ober, to redeem pledge, 20 00

By A. T. Foss:
North Beverly, 1 07

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer Boston, Oct. 1, 1861.

A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American A. S. So ciety, will speak on "The War," at Peacham, Vt. Sunday, Oct. Danville, "Tuesday, " Sunday, Oct. 6. Tuesday, " 8.

St. Johnsbury, " St. Johnsbury, " Weanes, " II.
Waterford, " Friday, " II.
Molndoos Falis, " Sat. eve'g, " 12, and
S. Ryegate, " Tuesday, " 15.
Topsiam, " Wednes, " 46.
Washington, " Thursday, " 17.
Newbury, " Friday, " 18.
Bradford, " Sunday, " 20.
Windsor, " Wednes, " 23. Sat. eve'g, "12, and Sunday, 13. Tuesday, "15.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
Mrs. MARGARET B. BROWN, Accoucher, 'I

AVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street,
Boston, and will devote special attention to the
treatment of the above diseases.
Office Hours, from 10, A. Sr., to 4, P. M.
Borton, Oct. 4, 1861.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF BLA-VERY.

BUTLER AND PREMONT. Ben. Butler has made out a case,
Without a legal flaw,
By which the slave his freedom gets;

He's " contraband of war"! And Fremont, too, o'er Western plains,

Chat traitorous men, where he bears sway,

Shall let their slaves go free!

R. W. T. NOW.

ARREST TO W. C. BRYANT'S "NOT YET"-BY T. HUI

BERT UNDERWOOD A "marvel of the earth" indeed ! Our country from its greatness thro Thrown dustward like a blasted reed-Its pride laid low, its green leaves strown. In vain the hopeful answer, "No!"

A stigma rests upon her fame—
Though still she's cherished in our heart—
The traitor's blight, a sullied name! Yet cling to her as once a part f that which was the "glorious" Great, The favored land, the model State.

Stern Truth-of those who gave this land The prestige of its former Will say, "Its erring state Will say, "Its erring statemen stand Convicted of the present shame." Could they the present sequence know, They'd seek the deepest shades below.

Because they left undone the task

Which God assigned them, then and there
"To " tear" from Slavery its mask; And drive it from its che Their judgment or their will was wrong, Who left this dragon to grow strong.

They bandied honeyed words with Crime, And made expediency of Sin;
They left a curse to after-time,
A curse that worketh now within The councils of this cheated land : Their boasted ties are ropes of sand.

Our "marts" are dead, our "iron ways" Our "woods and waters" stand as While rattles down the crimson car; Potomac's waves unsanguined flow, Missouri's sands are red below.

Our "winds" are yocal with the boom Atlantic hears the threatened And answers with his wail of woes; And from the Mississippi's flood There's no response save that of " Blood ! We stand aghast-" the hour is nigh."

When "Eld's" green goblins, grinning, sit Close by the Nation's face, and cry: "Doomed country, welcome to the pit, Dug deep for all who thus begin ord of their work with sin!"

Is there an arm stretched down to save? ne God!" the fool replies "There is no God!" the foot replie
"No King but Corrox!" and we wave
The lie beneath insulted skies, Give Slavery fair Freedom's place And flannt the fraud in Heaven's face

The fire of civil war to-day Has charred upon the Nation's brow A brand no tears can wash away! No compromise will answer now! There is a God, and now he rules, And whips as with a race of fools !

GOD'S ANVIL.

Pain's furnace heat within me quivers, God's breath upon the flame doth blow, and all my heart with anguish shivers, and all my heart with anguse.

And trembles as the fiery glow; And in his hottest fire hold still

He comes, and lays my heart, all heated, On the hard savil, minded so, to his own fair shape to beat it, With his great bammer, blow on blow; And yet I whisper, as God will, And at his heaviest blows hold still.

He takes my softened heart, and beats it : The sparks fly off at every blow;
He turns it o'er and o'er, and heats it,
And lets it cool, and makes it glow.
And yet I whisper, as God will, And in his mighty hand hold still

Why should I murmur? for the sorrow Thus only longer lived would be When God has done his work in me.
Bo I say, trusting, as God will,
And, trusting to the end, hold still.

He kindles, for my profit, purely, Affliction's glowing, flery brand : And all his heaviest blows are surely ed by a master hand : So I say, praying, as God will, And hope in him, and suffer still.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

Life is a race where some succeed, While others are beginning ; 'Tis luck at times, at others speed, That gives an early winning. But if you chance to fall behind, Ne'er slacken your endeavor, But keep this wholesome truth in Tis better late than pover.

If you can keep ahead, 'tis well, But never trip your neighbor ; est, patient labor But if you are outstripped at last, Press on as bold as ever; emember though you are surpass Tis better late than never.

Ne'er labor for an idle boast Whate'er your station, do your best, And hold your purpose ever; And if you fail to beat the rest, Tis better late than pever

Choose well the path in which you run, Succeed by noble daring; Then, though the last, when once 'tis won, Your crown is worth the wearing. Then never fret if left behind, Nor slacken your endeavor, But ever keep this truth in mind— Tis better late than never.

DOING GOOD.

"Tis never too late to do good;
We all have our time to improve
Tis doing no more than we should, sively onward to move. Tis felly to lornfully grieve;
Be hopeful, and you will be wise
The lower the station we leave,

We all might be better—in fact,
More loving—more friendly—more kind;
With a little more feeling—more tact—
To manage the heart and the mind;
Tis noble to carnestly strive The gem-seeker deeply must die Or never look out for a prize.

The Tiberator.

LETTER To a Corporate Member of "The American Board."

Boston, Sept. 26, 1861. T. P. HANDY, Esq.

Sin-I have received from you, without date, bu post-marked Sept. 19th, 1861, the following:-"Send no more of your false and abusive documents relating to the American Board to me."

T. P. HANDY,
Cleveland, O."

A note so brief and so uncourteous, from an entire stranger, leaves me at a disadvantage in replying, since I cannot know from it to which of the following classes you belong; whether you are a determin te of slavery, and thus a supporter of the Board which supports it-or whether you are one umber of well-meaning and unsuspecting peo ple who have formed a habit of implicit confidence in the Board, and who unwisely assume that nothing is to be said on the other side—or whether you are a mere partisan, entirely regardless of truth and right erely incompetent to judge of evidence. In either case, I may properly send you

the following reply:—
If your expression "false and abusive" refers to my book recently published—"Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mis-American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mis-sions to Slavery," it is utterly and doubly inappropriate, since all the charges there made against the Board are proted, in the same volume, by evidence drawn from its own publications. I have been so scru-pulous, not only to treat the Board justly in my own comments, but to enable every reader to judge for him-self whether my accusations are well founded, that I have printed, unabridged, all the documents they have issued in their Annual Reports on the subject of slavery; and these fully support my charges against the

Board, namely,—

1. They have sheltered slavery in their Cheroke and Choctaw mission-churches, representing the hold-ing of slaves, and the purchase and sale of them, (even when this includes the separation of young children from their parents,) as perfectly consistent with the

2. They have not only suppressed, and attempted to conceal from their readers, certain remonstrances made by their missionaries in the Sandwich Islands against American slavery, (remonstrances made on the ground of the injurious influence of slavery upon their missionary labors.) but they have framed this their missionary labors,) but they have framed iniquity into a law, which still exists-(No. 42)among their "Regulations," to prevent any further remonstrance of this sort.

3. They have treated those of their members at

home who remonstrated against their complicity with both heart and foot keep time to the slavery, first with discourteous silence and néglect, of the violin, and the beautiful home of and afterwards with unjust and disingenuous replication and action.

4 They have framed their reports upon this sub ject with deceptive craftiness, using, in the very doct ments which expressly permit the continuance of slaveholding among their Indian church-members, general expressions unfavorable to slavery, and thus adapted to mislead the undiscriminating reader. Finally

5. They now hold the position of giving their influ ence in the strongest possible way in aid of the con-tinuance of slavery, by having publicly recorded their testimony, in the Annual Meeting of 1860, at Boston, that the slaveholding Cherokees "are a Christian

All these things are proved, by the quotation bridged, of the Board's own documents, in the book

in question.

I find, by reference to the last Annual Report of the Board, that you are one of its Corporate members, elected in 1857. If your acquaintance with the affairs

Our fathers, North, and South, built, at common cost national temple of that body began at that time, you may very profita-bly study the full history of its complicity with sla-very for forty years past, which has been copied from its official documents into my book. If, on making such examination, you find any material error in my statements, and will send me evidence really proving the existence of such error, in season for the second edition of that book, I will willingly, nay, gladly, insert it there. If you do not accept this offer, it will appear to candid examiners of this subject that it is your accusations, not mine, which are "false and

Hoping speedily to receive any light which you may have to give upon this important subject, I am, sin

Your friend and servant for the truth, CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

MEETINGS AT THE NORTH-WEST.

MR. GARRISON: During July and August, we have had a series of Sunday Conventions and Anti-Slavery Meetings at the North-West. Although, in the Con ons, the Bible and Spiritual questions were prominent, the cause of Woman and the American Slave was fully and freely heard: Mrs. Frances Brown, of Cleveland, O., rendered us great assistance At Tipton, Iowa, the Court House was crowded during several sessions. Lawyers and priests attended; and fellow,) undertook to thrust Amalgamation on to the audience, as the moving spring of our meetings Mrs. Brown replied in a manner that left some to infer that if the said lawyer's wife was a white woman, he was practically an amalgamationist himself. He va-

At Iowa City, (a town of 8000 people,) the meetings began in the Universalist Church, and adjourned to Market Hall, for want of room. At one session, Mr. Campbell discussed the relation of slavery to repubshowing from history that the aristocracy and originated the present war—that John Brown and could you wonder, and would you dare to cry out at Stephens, and Calhoun and Jackson, (murderer of his brutality? Ellsworth,) all "still live," and are still fighting in the American battle. Passing the merits of this theory, Mrs. Brown did herself great credit by the expose of the wickedness of slavery, by her gallant defence of John Brown, and by her thrilling appeal to the audience to still "sue for simple justice" for the slave. me of us felt, that if our countrymen did no

"By the great God that made all things,
We'll fight till from our bones our fiesh be hacked." Mrs. Brown has none of the highfalutin Spiritualism she speaks (with her eyes open) good practical sense; and although her pet topics are Spiritualism and the

and will not assist in Conventions, except where all liberal minds on all radical subjects can be heard. At Springdale we enjoyed hospitalities at friend Maxon's, where John Brown's famous eleven (Stephens, Ralph, Cook, &c.,) drilled for three months previous to the Harper's Ferry affair. We saw their portraits about the room, and looked with awe on an old wooden swords—sile of the commendation. old wooden sword-a relic of the severe d

they experienced that famous winter of '58 and '59. ay Coppic (who escaped from Harper's Ferry Barclay Coppic (who escaped from Harper's Ferry when Cook was taken) attended our meetings at Springdale. He was on his way to join Montgomery and John Brown, Jr., in Kansas. Barclay is said to have been moody and sad till the war broke out. His brother had been hung, and our Governor's requisition hung over his head for a year, threatening to hand him over to Virginia. But since the war begun, hand him over to Virginia. But since the war begun, to political (!) Resolutions on that day, occause there for. Rickwood has voluntarily and unsolicited recalled his requisition for Coppie. [Item: Of what ites, and no necessity existed for so using Sunday! "damned stuff" are these Governors made! or is Mr. Wright replied to him by a few weighty remarks, the trouble in their making up!) We saw Barciay in good spirits, collecting his recruits of true men. The Sabbath, he said, was made for man, and not man in good spirits, collecting his recruits of true men. We saw him leave with four—one, of sixty summers—as true as steel, leaving a good home in good vice. To rescue man from the hell of slavery, and

circumstances, to fight for the slave. An hour before going, one of the recruits met opposition from a harsh father. It was cool to see Barelay quietly pocket a pistol, and with quickened pace go out to settle the pistol, and with quickened pace go out to settle matter. It was well for all the young recruit had j settled it by a cross-lot/stampede to join his co ng recruit had just rades. (1)

At Dixon, Iowa, we beld a fine grove me for once, in God's own temple, the people worshipped Him in the service of Humanity. At this, and other conventions, Mrs. Dr. Stillman, of De Witt, spoke with great acceptance on Health, according to the gospel of . Mrs. Campbell spoke for Woman, her

At Lane, Illinois, we held a Convention the hottest. Sunday of the season. Evening seasons full. The people are ready to hear. We think Mr. Fillsbury is right in believing Anti-Slavery effort is now needed more than ever. We do not believe in the Standstill-see-salvation-God theory. We hope for a grand Convention this fall, to tell the North-West that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"—our and that of the slave. A recent Chicago Times (De las) has specified the Independent, Liberator and St ce is the price of liberty "-our own ard as papers to be suppressed, and calls on the Federal Government to do it. The Slave Power still con trols the North. Let it be fought down.

Clinton, Iowa, Aug., 1861. C. B. C.

(1) Since this communication was received, the death of Barclay Copple has been chronicled in the papers, he having been killed, with many others, by the destruction of a railway train at Little Platte River in Missouri, by the falling of a bridge, the timbers owhich had been burned underneath the track, through the diabolical malignity of the seccession tritors.

MEETING AT ST. MARY'S LAKE.

St. MARY'S LAKE, (Mich.) Sept. 16, 1861.

Mr. Garrison:
DEAR FRIEND-On Sunday, the 15th inst., at 2 o'clock, P. M., a great concourse of citizens, from Battle Creek and vicinity, assembled for divine sernity, at the Steam Saw-Mill on St. Mary's Lake. The scene was full of inspiration. Unlike many parts of Michigan, this is a coun try of hill and dale, and, just here, the beautiful little lake, well named St. Mary's, nestling itself so lovingly amid the trees of the forest, so secure, so pureflecting from its polished bosom all the beauty of sky and shore—gives life and glory to the land. Nature has indeed been lavish of her bounty, an hand of man has not been wanting to add attraction to this charming spot. Seven years ago, it was all wilderness—to-day, the hundreds of cultivated acres around St. Mary's, the orchards, the fields of who and clover, the flocks and herds, the great Stean Saw-Mill, the Water-Cure establishment, in whose hall of the violin, and the beautiful home of Henry lis-the animating spirit of the whole-is proof that i nan is not a creator, he is at least a make

The occasion, too, was inspiring. When the fou tains of the great deep are broken up-when the rev olutionary ploughshare is opening the heart and sou of man to the light and warmth of the Sun of Right eousness and Truth, it is the time, above all others, t broadcast the seed which shall yield the glad harves of universal liberty. So it seemed, to one who look-ed at that audience, composed of people of various politics and various theological creeds, and beheld their eager, thirsty spirits drinking in the word of life and salvation.

The subject for discussion was, The War-

Cause and Cure-and, as our noble friend Henry C Wright, with deep-toned voice, and powerful, thrillin words, opened up the theme, and showed the Cause t

and for common occupancy, a great national temple. They agreed that the majority should govern in this temple. For seventy years the South, by the aid of her friends at the North, had always carried the majority for slavery, and the North had submitted loy and patiently to this rule. The slaveholders extend that if the friends of liberty even sough to obtain the majority in fuvor of freedom and free insti-tutions, this temple should be thrown down-there should not be left one stone upon another—the Union should be dissolved, and the United States blotted from the map of nations. Yet the friends of freedo dared to wage this forbidden war of Ideas, and it final ly culminated in a victory at the ballot-box. Had they not a right so to do? and should not the South This was "the head and front of our offending." The only political offence the North ever gave to the South was this finally successful endeavor to obtain the majority for freedom. And now the South ensubvert the foundations of this commo temple; and when the North would prevent its do struction, cries out, Coercion! State Rights! She clutches at the Northern throat, and says, Hands off! you are invading my right to take your life-blood Keep still! all I ask is to be let alone!

Never was there such a civil war as this; so sud den, so overwhelming, so causelessly forced upon The South has been nation, so brutally waged. one of the former, (a dark-complexioned, hunkerish paring for years-that just so soon as the war of Ideas should culminate in a victory at the ballot-box, she should inaugurate a war of bullets. The stake is, freedom or slavery for the whole nation and the whole continent. What is all this outlay for-four hun dred thousand men on the altar of the Union? Do you mean liberty, or slavery? What is all this blood and treasure to be expended for? Merely to patch up a hollow peace for a day, or to tear up the root and branch of this tree of death? Will you wait till the slave takes the matter into his own hands? He has been taught to disregard all rights of person, of fan land monopoly which slavery always breeds, have ity, of property—all these have been denied him by ever been the bane and destruction of republics, and now threaten ours. He was followed by Mrs. Brown, been held sacred; and now if he should turn and practices. with her peculiar theory that departed spirits have tise upon his master the lesson he has taught him,

The South means SLAVERY. She hates free speech a free press, free schools, and freemen. She is true to -be you true to FREEDOM! Let the question dom shall rule this great continent, or slavery. Cir. culate petitions! See to it that the President, as com mander-in-chief of the army and navy, proclaim fre lom to all the slaves, and this war will come to an en in three months. Declare that the cause of this war shall be rooted out. Make the star-spangled banner the banner of freedom, universal freedom. Let your watchword be—Resistance to slavery is obedience to God! Give me liberty, or give me death!

At the close of his remarks, Mr. Wright read the strong Resolutions presented below, and, after some animated discussions by several present, they were pareled heartily and ununimously

There was present a Congregational minister, who declined voting; and, on being invited to speak, came forward, and honestly stated that, though the Resolu tions contained his own sentiments—sentiment he had designed to embody and present to his on the approaching day of National Fast-he h on the approaching day of National Fast—he had not voted for them, because it was the holy Sobbath—the day set apart for the worship of God, for divine service. He deemed the war so righteous that he could, if necessary, go forth to battle on the Lord's day—could draw his sword, or load his musket, or point the rified cambot at the enemy of his country on the Sobbath, and feel that he was doing God service; but he could not vote political (i) Resolutions on that day, because there

we the country from the horrors of a protracted war, was truly serving God. He marvelled at the hallucinaon which could override the sacredness of the Sabhath, for the purpose of drawing the sword, and point
or tifled cannon to destroy men's lives, and deem
is a desceration of the day to save men from slavery

Ind war!
This little scene created a lively in This little scene created a lively interest, and called turth much after remark. One old lady, 83 years of age—the mother of Dr. Peterman of the Water Cure—who takes an intelligent and vivid interest in the events of the day, though of Orthodox faith, said she never thought she was breaking the Sabbath, and had hever felt more religious in her life; that she wanted to rise and vote for the resolutions with both hands, and should have done so, had she not been tame. Another friend remarked that, admitting the especial sacredness of the Sabbath, it had been pronounced right to lift an ox from the pit on-that day, and this ox was too heavy to lift alone. We wanted all the help was too heavy to lift alone. We wanted all the help we could get, and could obtain more on that day than

On the whole, we did not regret this little discus-tion of the holiness of the Sabbath, and came to the conclusion that if it was not to be used for man, it had better secede.

The following are the resolutions :-

Resolved, That slavery is the cause, and em ent war, and the sooner these acts are recognized and acted on, the sooner will the

Resolved, That the responsibility of the exist of the war, and of the enquish and suffering, and ex-penditure of blood and treasure, resulting from it, rests solely with the slaveholders and their allies. Resolved, That the only cause of political offence

se people of the North have ever given to the slavethe people of the North mare ever given to the sentences of the South, consists in their efforts to obtain and maintain the rule of the majority in favor of freedom and free institutions, over the rule of the minority in favor of slavery and slave institutions. Resolved, That no rebel State and no rebel indi-

vidual have any constitutional rights which loyal citi ind to respect, inasmuch as those who by arms and blood seek its overthrow, are not entitled to protection of property or person under the Constitution

Resolved, That this assembly heartily approves the act of Major-General Fremont in proclaiming liberty to the slaves of all the rebels in Missouri.

Resolved, That one united call should go up from the people of the United States to the President, as claim liberty to all the slaves in every rebel & to the slaves of all the rebel individuals of all the States, as the speediest and most righteous and conblessings of liberty to the nation and the continent.

Resolved. That the President, in the exercise of the war power, should be urged by all who would bring the war to a speedy and successful issue in favor seven or eight million non-slaveholders be saddled by of liberty, to confiscate the property of all the rebel States, and of all the rebel individuals in all the States, North as well as South, and apply it to pay the expenses of the war. HENRY WILLIS, Chairman.

C. EUPHEMIA COCHEAN, Secretary.

THE WAR AND ITS CAUSE. .

President, statesmen, and military chieftains may seek to evade it, to suit their political proclivities, or in deference to pro-slavery interests, as they are forced to grapple with it in the discharge of official duty. The people may discuss and mourn over it, and indi-vidual citizens may plan its removal; yet all this is only the preliminary but necessary stage in the great business of finally removing it.

There can be no doubt that the majority of citizens of every political and religious creed throughout the Northern States are now, for the most part, fully up to the belief, however they may think it expedient to act, that SLAVERY lies at the bottom of the gigantic contest in which we are now engaged. To a certain extent this is, no doubt, true in the Border States, and even in the secoded States themselves. This feeling is growing every day. While all eyes are turned to the marshalling hosts in both sections of the country, the question unceasingly arises in every mind, "Why all this array of military force?" and the respo comes with renewed emphasis, "both when we and when we sleep"—SLAVERY!

Mistaken men in the South, so thoroughly educated into the destructive and untenable doctri the divinity of slavery and of State rights, and ambitious and wicked conspirators, are gratuitously instructing us every day. Immense losses of Southern debts, the wanton destruction of public and privat property, the persecutions of innocent citizens,-in short, the terror which reigns in the rebel States only equalled by the French reign of terror,—are all adding to our knowledge of the villany which comes of slavery.

Made fully aware of the bearing which the "institution" has on our present national troubles, we need have no fears of the result. The great material interests of this and other civilized countries are directly interested as a matter of economy to remove it; the noblest sentiments and impulses of untold millions would receive new life at its downfall; the best civili zation of the age would rejoice at its overthrow, while God on his throne and in his providence is using most uperringly such instrumentalities among the good and bad as He knows will best compass his divine

ends, by securing the freedom and the rights of all.

Let us, then, work on. Signs of the resurrection of our nation to a nobler career gleam out over every mountain-top, and up every valley, throughout the regions of our intense mental life, and bid us hope on under the still more grateful and direct one to most of us, No Union till slavery ends, it is still certain as any unaccomplished fact can be, that the future Union will

be one of Free States.

It is now too late to look back. It were vain to say how far from the wish or intention of the wildest Abolitionist, that the abolition of slavery should have been consummated by any other than wise measures of peace. A foul conspiracy has thrust a war upon us. If we can be certain benefits of its achievement, would be power-ful enough to influence a government, desirous to re-flex. It is very evident that the Confederates are perpendicularly that the confederates are perpendicularly to the last expiring traitor bites the dust, or breaks his sword, let the war go vigorously on to its final results.

while so many noble fathers and sons grasp the sword in defence of all that is dear, can perform no more useful task, through press and pulpit, by wayside and stitutionally bound to await the action of that bod by the fireside, and in all the methods of human interoy the bresice, and in all the methods of numan inter-ocurse, to intensify and arouse the holy instinct of freedom, and, finally, to concentrate it in the hand of the Government when slavery, with its villanies, shall

But, emancipation would no more be entirely punish-

With the exception of a handful of stultified and unprogressive souls, whose function and destiny seem to be to fill up the facend of every great movement that "hath a stomach in't"—the Rip Van Winkles of the nation, the growlers and grumblers whose highest conception of government lies in grasping at the loaves and fishes, and in putting down "agitators" scores of years after the thing agitated shall have passed into oblivion—with thing squitated shall have passed into oblivion—with thing squitated shall have passed into oblivion—with thing squitated shall have passed into solitior should whiten a thousand battle-fields, and our treasures be poured into the sea, than to imperil our future libritios by the barbarous intrusion of slavery; Peace, to be permanent, can only be achieved by a stern regard to the dictates of justice and humanity.

W.

ment to traitors, except incidentally, than the destructive qualtered to a understance of the studied and the destructive eruption of a volcano is a mere judgment. The own would be likewise a blessing and a debt long due to the globe. Both would prevent future earth-valve to the globe. Both would prevent future carth-valve to the globe. Both would prevent future that the conception of government lies in grasping at the loaves of greater devastation. It would promote libration to 'give aid and confort to give aid and confort to give aid and confort to enemy.' In this war, it is trason to be laboring to oblivion special prevention of the result of the enemy.' In this war, it is trason to be applied to the sea, the

THE PROPER VIEW.

Procrastination is the thief of time"-" Time is money."

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fiths of alther persons, except Indians not taxed."—U. S. Contibution

A brief examination of the tendency of this vital article in our national charter indicates the constitu-tional establishment of two co-ordinate cardinal rules on two very important subjects, viz., representation and taxation. As was contended by our Fathers of 1776, these twin principles should not be divorced, actailly nor virtually, but should go together hand in hand. We find it distinctly enunciated near the very threshold of the Constitution as our guiding policy on these points. The strict observance of these was em-phatically demanded of Great Britain towards us, and ntionary sires emphatically, by self-sacrifice, njoined it upon us and our posterity.

Now, the "three-fifths" mentioned above can be

r than the slaves. Every slave State is, ac cordingly, represented in Congress on a basis wherein every slave, male and female, minor and adult, is reckoned to be three-fifths of a free person. If South Carolina has 275,000 free persons and 400,000 slaves, she has a representable population of 275,000 x 240,000, or three-fifths of 400,000. Added together, 515,000 astituents are the result. If the national ratio be 103,000 to a representative, she is entitled to five representatives. On the contrary, Vermont's 320,000 i persons would yield but three representatives. So much does alleged property, in this country, prevail over man, not only out-numbering him, but out-voting and out-influencing him.

But, direct taxes, as well and by the same authority ntation, are to be assessed in precisely the ner. If the slave States had bequeathed and secured to them the advantage of slave repr it was no more than right that they should bear the disadvantage of slave taxation. Like the two jars, from which Jupiter distributed good and ill among mankind, these two antagonisms were yoked togeth Therefore, if a direct tax of 40,000,000 is to be assessed on the nation of thirty millions people, South Caro lina's 515,000 representable inhabitants should pay our fifty-eighth of the sum, or \$690,000, while Vern 320,000 people should pay one ninety-fourth part 320,000 people should pay one ninety-fourth part of it, or \$425,000. Such being the practical Constitutional requi

is it not clear that the products of slave labor are taxed in those States, if the slave himself be not? If he be not, there can be no good reason for the slave owner's exemption therefrom, if the slave be adjudged property. Such exemption increases the burden of the non-slaveholding inhabitant of the same State; for, by the Constitution, the whole State is doomed accorseven or eight million non-slaveholders be saddled by the extra lax which only 400,000 slaveholders thus draw upon the State as its proportion? And is the extra representation awarded to them any way equal to the disadvantage which pays for it? Is not the slaveholder the actual one who reaps the advantage both of the representation and of the slave exemption? The non-slaveholder's interest is the same as any other non-slaveholder's interest, whether he live No national conflict lies in fully comprehending and removing the underlying cause. Politicians may dodge it, as they play the games of politics and war. stitute part or all his holder's income. This income is taxed as such, and the real estate he buys therewith i also taxed. The slave labor supports the ho he loyal or disloyal; and this labor is all for which the slave is generally kept. It is virtually, therefore, the slave himself, and it is taxed both by State and nation

Thus, even overlooking the facts that the slave is supporting the holder while absent on a campaign against the government, and producing mean him with arms and ammunition, why is not the slave amenable to confiscation as property of the rebel hold-er, who has avowed his disconnection with and hostility to the government? He has not only forfeited all right to its protection by his traitorous course, but spurns the idea of its protection, and disclaims the authority of its constitutionally elected officers, whose election, too, was effected through his own exclusive conduct and indiscreet mismanagement. His every act is self-condemnatory.

Still, how came the slave to be property, and where

is he so considered ! By State laws. Law determines what shall be conventional property. Who enact the laws? Legislators. They constitute the State government. They can repeal them. Their legal validity, therefore, resides in the option of this State government. If therefore the government be disbanded as in Maryland, where is the slavery tenure? It is is virtual suspension. Apply this to Alabama and Louis iana. They have rebelled and withdrawn their govern Let these be disbanded, and not a sufficiency of loyal people will be therein to elect a ernment. Has the national government, which insists they yet belong to the Union, no right to release the slaves, when it cannot but see that the holding of these is the actual cause of our difficulty, endangering the vitality of the Union? That this difficulty is liable to be repeated ad infinitum, so long as slavery exists? Shall we learn nothing from experience, and shut our eyes to her lessons? She presents us one of her mos impressive precepts, in the ordeal now before us. Nature joins her in the lesson, and admonishes us that like causes are followed by like effects. These are two infallible teachers, and are worth heeding. No will they be neglected with impunity. And since the object is to restore the Union, and to establish it on a permanent basis, which we see it was not before proper means should be employed. One of them is

Especially, as it is believed that the cause of the war very in it is certain. It is certain, too, that American slavery is doomed; but precisely when, or by what methods, none can know. Under the warcry of "Down with the Rebels, and preserve the Union!" or under the still more grateful and direct and other than the still more grateful and direct and may at some time make it expedient or necessary to forcing us to do it ! The sooner it is done, the soon will the war and its long train of disasters and evils arrested, as all traitors should be. If it may be do by and by, it is possible. If possible then, it is now. And it is resolved into a mere question of time. One would think that the dangers attending its delay, and the certain benefits of its achievement, would be power-

word, let the war go vigorously on to its final results.

In the meantime, the men who remain at home, while so many noble fathers and sons grasp the sword in defence of all that is dear, can perform no more iseful task, through press and pulpit, by wayside and its vibility of the president feels consistent with the problem of the president feels consistent with the president feels consi

justifiable, when that enemy is the aggressor! Nothing can be more self-evident. National preservation constitutes the tenor of the national Constitution, and

s the very first and supreme national law.

Once more, the cardinal tenet of the Republican Once more, the caronna case of the Republican arry is, that Congress has a right to prohibit the institution of slavery in a territory; and some contend hat a State with slavery is not a republican form of government which the United States guarantees to overnment which the Children was parameted to very State in the Union. Now, the territory is a andidate to become a State; and if the above track is constitutional, Congress has a right to insist upon very new State to be free from slavery. quality is a perogative of each and every State, and he standard to be observed among all of them,—the sitizens of one State to have equal rights with these of every other State, -Congress has a right to make old States free as well as new ones. By this tere, the real action of Congress is only preparatory to qualify the territory for admission as a State with a quantirepublican form of government. It such then as contain no slavery are alone endowed with this republican
form, no others can be, and the duty of emandication
is incumbent on the administrative party, to be conwith its asserted professions. The carries of sistent with its asserted processions. The various of this declared right, is what is chiefly feared by the

A LETTER TO ENGLAND: NOT BY AN LLD.

My DEAR FRIEND, -I have at length succeeded in quietly making up my mind that it is useless to expect any Englishman to understand our war. It would seem, at first blush, that people whose ances-tors have always been engaged in civil war might easily see that a civil war here, of itself, neither proved nor disproved anything. Your Jacobite trou bles, the rising of '45, and the march of Prince Char lie upon Edinburgh, were not held, I believe to bles, the rising of 45, and the march of Prince Char-lie upon Edinburgh, were not held, I believe, to prove the English system a failure, nor show that a monarchy is inadequate either to prevent or repress disaffection, treason, and rebellion. Cromwell's ab-solute success might have been considered tolerably strong evidence—but King Charles came back again. The landing and march of Monmouth is not—in this country, at least—supposed to be a valid argument against monarchy; nor the expulsion of James, and happy coronation of the Dutch Prince as English King.

This nation is now, as yours has been constantly,

This nation is now, as yours has been constantly, engaged in civil war. The Government is maintaining itself against armed rebels, assisted by those who dare everything but fighting against their country. You in England tranquille sneer, and say to us, "Why don't you give it up? Your principle is that people shall do as they want to."

No, my friend, you mistake. Your principle in England, I believe, is that everybody shall do as be wants to, subject to the constitution of England. Ours in America is precisely the same: with this advantage, that we know what our Constitution is, and you do not know what yours is, for it is only series of precedents. The American principle is not individual license, it is constitutional liberty; and we had always supposed that of England to be the same. had always supposed that of England to be the We had supposed, farther, that that commun We had supposed, farther, that that community of political faith and practice was the deepest bond, with our community of race, between us. We have learned that it was no bond whatever, and ther not a thoughtful or humane man in the country who

not a thoughtim or numane man in the country who
does not deply regret it.

You ask, why we don't give it up? For the same
reason that England didn't give it up in any of her
civil wars—the necessity of national unity.

You ask, why we don't let the rebels go? For
the same reason that you would not let London go,
or Walse or the Courts of her the same reason that you would not let London go,

the same reason that you would not let London go, or Wales, or the County of Kent, even if a majority of those parts of England should seriously wish to go

of those parts of England should seriously wish to go. For the same reason, nationally, that would prevent you, individually, from suffering your body to be cut into two, or three, or thirty-four pieces.

If London or Yorkshire should defy the English Government, we should do exactly what you have done, if we should declare you and those rebels equally belligerents, and hold ourselves neutral, and in every way sneer at the blundering crash of the impossible English monarchy, which from its beginning has been only awaiting this day. We might have sent sensation reporters to describe battles they did not see. We might have jeered that, if the English Government were waging a war for the miners or the factory operatives, we could have had some sympathy, but a purely political war was perfectly draptly, but a purely political war was perfectly draptly, and futile, and stupid. If you said to no that surrest and most radical reforms of every kind were dependent upon order and government, while every man's life, liberty, and property, were imperiled by

ry, and futile, and stupid. If you said to se that the surest and most radical reforms of every kind were dependent upon order and government, while every man's life, liberty, and property, were imperiled by anarchy, we might have stared at you, and said, 'I dare say; but you've made your bed, and you musta't squirm at lying in it.

These things, mutatis mutandis, you have done and do. A Of course, it is not every Englishman who says or thinks so. It is not every engapare, for your Daily News and Star, and others have been no less eloquent in their statement than just in their appreciation of the case. But the great mas of the journals that we see in this country, and the official raise of your government, all speak in this stail. We are painfully sensitive, I allow, to English criticism. Mr. Roebuck's late sneer at us is not without reason. But I think that you, or any other intelligent man, will not, upon reflection, find it to be altogether an ignoble susceptibility.

This younger nation, striking for liberty under law, had hoped for your sympathy. Doubtless we forgot that you might be unable at first to understand the bearings of the contest; and many of a were sure that, when you saw just how it was, your bestating, deprecating, or worse tone would change. In that we have been disafficiated. But I think that you are the lowers. I think that you must fed very rich when you can afford to lose so lightly the treasure of a nation's sympathy and good-wighted only the property when you can afford to lose so lightly the treasure of a nation's sympathy and good-wighted only the property when you can afford to lose so lightly the treasure of a nation's sympathy and good-wighted only the property when you can afford to lose so lightly the treasure of a nation's sympathy and good-wighted only the property when you can afford to lose so lightly the treasure of a nation's sympathy and good-wighted only the property when you can afford to lose so lightly the treasure of a nation's sympathy and good-wighted only the prop

MORE CONTRABANDS.

FORTRESS MONROE, Sept. 16. A party of twelve negroes came across the ire yesterday from Princess Ann County, Virginia, in open boats. They complained of not having enough to eat, and ill-treatment. They have been hird to the frigate Savannah as seamen. Last night, a party of five negroes came down the Chesaprake in an inches the saving started from the mouth of Ware

to eat, and ill-treatment. They have been hard to the frigate Savannah as seamen. Last night, a party of five negroes came down the Chesapeake in an open boat, having started from the mouth of Wan River at midnight. They also say that they did not have enough to eat, and that violence was threatened them by their masters.

"How did you know that you would be any better off at Old Point?"

"We heard master say that the Northerners held the place, and wants colored men to work."

"Did your master tell you what would become of you, if you came here?"

"Yes; master said the Yankees would work is till the war was over, and then send us back, or to Cuba to be sold, or would shoot us, but we understand that kind of logic."

"What do you think is going to become of you? Are you certain you will be any better off her than you were with your master?"

"Don't know 'xaetly, but are willing to take the chanees. Guess' twill be all right, though."

This morning, another half-dozen came in fear Warwick, fifteen or twenty miles abor Newport News. They have about the same story to tell, and represent the rebels as building batteres on James River, above our encampment, and have a large force in the neighborhood.—Corr. N. Y. Tribune.

Characteristic Slang. Bennett, of the New York Herald, referring to the proceedings of a select meeting recently held in that city to welcome Rev. Dr. Cheever on his safe return from England, 437: