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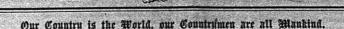
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ng to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be cted (POST PAID) to the General Agent. Advertisements inserted at the rate of five centures

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

TH. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund ACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1612.

Selections.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 46.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW OF SECESSION, BY A NORTHERN ANTI-SLAVERY MAN!

We take the following extracts from an extra nary "Discourse on the Wickedness and Folly of the Present War — delivered in the Court House at Ot. tawa, Illinois, on Sabbath, August 11, 1861, by Gro-W. Bassett, author of 'A Northern Plea for the

I cannot see how any honorable man in the South-ern States can now be anything but a practical, as well as theoretical Secessionist. No matter what his regrets or misgivings may be-no matter how stren nously he may have resisted the act of secession a usually he may have resisted the net of secession as impolitic and even hazardous; the very necessities of his contested rights, and the rights of mankind, require that he resist the arrogant and man-degrading doctrine of the divine right of kings, not less when that doctrine is maintained at the canon's mouth by a once free Republic, than when enforced by the minions of George the Third.

It seems evident to my mind, therefore, that the South, and not the North, are to-day defending this great natural right of popular self-government; and t is more evident still that their antagonists, the U. S. Government, are not contending for the maintanne of this right.

I ask, therefore, further, are we fighting to secure our reconnary rights? Let us consider this. Not

tenance of this right.

Task, therefore, further, are we fighting to secure our pecuniary rights? Lot us consider this. Not to dwell upon the wicked folly of incurring a most burdensome public debt, by squandering five hundred millions, to chforce an ambiguous claim of fifty millions, nor the immorality of shedding rivers of blood for any pecuniary consideration, I maintain that our antagonists in this war have manifested a disposition, and proposed and instituted speasures for an equitable and fonorable adjustment of all pecuniary claims that we might have against them. Both South Carolina and the government of the Confederate States have appointed Commissioners who have knocked in vain at our door with proposals of peace and amicable settlement, and these official advances have been met with a most irritating affectation of ignorance of their official existence. * * Again I ask—is it to protect our soil-from invasion and our homes from violence, that our constry is converted from an abode of peace and prosperity to one great military camp, and one wide waste of commercial adversity? Why then is Maryland subjected, and her chief city prostrate beneath the mouths of a frowning battery? and why is Missouri overrun by our armies, and her soil literally drenched in bissed? and Virginia invaded, except when we are repelled "vi et armis"? But official and responsible decuments leave no room for doubt as to the intention of our antagonists on this point. President Davis agy in his official message, "We seek no con-

sements leave no room for doubt as to the intenm of our antagonists on this point. President
avis says in his official message, "We seek no conset, we sek no concession. All we ask is to be let
me—that those who have never held political
ower over us, should not now subject us to their
mas," and adds that, "as soon as this pretention
all be withdrawn, the sword shall fall from our
asp, and we shall be prepared to enter into treaties
amity and commerces mutually beneficial." The
hole construction of Southern society and all comnations of motives would induce the Southern
tates to limit and avoid as far as possible the horres of war. Peace they have constantly asked for,
all peace is the demand of their political friends at
the North.

rors of war. Peace they have constantly asked for, and peace is the demand of their political friends at the North.

The same principle that has always made me an uncompromising Abolitionist, now makes me an equally uncompromising Secessionist. It is the great natural land sacred: right of self-powermment.

Lying newspapers and story-telling demagogues have ruined the country. The great fault of the jimes is that public affairs are not managed on the great principles of true political philosphy and wise statesmanship, but to suit the popular prejudice. A civil war, the calamitous results of which God only can estimate, has been precipitated upon the country by what has been called "the uprising of the North." Manufacturers alarmed at the opened ports of the Southern Confederacy, have demanded the suppression of the rebellion, and contributed largely to the war. Rich capitalists, fearing the loss of monopoly, have demanded a strong government. Men of large wealth, with their dependent churches and clergy, have seen their incomes raduced, and their salaries abridged, prospectively, and uttered a unanimous cry against treason and rebellion. Thus proslavery divinity, aristocratic wealth, and popular prejudice with abolition credulity, speaking through the popular press, have united their straugely contradictory induence to plunge the national ruin. *

What, then, I ask in God's name, is the real object of the war? Why these fields of carnage and woe? Why these mangled bodies, and scattered limbs, and ghastly forms on the battle-ground? and why those heart-rending scenes of domestic grief? "Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they are not." Why this derangement of commerce, this paralysis of business, and this tornado of bankruptcy which sweeps the land? and why these portentous clouds of national calamity and woe which still impend over us? In short, why is war, yea, fratricidal war, upon us with all its unautterable horrors? Why is it?

calamity and woe which still impend over us t an short, why is war, yea, fratricidal war, upon us with all its immuterable horrors? Why is it? Great God! shall I answer the truth? For no earthly reason but the unholy and barbarous motive of conquest. It is literally and boldly maintained in the United States Senate, that the subjugation of the seeded States is the special object of the war—the imposition of a hated and rejected authority upon an unwilling and resisting people.

pected authority upon an unwilling and resisting people.

We are fighting, then, in this very Christian age, for the identical object and motive which animated beathen Rome, in all her stupendous and bloodymarch to universal empire.

What, then, is the moral character of this war, as tested by its object and motive?

I come now to the text, "Thou shalt not kill."

This is a mandate in every respect worthy of the Author of human life. The argument is brief.

War involves the intentional taking of human life. It is of course justifiable homicide, or murder in the first degree.

degree. war of self-defence is justifiable homicide. But

ted States, in contest of such a demand? Is it a justifiable "casus belli"?

Again, have we exhausted all other means of settlement before putting the fatal match to the terrible magazine of civil war? Have we not rejected every proposal of settlement by negotiation? Have we not steally refused the reception of the accredited commissioners of South Carolina and the Confidence as Extra both of whom knocked at our door.

As to the fate of the down-trodden, afflicted and persecuted negro, whose destiny shall never be separated from my own, it can be none the worse for secession. While he shall still remain under the yoke, his increase of relative strength, though it may enhance the rigor of legislation, must render an increase of personal kindness a matter of prudence and necessity. Hence it is not the dictate of reason and philosophy that his situation should be for a moment worse after secession than before; and it is most manifest, on a moment's reflection, that the governmental pressure of eight millions of oppressors is less hopeless than that of twenty-six millions. Another consideration is the stern and inevitable necessity of the case.

Gentlemen, you can never succeed in this unnatural and inconsistent war of conquest.

It is in vain to deny or ignore the well-known fact of a powerful Southern Confederacy with a large and well equipped army, commanded by generals not inferior to the trained veterans of Europe. This Confederacy is to be conquered by men, whose natural tastes and habitual associations all qualify them for, and point them to the pursuits of peace and beneficent industry.

You will also have to repudiate the first principles of your own government, belie your own history, and vilify the glorious memory of your fathers. Nay,

beneficent industry.

You will also have to repudiate the first principles of your own government, belie your own history, and vilify the glorious memory of your fathers. Nay, further, you must fly in the face of the popular sentiment of Europe, repudiate the free principles of Mazzini and Victor Hugo, and rebuke the heroic struggles of Hungary under Kossuth, and the immortal achievements of Garibaldi in Italy. Finally, you will have to combat the Almighty decree of Heaven. All your desperate struggles to raise and equip armies, and to win battles, will be a vain and useless war with destiny.

With all your hypocritical prayers, and selfish, eager and ambitious chaplains, fighting deacons and exhorting priests, you have no God of heaven in this war! He is against you! He has said expressly, "Thou shalt do no murder." Yet you murder nations, and ask Him to bless you.

Ah! the Almighty is against the government in this war. They will meet Him on every battle-field, they will hear him in the cannon's roar, and feel Him in the unseen pestilence.

He will constantly disturb the halls of Congress, and terribly haunt the chamber of the Executive, planting thoras in his imidnight pillow, and remorse in his imperishable memory.

What, then, is to be thought of a war of the United States, in contest of such a demand? Is it a justifiable "casus beli"? The common sense of men teaches them, that this is to be understood only as permission,—that Again, have we exhausted all other means of set-God,-not from Divine Love, Divine

Divine Justice.

But it is said that slavery is not forbidden in th

and the expense of removing it.

But there is another subject, that requires nonsideration:—What obligations did we come der with respect to slavery, when we adopted present Constitution?

present Constitution?

1. We agreed, that in the apportionment of representatives and of direct taxes, three-fifths of the number of slaves should be added.

2. We agreed that fugitives from slavery, when found in the free States, should be delivered up to

found in the free States, should be delivered up to the owners.

3. We agreed that it should be the duty of our Government to suppress insurrections, &c.

In these three articles we made concessions to slaveholders. We gave them additional power in our Government, on account of their being slaves bolders; and we agreed to aid them in holding their slaves. Had we any right to make such agreements? Are they not unlawful and invalid, inasmuch as they are opposed to the Divine Will? Ought we not to repent of those acts? Did we not forget what was due to the negroes? Did we not forget that they had any rights which we were bound to respect? And ought we not to take the regular means for being released from those obligations?

ons?

The case looks dark for us; but there are excuse When we consider the circum for our conduct. When we consider the circum stances of the case, the obligations have a differen aspect. For at the time when the Constitution wa formed, slavery was regarded in the South, as well aspect. For at the time when the Constitution was formed, slavery was regarded in the South, as well as in the North, as a great social, moral, and political evil. There were doubtless many who from habit or self-interest were in favor of it; but the men of good sense and good principles were opposed to it. But neither the North nor the South knew how to get rid of it; for they supposed that emancipation would be a great loss to the masters, and ruin to the slaves. They were, however, willing to limit slavery. This is manifest, not only from their words, but from their acts; for, before the

and terribly hant the chamber of the Executive,
planting theras in his mininghal pillow, and remonse
in his impershable memory.
The second property of the pro

But there are many who have no confidence in emancipation,—who do not believe that it would be a benefit to the negroes to be made free. This is some of the Egyptian darkness, which has gathered over us in consequence of our supporting slavery, and listening to the voice of slaveholders so long. But since they have renounced our Constitution, we are beginning to feel more free to think upon the subject than we did before; and, besides, the evil effects of slavery upon the masters is more manifest than heretofore. We are beginning to be willing to consider. And, happily, we do not have to go far, or to try hazardous experiments, to get information: for a magnificent experiment has already been tried; and about thirty years have elapsed for a development of consequences: and now we have abundant evidence that the experiment is a success,—that the eight hundred thousand negroes, who were then made free, are spiritually, morally, and physically in a far better condition than before.

The work before us is a great one. Four millions of our follow-men are to be liberated from the task of keeping them in slavery. But the United States of America and Great Britain—sixty millions of men—are bound to do that work; and the whole Christian world is bound to see that it is done. And as to the time and manner of doing it, we are bound to be careful, kind

And as to the time and ma of doing it, we are bound to be careful, kind

WHAT OF THE WAR?

Never was a country, loved as this country has been, by all those who have shared the benefits wherein it has exceeded all others. Whence then the domestic war, sudden, unexpected, which has convulsed it like an earthquake? Why, when the forces of the disloyal, does the war continue, and threaten to continue for many years? Is there no way of bringing it to a speedy and desirable end? These are questions that crowd out almost all others in the breasts of all. Are we any more to have the country of which we have been so proud, or has the vision faded and gone with yesternight's dreams?

Though the great robellion is guided by a few

ther; and upon this, the South immediately under of itself an independent nation, with the purpose of carrying on their schemes by their own power. And because our country did not immediately assent to their propositions, and grant, their demands, they made war upon us.

It has been sometimes inconsiderately thought, and perhaps the thought has occurred to many of us.—that it would be well to let them go. Many plant, solic reasons gather around the thought: we love peace and deas; we desire all to be in freedom to do as they please; we do not need their aid; they have caused us much trouble; we could get along much more comfortably without them. But on the litting them go; one of which is sufficient; and that one only will be now mentioned. We have no right to let them go, one of which is sufficient; and that one only will be now mentioned. We have no right to let them go; and we should by no means clear ourselves from responsibility. They are under under our common Government. The Government is responsible, by the properties of an evil and mischievous purpose, we have no right to let them go; and we should by no means clear ourselves from responsibility. They are under the Government. The whole country in responsible, when, therefore, we see that they wish to separate from us for an evil and mischievous purpose, we have no right to let them go; and we should by no means clear ourselves from responsibility. They are under the Government of our country, and they must be restrained by our Government. The work of the country, and prevention must begin with emancipation and they miss be restrained by our Government. The most is now asy in which was can escape from that duty but by the utter inability to perform it.

True repentance also involves restitution, reparation, or indemnification. In our present case, it is now asy in which was can escape from the country, and prevention must begin with temachers the country of the will be our death of the country of the country of the will be considered to the country of those who best know the North. It could not by diminished, but only be increased, by letting every body at the South know exactly the truth about the feeling towards them at the North. They, hat us the more, the less we hato them. Our crime in their eyes is, that we are sorry for their injustice to the black man. They can never forgive us for showing by our wealth that such injustice is not, or the whole, profitable. They would exterminate from the face of the earth every man who will not either participate in their crime, or cordially approve of it. Such is the hatred which naturally and necessarily grows out of slavery, surrounded by

cither participate in their crime, or cordially approve of it. Such is the hatred which naturally and necessarily grows out of slavery, surrounded by communities where all are free, and the freedom of all is a cherished principle. It is like the electric wrath within a Leyden jar, intensified by the accumulation of the opposite electricity without.

It would be easy to bring almost innumerable proofs of the existence and overwhelming prevalence of the sentiment above described at the South, yet thus far the war has been managed by the Government as if no such sentiment existed as the governing animus of the war. Everything seems to have been done on the supposition that the South has been misled by conspirators, has acted on a misconception, and will come back and apologies as soon as it is disabused. The obvious theory at the bottom of the Federal campaign of 1861 is, that if the Government maintains itself, defends its capital, shows Christian magnanimity and forbearance in all its armies, and, above all, takes care that the "institution" of slavery shall receive as little damage as possible from its military operations, the Southern people will discard their rebel leaders, and return to their loyalty, as doubtless they would but for the harred which fills their hearts.

Misconceiving entirely the cause of the war, and the animus of the enemy, we have every reason to be thankful that nothing worse has happened to our cause; but what have we to hope for the future 2 As long as we do not strike at the cause of the war, nothing. Every dollar we expend on the plan of restoring the statum quo ante bellum, is so much given to the rebel cause. As long as slave property is not stricken away from under them, it really makes little difference to the Southerners whether they take Washington or not. If they take it, they thereby perhaps stir up the impassive North to more aggressive hostility. If they do not, they tire us out by our enormous expenses, and we shall the sooner return to our allegiance to King Cotton, and o

Do we predend it would violate the Constitution to utter it now? If we were at war with Brazil, and had one hundred thousand troops drawn up around Rio Janeiro, would the Constitution forbid us to utter the word liberty to the blacks of that empire, if that word would secure victory? Have the rebel States, in their present attitude, any more right to hamper us with "Constitution" than Brazil has? The Constitution was made for a state of peace. We are now at war. The Confederates have declared themselves foreign States, what rights have they under the Constitution? We do not admit their right to make themselves foreign States, and intend to bring them back under the Constitution. But are we going to insist, at the risk of our national life, that they shall come back slave States, and not free States?

national life, that they shall come back slave States, and not free States?

Is it objected that uttering the word "Liberty" to the slaves of the rebel States would violate our constitutional obligation to the border slave States still nominally loyal? The slaves, as slaves, are nothing but property—and the Constitution only insists on compensation when the Government takes private property for the public use. Had the Government paid market price for all the slaves in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, and set them free, before it fought the battle of Bull Run, the war would probably have been at an end before this, and the public debt could not have been much greater.

war would probably have been at an end before this, and the public debt could not have been much greater.

No man, not lost in misanthropy, can believe that the great majority of the people of the free States are not in love with free institutions and the honest application of the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence to all men, everywhere. But they never felt any special affection for black people, and were never willing to meddle with the alfairs of other States. Therefore, so long as we were at peace with the slaveholding States, they would do and suffer anything to maintain peace. Now, the case is altered. They would ustain the Government in any action towards the slave-cursed States that would make them free. It is too true that there are scattered all over the North many men who, for various reasons, do not prize freedom anywhere below their own level, but sympathize heartly with slaveholders in their contempt for the rights of black people, and their hatred of white ones who sympathize at all with the black. The slaveholders overrated the number and influence of these poole very much, but not their motive. Should the war continue on its plan of taking the greatest pains not to injure slavery, as if it were essential to the salvation of the Government, this class will become more and more comfort and aid to the enew. And it is not salvation of the Government, this class will become more and more arrogant, and will give more and more comfort and aid to the enemy. And it is not at all unlikely to happen that the war may thus be transferred to the soil of the free States. Then the Revolution of '16 will have to be fought over again, with even more fearful odds against inalienable

whole human race, in favor of injustice to the weak shall we not take up the guage, and fight for down-right justice? The war must end one way or very is to survive, justice must lose. If it is not, better have it killed by the shortest cut. Hol unsophisticated young America, to the rescue! Oceans of twaddle have been ladded over this nation about the danger of letting black people loose! Would to God there were some danger in it! They are entirely too safe for their own interests and ours. It is time to hoot out of this continent the nonsense that it is more dangerous to hire than to drive, to cash than to lash anybody. There is not one fact in the world's history, so far as the writer knows, (and he onee offered a handsome reward for one,) to show that any harm ever came from liberating slaves. They can be kept from stealing as easily when free, as when slaves. If they will not work for wages they starve to death, which, in the circumstances, is of course a blessing. This war, as has been truly said more than ten thousand times already, is not a war for the emancipation of the life and liberty of a nation, chieff white. But we all deserve to be black, and chattel slaves to boot, if we do not have the sense to use the emanipation of the black people as the means of saving the nation,—it being a self-evidently infallible means of ending the rebellion in the shortest possible time.

Does anybody ask,—After the slaves are set free and the vehallion creating the rebellion of the part of the survey of the service of the self-levidently infallible means of ending the rebellion in the shortest possible time.

numan nature is everywhere the same. The cause of hatred being removed, the hatred will cease, and the very men who struck at the beloved flag in behalf of a pitiful tyranny, will bless and venerate the conquerors who struck under it in the name of eternal justice. Human nature is every

SLAVERY AND THE WAR.

In an article on slavery as affected by the present contest, the New York Post has the following, which is right to the point. It says:—

contest, the New York Post has the following, which is right to the point. It says:—

"We can see no reason why we take a man's ships and goods from him because of his treason, and yet return him his slaves; we see no reason why a negro standing in the way of our advance of should not be blown to pieces with a cannon ball as readily as a white man; we see no reason, in short, why the slave 'institutions' of certain States are more to be respected than the free institutions of other States. If one succumbs to the exigencies of the war, so must the other. If the men of the North are expected to sacrifice their houses and all lands, yea, their best blood and the best blood of their sons, to maintain their country, the men of the South must be expected to sacrifice at least their slaves. Loyal men everywhere are submitting to fearful losses on account of the war, and the loyal men of the South must take their share, in whatever shape it comes.

We can see no reason why slave property should be exempt from the usual liabilities of war; but we can see a reason why, if any discriminations are to be made, that property should be the chief to suffer, Disquise it as we may, it is still evident that the rebelion has grown altogether out of the existence of that property. Our society would be perfectly homogeneous throughout, but for slavery. No other cause of war has existed, or can exist, on this continent. Nothing else separates the North and south and the property of the party. To extend its area has been the main purpose of Southern politicians. Because they could

not extend it, they declared war. Wherever slavery exists, there seession is rampant. Where slavery very exists, there secession is rampant. Where ela-very has died out, as in the border States, secession has but a puny vitality. Where there is no ela-very, the people to a man are enthusiastically de-voted to the Union. Such facts cannot be over-obted!."

MEMENTO MORL

MEMENTO MORI.

Of all the rumors of incredible atrocities, of foolish outrage, of those worst acts of cowardine that are born of cruelty, and of barbarism that just stops short of cannibalism, to which the expedition of John Brown into Virginia two years ago gave rise, the story that the skin of his son was taken from his body and tanned seemed the most unnatural; and the most improbable, and was, therefore, received with the least attention, notwithstanding its justice assertion. "Are not these the United States, a land of common schools and churches, and is not this the nineteenth century of the Christian era?" was the instinctive response which we all made to a statement so revolting to the spirit and culture of our time, our country, and our race. But read this letter from a General in the United States almy, now serving in Virginia, to a friend in this city—a witness on this point as impartial as he is distinguished:—

"CAMP AT -, VIRGINIA, Oct. 5, 1861.

Professor Martin has shown us this bit of the hu rginia. It is a minute portion only, for though are many superficial inches of cuticle on the of a man of ordinary size, the number of per-n Virginia who coveted a bit of so precious a sons in Virginia who coveted a bit of so precious a relie was very many. A ruder barbarism carries the scalp of a slain enemy at the girdle, makes a drinking-cep of his whitened skull, or strings the teeth and finger bones into an engaging necklace; but Jason Brown was not the prize of the bow and the spear of any single warrior; a whole Commonwealth claimed him as its own. Mere savages, if they use the human tissue of the slaughtered foe at all, can'ooily eat it—a wasteful use of such precious material. Science enables them in Virginia to refine upon this barbarie extravagance. Learned cious material. Science enables them in Virginia to refine upon this barbaric extravagance. Learned professors, skillful in the arts, lend their knowledge to the public service, and feed the patriotism of the State with bits of epidermis, imperishably prepared, of the dead, to be worn as amulets and mementoes to keep ever green the memory of a sweet revenge, and the daty of a citizen to a Christian State. They may laugh in Virginia at the untutored ignorance of the savage who can only rattle the dried scalps and bones of those he has slaughtered, while they point to the curiously tanned skin of their dead enemy as the evidence of the march of civilization and refinement in that ancient and proud Commonwealth.—Tribiase.

SECESSION BARBARITIES.

The following is an extract from a letter from a gentleman of the highest respectability in Illinois, to his friend in this city, dated Oct. 26:—

o his friend in this city, dated Oct. 26:—

"Yes, my dear Sir, we live too near the borders of Missouri not to feel intensely excited by the scenes that are being enacted in that State. Secession and rebellion are rampant on the very borders of Illinois. The newspapers have informed you of the undermining of a railroad bridge by the rebels, by which scores of men, women, and children were suddenly sent into eternity, and great numbers, who were not killed outright, were maimed for life. Scenes equally borttal, though not so destructive, by wholesale, of auman life, are every day, perpetrated by the 'Secesh' of Missouri. A more cowardly set of savages does not exist.

You can hardly realize the ferocity with which slavery inspires the owner of a negro or two. Even woman, when she owns a slave, or one is owned in the family, seems, in many instances, to have cast aside her feminine nature, and to have become savage. A woman of wealth, the owner of quite a number of slaves, when a band of Cherokee Indians, per of slaves, when a band of Cherokee Indians; a few months ago, came to the south of Missouri, where she lives, to join the secession army, under McCulloch of Texas, that weeman, or rather fiend, publicly offered the Indians a large reward if they would bring her 'Yankee free-soil' scalps enough to make a counterpane for her bed. There is no mistake about it.

"The same ferocity exists wherever slavery is found. Last June, a beautiful and accomplished girl, a native of Western New York, employed as a teacher in New Orleans, was dragged, on Sunday morning, to Jackson Square, and placed in ad nuditate natura: in the presence of many hundreds of spectators, including scores of well-dressed women. To the latter, the poor girl made a heart-rending appeal, that they would save her sex from such an outrage. But they replied only by jeers and insults, telling her: it was no more than every Yaukee woman deserved. The unfortunate girl was tarred and feathered, and then banished from the State, without receiving the salary due her. You may rely upon the truth of this statement. It comes on the authority of a spectator, upon whose word as implicit reliance can be placed as upon that of any man in the community. same ferocity exists wherever slavery is

the community.

"I hope and trust that God designs to make this wicked rebellion the instrument for ridding our land from the curse of slavery."—Albany Ecc. Journal.

GERRIT SMITH ON THE WAR.

A very powerful address was delivered to an overdience in Rev. Dr. Cheever's church, New York, Wednesday evening, 30th ult. by Gerrit Smith, on "The State and Needs of the Country." Its ngest passages were the most warmly applauded In the course of it. Mr. Smith having made a complimentary allusion to General Fremont, three rousing eously given for "Freedo cheers were spont

I love my country, but I strongly fear that she is lost. Perhaps it was impossible to save a country whose people had been trained to worship a Constitution, and to scoff at the setting up of God's law above it. Moreover, for nothing (and this was the most guilty feature of the idolarty) was that Constitution worshipped so much as for its power, justly or unjustly, accorded to it, to prevent the breaking of the chains of the slave. Perhaps I was foolish in thinking that such a country either would or could be saved. I confess that, when the war began, I thought it would be a short one; for I was so simple as to assume that the Government was already, or quickly would be, aroused, not merely to fight the rebels, but to conquer them. I took it for granted that the Government would behave rationally; and would no more suffer the Constitution than any other paper to stand in its way—slave property no more than any other property. Very soon, however, I began to learn my great mistake—for very soon the Government, instead of moving its irresistible might against the foe, and doing so with or without Constitution—carrying it by its side or trampling it under foot, as might seem most expedient. I love my country, but I strongly fear that she is sistible might against the foe, and doing so with or without Constitution—carrying it by its side or trampling it under foot, as might seem most expedient—was found worshipping and inculeating the worship of the Constitution, and tying up with its provisions the hands of both Government and people. Very soon, too, the Government was infatuated enough to decline the help of men because they were Indians or negroes. Very soon, too, our army was employed in the suicidal and satanic work of seizing innocent men, calling them slaves, and south employed in the suicidal and satanic work of ing innocent men, calling them slaves, and send-them into elavery. This violation of the Constinuous, of course, with the consent, if not with express direction, of the President—of him, so concern for the Constitution is not at all in ect to the pro-slavery, but only the anti-elavery attons of it. Very soon, too, our army began to land comfort the rebels by promising to prothem from servile insurrections. These errors "aid and contort" the route of the first text them from servile insurrections. These errors and these crimes were heavy blows at my heart. But as yet I was able to cheer it up with the hope that though so enormous, they, nevertheless, pro-

ceeded from the bad habits rather than from the bad intente of the country—from inconsideration of their flagrant character, rather than from pleasure in it—and would therefore soon be corrected. Then, too, my conscience began to revolt at my identify-ing myself, voice, pen and purse, with such a war.

But as yet I was able to pacify it with arguments that the Government would soon cease to repeat its crimes and follies. Nevertheless, as time went on, their crimes and follies multiplied. Moreover, Coogress did but little better than the Cabinet. Its Act of Confiscation, as we have already seen, ridiculently and madly saves to the rebels the great amount of their property and means for carrying on the war. I do not say that our Congress was, at its extra session, in the pay of the rebels. It was not—for it was, with the exception of the triators, a body of honorable men. But I do say that by means of its talk about the Constitution, and its much stress upon it, and by means also of its great tenderness for the rights and interests of the rebels, it was in the service of the rebels, great the constitution, and to protect slavery; to insult and outrage the black man; this was still the policy. My courage would sink, though not utterly, I was "faint, yet pursuing." But at last, when the President took the side of the rebels, gainst Fromont, and commanded him not to go beyond very narrow limits in taking away their slaves—when, I say, that "commandment came—I died." I sank down in despair of the country—perhaps never more to come up out of the despair, until the force of the command. This

nist uses both, is a sort of pugilism in which we shall certainly fail.

I said that we may win more than half the bat-

nist uses both, is a sort of puglism in which we shall certainly fail.

I said that we may win more than half the battles, and appear to ourselves to be on the eve of success. But this would only be likely to make our case worse—and especially should it take place soon. For while this would make us more haughty than ever, more contemptuous of the blacks than ever, and more disposed to push them away from us than ever; it would be likely on the other hand, by alarming the South, to drive her to court the blacks, and bring them, by freeing them, into a close and irresistible union with herself. Yes, just now, defeats might be better for us than victories; for they might make us willing to accept the help of black men before it is too late.

I would do no injustice to the President. Although in policy and practice he is in effect with the enemy, he is, I doubt not, in heart and purpose with his country. The errors in which he has involved himself, and by which he is but too probably ruining both himself and his country, have sprung in no small degree from his foolish anxiety to show himself clear of all partiality for the North; but mainly, however, from his excessive desire to conciliate the Border States—especially Kentucky and Missouri—and more especially his native Kentucky. I called this desire excessive. It seems well nigh exclusive, also. His concern to secure the friendship of Kentucky anpears greater than to secure that of the whole North. "He holds at the spigot while it rus at the bung." "He is penny wise and pound foolish." The President's bargain with the loyal slaveholders of the Border States (save me, by the way, from the loyalty of a thorough slaveholder, and especially if he be one who makes the saving of slavery the condition of his loyalty) is, that they shall stand up for the Union, and he for slavery. Unhappy bargain! No less so for being but understood, instead of expressed. If persisted in, it cannot fail to bring ruin to the parties to it, and to the country also. Three months may not pass

instead of expressed. It persisted in, it cannot fail to bring ruin to the parties to it, and to the country also. Three months may not pass away before these loyal slaveholders will see that they have lost all, through their eagerness to save slavery—that their ill-judged stipulation for the safety of slave property has resulted in the loss of all safety, even the safety of their lives. By that time, they may see that the only way to kill the rebellion in their States was not only to acknowledge that the war power has the same absolute right over slave property that it has over every other kind of property, but also to get the right exercised as speedily as possible and as sweepingly as possible. By that time they may learn, in the most appalling lossons, that, in respect to the slaves of the rebels, Frement was wise, and the President and these loyal slaveholders were foolish. These loyal slaveholders were foolish. These loyal slaveholders will have but themselves to thank for their too probable ruin. Slavery is the rallying point and the strength of their enemies; and for dear life's sake, then, they should have struck at slavery, and been glad to save themselves, even though at the expense of losing their slaves. Nay, if they could not bring themselves to carry their States clean over to the side of slavery, have made their condition far more competitive. The state schean over to the side of slavery, have made their condition far more comfortable than it can possibly be in their miserable fluctuations between the two.

I need not extend my argument, and I must not further tax your patience. The one thing which the people of the North need to do (and I would that the people in this crowded house might set the influential example of doing it), is to call on the Government (as it would do by passing the resolution I have read), to give up forthwith its merely fighting policy, and substitute for it the purpose of conquest—a purpose, moreover, so earnest as shall command the employment of whatever muscles or mea

only legitimate question.

In conclusion, let me entreat that if any impression has been made by any of my remarks on this occasion, no one shall undertake to weaken it by calling the contraction of the

casion, no one shall undertake to weaken it by caling me an Abolitonist—for I have not spoken as an Abolitonist. I have spoken only as might an Anti-Abolitonist, who sets his country above the Constitution and slavery, and who would have her live, though these perish.

It is true that I am an Abolitionist; and as I seem to have been born as well as bred one, it would be quite idle to deny that I am one. But for months the state of the public mind has not been such as would encourage me to speak or write as an Abolitionist. Until my countrymen shall be willing to save themselves, I shall have no hope that they can be moved to save the slaves. Very rare is the man who is willing to put forth efforts to save another, while he is yet so infatuated as to refuse to save himself. Let me see my countrymen cured of this infatuation, and resolved to save their country by whatever means, and I shall not be slow to recommence speaking and writing as an Abolitionist. Then shall I again declare, in the words of the best of all books, that "Salvation is of the Lord;" and that He bestows it upon unrighteous nations no more these consequently serving the surface of all books, that "Salvation is of the Lord;" and that He bestows it upon unrighteous nations no more these consequently serving the surface and that He bestows it upon unrighteous nations no more these consequently serving the surface and that He bestows it upon unrighteous nations no more these consequently serving the surface and th that He bestows it upon unrighteous nations no more than upon unrighteous individuals. Then, too, shall that he bessows it upon impereous nations no more than upon unrighteous individuals. Then, too, shall I be as ready as other Abolitionists to show that the North and the South, which for forty years have not in spirit been one nation, will, when slavery is abolished, become rapidly a homogeneous, happy, mutually-loving and prosperous people—united to each other by freedom, as emphatically as they are now sundered from each other by slavery. Again, I could not, in the present guilty state of the public mind, speak or write as an Abolitionist, except in bursts of indignation at the hypocrisy of the past lamentations of the North over her alleged inability to abolish slavery. Surpassing hypocrisy! Seeing that now, when slavery is threatening the very existence of the nation, and when the monster lies at the mercy of martial law, the North not only does not call out in thunder-tones for the abolition of slavery, but basely acquiesces in the Government policy of protecting it.

AND REIGNS, EITHER THIS NATION W SLAVERY, OR SLAVERY WILL ABOLE I have done. I cannow say that in I have faithfully protested against the povershing of the nation, and against

At the conclusion of his address, (which may

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1861.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States;
The undersigned, citizens of
, respectfully submit—
That as the present formidable rebellie

General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honor-able body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country — liberating uncondi-tionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to fa-cilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent ter mination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis

Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offi-ces in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

THE WAR POWER.

An earnest Anti-Slavery friend, at the West, thinks the Petition to Congress, asking that body to abolish slavery under the war power, "leaves the Adversary a hole to creep out at, in the fact that Congress has not the war power." Coming from such a the objection is as singular as it is gratuitous. It has not been raised before, even in the most pro-slavery circles. John Quincy Adams (whose authority in such a matter is of immense weight) emphatically de

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

But he does not stop here. He as unequivocally eclares :-

"From the instant that your slaveholding the theatre of your civil servile or forcion the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that in-stant THE WAR POWERS OF COGERSS extend to interfer-ence with the institution of slavery in every war in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State bur-dened with slavery to a foreign power."

"In every way in which it can be interfered with" Ample power enough! Though we would not have President Lincoln or Gen. McClellan lose an hour before decreeing the abolition of slavery throughout the South as a military necessity, yet, "other things being equal," we think such a decree, put forth by Congress, as directly representing THE PEOPLE, would carry with it greater force, and be more vigorously sustained. To doubt the competency of tha body to make it, is needlessly to embarrass a body to make it, is needlessly to embarrass action, and prevent a decisive expression of public sentiment on the subject. Congress, by the Constitution, has power to declare war; and that power carries with it all the means and measures necessary to give success to the war: the greater includes the less. As well observed in the contract of the cont ject to the validity of the act of Congress in Augus last, in confiscating certain kinds of rebel property, a moot such a question concerning slave property me persons may prefer a different form of petition if so, let them not fail to write and sign it, the object to be effected being the same—namely, the total abo-lition of slavery. The act will not only be legal, and one of self-preservation on the part of the government,

s to be on "Judas Iscariot and his Family.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for November 1861, contains the following interesting and able papers:—I. The Relation of War to Human Nature.
II. Daniel Do Foe. III. Tholuck on Prophecy. IV.
Buckle's History of Civilization. V. Western Monasticism. VI. Joseph Wolff. VII. Review of Current ticism. VI. Joseph Wolff. VII. Beview of Current Literature. The reviewer of Buckle's History, while highly appreciating Mr. B's vigorous and independent thinking, faithful atudy of details, and strong believing purpose, says:—"The doctrines of which he is the ar-dent advocate seem to us, the more thoroughly we consider them, to be essentially theoretical, superficial and narrow. They are deatitute of any broad basis of mercy of martial law, the North not only does not call out in thunder-tones for the abolition of slavery, but basely acquiesces in the Government policy of protecting it.

Were I, my hearers, to speak to you as an Abolitionist, I would say that penitence alone can save a nation whose people have corrupted and debased hypotheses."

consider them, to be essentially theoretical, superficial, sup

carded the Constitution, dissolved the Union, put themselves in open and deadly array for the over-throw of the Government, and organized themselves into an independent sia reholding Confederacy. They arow their hostility, not merely to the Abolitionists as a class, but to the people of the North generally: they cherish and arow the most interne sectional feelings: they can find no language to express their contempt of all "Yankeedom," and declare that under no circum-stances will they ever again recognize the same flag, or consent to be in the same republic. They deal in or consent to be in the same republic. They deal in no cant; they disdain to play the part of dissemblers; they mean all that they say, and they say all that those who are insbitually inspired by a demoniacal spirit are capable of expressing with unbounded copiousness of devilish speech. They tar and feather, stab, shoot, or lang those caught on their soil, avowing loyalty to the "stars and stripes," and unwavering devotion to the Union, as readily as they do the most "ultra Abolition while "they are the North, insists upon give the stripes," and unwavering devotion to the Union, as readily as they do the most "ultra Abolition while "keeping step to the music of the Union"? fanatics." They have drawn the sword, and thrown away the ecabbard; they have crossed the bridge, and burnt it; and they are prepared to meet, without whining or protest, all the penalties that may follow such desperate deeds. The most decent epithet they can apply to President Lincoln is, to call him "a Kan-garoo," "the Illinois Ape"; and they describe the in-telligent, brave and patriotic men who have responded to the call of the Government to rally on the battle-field for its support, as "a cowardly, motley crew of starving foreigners and operatives, who never did fight, except for pay, for pillage and plunder; and once sat except for pay, for pillage and plunder; and once satisfied that no money is to be made, no plunder to be gotten by invading the South, no power on earth can lash and kick them south of Mason and Dixon's line."
We quote from the Richmond Examiner. The New Orleans Bulletin styles them "the greasy operatives of Lowell and the smutty shoemakers of Lynn." The Norfolk Day Book describes them as "mercenary hirelings," "Arnolds," "Judases," "thieves, cutthroats and assassins, who sell themselves to the Tythers at Bayleniah Washington for good for boots. n at Babylonish Washington for gold, for booty, and for beauty."

The worst traitors are those who are still found

every where at the North, secretly sympathizing with the Southern conspirators, and aiding them by word and deed as far as they dare; canting about the hor-rors of war, and hinting at the desirableness of peace on any terms; fercely denouncing all who abhor sla-very, and artfully trying to subject to brutal personal assaults the most conspicuous among this number, and once more to rouse up the wildest elements of a pro-slavery mobocracy, but carefully abstaining from all severity of language towards the rebels, and allowing their hideous and numberless atrocities to pass without comment; hypocritically pretending to be the special friends of the Government, in order that they may paralyze its arm, by their menaces and outcries, from striking an effective blow at the cause of the rebellion, and also gain a political ascendency in Congress and the several State Legislatures, with a view of the reconstruction of the Government on a basic other reconstruction of the Government on a basic to the reconstruction of the Government on a basis satisfactory to Jefferson Davis and his man-stealing compeers. Iner democracy is ancient toryism run to seed; their humanity, a stony petrefaction; their religion, that of the sons of Belial. They froth at the mouth, grow red in the face, and exhaust the language of Billingsgate, whenever any proposition is made for the abolition of slavery, eyen though it be solely to save their boasted Union, and not with reference to save their boasted Union, and not with reference to the intrinsic iniquity of the slave system. They are incomparably more concerned for the security of slave property than the Southern rebels themselves—and are a thousand times more deserving of execration. No music is so delightful to their ears as the clank of the slave-chain, the crack of the slave-whip, the bay of the pursuing bloodhound, or the screams of the lacerated, panting victim. "Niggers," in their opinion, were made to be worked without wages, subjected to irresponsible despotism, scourged with impunity branded with red hot irons, denied all intellectual and ion, those who selemnly protest against such robbery and violence, such profligacy and heathenism, and en-deavor to put an end to such enormities, deserve noth-ing but ridicule, contempt, and brutal resistance, as a fanatical and dangerous class. The humane, just, pa-triotic, and generous speech of Charles Summer, and the noble and soul-inspiring proclamation of General Fremont, alike throw them into furious paroxysms, and intensify the flames of the hell that is raging

The organs of these traitors are such m Boston Post, the Boston Courier, the New York Journal of Commerce, Bennett's Herald, New York Express, et id omne genus. Up to the hour of the capture of Fort Sumter,—even after the "Star of the West had been ignominiously driven away from the harbo had been ignominiously driven away from the harbor of Charleston, and the American flag fired at by rebel cannon,—they were in open, hearty, rampant sympa-thy with the spirit of secession, and did every thing in their power to stimulate it, if not to the utter subversion, at least to the cowardly subjugation of the version, at least to the cowardly subjugation of the Government, so that its infernal purpose might be gratified. But the capture of Fort Sumter presented to the country a treasonable issue in a tangible form, and in a manner admitting no longer of forbearance; popular indignation swept through all the Free States like a prairie conflagration; domestic traitors became suddenly transformed into bolsterous patriots, lest they about if find the atmosphere to both for completible services. should find the atmosphere too hot for comfortable e durance; and the traitorous sheets we have name were forcibly compelled to hoist the "star and stripes, were forcibly compened to must the sast and sarges, though they secretly went, as they still do in spirit, for the rebel flag. Selfish, cowardly, unprincipled, they are again revealing their old animus in proportion as the wholesome fear of a popular visitation lessens. in their minds. That visitation they need to have r peated to keep them within the bounds of decor Wherein the Government indicates weak-ity, inefficiency, as against rebeldom, they chuckle and applaud; and pronounce it eminently prudent and sagacious! But any propo the rebels, by terminating the hateful slave system out of which their rebellion has sprung, and for which alone they have withdrawn from the Union, is by these journals houted at and anathematized as fraught with inconceivable horrors; and the Government is menaced, in case of proclaiming emancipation,—no matter how closely driven to the wall, or that necessity and self-preservation demand it,—with bloody home discensions, and an immediate disbanding of the army What villany is comparable to this on the side of the What villany is comparable to this on the side of the open Secessionists of the South? And it manifestly exerts a paralyzing influence at Washington,—thus needlessly prolonging a bloody, fratrictial war, sacrificing fathers, husbands and sone to no purpose, and increasing to frightful dimensions a public debt which will rest like an incubus upon Northern labor and capital for many a generation! No more effective sid can possibly be rendered the plotting Confederates.

These journals impudently pretend that slavery has nothing to do with the war, and the war should have nothing to do with slavery! They give the lie to all the facts of history, and to the declarations of the Southern traitors themselves. What! the Union dashed asunder precisely where the line runs betwee free territory and slavedom, and slavery nothing to do with it! Is it freedom, then, that is to be held refree territory and slavedom, and slavery nothing to do with it I is it freedom, then, that is to be held responsible for the deed? Are they not Southern slaveholders, but Northern freemen, who have perjuriously violated their cath to maintain the Constitution, substituted for the national banner a rebel flag, confiscated hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property, stolen all the arrenals, fortifications, mints and customstolen all the arrenals, fortilications, mints and custom-houses within their grasp, and set up independently for themselves? Are not Jefferson Davis, and Alex-ander H. Stephens, and General Beauregard, and Gen-eral Johnston, all the members of the Confederate Cabinet, and all in the Confederate army acting as

THE TRAITORS MOST TO BE ABHORRED,

The traitors most to be abhorred do not reside south of Mason and Dixon's line; for all in that section of the country have long since turn off the mask, discarded the Constitution, dissolved the Union, put themselves in open and deadly array for the overthrow of the Government, and organized themselves into an independent slaveholding Confederacy. They are whelf hostility, not merely to the Abolitionists as a class, but to the people of the North generally: they cherish and avow the most intense sectional technics: HOLDERS REBELLION. Tracere, nor, as protecting slavery, gives encouragement to treason, and his proper place is under the Confederate flag, on Southern soil. The Northern traitor is he, who, now that the Slave States have put the Constitution beneath their feet, claims for their slave property the old constitutional guaranties. No such claim have they the audacity to pretend as any longer in existence. ing them all those advantages which they enjoyed while "keeping step to the music of the Union"?

We recent the trainers must to be feared and must

We repeat—the traitors most to be feared and most abhorred reside, not in the Confederate States, but here at the North; and we have endeavored to indiwho they are, and the journals which utter their

MUSIC HALL JUBILANT.

MUSIO HALL JUBILANT.

Garrison has spoken at Music Hall. It was on the Sabsath, the New England Sabsath which has been so much honored by our New England ancestors, and it now so much dishonored by their descendants. The Abolitionists were congratulated upon the present fruition of their labors, the South was denounced for her barbarism, Fremont was exalted for his proclamation, and the people were told that what he had done, the President could not undo, and that the speaker would not believe any of the charges against him until they were proven before a competent tribunal. Mr. Sumer was also congratulated upon the patriolism, the moral character and political virtue of his position; and Edward Everett was alluded to with tearful repret, because he could speak one hour from the same desk, and not once allude to the crime of American slavery. The Administration was condemned for its imbedility in not striking at the root of this sevil, and declaring that the war was for the abolition of slavery; and those men were called traitors who said this war was for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union, and not for enancipation. He said that Abolitionists were the true Democrate, who went for the equality of all men, and that the Democracy; and that Abolitionists were the true Democrate; and the Declaration of Independence, but was not an Abolitionist, was either a fool or a hypocrite. He said he was told that if he and the Abolitionists had not talked and agitated so much, this war would not have been; as for him, he should denounce tyranny, he should denounce slavery, he should denounce slavery, he should denounce slavery, he should the man and the said he principles. He can denounce slavery, he should the man as a shan Deurocraper of the ruinous consequences of his principles. He can denounce without reasoning, make statements underlaid with sophistry, declare principles with the appearance of right which would be the most disastrous in application, exalt liberty while he is undermining its foundation, quo

would be the most disastrous in application, exalt liberty while he is undermining its foundation, quote scripture and poetry to the satisfaction of the sentimentalist and to the contempt of the stateman, indulge in satire to the extreme gratification of a malignant philan thropy, and do all these things in a manner entirely worthy of a leader of such a party. His house was full, Music Hall was jubliant. The most trasonable passages were clapped the loudest, and the well known beauty of those who gather there was radiant with delight. It was a scene worthy of the place. Secession, as organized in Boston thirty years ago, treason, as spoken in Boston now, and that with impunity, poured to their vials of wrath upon that covenant with Death and compact with Hell, the Constitution of the United States. Et its Brute ! exclaimed Cæsar, and thou, too, Massachusetts! in may we exclaim, when she turns her dagger upon that government which has fostered and sustained her, and helped her to a glorious position in the Commonwealth of States. We have no malignity for these men at Music Hall, though we know, had they the power, sooner from them than from any other class among us, the Star Chamber, the High Commission, the Guillotine and a Jefflijes would spring into being and activity against those who saw no wider than they. We only pity where we cannot calighten, and hold in check that which is bereft of the natural instinct of self-preservation.—Boston Post, 12th inst.

REMARKS. It is in vain that the Editor of the Pos attempts to stultify himself or his readers in this man-ner. What we uttered at Music Hall were irrefutable, self-evident truths, and the response given to them indicated an enlightened and freedom-loving audience. But "it was on the Sabbath"! Here we have a blending of political demagoguism with the ancient Jewish phariseeism!—"And the scribes and Pharisees watched him, whether he would heal on the sabbath-day; that they might find accusation against him Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing. Is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to de evil ? to save life, or to destroy it? ... And they were filled with madness, and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus." The Editor of the Post shows himself to be their lineal descend-

"He said that Abolitionists were the true Demo crats, who went for the equality of all men." Certainly we did, and that is the truth. We also said that "the Democracy of the Boston Post was a sham that "the Democracy of the Boston Post was a sham Democracy "—and that is the truth. It is a negro-driving, cradle-plundering, and slave-trading Democracy, to be spurned by every manly bosom. It misleads the ignorant, dupes the credulous, gratifies the malignant, suits the tyramical, and plunders the poor. Its impudence and shamelessness are unbounded.

It is not true that we condemned the administration

for not declaring that the war was for the abolition of slavery." We said exactly the reverse of this.: we admitted that the abolition of slavery was not the object of the war, but the defence of the government; but we argued that, as the entire slave population, passive in the hands of the conspirators, constituted a thunderbolt to be actively hurled at the government for its destruction, it became both a necessity its destruction, it became both a necessity and a duty to lose no time in transforming four millions of ene-mies into four millions of friends. Was not that true patriotism? And for our authority, we quoted the Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser, as follows:—

Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser, as follows:—

"The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the l'North, or indeed any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The inatitution is a tower of strength to the South, particularly of the present crisis, and our enemies will be likely to find that the 'moral cancer,' about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really one of the most effective sceapons employed AGAINST THE UNION by the South."

Also, the following, from the Memphis Ava-

"A procession of several hundred stout negro men, members of the 'domestic institution,' marched through our streets yesterday, in military order, under the command of Confederate officers. They were well armed and equipped with shovels, axes, blankets, &c. . . . It may be that the shovels are to be used in digging ditches, throwing up breastworks, or the construction of masked batteries, those aboninations to every aboltion Paul Pry who is so unluck as ons to every abolition Paul Pry who is so unlucky as

The Editor of the Post is opposed to disabling the The Editor of the Post is opposed to disabling the rebels, by striking down this arm of their strength, and thus indicates where his sympathies tend in this struggle. His "patriotic," like his "democratic" garb, is a sham, a snare, and a cheat.

He speaks of the "ruinous consequences" of our

principles. Our principles are those enunciated in the ermon on the Mount and in the Declaration of Inde-Sermon on the Mount and in the Deciaration of Inde-pendence; and they are "ruinous" only to the hopes of political tricksters, "patriotic" mercenaries, and profligate demagogues, and of all other corrupt classes. They strike at the root of all usurpation of man over his fellow-man, destroy tyranny, and render liberty sweet and sacred for the whole human raice. "The most treasonable passaries were claimed the

"The most treasonable passages were elapped the pulest." For treasonable, read reasonable, and truly

"It was a scene worthy of the place." Standing as we did at the desk and in the hall consecrated by the spirit and services of Theodore Parker, we desire no higher culogy.

The Editor of the Post may brand uncompromising

pposition to slavery as "secresion thirty year ap, and treason now," but he only thereby shows he secreancy to the cause of impartial liberty, own the secreancy to the cause of impartial liberty, "We have no malignity," he says, "for those men at Music Hall." The disclaimer looks a little suggests that the secretary of the secr "We have the "We have the disclaimer looks a little same at Music Hall." The disclaimer looks a little same cious! But, innocent and lamb-like as he affects to he he not only believes, but "knows," that, had they he power, they would resort to the Guillotine, the Same Chamber, the High Commission, &c. &c.!! Revis an abundance of charity, without a particle of many lignity." As to "the men at Music Hall," bey have yet harmed nobody, so that "the past, at least is secure." What they will do when they "have the same of the same and the

TREASON IN HIGH PLACES.

power," we cannot say; but we are quite sure they will not imitate the villanous example of the Pot in stirring up mobocratic violence against those who sh-

hor slavery, and desire the freedom of all men

It is said that many clerks in the department of public service in Washington are still alled in feling and interest with the secessionists. It is less, to our cost, that information of the intended mer. to our cost, that information of the incomes more ments of the United States army and navy h reaments of the chiefs of the rebel army, can larly sent to the chiefs of the rebel army, enabled them to meet and counteract those movement. And, though several of the severest defeats of the North have been clearly tracable to this source, no effor commensurate with the greatness of the cell seems to be put forth against it, and no remedy has been ap-olied, in the known cases of this sort more trimesty be put forth against it, and no remedy has been applied, in the known cases of this sort, more stringest than a requisition to take the cast of allegiance! about as effectual as swearing a rattlenake not to lite! about as judicious as leaving a notorious liar and this to be the watchman of a bank, after extenting from him a promise that he would not steal! By what great public functionary have these things been allowed by the neglect of preventive measures on the part of what great public functionary are these things as what great public functionary are these things per mitted still to continue

How was it that President Buchanan went out of office with the reputation of a traitor? Wak, it not that, during the latter part of his term of office, he openly so adjusted his policy as to favor the rybels in their movement to overthrow that Constitution and Government which he had sworn faithfully to guard! Was it not that evidence appeared, clearly showing him to have acted in the interest of that company from the very beginning of his administration of the Presidency? While trusted as the guardian of the Republic, and obeyed as one necessarily earnest for its prosperity, this traitorous wretch was constantly play-ing into the hands of its worst enemies; doing the things that would favor their hostile purposes; not things that would have their nostile purposes; and doing the things that were indispensable to counteract those purposes; and when—near the end of a four years' stealthy pursuance of this infamous treacheryyears scenarily pursuance on an instantion tractery— it became necessary for him to assist openly either his country or her enemies, helping the latter by the policy of inaction. Yes, when the rebellion which he had helped to conceal at last broke out, this betrayer of his country symmetrically closed his career of shame by calling upon all loyal citizens to "fast and pray," when his ath as President and Commander-in-Chief required him to lead them in the most active operations of re-

istance to the traitors.

In the matters wherein James Buchanan was treachrous, has his successor been faithful!

It must be remembered that fidelity requires some thing more than not to be actively treacherous—some-thing more than not to pursue that other fatal policy of inaction. Fidelity requires the prompt, active and zealous use of the appropriate means for success.

Abruham Lincoln has been chosen to defend and save
the country; means suited to and adequate for that purpose have been promptly and lavishly supplied to him . it depends upon his individual decision whether they shall be used in such time and manner as to ac-complish the object. If he determines and persists not so to use them, is not he also a traiter? This is the question which lovers of their country have now to consider and act upon! Slavery is the source of the rebellion under which we now suffer. This is not only clear as the sua to

the honest inquirer, but everybody now admits it.

The custom of our Government has been to favor slavery, first, by not interfering with it, and next, by resisting all opposition to it. And it has been main-tained that in time of peace, and while the Goren-ment and the people were pursuing their ordinary methods of operation, this policy was imperatively

required of the Government by the Constitution.

Whether this last hypothesis be true or not, it is certain that this attitude of our Government the peace which the nation has now enjoyed for forty years, has enabled the slaveholders to keep their slaves, when without this aid they would have lost them.

Times are changed. War is upon us. Times are changed. War is upon us. Annas arms laws are silent, says the proverb. And, as it is exemplify the truth of the proverb. President Lincoln has repeatedly done, in this crisis, that which the Constitution, in ordinary times, forbids; moreover, both Congress and the people have plainly testified their approval of this overriding of the Constitution which the nation's welfare is to be served by it.

Not only is war upon us, but war by the act, and for the purposes, of slaveholders. The great body of slaveholders have set themselves in violent opposition when the set only it. slaveholders have set themselves in violent opposition to the great body of the native, and that not only in open violation of the Constitution and definite of the Government, but with extensive robberies, both of the Government and the people, and with many other acts of unspeakable insolence and outrage.

Among these acts of insolence and outrage, they have assembled an immense army, and maintained is for months in the vicinity of the National Capital, with the declared intention of solving that Capital, with the declared intention of solving that Capital.

for months in the vicinity of the National Capital, with the declared intention of selzing that Capital, and overthrowing the United States Governmed. And they openly boast that it is their system of shevery which enables them to do this, and to use, in the war, a greater proportion of their able-bodied mea than the North can use, because the productive industry of the North is a diminished in proportion as its than the North can use, because the productive indu-try of the North is diminished in proportion as its army is increased, while their productive industry goes on, irrespective of the presente or absence of the flighting man.

Whether this statement be true, or only impudent and preposterous lies which stareholders are accustomed to use in advocacy of their case—it is certain that an active interference with slavery by the Covernment (which is the Covernment (which is the Covernment (which is the Covernment)). Government, (whether a Proclamation of freedom to the slaves of rebels only, or an Act of universal eman cipation under the war-power,) would immediately scatter one-half or more of the arm now lying around Washington, and send them, in double-quick time, is repel a possible attack upon that very institution, it half the transfer of the control of t heir several border homes, for the sake of which the de the war. It is certain that the people who are made the wor. It is certain that the Fighting for slavery will bend their utmost effort fighting for slavery will bend their utmost towards the defence of slavery, especially when the defence is inextricably bound up with the defence their stolen forts, arsenals and custom-houses, and of their cotton and sugar fields, and of their houses and their cotton and sugar fields, and of their bosts and their most for the point. their cotton and sugar fields, and of inch-homes. To defend these, they sust go to the pois-homes these are attacked. And if President Lincon-by his Official Proclamation, attacks slavery simila-by his Official Proclamation, attacks slavery simila-neously at every point of their Northeri, Easten, Southern and Western border, nothing is more erfor the defence of that border. This would be the first, and the inevitable, result of such a Proclamation. And this alone would be worth making it for.

Though this state of things has existed ever since

Though this state of things has existed ere size Abraham Lincoln has been President and Communder in Chief, he has issued no such proclamation.

Though it is obvious that the recent sending out the great naval expedition would have had to undit the present effect upon the rebels had it been preceded or even accampanied, by a formal Proclamatic of freedom to all their slaves—though it is certain their present system of operations must have been rted, and that an intense alarg entirely disconcerted, and that an interest favorable to the movements of the Government, most damaging to the rebel cause, must have be

excited by such a step in all the seconded States—the on has not been issued.

Proclamation has not been issued.

Worse yet. Even inaction upon this momentous subject, criminal as that is, has not been the only fault of the President. He sets himself in active opposition to movements against slavery made by his subordinate officers. General Butler took a step in this direction which acted most beneficially for the Gov. direction which acted most elementary and the of-ernment and against the enemy, and then, expressing his carnest wish to go further on the same road, he demanded "instructions" from the Government. The demanded instructions from the Government.

Government threw cold water upon him. General Fremont acted with yet more vigor in the same direction. The Government removed him! In what posway, except by disbanding the whole army, could have given so much "aid and com the Government hav fort" to the enemy?

fort" to the enemy?

Again. A popular Administration would naturally be well inclined to movements actively favored by the people. Now, nothing is more certain than that a shout of enthusiasm, all over the North, followed first. the movement of General Butler, and next that o General Fremont. Such a spirit, both in the army and in the people, is one of the most indispensable requisites to success in war. An echoing of thes voices of freedom, a turning of other divisions of the army into the same line of action, and an open declara-tion that that was henceforth to be the policy of the Administration, would not only have confu concerted and dismayed the enemy more than any ther act whatever, but it would have brought this se enthusiasm of the loyal North in support of the Government, and would unspeakably have qu fined and strengthened the men and women of the free States for the further labors and sacrifices re quired of them. What can have influenced the President to refuse doing something which would bea with immense force, at once against the enemy, i favor of the loyal army and people, and in favor of an ultimate settlement of our difficulties upon the right basis? What private and personal considerations make the new President of the Re publican party take, in the very most important fund tion of his office, a position so nearly akin to that taken by the late traitorous President of the sham democracy!

Whatever these malign influences may be

several unworthy and discreditable ones have been openly mentioned as those actually controlling President Lincoln—it is certain that he has committed him-self to a policy which, favoring slavery by letting it alone, is most injurious to our present struggle, and most disastrous to the ultimate settlement of our diffi-What is to be done?

The next thing in order, to be done, is to try the influence of the people's expressed voice upon this unfaithful public servant. Let all who can speak urge the primary meetings of the people the vast im-ortance of selecting candidates, and adopting measures, in favor of universal freedom, and in active and direct opposition to slavery. Let all who can write express these ideas in those organs of the periodical press to which they have access. And let the whole people, men, and women, interest themselves in sign ing cheulating advocating and forwarding the peti tions to Congress now passing through the confinu-nity upon this subject. Never was activity in faith-ful labor more needed than at this moment.—c. K. w.

SOLD! SOLD!! SOLD!!!

FOREST LAKE, (Penn.,) Nov. 6, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON,—My heart sickens, and my spirit faints, as I view what seems to me a deep-laid scheme, on the part of some in power, to sell out the North to the South-the cause of freedom and free institutions to slavery and slave institutions. The policy of the Federal Government, the past six months, indicates a fixed purpose to yield to all the demands of the slave holders, and reconstruct the Union, if the people al-low it, on a more inhuman and God-defying foundation

Why have the Administration and the Federal Generals uniformly shown so much more regard to the lives and property of the robels than of the loyal people of the North! Why have so many rebels been people of the North! Why have so many rebels been people of the North! Why have so many rebels been when the north was a superposed to the north who was a superposed to the north was becat placed in command over Federal troops and ships? Over one-half of the vessels and gunboats, designed to set against the rebels, are controlled by men whose sympathies are with the rebels! Why vas Fremont's Proclamation so readily annulled Why was Gen. Thomas's loose, mere hearsny, and evidently malignant report, showed to be published at this time? Why has Fremont's removal so quickly, and without a hearing on his part, followed the annulling of his Proclamation? Why has the Adminis tration interfered to protect the property of rebels in the North, and looked on with indifference, while hundreds of millions of property of loyal citizens are confiscated in the South? Why has the blockade of Southern ports been so inefficient? Why has the effort to capture and punish the Southern privateers and pirates been so utterly ineffectual? nothing done to follow up the victory at Hatteras, by an onset upon North Carolina! Why the mission of Tkurlow Weed and Bishop Hughes to Europe, in company with Gen. Scott-all at the same time with Mason and Slidell from the slave confederacy? Why such leniency to Gen. Patterson and Gen. Stone, and such severity to Fremont! Can it be, that all these things are but the antecedents of another and a more infernal and degrading submission to the Slave Power We shall know by the 1st of January, 1862. If I mistake not, Congress and the Cabinet, within six weeks, will have an explosion; for, surely, Congress, direct from the people, will not dare to attempt another compromise with slaveholders.

The worst is to be feared. I would the Government could be saved to freedom; but it must and ought to sink into a grave of contempt and infamy, if it shall attempt again to bring the people of the North into a degrading and loathsome complicity with slave-breed-ing and slave-hunting, from which slaveholding re-bellion had released them. Will the people submit to the OLD "COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AGREEMENT WITH HELL," from which they have been fully released by the rebellion ?

the Government might stand as the bulwarks of liberty to all ; but whether it does or not, SLAVERY MUST HENRY C. WRIGHT.

DISSOLUTION OR ABOLITION,

THE ONLY ISSUE PRESENTED BY THE TRAITORS

FOREST LAKE, (Penn.) Nov. 5, 1861. DEAR GARRISON: I came here last evening, among the mountains of Pennsylvania. I came through several important inland towns of New York. Day before yesterday was the State election in New York State. In the valleys of the Chenango and the Sus quehannah, the majority for Union and against the Slave Power was very large and emphatic. Daniel S. Dickinson, in the place of his residence, (Binghampton,) had over 1100 votes out of 1300, and that after all his strong and stirring utterances. His nom-

nation was for State Attorney It is marvellous, the change that is going on among the people respecting Abolition. Scarcely one is found to entertain the idea of Dissolution, in prefer-ence to Abolition. The one idea of Abolitionists has been, for nearly thirty years, Dissolution before the propagation and perpetuity of slavery. But the South has presented to the North another and a far different

tion or Abolition ! With one voice the South say, We dissolve the Union to sustain slavery. With equal unanimity the North says, or is fast coming to say—Abolish slavery to save the Union. This has been the one unanimous call of Abolitionists for thirty

Union, because, as the think, its tendency is to de-stroy slavery. God grant the human flesh-mongers may never think otherwise, till the entire North is compelled to accept the issue! for the moment the do accept that issue, and act accordingly, that moment victory will perch upon their banner, and not before. Governments are established to protect liberty, not

slavery; and the moment they cease to protect liber-ty, and sustain slavery, "it is the right and the duty of the people to alter or abolish them." While the Union meant slavery, God and the Constitution required us to seek to alter or abolish it. Now that it means free dom, (as the slave-secoding tyrants assert,) it is our sacred right and duty to sustain it, so far as the ques-tion of liberty or slavery is concerned. No matter what the North says in the premises; the slaveholders declare that the Federal Government is the deadly enemy of slavery, and that slavery can be sustained only on its ruins. Hence, in their view, every man who sustains slavery is an Abolitionist. No disavow al of Republicans or Democrats can ever alter the conviction. The South has treated and will treat every man who says one word or fires a gun in support of the Union and the Constitution, as an Abolitionist and hang him as such. God grant them grace to stick to this conviction, and to treat every Northern man and woman as a deadly enemy to slavery, until in deed and in truth they do all become Abolitionists! Every man who opposes the rebels, and seeks to crush rebellion and save the government, must fight against Sla very - must fight for Abolition - whether he will

INSEPARABLE! This is the assured and settled con viction of the rebel States and individuals. This is the only construction of the Constitution now admis sable at the South. God help them to persevere in that belief, and be true to it! The rebels seek its destruction because it means Abolition. Is the North seeking to crush the rebels because they say it means Aboution? Increase, one and all seek to dissorve the Union, because, as they say, it is 'opposed to slavery. Does the North seek to crush rebellion because the rebels say the government is opposed to slavery? The South will fight and will prevail until the North accepts the issue presented by them, and sup-

ports the Union because it opposes slavery, and as a means of Abolition. The moment the North is prepared to lay her all on the altar of the Union and Con stitution because they mean Abolition, that moment, and never before, will victory crown her efforts. So long as the North is so mean, so craven, so dastardly, and so cowed as to be afraid to accept the issue which the South presents, and fight for the government as Phillips's, have aroused in me an unconquerable spirit meaning Abolition-liberty to blacks as well a whites-as meaning that God made all men equally free—her Bull Runs, Edwards Ferries and Lexing-tons will be multiplied. She will not deserve victory, and cannot have it. Let the North accept heartily the only issue presented by the South—Dissolution or Abolition—and sustain the government and Union be cause they mean Abolition, as the rebels say they do and in three months the war would end. Four mil lions of slaves would spring to the aid of the N and the sympathy of the civilized world would chee them on to triumph.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE LETTER.

November 3d, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. 'Chill November's surly blasts" are at last upon us, making "fields and forests bare," and Tuesday comes Election. S. sent me the newspaper with a no tice of your nomination for Assembly man, which I most sincerely wish will result in your triumphant election the 5th. I wish this because, now, of all times, we should have men of conscience, men of honorabl souls, men who love justice and right more than party compromise and expediency, in the seats of legisla-tion; and I believe you will frankly and fearlessly use your influence and power to advance these great ends of human welfare, rather than become the mere tool of selfish, ambitious seekers after office and gain, such as it is the melancholy fact too many of our legislators have allowed themselves to be degraded

I should rejoice to have our Legislature filled with men of hands too clean to touch bribes, and hearts too high to listen to any claims but such as are really just, and with principles so inflexible that nothin could bend them from maintaining, at every hazard, and at all costs, the equal and unalienable right of ev-ery human being to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as that noble old document reads. Then this next would be the last election in the Empir State when colored men should be prohibited from voting-a violation of natural and civil right so gros and shameful, that every honest man should hang his head at the thought of it. No election comes round that I do not feel indignant that such injustice should be suffered to continue to mar our constitutional law. How can \$250 make a black man worthy of the franthow can \$250 make a black man worting of the fran-chies? Out upon such a paltry reason for any one to use this precious right of citizenship! Or make it cyual—if a black man must have a property qualifica-tion, then a white man must; though this would be to turn back the civilization of the world. No, this odious distinction of color must come to an end; and dispatch from Fortress Monroe, which says, that on Thursday morning, the entire fleet formed in two and "thrice sainted father" so are the same of the same o the principles of equality for which your ever honored and "thrice sainted father" so nobly contended in 1820 will ere long prevail. I shall be grievously disappointed if this is not one of the beneficent changes that you will be called upon to uphold in our Assembly the coming winter.

Closely allied to this question is that, whether col-

essembly the coming winter.

Closely allied to this question is that, whether colored men shall not be enrolled among the militia for the common defence of the State. Why should Irish-men, Frenchmen, Scotchmen, Italians, Austrians, Germans and Spaniards all have welcome, and admission into the army, when these native-born, loval colored Americans should alone be excluded? seems outrageous in the Government, either State or National, to refuse the arms and aid of these forty thousand free colored men in the North who offer them, so eagerly entreating to be allowed to assist in this mighty struggle against rebellion and despotism now going on in the land, to say nothing of the faithful allies that might be secured in the more than half million slaves capable of bearing arms. It is pitiful to see such proffered means to carry on the war repulsed while the flower of our young men are falling into soldiers' graves-such as the manly, enthusiastic Ellsworth, the brave and accomplished Winthrop the young Lieut. Putnam, of such fine promise, the heroic Lyon, and so many others whom the country

It is disgraceful to Massachusetts to keep back colcroops, who have disciplined themselves, while he ted young men, fresh from the culture of Har been the one unanimous call of Abolitionists for thirty years—"Abolish slavery to preserve and perpetuate the Union." This conviction we, as Abolitionists, have simed to instill into the minds of all—the government, the nation, the Union must perish, or elavery be abolished. The two cannot exist together. Slamate of our young friend Wendell Phillips Garrison,

very or the Union must die. Let this conviction set the upon the mind of the North. This is the testimony of the States now in rebellion. They seek to destroy the nation, because they deem its existence is opposed to slavery. This is the opinion of Abraham Lincotn, Wm. H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase. It is coming to be the earnest and unalterable conviction of the masses everywhere. The government, the Union, the Republic must be blotted from the map of the world, or slavery must be wiped out. Oh for a thousand lecturers of iron nerves, and stern granite hearts, and untiring zeal, to go all over the North, to deepen, mature, and make available this use grand issue forced upon the North by the South:

Dissolution or Abolition?

A few say, (Ex-Governor Seymour of New York being one.) Dissolve the Union rather than touch or abolish slavery; but nine out of ten say—Let slavery, perish, but save the Union. The South hates the Union, because, as they think, its tendency is to de-

work in the public mind till State Legislatures and Cabinet and President shall unite in advising and de recing the righteous end of Universal Em which is the only solution of our troubles that can bring us the favor of Heaven.

All this good work, I cannot doubt, it will be your

joy and happiness to promote, whether you serve the State at Albany this winter, which I earnestly hope and trust you will, or labor as a citizen in word and deed any where else.

so long and imperfect a letter; but I could ration so long and imperies a etcar; but I count not think of this election coming on without expressing my interest that a faithful, frank and high-souled representative like yourself should be secured to the important legislation demanded, by the great interests of Liberty and Justice in this hour of their peril, and t think of this election

ir hope. Very sincerely,

SPEECH OF MR. SUMNER.

HAVERHILL, (Mass.) Nov. 5, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR:

I feel very much obliged for the "first-rate notice" you give me in relation to the printing of my "Exra," containing the speech of Hon. Charles Summer.

I have already published two editions of a thousand, and scattered them broadcast, at home and abroad to a considerable extent in the army, as I have had opportunity. I never engaged in a work more heartily, and the "material aid and comfort" I have received from two of the leading and generous-hearted Abolitionists of this State (of either sex) has induced me to issue a third edition, enlarged and improved.

My intention is to give a correct abstract of the speech or address of Mr. Sumner, which he delivered in this town last Friday evening, to a brilliant and enthusias-tic audience of ladies and gentlemen, who were per-fectly entranced by his masterly eloquence; and in addition, I design to give apt and timely quotations from George Washington, Henry Clay, Daniel Web-ster, Wendell Phillips, W. L. Garrison, Dr. Channing, Dr. Cheever, the poet Whittier, and others; my o ject being to fortify Mr. Sumner in the godlike posi tion he has taken, and to deepen the "sacred ani ton it is tack, and we have the try "of all good men, women and youth against the "sum of all villanies," so that, as far as I can, I may create a feeling which shall aid in rendering it ssible ever to reinstate the Union, or make it of any "binding force," except in the utter extermination of the Satanic institution of slavery. The recen and an indefatigable energy, which have never pos sessed me before with such intensity, and I shall ob tain all the means I honestly can, and pursue the work in hand with all the vigor and ability the good Lord, good angels, good spirits, and good men and women will let me. If I had a fortune, however large, I would exhaust the last cent in the way I have large, I would exhaust the last cent in the way I have chosen, and in getting up petitions from the free States, especially from Massachusetts, which should meet Cougress at the very threshold of the session nearly upon us, and which should inspire Senator Summer to submit his Plan of Emancipation to that body at once, and give foundation and impulse for an immediate and triumphant vote in his favor. With a thorough circulation of the Emancipation

Petitions, it seems to me we might obtain an overwhelming majority of the people of this State to endorse it; and with such endorsement, and the presentation it would get from the hands of Mr. Sumne what Northern man would dare doom himself for ever to infamy by opposing it? And if passed, would the President dare refuse it his signature? I can hardly

think it. My dear Mr. Garrison, you have done nobly in this crisis. Some of your articles have stirred me up like a trumpet. May the God of heaven inspire your voice and pen to "eternal vigilance," and let us all pray and work unceasingly, until liberty is proclaimed to all men!

Respectfully, your friend, GEORGE K. RADCLIFFE.

N. B. Any person disposed to contribute to my any extent whatever, may address n at Haverhill, Mass. We will supply orders for the new edition at the rate of three cents a-piece; ten copies for twenty-five cents, and the same, in propor tion, for any larger number. Donations, however large or small, will be acceptable, and faithfully appro-priated in circulating "the truth forcibly spoken."

COMPLETE SUCCESS OF THE NAVAL EX-PEDITION—CAPTURE OF BEAUFORT! Three Steamers lost in the Gale—The Rebels flee, leaving

everything behind-Captured Cannon, Flags, &c.

everything behind—Captured Cannon, Flags, &c.

FORTRESS MONROE, Nov. 12. The steamer Bienville has just arrived at Old Point from the great expedition. She left Port Royal on Sunday morning, and brings cheering intelligence.

The gale encountered by the fleet was very severe. The Union and Oscoola went ashore and were lost, as previously reported. The Governor foundered at sea, but the Isaac T. Smith succeeded in saving all her crew, with the exception of a few marines.

The fleet arrived at Port Royal on Monday, the 4th instant.

instant.

raking Fort vanies of the Both forts responded vigorously. The Pawnee and Mohican for the time being, having got aground, were considerably damaged.

The bombardment lasted between four and five hours, when the rebel flag on Fort Walker came down The rebel loss is supposed to be 200. Gen. Dayton commanded at Fort Walker, and Col. Elliot at Fort

The rebel loas is supposed to be 200. Gen. Dayton commanded at Fort Walker, and Col. Elliot at Fort Rearregard.

The rebels retired across Skull Creek to a village, 25 miles in the interior, where it is apposed they intend to make a stand. The negroes had already begun to pillage and destroy Beaufort. The white population had fied to Charleston by small steamers by an inside route. Gen. Sherman has hundreds, perhaps thousands, of negro laborers.

There was a panic at Savannah, and it is believed its capture would be easy. It is understood that Gen. Sherman will improve the defences of his position before making any forward movement.

In the forts there was a large supply of ammunition and stores of the best description.

Commander Dupont will immediately survey the harbor and place buoys and erect lights, and the position will be made a permanent base of operation.

Every one entered into the fight with the determination that the forts should be silenced, though it cost our entire fleet. The fleet stood within between 800 and 1000 feet of the forts, used five-second fuses, and poured shells into them at the rate of 2000 per hour. Not a single shell sent by the rebels burst in a ship. The Wabash was struck several times, as was most of the feet, but every ship was in fighting condition when the rebels took to their heels.

The surgeon of Fort Walker was killed.

Raltimore, Nov. 12. From an Officer serviced from

BALTIMORS, Nov. 18. From an Officer artived from Old Point, we gather the following particulars:— None of our vessels were sunk. The Pawnee lost

ared more in-idiabled. A and damaged drawn barner Baker. Daniel S. Dickinson, in speak-ing to 10,000 in Brooklyn, last week, thus alluded to brave Col. Baker:—

igh the wall's room.

i's room.

sin mast badly injured by a round

The Wabsah had mammast usus supersors shot.

The Pocahontas had one man injured. The chief Engineer of the Mochican was killed, and an assistant badly wounded. Names not learned.

When our troops took possession of the forts, they found a flag of trues flying on Hilton Head. The rebels had mined the works, and then fixed the halyards of the flag so that when it should be drawn down, the mine could be sprung. But in this they were disappointed. The halyards sprung a mine in the house used by the officers, but did very little damage, and hurt no one. The magazine did not explode. A large quantity of powder was found in the forts, with a large amount of English ammunition and projectiles.

jectiles.

The Susquehanus had three wounded. Only a small partion of our wounded are considered seriously or dangerously hux. All the wounded are doing with the small the greater part will be sent home in a few days. The day after the fight, the Seneca and, two other gunboats under the command of Lleut. Ammer, promote under the command of Lleut. Ammer, pro-

creeded up to Beantort, and found but one white main the town, and he was drunk.

The final retreat of the rebels was a perfect route. They left everthing—arms and equipments of all kinds, even to the officers' awords and commissions. All the plantations up the river seemed to be described except by the negroes, who were seen in great numbers, and who, as the boats passed, came down to the shore with bundles in their hands, as if expecting to be taken off.

from one of the officers engaged in the bombardment;
"I am sure our success will rejoice your hearts. It
has been complete, and terror was over the whole
country. The negroes are wild, and plundering their
masters' houses. The whites have been driving the
negroes away by force and shooting them down, but
they still come to the gunboats.

The moment Gen. Drayton took to his borse, in the
panic of the 7th, his 200 servants went directly to the
Wabash. This is worthy of notice, as putting down
the nonsense that the slaves were ready to fight for
their masters. They surrounded Captain Ammen in
crowds at Beaufort; one of them calling out in the joy
of his heart, "I didn't think you could do it, massa."

FROM CAMP LYON.

A correspondent of the New York Tribune, writing Camp Lyon, Springfield, (Mo.) Oct. 31, says:

from Camp Lyon, Springfield, (Mo.) Oct. 31, says:—
A slave named Peter—an active, intelligent man, though black as Erebus—arrived here yesterday from the rebel army, after a somewhat peculiar experience. Peter is the joint property of Capt. Vaughan, a rebel in Price's army, and Capt. Bigby, a stanch Union citizen of this town. When Vaughan was leaving for the South, two weeks ago, he insisted upon taking his half of the chattel Peter along with him for a body servant. Capt. Bigby, of course, objected; but Vaughan had the power on his side, and carried away the negro-Peter, however, being, like all the slaves, on the Union side, found means to send to Capt. Bigby that he would embrace the first opportunity to run away, and return to him; and surely enough, at noon yesterday he was back again, with a horse, which he had ridden, without saddle, bridle, blanket, or spur—guiding him by a side, found means to sens to cape by the state reembrace the first opportunity to run away, and return
to him; and surely enough, at noon yesterday he was
back again, with a horse, which he had ridden, without saddle, bridle, blanket, or spur—guiding him by a
rope halter—all the way from Price's camp at Neesho,
more than eighty mite distant, since dusk on the previous
evening! It would be difficult to find a match for this
in all the instances of hard riding under adverse circomptances.

umstances.

Peter reports that Price's army, about 20,000 strong, was very unexpectedly attacked in the rear on Monday evening, by a force supposed to be that of Lane, and that in the confusion which followed, he selzed the first horse he could find, and without waiting to seek either saddle or britle, made the best of his way out of camp, while the fight was progressing. The story is hardly credible, for in order to be at Neesho, Lane must have marched eighty miles in two days.

ont of camp, while the fight was progressing. The story is hardly credible, for in order to be at Neosho, Lane must have marched eighty miles in two days, though he is just the man, with his little force, to turn up where he is both unexpected and unwelcome, to fall upon the rear of a great army, and after harassing it a while, make good his escape. Still, the truth probably is that Lane was not near Price's army, but that the affair was merely a causeless planic.

If half the reports which we receive from Lane's command are true, it will require several more modifications of Gen. Fremont's proclamation to make the Kanasa boys respect the inalienable right of Secssionists to hold the negro in bondage. A friend who has just returned from Lane's brigade informs me that there were 150 negroes with it, and was told there that 100 had been sent to Kanasa a few days before. As for this command, it is remarkable that negro servants are a good deal more numerous than they were when we left St. Louis, and I have not head, as yet, of General Fremont's engaging in the business of slave-catching. Yesterday morning a Secessionist came into our camp, and claimed a negro who is acting as body servant to Col. Owen Lovejoy of the staff—which was about as near the climar of absurdity as it is possible to arrive. Col. Lovejoy quietly advised him to leave the camp by the shortest possible road—and the gentleman left! "I would return a slave—certainly"—remarked the Colonel afterward—"if I found any man who owned him."

Our latest reports from the enemy seem to indicate

Our latest reports from the enemy seem to indicate that it is his intention to give us battle. If we do not meet him before the various divisions of our army unite (and they are all rapidly coming up), there is no reasonable ground of fear for the result. The slow movement of our rear divisions is owing altogether to their difficulty in obtaining transportation, and that difficulty is solely attributable to the policy which has been pursued toward Gen. Fremont. As long as he was merely neglected, he procured whatever was needed for the vigorous prosecution of the war wherever he could find it; but since for that inattention has been substituted the injustice of impugning his integrity, destroying his credit, and tying his hands, he is restricted in obtaining the most of his supplies to the long and devious ways of red tape. Still, in spite of all the difficulties and embarrassments thrown in his way, and the outrageous imputations which have been all the difficulties and embarrassments thrown in his way, and the outrageous imputations which have been cast upon him, he goes straight forward in the work to which his country called him, turning neither to the tright hand nor to the left. Already he has driven the rebels down into one cor-ner of the State, routed them where they have me

right hand nor to the left.

Already he has driven the rebels down into one corner of the State, routed them where they have met his forces since he took the field; and his column is now further South than any other along our whole line between the loyal and rebel States. In view of the resources at his command, he is accomplishing wonders in collecting and bringing forward his army, and whenever it all arrives here, it will be in a condition to march anywhere. He is likely soon to encounter the main body of the enemy. The rank and file of his army love and believe in Fremont with an enthusiasm which few at a distance can appreciate, and, in spite of all his difficulties, I believe he will drive the fee far down into the enemy's country, or scatter it hopelessly to the four winds. Let no one suppose because he does not now turn aside to notice the attacks which have been made upon him, that they will always remain unanswered. Now, while he is in the field, within two days' march of the enemy, the country demands his entire efforts and attention; but I have the most abiding faith that time will develop the utter injustice of the petty warfare waged upon him, disgraceful to those who are engaged in it, and treasonable to our common cause.

The removal of General Fremont has excited wide-spread indignation. He arrived in St. Louis on Friday from Springfield. Immense crowds turned out to meet him, and his reception was a perfect ovation. An address of welcome was tendered to him, to which he made a brief but felicitous reply as follows:

to which he made a brief but felicitous reply as follows:

"Gentlemen: I wish to say to you that your kind
and affectionate—I may even say affectionate—reception of me moves my heart. It cheers me and
strengthens my confidence—my confidence, already
somewhat wavering—in our republican institutions.
I felt all day, as we passed through the country—I
feel emphatically to-night—that the faithful servant
of the people, honestly laboring in the public cause,
will not be allowed to suffer undeserved, and I feel
stronger.

of sue people, norsely will not be allowed to suffer undeserved, and I feel stronger.

Since I left you a few weeks ago, many accusations have been rained upon my defenceless head—defenceless, because my head was turned to the public enemy. What I see and hear to-night, the address you have just read to me, and the approving multitude below, show me that I was not wrong in leaving my defence with you. In regard to the baser charges made against me, I will say nothing now. You do not regainst me, I will say nothing now. You do not regainst me, I will say nothing now. You do not regainst me, I will say nothing now. You do not regainst me, I will say nothing now. You do not regain to the baser of the grand provided the support of the grand and to speak of them would jar upon the generous feelings with which you come here to-night. Others have been already answered by my brave soldiers at Springfield; and others, of gross incompetency and a week and samless administration, to all of these I will adopt your address, and the shouts of the grand multitude assembled below as my answer. And for all this, gentlemen, to you and to them, I renew my thanks with all my heart, which, to-night, is roused to full sensibility by the hearty and unqualified expression of your confidence and approbation, so valuable and grateful to me in my actual position.

I shall soon have occasion, for I shall make occasion, to answer all the charges against me more definitely. Until then, I will rely upon this evening for my defence." what I see and hear to night, the address you have just read to me, and the approving multitude below, show me that I was not wrong in leaving my defence with you. In regard to the baser charges made a gainst me, I will say nothing now. You do not require it; and to speak of them would jux upon the generous feelings with which you come here to night. Others have been already answered by my brave soldiers at Springfield; and others, of gross inconnected at Springfield; and others, of gross inconnected at Springfield; and others, of gross inconnected at the season of the grand millitude assembled below, as my answer. And for all this, gentlemen, to you and to them, I renew my thanks with all my heart, which, to night, is roused to full sensibility by the hearty and unqualified expression of your confidence and approbation, so variable and grantful to me in my actual position.

I shall soon have occasion, for I shall make occasion, to answer all the charges against me more definitely. Until then, I will rely upon this evening for my defence."

The Potomac is blockaded, and all communication by water with the Capital of the Sation is cut off! This right under the eyes of the Grand Armyl Mennime we are directed to look away to Missouri for "incompetence"!

he was stronger than a lion! and the very soul of bravery and manly daring. He spoke by my side at the Union-square meeting in April, and his words of fiery and patriotic eloquence yet ring upon my ear. And has that noble heart ceased to throb—that pulse to play? Has that beaming eye been closed in death? Has that tongue of eloquence been silenced forever? Yes, but he has died in the cause of humanity: "Whether on the scaffold high, Or in the army's van. 'Whether on the scaffold high,
Or in the army's van,
The fitteet place for man to die,
Is, where he dies for man.'
Of foreign birth, he laid down his life for the land
of his adoption. Let native-born traitors contemplate
the picture with what composure they can."

"Destroyed by Fire"—" Great Falls, N. H., Nocember 2d. The Blanket Mill, &c., of William Hill, at North Berwick; Maine, was destroyed by fire this morning. The loss is 880,000—insured. The mill was engaged in making blankets for the army."

"Alas, poor Baker! He was swifter the

was engaged in making blankets for the army."

So reads a telegram in the daily papers of yesterday. Every day or two amouncements of a similar character are male, and in every instance it is stated that the mill was engaged in making work or goods for the Government. Craig's Mill, in Philadelphia, burned less than a week ago, was so engaged, and Solm's Mill, in Manayumk, partly destroyed, two weeks ago, was similarly occupied. And so all over the country, wherever a Mill or Works of any kind are destroyed by fire, they are engaged in "work for the Government." Can this be accident—fatality—or is it a purpose to cripple the arm of the Government by those who are worse than the traitors who employ them? Let the parties interested look to their Mills, and know who they have about them.—Norristons Free Press.

The New York Evening Post chronicles the

"It is related by one of the dispatches from the battle-field at Edwards's Ferry, that when our brave boys were trying to make their way from the trap into which they had been foolishly led, back across the Potomac, a poor negro with a small skiff employed himself the whole night in ferrying over the fugitives. He succeeded, in this way, in saving the lives, or so-curing the escape at least, of no less than one hundred persons. His master was, all the while, probably, on the Virginia shore trying to send a Minnie ball into the hearts of our men.

Now, as the 'service' of this follow did not belong to himself, but his master, what right had he to lend his labor to our suffering soldiers! Was he not defrauding his owner! Will not some of our Generals insist upon 'delivering him up,' to be properly punished for so audacious a use of his muscles! Of course, no one will be so insane as to propose that he should be emancipated for this timely rescue of so many loyal troops. That would be abolitionism; that would be confessing that negroes are men, and entitled to decent respect."

"The Columbus (Ohio) Fact, a leading Breck-inridge journal, thus boldly declares its opinion touching slavery and the war:—

"This Government cannot conquer the rebels with the same army with which it protects slavery, and none but boobies think it can—none but traitors think it ought. The best intention of our Generals toward the rebel States and their 'cherished institution' will fail them, when they find themselves harased in front and rear by the Slave Power, and then will come the 'military necessity' for acting in the premises, as General Fremont would have acted in Missouri, if left to exercise his own sagacious judgment. For everything there is a time and a season, and the rebels have anticipated, by their treason, an event that might otherwise have been postponed a hundred years. They have raised an issue that will result in one of two ways: either slavery or the Union must go to the wall."

The Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative says "Slaves began coming into camp as soon as Lane left Westport. Not a day passes without a practical exemplification of the lie, that the slaves are contented."
A black brigade, consisting of over 150 recent chattels, came out of Missouri on Friday last. They are well mounted, and have a good supply train. Their untimely departure has created no little excitement in the districts they are engaged in bleaching out. Lancontinues to give 'vouchers' to such owners as are proved to be Union men, stating that such a slave, valued at so much, was 'lost by the march of my brigade.' A few days ago, the General called claimant and claimed before him, and asked the latter, 'George, do you want to go back with your master?' 'No! Gen'!, I naves goes beck;' and darkey was gent back to camp, while disgusted 'secesh' went to his farm a madder and cheaper (by \$1000) man."

madder and cheaper (by \$1000) man."

THE DAMNING DRED IS DONE! Fremont is removed,—deprived of his command just upon the eve of a battle. His utmost efforts were exerted to prevent his officers from resigning, and the soldiers from laying down their arms and leaving the field. Thus the only energetic and efficient general we have had, (judging from their acts.) is sacrificed for his love of freedom, and opposition to human bondage. If the people endure this, they are only fit for slaves them selves.—Syracuse State League.

Escape of Slaves to Philadelphia. seven contraband negroes came to Philadelphia during Tuesday night last, having walked northward from Accomac county, on the penisusla, Virginia. They were supplied with money by the Wisconsin troops. Numbers of these people are constantly arriving which has stimulated a public meeting, to be held in the city next week, to assist them.

the city next week, to assist them.

27 After the battle of Fredericktown, Mo., in which Jeff. Thompson was so completely routed by the Illinois boys, a number of the slain secesh found on the field were recopized as men who had been released on parole not long before. Several dead and wounded rebels were also recognized by different persons as men who had heretofore pretended to be strong for the Union. They met the fate their treachery and treason richly merited.—Chicago Tribune.

treason richly mented.—Unicago Iribine.

The Secretary of the War Department has received an official telegram concerning the battle at Belmont, Mo., which generally confirms the newspaper statements. It says that Col. Bieliskie, of Gen. McClernand's Staff, was killed, and among other particulars, that the Federal forces fought all the way into the camp of the enemy, immediately under the guns of Columbus, spiked two of the guns and brought away two, together with two hundred prisoners. The Federal loss is stated at three hundred, and that of the enemy much heavier.

PARIS, Ky., Nov. 12. The courier messenger with dispatches to Gen. Thomas, reports two days fighting, with a rebel loss of 400 killed, and 2000 prisoners. The Union loss is small. Generals Williams and Howe were captured in the battle by General Nelson. This is transported.

not now turn saide to notice the attacks which have been made upon him, that they will always remain unanswered. Now, while he is in the field, within two days' march of the enemy, the country demands his entire efforts and attention; but I have the most abiding faith that time will develop the utter injustice of the petty warfare waged upon him, disgraceful to those who are engaged in it, and treasonable to our common cause.

OVATION TO GEN. FREMONT AT ST. LOUIS.

The removal of General France treasured to the petty warfare waged upon him, dispraceful to those who are engaged in it, and treasonable to our common cause.

OVATION TO GEN. FREMONT AT ST. LOUIS.

had only six men wounded, all slightly!

"It is stated that the rebels fought very bravely and desperately, and though vigorously pursued, continued to turn and fire. The command returned to St. Joseph's on Saturday in high spirits."

The editor of the Wheeling News, writing from Charlestown, Va., Oct. 15th, says:—

Charlestown, Va., Oct. 16th, says —

"The prisoners recently released by the Confederates at Roanoke, and now here, narrate most digusting details of the manner in which they were brutally treated by those who arrested and guarded them. They averaged two meals of rice, coffice, half-cooked corn, and cold cabbage and water in six hours, and then fasting for the remaining eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. And in several cases old and inoffensive men were knocked down and jumped upon. Almost everywhere they were advertised as d—d blue bellied Abolitionists and Yankee sons of ——, and the people invited out of their houses to look at them as beasts of show."

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

for the Annual Subscription

The time for the ARNULI SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVER-SART again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolition-ists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light, the subscript in the same pare that it was thirty years. completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish she flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes nearing events, and reflects upon who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the

pended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary re-bellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as it he remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oll-garchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idle, were presented to them they polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who

are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that
"a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as

well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious ions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do All those who have faith in the principles of free iom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the snal time and place in Boston, in January next.

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

Mary Willey,

Ann Rebecca Bramhall,

Sarah P. Remond,

Elizabeth Von Arnim,

Anne Langdon Alger,

Mary Elizabeth Sargent,

Sarah C. Atkinson,

Mary Jane Parkman,

Mary E. Stearns,

Sarah J. Nowell.

Eliza Apthorp, Sarah Cowing, Sarah H. Southwick,

Abby Francis,

L. Maria Child, Mary May, Henrietta Sargent Sarah Russell May, Helen Eliza Garrison, Anna Shaw Greene, Sqrah Blake Shaw, Caroline Thayer, Abby Kelley Foster, Lydia D. Parker, Augusta G. King, Mattie Griffith, Mary Jackson, Evelina A. Smith, Evelina A. Smith, Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stepher Elizabeth Gay.

FRATERNITY LECTURES. FOURTH SERIES.

The public of Boston and vicinity are ned that the Fourth Series of FRATERNITY LEC-TURES continue weekly at TREMONT TEMPLE.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Nov. 19, will be by " WILLIAM R. ALGER.

To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by 10 be followed on saccessive I DESDAY EVEN.

November 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLÂSS.

" 10—DANIEL S. DICKINSON.

" 17—EDWIN H. CHAPIN.

" 24-EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 31-WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.

January 7.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Doors to be opened at 6 1-2 o'clock. Lectures to conceed at 7 1-2 o'clock, precisely.

EF A: T. FOSS will speak in Portsmouth, N. H., New Market, " Buxton, Me., Portland, " Sunday, Nov. 17. Monday, "18. Thursday, "21. Sunday, "24.

TERMS REDUCED.

Over four hundred cases of spinal disease, paralysis and loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various sures have been made of various stubborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given the Turkish Chemical and ofther Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desires as to receive heme.

ular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional isitis, travelling expenses being raid, without charge.

Northampton, Oct. 30. Woman's Rights under the Law.

THREE Locinies delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Mrs. C. H. Dell.
I. The Orionial Estimate and the French Law,
III. The Shgith Common Law,
III. The United States Law, and some Thoughts on Huwan Birkhi.

16mo., cloth, 63 ets. Published by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston

Uniform with
Weman's Right to Labor, 63 etc.
Practical Illustrations of the same, 63 etc.
Historical Pictures Reducished, \$1.00.
All of which are sent free by mail on receipt of the price,
Oct. 25—312.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and H AVE opened as office at 174 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the breakment of the diseases. Office Hours, rota 10, A; No, to 4, P M. Boston, Out 4, 1801.

THE most able and brilliant book, called forth by the present struggle, is

THE REJECTED STONE: Or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America.
By a Native of Virginia. 12mo., Sexible corres—50 cts.
Published, and sent free by mail, on receipt of the price,
WALKER, WIEF & CO.,
Oct. 25—314s 245 Washington street, Bestom.

Boetry.

IS THERE HOPE?

When I pender in secret communion
With my conscience that pleads for the right,
I ask not, is there hope for the "Union,"
That hath trampled on man in its might!

Ah, no! let the Union perish,
If it serves but to rivet the chain:
If the hopes that Humanity cherish
Must bear disappointment again!

After all War's confusion and terror,
Oh God! must the slave suffer long?
Shall the Truth never triumph o'er Error?
Shall the Right never triumph o'er Wrong?

Is there hope for a brother now pleading The wreck of his manhood to save? s there hope for the scourged and the bleeding? Is there hope for the down-trodden slave?

Andover, Mass., Nov. 6. Richard Hinchiclippe.

LINES ON A PICTURE.

Yes, there he is—just where the glorious boy Touches the top of manhood's earliest prin Yet we see more than youth's exuberant joy Here's the awakening spirit of the time. Not seventy-six, but sixty-one—to be
The birth-place of a higher chivalry
Than those first days when Freedom's clarion bold
Aroused the Western world, and shook the Old.

Look at the promise, in those youthful eyes,
of thoughtful daring, and of high emprise!
How grand! As if it were some prophet's seroil,
That face unseals the volume of the soul.
But what is best—the future here we read
By the strong light of valor's maiden deed.
That eye hath seen the battle's fearful strife— The fiery baptism of the warrior's life-The first papers of the warr's income The crimson field of glory's agony, Th' heroic strife, the maddening extaoy; The bloody moil; for loyal rights begun, Reneath the sweetness of a Sabbath sun. Ah! who the surging of the soul can tell Ah! who the surging of the soul can tell, When dead and wounded comrades round thee fell? Thou who didst follow with a heart so brave, Thy only thought was victory or a grave. Oh, reverence the Hand that turned away. The messengers of death from thee that day; Give Him th' imperilled heart that would have died, Had He not borne thee o'er the battle's tide.

Our cause asks purest light from Christinn men, To pleree the tenfold night round Slavery's den; The very flashing of whose sword should be The day-spring of a perfect liberty; And in its riving force the battle's thundar Live freedom from dead slavery should No carnal weapons these-serenely bold, Mighty through God to take the giant's hold.

Oh! when the flowering sod blooms over me, May the dear lad, whose semblance here I see, Ripened in form and soul to manly grace, Redeem the early promise of that face; Worthy in life's best conflict to engage, And lead th' advancing spirit of the age !

From Chamber's Journal COMING HOME.

O, brothers and sisters, growing old, Do you all remember yet That hour, in the shade of the rustling trees, Where once in our household met?

Do you know how we used to come from school, Through the summer's pleasant heat, With the yellow fennel's golden dust On our tired little feet?

And how sometimes, in an idle mood, We lottered by the way,
And stopped in the woods to gather flowers,
And in the fields to play—

Till warned by the deep'ning shadows' fall, -That told of the coming night, We climbed to the top of the last, long hill, And saw our home in sight?

And, brothers and sisters, older now Than she who's life is o'er,
Do you think of the mother's loving face,
That looked from the open door?

Alas, for the changing things of time,

And that loving smile was hid from us, In the darkness, long ago!

And we have come to life's last hill, From which our weary eyes Can almost look on that home that shines So, brothers and sisters, as we go,

Still let us move as one,
Always together keeping step,
Till the march of life is done!

For that mother, who waited for us here, Wearing a smile so sweet,

Now waits on the hills of paradise

For her children's coming feet!

PHICER CARY.

THE HEART'S GUESTS.

When age has cast its shadows
O'er life's declining way,
And the evening twilight gathers Round our departing day.

Then we shall sit and ponder
On the dim and shadowy past;
Within the heart's still chamber The guests will gather fast.

The friends in youth we cherished As in the days of yere They may be young and fair, But the heart will have its chamber, The guests shall gather there.

How shall it be, my sisters? Who, then, shall be our gr How shall it be, my broth In accents soft and low, Then hear familiar voice

And words of long ago? Shall we not see dear face Sweet smiling as of old, Till the mists of that still ch

Are sunset clouds of gold,-When age has cast its shadows
O'er life's declining way,
And the evening twilight gathers
Round our departing day?

THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW.

BY WILLIAM B. FOWLE.

Restore the Fugitive! Ay, when The Sen of God descends again The Sen of God descends again, And bids me never more to do As I would fain be done unto

Restore the Fugitive! I will When God's own voice in man is still, And wrong is right by God's decree, And light and air ne longer free.

Restore the Fugitive! No, ne'er While I've a home, a shelter, where The persecuted one may bide, Castle or grave, and side by side.

Restore the Fugitive! The law Is like the cords that Samson were, And nature, were each thread a chain Would map a thousand such in twaln.

The Liberator.

WHO ARE THE INFIDELS? No. L.

mouth. By it the slaveholder rides us over the great self-evident truth on which our nationality is profession. It is seems to me that no word, as applied to men in these latter days, is more grossly perverted than is the word "infidel." It is generally considered a term of reproach, and is therefore frequently used for the purpose of injuring or destroying the character and influence of the persons to whom it is applied. Let any one be openly acceused of infidelity, and the pullic do not stop to inquire what is means by the acceusition; or whether is is well-founded or not; or by what motives, or with what designs, those who make it actuated. Without hesitation they take it for granted that the accused is a scoffer at all religion, is a person of bad principles and bad morals, and should be shumed as an enemy of his race and a dangerous member of society. They consider it wicked to give him even a hearing in explanation of his sentiments, or of the reasons which have induced him to embrace them. He is prejudged and condemned upon a mere rumor, and often a calumnious one. If the public are rightly informed in respect to the reckless and improper manner in which the charge of infidelity is often brought against some of the most self-denying philanthropists and reformers, and most estimable men and women in the country, it would cease to be, in their estimation, a term of reproach; but they would rather consider it as greatly to their credit that they are infidel to some of the unscriptural opinions and sinful practices which have gained a fearful and wide-spread currency in the church and the nation.

Let us see, for a moment, how the word infidel is extensively used and applied, and what alone, in rull, is meant by it, as thus used and applied. Mohammed and the prophet of God; in the Koran as an inspired book; or in the rites of Mohammedans the prophet of God; in the Koran as an inspired book; or in the rites of Mohammedans infidels, because they do not believe in Jesus Christ as infideles, because they do not By the late Rev. J. P. Fessenden, of S. Bridgeton, Me.

Let us see, for a moment, how the word infidel is extensively used and applied, and what alone, in truth, is meant by it, as thus used and applied. Mohammedons call Christians infidels, because they do not believe in the Mohammedan religion; in Mohammed as the prophet of God; in the Koran as an inspired book; or in the rites of Mohammedanism as in accordance with the divine will. Christians call Mohammedanis infidels, because they do not believe in Jesus Christ as the calls. Sexient in our Bible as a revelation from the only Savior, in our Bible as a revelation from Heaven, and the only infallible rule of faith and morals; and in the rites and practices of the Christian church. henceforth, be as they have a right to be, equal t yours; but, since you conscientiously believe you have a right to continue plundering them, we will not only protect you in holding all you and your ancestors The term infidel is applied by Catholics to Protestants, secause they do not believe in the Pope as God's vice gerent upon earth; in the Catholic church as the true and only church of Christ, without the pale of which, have taken from them, but we will settle upon you ar annuity as compensation for being deprived of the privilege of continuing this robbery; and we will tax ourselves with B's family, whom we will turn out salvation for any one is impossible. And Protestants apply it to the Catholics, because they exalt the Pope into the place of the Savior, pervert the Scriptures, and are guilty of the most gross superstitions a And various Protestant sects accuse each other of infidelity, because one differs from another in its views of the character of God and the Savior, it has passed through, or who honestly thinks he has a right to it. Nor is "remuneration" thought of. But, here a man is stolen, and nobody is honest in and of the Bible and its teachings. Thus Orthod Christians often call Universalists and Unitarians infipurchasing him; for the truth is self-evident, that he has an inaliceable right to himself, and can never be property, except by robbery—and now shall the nation, whose first Declaration asserted this inalicnadels, because the former believe that the Scriptures teach the doctrine of the final salvation of all men, and the latter deny that they teach the doctrines of total depravity, the trinity, the supreme divinity and vica-rious atonement of our Savior, and the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit. And there is doubtless among evangetical Christians a great discrepancy in their views concerning the inspiration of the Scripble right, "remunerate" the thief who claims hith, has been wronged, been plundered of all the proceeds of his labor for many years, perhaps for several gen-erations—for each is an heir to the proceeds of his an-cestors' labors. These proceeds make up the proper-ty of the present actual robber. Now is this injured tures, the Christian Sabbath, and the church and ministry as at present constituted, and in respect to many other doctrines and duties of Christianity. Some be lieve in what is called the plenary inspiration of the Bible; that every sentence, word, syllable and letter, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Reveladegraded, with no thought of ever restoring to him that which has been plundered from him, while the plunderer is to be "compensated" for the loss of his victim ! Shame! shame on the nation that does this! tion, is inspired by the Spirit of God. Others do not Some hold that the Christian takes the so believe. Some hold that the Christian takes hie place of the Jewish Sabbath by Divine appointment. Others dissent from this opinion. Some maintain that the evangelical ministry, and church in its various legitimately by inheritance, and you have accumulated a handsome property: but we think your victims have a right to protection, and we shall take them from you; but, seeing that you conscientiously follow this business—have no other means of living—we will not only allow you to carry off and hold this branches, are institutions of God, and, as such, ought to be respected and reverenced. Others do not so re-gard them. And if these evangolical Christians were as liberal in applying the term infidel to each other on account of differences of opinion in respect to the sub-ject of religion, as they are in applying it to those who dissent from their creed, infidels in great num-bers would every where be found in their own ranks. Indeed, if the word, as now generally used, is proper-ly applied, I see not how any mortal in all Christen-dom can plead not guilty to the charge of being an infidel; for I very much doubt whether, on examination, there can be found any two persons whose views exactly coincide in every particular in regard to God and the Savior, the inspiration of the Bible, the Sabbath, or, in fact, any of the doctrines and precepts of revelation. If two such persons are nowhere to be found, then each one must be, in respect to some points of religious faith, an unbeliever, in regard to which the other is a believer, and each one is, therefore, in reference to the other, an infidel. As the word infidel is now commonly used, all that can be meant by it, in truth, is, that the person to whom it is applied is an unbeliever in respect to some of the dogmas which are generally held by those who are denominated evangelical Christians. He does not believe as they profess to believe, it may be, in reference to the plen ary inspiration of the Bible, the Christian Sabbath. some of the doctrines and duties of revelation, and the divine institution of the ministry and church as they now exist in the world. They will not pretend that the accused person is a "pagan" and a "miscreant," (two of the words used by Dr. Johnson in his defini (two of the words used by Dr. Johnson in his defini-tion of an infidel,) although, for the purpose of blasting his reputation and destroying his influence, they would his reputation and destroying his innuence, they would be glad to have the public, who do not know him, believe him to be both. They will not say that he is "one who rejects all revealed religion," one who rejects Christianity," for such an accusation could be easily shown to be untrue. All, therefore, that can, in truth, be meant by the accusation, is, that the accused person does not subscribe to all the articles of the receds of Orthodox Christians. As a section of the creeds of Orthodox Christians. As a specimen of the ry cause, away up here in Vermont, we had many loose way in which the term infidel is applied, I will whitewashed clerical hypocrites, who refused to give

d man there is

against this much abused man, there is one, mentioned by our Savior to his disciples, which he certainly will escape—the woe of having all men speak well of him. For years, not only secular, but religious papers,

charge our nis own positive assertion. I ask the pri-vilege of mentioning a few things in reference to the prevailing opinions of Orthodox ministers and church-es of this country, in respect to which Mr. Garrison is an infidel; and also a few other things, in respect to which he is not an infidel.

A DISAPPOINTMENT. Editor of the Liberator and and one or two examples of the manner in which the charge of infidelity is preferred against Mr. Garrison. How many soever woes may be denounced grinding under the iron heel of slavery of a few miltoo little importance to disturb the worshipper many of whom, like themselves, might be suspec-For years, not only secular, but religious papers, et of abolition taint at the mere mention of slavery; under the direction of evangelical ministers, have persisted in iterating and reiterating the cry of Bennett's Herald, the Journal of Commerce, and the New York Observer, that Mr. Garrison is an infidel, without having the frankness and honesty of informing the public in what his infidelity consists, or attempting to prove, from what he has said, the truth of the accuown country. But it is so long since we have heard of such a case, that we really supposed that all the graded class." Recently, in an editorial of the Maine Evangelist, the writer says, "That Mr. Garrison has for years openly denied the Divine Authority of the Bible, is abundantly evident from his open." for years openly denied the Divine Authority of the Bible, is abundantly evident from his own writings."

He does not quote a word from the writings of the man whom he thus accuses in proof of the accusation whom he was accused in sweeping and positive the proof of the accusation o language, and sets it in motion to do whatever mischief it may be able to accomplish. The reader will perceive that the charge is broad and unequivected. If it be true, and "abundantly evident from his own writings," it would have been very easy for his secure to have established it beyond controversy, by a few fair quotations from these writings. This, however, he has not done. There is no proof of the charge but his own positive assertion. I ask the pri-

maked, to pay you these annual instalments."

When Dick Smith steals a horse, and sells him to an honest man, the "owner" takes his property

nan to be simply turned out naked, robbed, abused,

Suppose our courts say to a gang of burglars, "You have lived by this business, which you came into

plunder which A, B & Co., your victims, identify as theirs, but we will remunerate you for being de-prived of this great source of livelihood." Were my

brother captured by a savage tribe, or by any band of kidnappers, I should be justified in buying his free-dom on the sole ground that this would be my only means of recovering him, and I should in that case

make no acknowledgment of the right of property in man, or of the right to hold him captive. It would be α case of duress where the act of the parties un-

der restraint could not be considered as acknowl

edging anything. But in this case of American slavery, the party whose action we are now considering is the strong, the free, the all-potent party—and any

act, while it is such, must be considered voluntary. If it "remunerates" the slaveholder, it acknowledges, necessarily acknowledges, the "right of property in man," for it "remunerates" in consideration of taking

away this property. This "right of property in man" was what the framers of the Constitution dared not admit into the instrument. It is an act which will forever tell against the integrity of the nation,

and almost infinitely demoralize us. We must no allow it for the world; we can suffer the destruction

of all property, and pour out our blood to any extent; but this more than sacrifice, this final and most blas-

phemous blow at the sacred rights of man, no policy can justify, no immediate well-being can compensate for it. Rather let us all go into slavery, or die nobly

for it. Rather ict us and he in the cause of truth and liberty.

J. H. FOWLER.

where he finds it, no matter how many honest

P. S. It now appears, by a letter from Mr. Foss hat he had no notice of the meeting.

The complaint against Gen. Fremont that he an innost; and also a lew other things, in respect to which he is not an infidel.

Having been an attentive reader of the Liberator for twenty years, perhaps I have had as good an opportunity of learning the Editor's religious sentiments as those who have relied on common rumor in forming their opinions concerning them.

The idea of property in man is the end of the chain about our own necks. It drags us into the support of the cursed thing we loathe, It is the bit in our mouth. By it the slaveholder rides us over the great self-evident ruth on which our nationality is professedly based. Why is the chain so tough that a million of men to-day in the field of red-hot civil war necks as inverse its new its Not, that we do not

name to thought. I need not speak of the mode of cultivating the feelings—either such as relate to finite objects or the "feelings infinite" which relate to God.

We refer to the clearness of statement. If you have something to say, a good deal of your success will depend on the amount of the matter. It is a good plan to put the least important first, and the most important last of all. Thus there is a continual ascension and progress of thought. The speaker runs up hill, and takes his hearer to higher ground at every step. In the expression of the thought, the shortest way is generally best, and it is better to state one thing once, and no more; the good marksman hits the mark at the first shot, and then puts up his piece, the bungler misses it, and blazes away the second and third time. Things well known require no illustration, except for beauty and the delight it gives; things new or abstrues, and hard to grasp, require illustrative figures, &c. It is better to use definite than indefinite terms, to say a man, and not an individual or a human being. I love specific terms, such as Thomas or Ellen, and a men or woman.

It is a good plan before writing anything to think over the subject, and see what you know about it, then to make a plan of your work, putting down the points you intend to make in their order, and under them the propositions, the proofs, illustrations, facts, &c. Time spent in the plan is time saved in filling it up. Then in writing—a tired man cannot write so well as a man not tired; a sleepy man, an unwilling man cannot write well—he will have sleepy readers (or hearers), and unwilling ones. Good, plain words are commonly the best, not fustic and yet not mere literary and dictionary words; the language should be chaste, and not vulgar.

In the mode of delivery—there is little difficulty. If you have felt with vigor, and thought with vigor, we will write so too, and must speak with vigor. The best way that I know is to speak divinctly and in the natural tones of voice—in the tones of conversa

familiar with your manuscript. A man that never lifts his nose from his notes cannot interest an audience much. About gestures—I cannot give much advice—to some men they are natural and useful; to others, not at all. Nature is the guide. Commonly the gesture ought to precede the word it is to illustrate. "Look there!" says a little boy, and points to the sun. But he begins to point before he begins to speak: such is the method of nature. You will see that I find the chief helps to an impressive mode of speech in the man, and not out of him. There are no tricks in real cloquence; they belong to the stage, not the pulpit—nay, only the low practice of the stage. The best books that I know are Campbell's Philosophy of Rheteric and Whately's Rhetoric. Maury, Part 1st, Eloquence is good. It is well to read the works of great Orators, (Webster, the greatest master of Orators in the world,) Burke, North, Taylor, &c. The arguments of lawyers will help you much: you will find them in celebrated trials, in "State trials," for example—those from the time of James 1st to James 2d are full of such things as I refer to. The study of poets is a great help, both to the thought and the form of expression. Shakespeare is a valuable ally. If you read Greek easily—then Homer and Æschylus will help you much. But a personal acquaintance with the Bible will be of incalculable gid. No book will so help the development of the religious feelings, no poetry; then it is a great mine of illustration, because it is the only book that is known to everybody. You see how Jesus illustrates his great truths by reference to common things before the eyes of the public, and to the common events of the day. I have written you a very long letter.

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ERATOR.

HOW TO THINK, WRITE, AND SPEAK WELL

AS THE CHARGE OF Barmer of Libelt—Enclosed

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James of Barmer of Libelt—Enclosed

James of Libert from this boys man, Theodore

Parker. I believe it has never before appeared in

pria. He addresses are as a minister, and the libert of the liber

THE DEVASTATION AT HATTERAS INLET BY THE GALE OF LAST WEEK.

are quartered), some three miles above For Hatteras, was also much damaged by this storm. Their large hospital, some sixty by forty feet, was carried away; the sick, however, were saved. They lost nearly all their provisions, and many other store. Camp Bailey, seven miles up the island, where Camp Bailey, seven miles up the island, where Camp Bailey, with a portion of the land Regiment, is stationed, has, I learn, escaped with but little lost, they being on a higher piont of land which is strongly fortified. Six companies of this regiment left Fort Clark to-day for Camp Bailey, learn, will also abandon this dilapidated and crumbling fortified for three companies at Fort Clark, who, I learn, will also abandon this dilapidated and crumbling fortified time to the morrow, and doubtless they will be fallowed soon by the regulars now stationed at Hatteras. Camp Bailey, or Fort Bailey, is the best place on the island to make a stand and resist an attack from the enemy, which is now momentarily expected."

THE PRO-SLAVERY PRESS.

It is not a little remarkable that the pro-slavery papers which, a few months ago, were most bitter against the President, are now londest in his praise. The Express and Herald, transformed into loyally attreats of popular violence; the Jougust of Commer, excluded from the mails as a propagator of tressor; and the World, which boasted its antagonism to the Republican ticket, are now the main supporter of the administration and its measures. This is but a specimen of the change that is going on throughout the country. The President, having thrown binned into the arms of pro-slavery advisers, will beneforth find his warmest supporters in the ranks of those who voted against him. That a ruler who was so universally popular, at the time of his inaquration, will into the arms of pro-slavery advisers, will henceford find his warmest supporters in the ranks of these who voted against him. That a rale who was so universally popular, at the time of his inauguration, with his own party, should in six months have alienated half his admirers, and supplied their places with never recruits drawn from among his opponents, would seem to argue either that he has been untrue to his avowed principles, or that he has been untrue to his avowed principles, or that he has been untrue to his avowed principles, or that he has been untrue to his avowed principles, or that he has been misunderstood, both by his friends and his neemies. Whether he will, by his lenineey in dealing with the enemies of his country, win over the South, as he has won over the pro-slavery Democracy of the North, remains to be seen. If the care he has shown and is now showing for their peculiar institution does not satisfy the malcontents, it is difficult to see what could satisfy them short of his formal abdication. Meantime, his new culogizers are becoming as bold in their advocacy of slavery as they were in their palmiest days of power. Their sympathies with rebeldom can scarcely be concealed, and if or city were to be invaded by the Southern army to her working the country when we have accepted as a concealed, and if or city were to be invaded by the Southern army to morrow, they would as certainly be found on the side of the enemy, as the Secessionists of Baltimore. Witness the arguments of the Herald to show that slavery is not an evil, but a good:

"It is totally untrue that "slavery decreed the outtrow of the Union." It was on the crewered.

slavery is not an evil, but a good:—

"It is totally untrue that 'slavery decreed the outthrow of the Union.' It was, on the contrar, andslavery which began, over thirty years ago, aded by
British gold, to conspire against the peace of the United States.

'Slavery—nothing but slavery'—the cause of the
present war! Slavery has been quier, silen, and industrious, surely and effectually building up the welsh
and greatness of the nation, filling the coffers of Nothern men with wealth, raising cotton, sugar, and free
in such abundance as to make our markets the booughfares of all people, and extending our commerce to
the remotest boundaries of the earth. Slavery has
sung songs, rejoiced in its freedom from want and the
pangs of poverty, and made four millions and a laffel
blacks contented and happy, blessed in emancipation
from the savagery and barbarism of the accursed had
in which they had their origin. Slavery has bat
neither part nor lot in bringing about the hestilline
which rend the entrails of our beloved country."

No viler or more treasonable sentiments can be
found in any of the journals of the Southern Confed-

No viler or more treasonable sentiments can be found in any of the journals of the Southern Confederacy itself. None of them more effectually give aid and comfort to the enemy, or more richly deserve prosecution by government for the crime of treason. Yet such are the journals which are urging on the President to remove Fremont. Their secret desir is to divide the North, so that the South may gain an easy victory. It is no honor to the President that he has secured the appliance of such detestable prints; and no dishonor to Fremont that he receives their countly energetic and unualified abose—America