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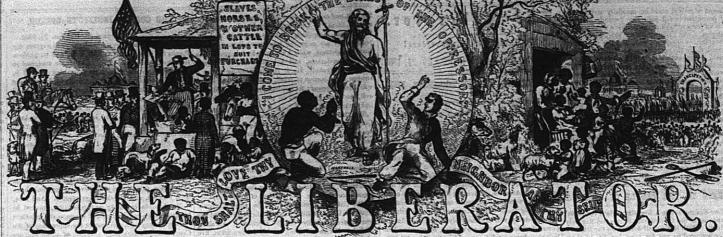
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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

"Problaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that milltary authority takes, for the time, the place of all numbi-ical institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, moder that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1862.

WHOLE NO. 1626.

Refuge of Oppression.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 8.

"GARRISON."

"GARRISON."

It is announced that William L. Garrison, "the Nestor of the Abolitionists," as he is boastingly placarded, is to deliver an address on the war in Washington Hall. We cannot but think that this announcement must have taken this community by surprise. The position of, this man, and the faction of which he is the "Nestor", has been and is well known as one of undigogised, deadly hostility to the Constitution, the Linion, and the Government of the United States. For years, Garrison has, in season and out of season, denounced the Constitution of the United States in terms of unmeasured bitterness and hate, and openly advocated and urged the dissolution of the Union established by our fathers. He has contributed as much, probably, in proportion to hir position and ability, as any other one man, to bring the country into its present deplorable condition; and now, as he beholds the results of his efforts, and the efforts of others like him, he exults with a soft of fiendish joy in the apparent successibile seems to have attended his wicked machinations. And yet, this political incendiary, this habitual reviler of the Constitution and enemy of the government, this traitor in words, if not at heart and in over act, is to be forought here to descerate with his presence and utlerance the Hall which bears the name of Washington. It is non not. ent, this trailor in words, if not at heart and in a ct, is to be brought here to descerate with his ence and utterance the Hall which bears the of Washington. It is too bad. It is an out-upon the patriotic sentiments of our communi-pon the feelings of every true friend of the titudion, and of the President and administra-

Carrison, and such as he, should be marked with figma like that which would be branded upon so who, in the present crisis, when the governate struggling for its existence, would dare to aish aid and comfort to Mason and Slidell of Jeff. vis, should those traitors be brought here to project their treasonable dogmas in the ears of this naturally.—Greenfield (Mass.) Democrat. E3 The tax-payers of Greenfield are ready and filling to pay their full proportion of the expenser the present war for the MAINTAINANCH OF THE JONSTITUTION, and they desire to sussain the ad-mistration in all necessary measures for that pur-

I desire to enter my protest against it. AGRICOLA.

selves, we hesitate not to declare that w

for ourselves, we besitate not to declare that we not the aspect that this grave question assumes, e like not its parentage, we like not its character, deprecate and dread its consequences. We bere it to be unwise; we doubt even its justice.

No one—not even its authors—will pretend that a proposition for enfancipation (we do not speak the confacation of the slaves of rebels) would be found its way into Congress had there been insurrectionary movement against the governation that the proposition of the slaves of rebels) would be refulled to the rebels. It is only by virtue their rebellious autitude, therefore, that the proponis at all admissible, even for legislative discussation. Now, we would ask the authors and movers this measure to tell us why and how it is, that state of things renders this measure admissible, at would otherwise be regarded as monstrous.

has been, simply another name for military despot-ism, and an apology for crime and lawlessness, then the offensive features of this measure of emancipa-tion become painfully conspicuous.—Ohio State Jour-

Selections.

MR. SUMNER'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following are the resolutions on the present relations of the rebel States to the General Government, introduced on Tuesday in the Senate by Mr. Sumber:—

Resolutions declaratory of the relations between the United States and the territory once occupied by certain States, and some unriped by pretended Governments, without con-stitutional or legal right.

Whereas certain States, rightfully belonging to the Union of the United States, have through their respective Governments wickedly undertaken to abjure all those duties by which their connection with the Union was maintained; to renounce all allegiance to the Constitution; to key war upon the National Government; and, for the consummation of this treason, have unconstitutionally and unlawany pretended governments acting singly or in con-federation, in order to put an end to its supremacy;

teceration, in order to put an end to its supremacy; therefore,

1. Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any State may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution within its territory is inoperative and void against the Constitution, and when sustained by force it becomes a practical abdication by the State of all rights under the Constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the State as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress as other territory, and the State being, according to the language of the law, felo-de-se, ceases to exist.

2. Resolved, That any combination of men assuming to act in the place of such State, and attempting to ensaire or coerce the inhabitants thereof into a confederation hostile to the Union, is rebellious, treasonable, and destitute of all moral authority; and that such combination is a usurpation, incapable of any constitutional existence, and utterly lawless, so that everything dependent upon it is without constitutional or legal support.

13. Resolved, That the termination of a State under the Constitution local institutions which, having no origin in the Constitution or in those natural rights which exist independent of the Constitution are upheld by the sole and exclusive authority of the State.

4. Resolved, That slavery being a peculiar local institution, derived from local laws, without any origin in the Constitution or in those natural rights, is upheld by the sole and exclusive authority of the State, and must therefore cease to exist legally or constitutional of the State, and must therefore cease to exist legally or constitutional price price of the constitution is maintained in its exential principles, so that everywhere in this exential principles, so that everywhere in this execution is a support. therefore,

1. Resolved, That any vote of secession or other

supremacy of the Constitution is maintained in essential principles, so that everywhere in this extensive territory slavery shall cease to exist practically, as it has already ceased to exist constitutionally or legally.

ly or legally.

6. Resolved, That any recognition of slavery in

illegal things have been attempted, and will proceed to establish therein republican forms of government under the Constitution; and in the execution of this trust will provide carefully for the protection of all the inhabitants thereof, for the security of families, the organization of labor, the encouragement of in-dustry, and the welfare of society, and will in every way discharge the duties of a just, merciful and pa-ternal government.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH OF HON. AL BERT G. RIDDLE, OF OHIO.

red in the House of Representatives, Jan. 27, 1862

The House being in Committee of the whole or he state of the Union, Mr. RIDDLE said,—

The one great question which to-day presents for colution to the people of this country, is the disposition of the African race among us. And so near loss this question lie to the nation's life, and so insertwisted is it with its vital fibre, that the presentity, perhaps the existence, of the country itself lepends upon its true solution. I do not like this juestion; I never did. I wish it were not here, nor upon the present the prese died Memphian Sphynx propounted a riddle passers by, and those who failed to read it were put to death. To-day, like the Sphyax, ands to us this question, and if we do not rightly, we shall also perish. And those who postpone this weightiest matter ought to rear that the sword is already suspended over it, downward sweep will settle it forever.

In the application of our power, however derived to the subject under consideration, I would adopt the principles of that proclamation to the language of which the oppressed and laboring heart of the nation rose up as to the voice of God—the property of all robels should be confiscated, and their slaves

as well as the disloyal, are indispensable." Oh, no; longer! Don's be rash—let it burn!" Oh, yes; let we are to mince, and hesitate, and deliberate; and it burn! God give us patience and wisdom in this when we deal a blow, it is to be a gentle, admonity of all strong and heavy, the recoil may injure the loyal. Do not our loyal suffer? Is it nothing that thousands of our bravest and best go down in battle, and waste away to death in camp and rent and hospital, waylaid in solitary, shadowy gorges and glens, and murdered? Nothing that the whole land is hung with the dranger of mourning. and tent and hospital, waylaid in solitary, shadowy gorges and glens, and murdered? Nothing that the whole land is hung with the drapery of mourning, until it seems shrouded in the garments of night, and filled with the sobs of wee? Do not the loyal suffer among us? And may the loyal of the border States purchase exemption from the unavoidable evils incident to war and their position? Shall the whole country perish because its salvation would bring peculiar hardships, not to their lives or persons, but to their property alone, which may be compensated for? In the name of all that is fearcompensated for? In the name of all that is fear-ful in this exigency, what is it you demand for them, and at what a fearful hazard? Does not all this mean that, at all events, slavery is to be the one thing not to suffer? Is it not weighing it naked and alone against the nation, and in a doubful balance? What fearful and terrible apprehensions this suggests! And if the time ever arrives in the councils of the Executive to make the hesistating choice, where will the patriots of the border States be found?

Sir, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Wads-worth) more than answers this inquiry, and tells us where. They will strike doubtingly and languidly with us until we differ about the mode of carrying who is Garfield, and whence come his forty-second regiment? Who are McCook and his ninth? Where got they their bayonets? And, whence came Kinney, who planted his guns within sixty yards of murderous musketry? And the gallant Standart, and the fragile, girlish boy Metmore, with his lion heart and Parrott guns? All, save McCook and his ninth, are from my own fanatic region. Standart and his heroes are from my own city, and Wetmore took his men from a single neighborhood of my district—all identical in sentiment, yet they asked no question, they made no condition, and they never will. The blood runs as red and hot and generous on the breezy shores of Lake Eric as in a more southern clime. If more men are needed, there are ready thousands to go—take all. The newest bride shall be the widowed; the youngest babe shall be the orphaned; the last hearth shall be left desolate;

But do not be in haste—no need in the world for expedition! This blow has only cloven away one-haif of our empire, and a good deal more than half our sea-coast, and reduced us to a rugged narrow belt across the continent, and beleagured our capital for a few months. This is nothing! Do not for that go to being radical, and get ourselves talked about! You might hurt a rebel's feelings, and make him nnears about his property.

day of our visitation!

To nations, as to individuals, is given but a single life; and its hopes and opportunities are measured by the span of to-day. Who can say when our to-day shall close? Even now its hour-seems to decline and languish. The sands of its minutes are crushed to impalpable dust by the fearful burdens rolled upon them—burdens that we must carry, or under which we must perish. rolled upon them—burdens t under which we must perish.

THE BRITISH LION.

among whom Jonathan has fallen. Where England got her lion-stock; of what breed it is; by what cross or training it has been improved, we do not know; but so well-bred, well-behaved, and altogether admirable lions as there are in that royal den, we do not believe the world ever saw. Several of its graces fill the English papers just now with singular admiration. Never did lion before show such a temperate appetite; never had ion such moral scruples; never did lion seems over to prophetic condition of lying down with the same the same than the same training that the same training training training that the same training trai

lion! The British Standard, a religious weekly news-paper, edited, we believe, by our friend, the most estimable and excellent Rev. Dr. Campbell, in the New Year's summary, given in the number for Jan-uary 3, exhibits some of the virtues and experiences uary 3, exhibits some of the virtues and experience of the British lion, in a way that should make the American kagle hang its head.

1. The lion's opinion of the loyal States:—

The respectful language in which the President of the United States is mentioned, the sympathy with which a people are regarded who are struggling to save their Government and institutions from an insurrection of slaveholders and a war of ten States confederated to establish slavery as the "corners stone of the republic," according to Vice-President Stephens, cannot but excite the regard of all who love civilized lions, and who abhor such untamed beasts as yet exist in Africa.

2. The lion boasts of controlling his appetite:—

the stand of shape resolutes this measure adminishles the proposal control of state years of the control of relative control o

A paper in Oxford, England, in its January issue, has the following editorial language, of a character exceedingly objectionable to all believers in the British lion:—

"And is there not a mocking, scornful, proud, ly ing, and blood-thiraty legion entered into that othe 'church,' the priesthood of literature so-called! I he very presence, as it were, of our nature been stimulated as by incarnate fends! By misrepresentatio and exaggeration, by defamation and falsehood in thousand forms, the chief literary organ of the natio has day by day stimulated to bot and hasty and units and the literary organ of the natio has day by day stimulated to bot and hasty and units a carled and studied as

Somebody is mistaken. Either Dr. Campbell is, or the peace folks are. Somebody's lion has been conducting himself ridiculously. What are the facts?

A Fable with A Moral. Once upon a time a Southern preacher said to his slave, "Peter, how did you like my sermon this morning?" "Ah, massa, berry much! You look jes like a liön." "Lion, Peter? Why, you never saw a lion." "Oh yes, massa, I seed him. Tom ride him down to water, by here, ebery day." "Why, Peter, that is a jackass, and not a lion." "Well, massa, can't help it. Dat's jest de way you look."—N. Y. Independent.

LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH

PEOPLE OF THE NORTH: In this hour of natio

in might be some grand move, never dreaming that the army and the government fall back on the people for principle and power, for conscience and courage, and are themselves anxiously waiting for them to decide what is to be done.

The grandest move that can be made is for us to say, "SLAVERY MUST DIE!" From sea to sex, let there go forth one simultaneous shout for freedom. Proclaim a day of jubilee to the bondmen that dwell fight.

there go forth one simultaneous shout for freedom. Proclaim a day of jubilee to the bondmen that dwell in our land.

You ask why they, at Washington, wait? They wait for its to speak. Our statesmen have, with thought and care, reviewed the ground, and clearly see there is no hope for as, but through one mighty gate, whose ponderous hinges they caunot turn alone. Aided by the Northern hosts, it would soon spring open wide, and under our army into the temple of liberty, whose presiding goddess stands ready to crown the heroes who, in this holy crusade, have freely offered all that mankind holds most dear on the altar of their country's fame and glory.

Now is the time to speak. This nation must be electrified, until one purpose pulsates every heart. Let our bravest and our best, the distributors of divine influence, be omnipresent. Like tircless angels, let them gather up every sigh and groan, and hope and prayer for liberty; and with them, forge fresh thanderbolts to hurl against the bulwarks of slavery. Now is the time for holy men to call around them those who wait to hear; those who in anguish cry, "Watchman, what of the night?"

Let us declare to the earth, that this is a war for high and holy principle, out for a laveholding Union that cannot be restored, or a Constitution that was never sacred to one half the nation.

This is a war against barbarians, who know no law but that of might; against idolators, whose gods are cotton and alsever; against polygamists and adulterers, who have abrogated the marriage institution, sold men and women on the auction-block, and given their own daughters to the highest bidder.

Let us declare the purpose of this war—inscribe forward—

"The crisis presses on us, Face to face with us it stands."

To-day Humanity expects every man to do his duty. Let the blacksmith at his anvil, the farmer at his plough, the merchant at his desk, all strike the key-note of Liberty; for this is the grand chorus of freedom, chanted in the New World, by martyrs from every race and elime. It is a most significant fact, that every nation that has ever fought for liberty on her own soil is now represented in our crand arms.

grand army.

From this hour let no General dare to send our soldiers on the base errands of slavery. It was not for such foal deeds our Northern freemen left their homes, poured out their hard-earned wealth, and welcomed toil and death.

With bleeding hearts our mothers never sent their sons to hunt brave men back into the hell of slavery.

slavery.

If our commanders now at the helm know not how or where to guide the ship of State, let them retire below, until the waves subside, and summon to the deck the ablest of the crew, those who know where the dangers lie, and how to battle with the storm.

Let the indignant thunders of a nation's voice fall on our Pharaoh's ear, and bid him know that for the sacrifice of life and home, and wealth and case, we are resolved that our flag shall wave from lake to gulf, from sea to sea; and that none but freemen shall rest beneath its stars.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

[This excellent Address of Mrs. Stanton was read at the State Anti-Slavery Convention recently held at Albany, N. Y., to which it was originally sent.

"SEEDS AND SHELLS."

A SERMON BY REV. O. B. FROTHINGMAN. A Very handsome pamphlet edition of a recent sermon by Rev. O. B. Frothingham: has been published in New York, and is for sale by Walker, Wise & Co., Boston. Its title is "Seeds and Shella." The best thing we can say of it is that it is entirely worthy of its author,—an man who, if his life is spared, is yet to be acknowledged as one of the leading minds of America. We gave a brief extract from the sermon, last week, in an article on the death of Adjutant Hodges.—Hoxbury Journal.

[From the admirable sermon here referred to, we It is the most earnest hope of many, and those the most earnest people, that we, as a people, are now passing through a process of evolution, and it is this hope alone that sustains them amid the sorrows and sacrifices of the times: sorrows, however, which really do not yet, and hardly by any possibility can, compare with those endured by our noble fathers in the Revolution, that has made us what we are; sacrifices that do not begin to be as heavy as theirs were. The principle of life in our people, the sentiment of liberty, the sense of the right and human, the practical feeling of what is due to man as man, has been growing prodigiously, to many people very alarmingly, in the last twenty wass. It has in were. The principle of life in our people, the sentiment of liberty, the sense of the right and human, the practical feeling of what is due to man as man, has been growing prodigiously, to many people very alarmingly, in the last twenty, years. It has increased with the enlarging territory, it has become clear and powerful by force of circumstances. It could not any longer be contained within the old so-cial limits, and was rapidly creating a new society of its own, radically different from that of older States. It has been apparent, for a long time, that the shelf of the Constitution was becoming thin and weak at the clauses that pledged the return of fugitives and guaranteed the three-fifths representation, and must soon open there; and now the ghastly split that pushes asunder the States that live by slavery and the States that live by freedom, shows the extent to which the vital germs of our nationality have swollen, and the vigor with which they insist on making their way out into larger development and more purely human relations. The Southern people knew that the elements of free society were on the spread, better than we knew it, who were bearing them in our bosoms and scattering them through our States. They felt the significante of that growth before we did; they confessed lits irresistibleness while we doubted its existence; they caught the alarm before we cherished the hope of its advance; they acted on an instinct which our innocent unconsciousness persisted in regarding in the light of a frenzy, and was in truth very simply and honestly amazed at. They understood us far more completely than we understood ourselves, and the action which they adopted and pursued so eagerly was suggested by that understanding, and fully justified by it. As has been finely said, "Slavery, the savage, laid its ear to the growind, and heard in those ballots falling for Abraham Lincoln the fatal tramp of many centuries, the mustering for liberty of the ages that take no step backwards." It did not care to wait till the f

proclamations, and laughed to scorn our processions of regard for the Union, the Constitution, and the existing laws. It had discovered and rightly interpreted the "Social significance of our institutions," as clearly as any of our philosophers, and much earlier than they. It turned a deaf ear to the pacific assurances of our statesmen and politicians, and heard only the thunder-voice of Destiny, bidding it prepare for the worst, foolishly fancying that for the South, too, it was the worst, and not the best. The simple fact that, when challenged to name their grievances, the list which the Seceders produced was so ridiculously small, was a proof that their grievances were very deep, too deep to be spoken, too deep to be argued. Such action as their could not be taken estibout cause; and the cause was one that was more taugible to their social instinct than to their logic. The more sophistical their plea, the more conclusive their reasoning; the more flimsy their justification, the more rooted their conviction. Our popular orators never had easier task than to not be taken seikout cause; and the cause was one that was anore tangible to their social instinct than to their logic. The more sophistical their plea, the more conclusive their reasoning; the more finish their justification, the more rooted their conviction. Our popular orators never had easier task than to make sport of their manifestoes; but, when the manifestoes were torn all to pieces by historical statements, by argument, rhetoric, wit, the position of our adversaries remained as unshaken as if they had not been touched: They knew that a process of social development, which had been going on for years, had at last reached the point when its open disclosure was certain, and all attempts to hide it beneath the old Constitution were vain. They saw that the shell of the formal Union must crack, and they were determined, since crack it must, that it should crack at the great central seam which divided the democratic from the aristocratic institutions. With desperate stroke they smote the old fabric, and tore a portion of it away. Ghastly was the rent they made. Ghastly as the pale cores that lay in its winding-sheet at the foot of the cross will be the prostrate form of the old organization, the dear old form so many loved. It is the ground of liberty which has caused this bursting open of a nation's constitution of environment. And, ab, what a harvest may come from this decomposing and perishing seed! a harvest of peace to "right-punded men." Think, O think, what it is suffly roots blasts, long and deep inhalations of the pure atmosphere of Heaven! The emancipation of the blact people would be the emancipation of the blact people would be free to be just; lawyers would be free to here the roots well as the prostrate of the state; gentlemen and ladies would be free to be list is maries, churches, clustering houses in the midst of pleasant gardens and teeming farms, flourishing villages, great cities, literature, science, art, laws litted to the moral sentiment of the nation, institutions suited to the popular to the moral sentiment of the nation, institutions suited to the popular life. What luscious fruit to the Southern peopla themselves would not all this bring! The brain is bewildered at the dream of it: the redemption of their lands; the enormously enhanced production of free labor; the lifting of that black terror of insurrection; the privilege of teaching the laboring class, and of turning to account the latent human powers, whose activity they dare not now encourage; the rescue of thousands of young meir from the pit of a most abominable licentiousness, and the opening to them of a manly and bonorable career—where shall we stop? There is really no end to the benefits that enumerisation would confer. All that free institutions have done, where they have done most; all that free institutions have done in Massa-chasetts, might be freely promised in time to all the that free institutions might be freely promised in time to all the h, if the shell, already so cracked and dividigist hangs together by a few filaments of

sentiment or policy, could be manfully struck, and nobly permitted to fall into the ground, and die. This is an hour of high congratulation at the splendid success of our Federal arms; success the more encouraging, as opening a way, into the very hear of slave-dom, for the entrance of a civilization, armed, invasive, eager, enthusiastic, untrammelled, driven before the blasts of Providence, and persistent with the whole vigor of destify. Let the morning stars of our banner sing together once more, in this faint flushing of the new creation's dawn; let the guns tell the coming of a new morning; let joyous bells ring out our gladness on the wintry air; but let us see that the supreme cause of congratulation is the almost pigantic progress of the public sentiment in favor of liberty, which has brought us to this pass at length, and which speaks out now in noble speeches—speeches like buds on the brown bark of the apple tree, showing that the day-spring from on high is advancing with steady steps, and will soon, spite of an occasional east wind, cover all the tree tops with the fragrant snow of the young summer. entiment or policy, could be manfully struck, and obly permitted to fall into the ground, and die-his is an hour of high congratulation at the splen-id success of our Federal arms; encess the more

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA.

Fellow-Cuizens:—In a few days, the Provisional Government of the Confederate States will live only in history. With it we shall deliver up the trust we have endeavored to use for your benefit, to those more directly selected by yourselves. The public record of our acts is faunliar to you, and requires no further explanation at our hands. Of those matters which policy has required to be secret, it would be improper now to speak. This address, therefore, will have no personal reference. We are well assured that there exists no necessity for us to arouse your patriotism, nor to inspire your confidence. We rejoice with you in the unanimity of our State, in its resolution and its hopes. And we are proud with you that Georgia has been "illustrated," and we doubt not will be illustrated again by her sons in our holy struggle. The first campaign is over; each party rests in place, while the winter's snow declares an armistice from on high. The results in the field are familiar to you, and we will not recount them. To some important facts we call your attention:

First: The moderation of our own government and the fanatical madness of our enemies have dispersed all differences of opinion among our people, and united them forever in the war of independence.

persed all differences of opinion among our people, and united them forever in the war of independence. In a few border States a waning opposition is giving way before the stern logic of daily developing facts. The world's history does not give a parallel histance of a revolution based upon such unanimity among the complete

of a revolution the people.

Second: Our enemy has exhibited an energy, a smount of resources which we perseverance and an amount of resources which we had hardly expected, and a disregard of Constitution and laws which we can hardly credit. The result of both, however, is that power, which is the characteristic element of despotism, and renders it as formidable to its enemies as it is destructive to

as formidable to its enemies as it is destructive to its subjects.

Third: An immense army has been organized for our destruction, which is being disciplined to the unthinking stolidity of regulars. With the exclusive possession of the seas, our enemy is enabled to throw upon the shores of every. State the nucleus of an army. And the threat is made, and doubtless the attempt will follow in early spring, to crush us with a giant's grasp by a simultaneous movement along our entire borders.

a giant's grasp by a simultaneous movement along our entire borders.

Fourth: With whatever alacrity our people may rish to arms, and with whatever energy our Government may use its resources, we cannot expect to cope with our enemy either in numbers, equipments or munitions of war. To provide against these odds, we must look to desperate courage, unflinching daring, and universal self-sacrifice.

Fifth: The prospect of foreign interference is at least a remote one, and should not be relied on. If it comes, let it be only auxiliary to our own preparations for freedom. To our God and ourselves alone we should look.

These are stern facts; perhaps some of them are

tions for freedom. To our God and ourselves alone we should look.

These are stern facts; perhaps some of them are unpalatable. But we are deceived in you if you would have us conceal them in order to deceive you. The only question for us and for you is, as a nation and individually, what have we to do? We answer:

First: As a nation we should be united, forbearing to one another, frowning upon all factions opposition and eensorious criticisms, and giving a trusful and generous confidence to those selected as our leaders in the camp and the council chamber.

Second: We should excite every nerve and strain every musele of the body politie to maintain our financial and military healthfulness, and, by rapid aggressive action, make our enemies feel, at their own firesides, the horrors of a war brought on by themselves.

own friesides, the norrors was a selected with the selves.

The most important matter for you, however, is your individual duty. What can you do?

The foot of the oppressor is on the soil of Georgia-He comes with lust in his eye, poverty in his purse, and hell in his heart. He comes a robber and a murderer. How shall you meet him? With the sword, at the threshold! With death for him or the selected with the sword with the and hell in his heart. He comes a robber and a murderer. How shall you meet him? With the sword, at the threshold! With death for him or for yourself! But more than this—let every woman have a torch, every child a firebrand—let the loved homes of our youth be made ashes, and the fields of our heritage be made desolate. Let blackness and ruin mark your departing steps, if depart you must, and let a desert more terrible than Sahara welcome the Vandals. Let every city be levelled by the flame and every village be lost in ashes. Let your faithful slaves share your fortune and your crust. Trust wife and children to the sure refuge and protection of God—preferring even for these loved ones the charnel-house as a home than loathsome vassalage to a nation already sunk below the contempt of the civilized world. This may be your terrible choice, and determine at once and without dissent as honor and patriotism and duty to God require.

quire.
Fellow-citizens, lull not yourselves into a fatal s

their superior in numbers. The year past tells a story of heroism and success, of which our nation will never be ashamed. These considerations, how-ever, should only stimulate us to greater deeds and nobler efforts. An occasional reverse we must

R. TOOMBS, M. J. CRAWFORD, THOMAS R. R. COBB.

Among the crimes which have disgraced the history of markind, it would be difficult to find one more atrocious than this. [Shutting up the harbor of Charleston.] Even the fierce tribes of the desert will not destroy the well which gives life to the enemy.—London Times.

and cloud than this. Shutting up the harbor of Charlestroy, let well which gives life to the enemy.—Low-the well which gives life to the sensor will not device. The trues are a bad memory. It forgets that foreat Britain attempted to "destroy" an American port, by a similar device, during the last war: that she perpetrated the "atrocity" of hermetically scaling" the harbor of Boulogae by sinking stone vessels, in 1813; that she compelled at the paid a premium on the scalps of Yankees during the war of the revolution; that she deliberately eiterminated the Robitas in the mountains of India; that she blew regiments of Sepoys from the mouths of cannou, depopulated entire provinces by the sword, and barbarosity massacred the Prince of Delhi during the late Indian Rebellion! We are tolerably self-possesed; but when John Butt. Desce to lecturing us on the ctiquetts of war, we can't help exploding into the ctiquetts of war, we can't help exploding into the ctiquetts of war, we can't help exploding into the ctiquetts of war, we can't help exploding into the letter of the standard provided the late of the standar

The Tiberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1862.

LETTER TO GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND COADJUTOR:

In common with the great body of Abolitionists in this country, I have been greatly surprised,—not at the ignorance pervading England in regard to American affairs, for this I found to be universal, in many cases to a ludicrous extent, on my several visits, and time seems to have done little or nothing to enlighten it since I was last with you in 1846,—but at the general obfuscation of mind among our English anti-slavery coloborers, respecting the nature of the civil war now going on in America, the bearing it has upon the cause of liberty in its breadest significance, and the position occupied by those with whom they have so long, so disinterestedly, and so generously cooperated for the peaceful extinction of negro slavery, by moral and religious instrumentalities, on this side of the Atlantic. To us, they appear to have lost all power of discrim-To us, they appear to have lost all power of discrim ination as to the great issues presented, and therefor all power of correct reasoning; while, to their vision an power of correct reasoning, while, to their viscal, we, the hitherto uncompromising enemies of slavery, appear to have abdicated our high position of unswerying principle for the low ground of political expediency, in order, for once, to be on the popular side—deceiving ourselves with the idea, that we shall win the victory over the great dragon of slavery all the more readily by pursuing such a course! Certainly, there is a total misapprehension on one side or the other. I think it is with them; and though, in view of all that has been written and published on the subject, I almost despair of removing that misapprehension in the slightest de-gree, yet, by the love I bear them, I feel impelled to address this letter to you—hoping it may not be

As for yourself, you need nothing fro by way of information or guidance, at this particular juncture. Before I read any of the admirable speech-es which you have made on the American question, or knew any thing of your sentiments pertaining to it, I felt sure that your judgment would be sound, and your verdict just, as between our Government and the bellion against it. Your mastery of American affairs is absolute: the key to unlock them is SLAVERY, and of that key you took possession when you first came to this country in 1884, and have ever since used it with all possible skill, diligence and success. You have had the advantage of a residence here; and though it subjected you to bitter opprobrium and great peril at that time, nevertheless, it enabled you to traverse a wide extent of country, to gather a large amount of valuable information, and to understand the precise relations subsisting between the Federal and State Governments, with their special, diverse, not conflicting sovereignties. There are few An cans who are so well posted in the history of this country as yourself, while there is scarcely any one in England who seems to have any intelligent knowledge of it. Almost all your writers and public speaker are ever blundering in regard to the constitutional powers of the American Government, as such, and those pertaining to the States, in their separate capacity. Mr. Bright, in his masterly speech at Rocl evinced a power of analysis and correct generalize evinced a power of analysis and correct generalization worthy of the highest praise; and has secured for himself the thanks and admiration of every true friend of free institutions. His case is as exceptional, how ever, as it is creditable.

I am sure that you, my dear friend, will not deen

it presumption when I say, that of all persons, the Ab it presumption when I say, that of an persons, the Appropriate most capable of understanding the rise, progress and tendency of the present struggle in this country, and the least liable to be jaundiced in vision or biased in judgment. For more than thirty years they have been tried and tempted in every conceivable manner; yet they have stood firm and unyielding. Lifted infinitely above all sectional considerations and the progression of the prog sellish aims—dead to all partisan appeals—in con-flict with Church and State, because of their com-plicity with slavery—waiving in many instances the exercise of the elective franchise, for conscience sake—and world-wide in the doctrines they inculcate and the artist three controls. selfish aims-dead to all partisan appeals-in conthe highest moral elevation, enabling them to retain on clearness of vision, and to exhibit rare in tegrity of character. As they have never cherished towards the South any other feelings than those o good will, notwithstanding her brutal and murdero spirit towards them, they cannot be justly suspected of being swayed by popular feeling at the present time. In the midst of unparalleled excitement, they are calm and steadfast; still pursuing their gloriou are calm and steadast; still pursuing their glorious object, without turning to the right hand or to the left; still bearing such testimonies as the times demand; still speaking the truth "without concealment and without compromise"; still "rightly dividing the Ford," and making the freedom of the slave the paramount object of their regard. Yet—strange to say—their consistency, in some instances almost their integrity, has been called in question by their English anti-slavery friends, who assume to understand mattegrity, has been called in question by their English anti-slavery friends, who assume to understand matters three thousand miles off, and to see the most intricate operations that long distance, a great deal better than those of us who are on the ground, and whose knowledge of men and things, and of the growth of public sentiment and the causes of this rebellion, is equally comprehensive and absolute.

Fellow-citizens, lull not yourselves into a fatal security. Be prepared for every contingency. This is our only hope for a sure and honorable peace. If our enemy was to day convinced that the feast here in indicated would welcome him in every quarter of this Confederacy, we know his base character well enough, to be assured that he would never come. Let then the smoke of your homes, fired by women's hands, tell the approaching foe that over sword and bayonet they will rush only to fire and ruin.

We have faith in God and faith in you. He is blind to every indication of Providence who has not seen an Almighty hand controlling the events of the past year. The wind, the wave, the cloud, the mist, the sunshine and the storm have all ministered to our necessities, and frequently succored us in our distresses. We deem it unnecessary to recount the numerous instances which have called forth our gratitude. We would join you in thanksgiving and praise. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

Now would we condemn your confident look to our armies, when they can meet a foe not too greatly their superior in numbers. The year past tells a story of heroism and success, of which our nation. ry 1 to cap the climat on an instantant, ac use clares. Every, lover of liberty, (I) whose persona feelings do not warp his judgment, will wish succes to the South at this present crisis "! Was there eve greater incoherency of speech than this 1 Nay, he sweepingly declares, "All charges of treason and con nobler efforts. An occasional and the pect—such as has depressed us within the last few pect—such as has depressed us within the last few days. This is only temporary.

We have no fears of the result—the final issue. We have no fears of the result—the final issue, and our children's children will rise up to call us that they are all "perfectly justified as against the blessed."

HOWELL COBB,

B. TOOMBS. North itself"! He even procreus any summer cious robberies perpetrated by the South by pleading.
"If the South had not availed itself of the opportunities (!) of arming itself, &c. &c., where whave been now, in the face of the overwhelmin

the best, and in some respects lower, than the community around them"! Our reproving friend says he is "frank and outspoken," but his assertions and impeachments are none the less astounding. I deny their ruthfulness, while I am sure he has spoken his alneere convictions, and I honor him for keeping nothing concealed. He is simply laboring under a strange hallucination of mind, which it is to be hoped will soon disappear; for it is causing him "to call good evil, and evil good, and to put light for darkness, and darkness for light."

Whether the Southern rebellion be viewed from a Governmental or an Abolition stand-point, it presents no feature which is not abhorrent to reason, justice and humanity; and the sternest condemnation of an indignant universe should be meted out to those who concocced it.

First—as to the Government. It is based upon the

concected it.

First—as to the Government. It is based upon the doctrine, that the people have a right to choose their own rulers, and to be governed by their own laws, in accordance with the Constitution of their adoption. At the last Presidential election, the slave oligarchy failed for the first time to carry their point, and the free States triumphed in the election of Abraham Lincoln. Without waiting for his inauguration, five of the slave States rose in rebellion, organized a basile confrideracy, and endeavored to seize the national tile confederacy, and endeavored to seize the national capital. Six more slave States were added to the capital. Six more stave States were added to the number in the course of a few months, and, combined, they aimed at the subjugation of the whole country to their bloody sway. Perjury, lynch law, robbery on a gigantic scale, piracy on the blackest dye, marked their entire career. They fired upon the national flag, captured Fort Sumter, law, and the start vertices of marken of the start week. drove out every vestige of governmental authority from their dominions, proclaimed themselves inde-pendent, declared adhesion to the old Union punisha-ble with outlawry, imprisonment or death, and committed atrocities of the most revolting character upon those who refused to betray their country. It was not an oppressed people rising up in defence of their rights, or to overthrow a tyrannical dynasty, but a desperate man-stealing oligarchy bent upon the ex-tinction of free institutions universally. Any attempt to make their case analogous to that of our revolu-tionary fathers, or to find their justification in the doctrines laid down in the Declaration of Independents not only futile, but an insult to the memories of signers of that great charter of human rights. There is nothing to warrant it. The rebels had suffered no oppression, and were threatened with no injustice: on the contrary, they had always shaped the policy of the country, and had their own way. Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency as constitutionally as was Washington, Adams, or Jefferson; the Constitu-tion he was sworn to uphold in its integrity was unchanged in fetter or spirit; a Kentuckian by birth, and no Abolitionist, his natural tendency was to deand no Abolitionist, his natural tendency was to de-sire to propilitate the South, even to a humiliating degree. Neither he, nor the party by whom he was chosen, had any more thought or intention of inter-fering with the "peculiar institution" of the South, than of annexing the United States to Great Britain or Austria. Besides, even if the new Administration had been inclined to transcend its rightful authority adverse to Southern interests, it was powerless to do so; for the Supreme Court was thoroughly pro-slavery as then (and even now) constituted, and the Democratic party held the mastery in both houses of Congress, at the very time the rebellion took place; so that no action, detrimental to the South, could have obtained any legislative or judicial sanction whatever Mr. Lincoln, had it not been for the treasonable with the mercy of his political opponents in the formation of his Cabinet, in all his official appointments, and in determining the character of his measures: he could have been check-mated in every direction. On no recognized theory of gravenurght, read here. drawal of the slave States, would have been wholly at recognized theory of government-much less that of democratic equality—could they be justified in throw-ing off their allegiance, and making war upon that Union in which they had always had the lion's share of honor, emolument, office, power and protection; or in trampling upon that Constitution which was origi-nally made as dictated by themselves, and to the maintenance of which their faith stood plighted before the world. But without the shadow of an ex fore the world. But without the shadow of an excuse, they perddiously banded together, in a treasonable manner, for the most iniquitous purposes; resorting to every villanous expedient to consummate their
diabolical object; and they have ever since been
menacing with their forces the very seat of Government itself. Their avowed object was and is the the boundless extension and absolute perpetuity of their accursed slave system, which they have made the corner-stone of their confederacy. They openly deny and deride the glorious self-evident truths embodied in the Declaration of Independence; they avow their detestation of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as fraught with all conceivable mischief; and they pronounce "free society" at the North, and

and they pronounce "free society, throughout the world, an utter failure. throughout the world, an utter failure.

Under these circumstances, my dear friend, is it not astounding that any on your side of the Atlantic, not asturding the area of the color of the color of the ciclaiming to be governed by the principles of honor, the dictates of morality, and the feelings of humanity,—especially in the Anti-Slavery ranks,—should be so be wildered in judgment, or so jaundiced in vision, as to regard the South in the attitude of Hungary to Austria, or Poland to Rusaia?—should vindicate her right to withdraw as she has done, and arraign the Government as tyrannical in endeavoring to crush her foul conspiracy against God and man?—or, at least, should avow that, as between the contending parties, there is little or nothing to choose, "being six on one side, and half a dozen on the other"—and where they utter one rebuke of the doings of the slaveholding banditti, give vent to a score of bitter denunciation cancium, give vent to a score of bitter denunciations of the American Government, because it is not willing to full down, and let "bloody treason flourish over it"? Such conduct is quite inexplicable, and extorts the exclamation—

"O judgment, thou art fied to brutish beasts, And men have lost their reason!"

The charge is cruelly false, that the Government " is simply fighting for empire." It is acting, not aggressively but in self-defence, without malice or passion, having first allowed itself to be driven to the wall, by a mistaken and dangerous forbearance, as no other strong Government ever yet did. It is contending, not for "empire" in itself considered, but for its right to exist over the territory embraced by the republic, with those limitations and prerogatives which are so carefully defined by the Constitution for the promotion of the general welfare, and for the common defence. It is a renewal of the old revolutionary struggle to vindicate the right of TID PROPILE to form and administer their own government, but against a despotism incomparably more to be feared and ablorred than was that of the mother country in "the despotism incomparably more to be feared and ab-horred than was that of the mother country in "the times that tried men's souls." Mr. Lincoln, as the legitimate President of the United States, had no alternative but to proceed, with all the forces at his command, to put down the rebellion; and had he not the co

THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH.

AUBURN, (N. H.,) Jan. 29, 1862. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,—I desire to express my thanks for your speech at New York, and its publication in the Liberator. It is so noble, so true, and so appropriate to the time, it is refreshing to read it. But for a mere expression of gratitude, I would not trouble you with a letter. The speech ought, by all means, to be printed in pamphlet form, (1) and sown broadcast. The public mind is in a transition state, and the speech is just what is needed to give or keep it in a right direction. My estimate of the real, fixed and determined moral principle of the people of the loyal States is very low. I am strongly inclined to the opinion, that, had it been believed that the South was in earnest, and that they would and could have shown so much fight as they have done, there would have been no Bell-Everett, Douglas, or Republican shown so much fight as they have done, there would have been no Bell-Everett, Douglas, or Republican party; that, to preserve peace, everything would have been yielded, and Breckinridge elected. And now, if Mr. Lincoln could, by any possibility, succeed in his most cherished desires, and suppress the rebellion —leave slavery safe, and reatore the supremacy of the Constitution—a very large majority of these who are -ieave stavery safe, and restore the supremacy of the Constitution—a very large majority of those who are on favor of emancipation as a war measure (not the Abolitionists, of course,) would be in favor of such a peace, and of conciliation—would be ready to pay for the contrabands, and be willing that the compromises of "our glorious Constitution" should be carried out "in the fullness of their spirit and exactness of their letter," and "with alacrity." My hope is more in the perversity of the South and an overruling Provi-dence, than in any virtue of the North. If such a state of things could be brought about

Journal of Commerce, and Observer would be at the top of the tide. But there must be some moral percep-tion; and it seems to me that everything which you have set forth in your speech is so plain and cogent, that even a clergyman must have some perception of it. Read the second Psalm. Have not our Govern

the Boston Post and Courier, the New York Herald,

Head the second Psaim. Have not our Govern-ment, parties and churches endeavored to break His bands asunder? Have they not looked at their own harmony and peace more than to justice and right? And these compromising means to secure their peace have produced division, and the "dashing" is now likely to be fulfilled on the Government. But God reigns, and His plan is a comprehensive one, and He will not be defeated; and whatever may

one, and He will not be defeated; and whatever may be the result in our eyes, even though the nation should utterly perish, it will be one step onward in the progress of the universe, as the destruction in geological periods of the earth has prepared for a higher development. (Ps. 106.) But if such destruction is to come, may it be seen

that I am not implicated, but have done my duty,

warning the nation of its errors and dangers.

Please accept for yourself and family assurances of respect and esteem, with the ardent desire that you

may live in the flesh to join in the great jubilee.

BENJAMIN CHASE.

(1) This lecture (as well as the one delivered at the saine place by Wendell Phillips, Esq.) has already been issued in the form desired by our estremed correspondent. It constitutes No. 28 of the valuable Series of Sermons, Orations, Popular Lectures, &c., published in "The Pulpit and Rostrum" by E. D. Barker, 135 Grand Street, New York. It is a very handsomely printed pamphlet, with covers—price 10 cents a number, or 5 cents by the hundred. These can be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Wash-

PETITION TO THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: The attention of your rea-ders, in the State of New York, is invited to the fol-lowing Petition, designed for immediate circulation, and to be early forwarded to the Legislature now in session at Albany :-

PETITION.

PETITION.

To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York:
The undersigned, clitzens and inhabitants of
State of New York,
believing SLAVERY to be the great cause of our
present national calamities, earnessty desire you to instruct the Senators and request the Representatives in
Congress, from this State, to immediately institute
measures for the abolition of Slavery under the War
Power.

By the voluntary action of rebel slaveholders, the Federal Government is in no sense longer bound to extend its protection over the institution of slavery. The seconded States have defiantly repudiated the authority of the Federal Governs nt, forfeiting all claims to constitutional protection. In the nominally loyal slave States—loyal only to the extent that they have been occupied by Federal troops—as a judicious war measure, slavery may and should be uncondition-ally abolished.

No time should be lost in securing such emphatic

expression from the Northern State Legislatures, and from the people, by petition, as will cause Congress to improve the glorious, providential opportunity now at hand for emancipating four millions of slaves. Thus, and only thus, the primary cause of war having been removed, and justice having been done, will be possible an era of enduring prosperity, and an abiding peace.

AARON M. POWELL.

Ghent, (N. Y.) Feb. 13, 1862.

Have you read "John Brent," by the late Major Winthrop? If you have not, you have a great treat in store. The moral stand-point of the author is elevated, and the glow of genius is on every page. The book is wonderfully alive. It exhilarated me, like riding in a bracing atmosphere, through beautiful scenery, on the handsome, high-spirited horse he de-

scribes so admirably.

Also, that so much of life should have been extinguished by the bloody hand of Slavery! Noble young Winthrop! He was just the one to leap, in full

A TRAITOROUS DEMOGRAT CRYING OUT AGAINST TREASON! In accordance with an invitation extended ternative but to proceed, with all the forces at his command, to put down the rebellion; and had he not done so, he would have been gully of perjury, and a traitor to the Government he was elected by the people to uphold.

You perceive, therefore, as between the rebels and the Government, that the American Abolitionists could not but give their sympathy and support to the latter, as wholly innocent of any wrong to the South, either inflicted or premediated; and that, in so doing, they have not compromised their principles, nor turned aside a hair's breadth from their well-defined course. Whatever may be the issue they now take with the Government, it is not as to its entire rectitude in its treatment of the Southern slaveholding rebellion, viewed from the stand-point of constitutional authority and obligation. Upon that issue, whether as American citizens, or as impartial unipires between contending parties where the most momentous interests, are at stake, they have no difficulty in rendering a decisive verdict in favor of the Government.

I will address you again on this subject. to us, we last week gave a lecture upon the state of isive verdict in favor of the Government.

will address you again on this subject

ur fellow-laborer in the cause of universal freedom,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

ridiculous as it proved impotent. In a subsequent number of the Democrat, the worthless creature renews his alimy assault; it is his vocation. May be learn to be decent, and abandon his political knavery!

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE BARONS OF THE SOUTH THE TRUE STORY OF THE DARRONS OF THE SOUTH; or, The Rationale of the American Conflict. By E. WINCHESTER REYNOLDS, Author of the "Rec-ords of Bubbleton Parish," &c. &c. Boston, Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington Street 1862.

This is an elaborately prepared and admirably This is an eiasoratety prepared and admirably comprehensive work, showing the various phases of the Slavery Question from the revolutionary struggle of 1776 to the present time, and the manner in which the Southern slave oligarchy have continued to rule the the Southern stave origatery have continued to rule the country. It loceupies only 240 duolectino pages, which embody a large amount of information closely co-densed, and is written in a style peculiarly terse and densed, and is "in the period of Rev. Samuel J. May. duction," from the pen of Rev. Samuel J. May. Syracuse, who advised its publication. Its author. dedicates it as follows :-

"To the just men and women of my country, vio, loyal to liberty in its darkest hour, have sought to true glory of the republic, by vindicating the rights of humanity in the persons of the lowliest in the tail, and who see, beyond the carnival of battle, a race in deemed, and a nation renovated, I insert this Essay, with grateful remembrance of their services, and profound respect for their virtues."

Let all such, as far as practicable, endeavo cure copies of the work—(price 75 cents.) We give below the table of contents entire, and shall make some extracts from the work in another number

PART I.
OUR TWO SYSTEMS OF SOCIETY.

OUR TWO STSTEMS OF SOCIETY.

I. Nature of the Conflict.—The Baross eponse Slavery.

II. Status of Slavery in the Republic.

IV. The prospects of the Barons.

V. Prestige of the Barons.—Omens.—The Ship & Empire launched.

PART II.

OUR POLITICAL APOSTACT.

The Process — The Capital Infected.
Territorial Extension of Slavery.
Slave Representation.
Slavery construing the Constitution.
Slavery in the Supreme Court.
Slavery subdising the Church.
Apparent Triumph of the Despotic System.

PART III.

OUR POLITICAL REGENERATION.

I. The Dawn of Reform.

II. Why the Reform was resisted.

III. The Vaniguard of Liberty.

IV. Organization and Opposition.

V. The Opposition by Mobs.

VI. Subserviency of the North.

VII. The Opposition by States.

VII. The Opposition by States.

VIII. The Opposition by the Federal Power.

IX. Final Struggle and triumphant Assertion of Freedom in the North.

X. New Political Organizations.—The Republics Party.

XI. Considerations.

PART IV.

PART IV.

THE REBELLION OF THE BARONS.

I. The Plot of Aaron Burr.

II. The Image of a Southern Empire.—Nullifa-

tion.

III. Peculiar Social System of the South—The Rebellion the logical Result.

IV. The Ripening of the Treason.

V. Final Organization of the Plot in Mr. Buchasan's Cabinet.

VI. The Drama of Insurrection.

VII. The Rival Administrations inaugurated in the dismembered Republic.

IX. Compromise ends, and the New Era begins.

PART V.

PART V.

PART V.

THE PROVIDENTIAL ALTERNATIVE.

I. Gloomy Aspects of the Struggle.

II. The Rebellion Vulnerable through Slavery.

III. Impracticable Policy of the Government.—
Protecting Slavery at the Expense of the Union.—Destroying the Nation to save is Constitution.

IV. The Programme of the President, and the Lesson of Events.

V. Must the Nation die, that the Barons may wield the Whip?

VI. The War degraded in the Interest of Slavery.

VII. Gol's Ultimatum.

VIII. A New Policy Imperative.

IX. Providential Doom of the Barons.

X. Theseus and the Minotaur.—Lesson of the Epoch.

The Continental Monthly : devoted to Literature and

National Policy. Boston: J. R. Gilmore, 110 Tremont street, Crosby and Nichols, 117 Washington

The first three numbers of this able publication or ain, respectively, the following articles:-

N. I. JANUARY, 1862: The Situation; Is Progress a Truth; The Edwards Family; Sonnet; The Green Corn Dance; Rosin the Bow; The Graveyard at Princeton; Among the Pines; The Lessons of War; Ralph Waldo Emerse; Sphinx and Edipus; The Actress-Wife; Song of Freedom; Across the Continent; What to do with the Darkies; The Slave Trade in New York; Lierary Notices; Books Received; Editor's Table.

No. II. FEBRUARY, 1862: No. II. FEBRUARY, 1862:

Our War and our Want; Brown's Lecture Tourby a Lecture; The Watchword—poetry; Tints and Tones of Paris; The Matchword—poetry; Tints and Tones of Paris; The Actress Wife; Self-Reliance—poetry; The Huguenot Families in America; The Black Flag-Witch; Breedom's Stars—poetry; On the Plain; Seven Devils; What will you do with us; James Russel Lowell; Resurgamus—poetry; Among the Fincs; Mr. Seward's Published Diplomacy; To England-poetry; The Heir of Roseton; Our Danger and Editor's Table.

No. III. Warner 1869.

No. III. MARCH, 1862:-

No. III. March, 1862:

Southern Aids to the North, by C. G. Lelsné; Is Cotton our King 3 by Edward Atkinson, auther of the valuable pamphlet entitled "Cheap Cotton by Free Labor; "General Patterson's Campaign in Virginia; Jonathan Edwards and the Old Clergy, by Bayard Taylor; The Late Lord Chancellor Campbell; The Good Wrie, a Norwegian Story; The Huguent Pamiltes in America, by Hon. G. P. Discoway; Maccaroni and Canvas, by H. P. Leland; John Lothrop Motley, by Delia L. Celton; Among the Pines, by the author of "The Cotton States;" Active Service, or Campaigning in Western Virginia; Poctry, Editor's Table, Notices, &c.

The Continental Monthly gives us articles of due variable.

The Continental Monthly gives us articles of due vied merit. It reports a list of writers so favorably known to the public as to justify high ex-pectations in regard to the future; and rumor states hat subscribers to it have already appeared in large

One conspicuous feature of this magazine is a and thorough-going opposition to slavery. the immediate and u urges, in the strongest terms, the immediate and un conditional emancipation of all slaves, as a vital part of the war policy of the North. It in extermination of slavery, as, our only security for a prosperous future, and follows up this point with an array of fact and argument not only convincing, but apregnable. Its editor, however, and most of in intributors who touch on this subject, object to size very only as a nuisance, not as a sin; only because injures the white, not because it oppresses and grades the black. It takes the ground of contempts ous indifference towards the negro race, and proposes to colonize them out of the way when the rebellion shall have been quelled.

The War, and How to End It. By Wm. N. Slocum. late Editor of the San Jose Mercury. San Francis со, 1861.—рр. 88.

The contents of this vigorous and excellent pamphlet (extracts from the second edition of which were given in last week's Liberator) are as follows:

I. Results of Emancipation in the West Indies;
II. Abolition of Slavery as a War Measure; III. Necessity of Congressional Action on the subject.
IV. Schemes for Colonization; V. Final Emacipation inevitable; VI. Present Prospect of our Foreign Relations; VII. Political and Commercial Changes in follow the War.

AURENDIA Constaining Posts and Assuments Concerts.

follow the War,

APPRIDIX, containing Facts and Arguments concerning sin Cause of the Florida War; Massacres in St.

Domingo; Abolition not the Cause of the Extension of Slaver; An Aristocracy of Office-holders;

Reasons for a restriction of the Elective Franchise.

GERRIT SMITH AND ENGLAND.

In the Liberator of February 14th, I have just read In the Liberator of February 14th, I have just read a letter from the highly respected and talented GERMIT SHITH, to the eloquent philanthropist GEORGE TROMPSON of England; and perceiving in it a very permission tendency, of which the writer was doubtless unaware, I cannot refrain from a comment upon it, which I would respectfully submit to his considera-

After commending Mr. Thompson, that he had employed his "rich and commanding eloquence to prevent England from making war upon America," he saysh-" I hope you will now employ it to prevent saysh-" I hope you will now employ it to prevent America from making war upon England." This is America from making war upon England. This is an event which he seems to fear, and indeed to expect, and is also one which, like every other Christian pa-triot, he is anxious to avert; and yet this letter, writtriot, he is anxious to avere; and yet tims letter, writ-ten with his usual ability and carnestness, has as great a tendency to produce this very dreadful evil, as anya tendency to produce this very dreadful evil, as anything he could have written; and hence it becomes especially necessary that the arguments contained in it, having this tendency, should be controverted.

A great partion of the letter is employed in endeav-

ors to depreciate the magnanimity, or sense of justice, in the rendition of Mason and Slidell to the British in the rendition of Mason and Shore to the British government; and to represent it only as the result of fear, and a dishonorable concession of principles we ald assert as a right; and, of course, disallows the sincerity of the reasons given by Mr. Seward to Lord Lyons for the act, as well as the arguments presented Lyons for the act, as well as the arguments presented by Mr. Summer in its defence. Now it is obvious, that this is touching the feelings of the American people in a very sensitive point. Could Mr. Smith succeed in convincing the citizens of the North, that the restoraconvincing the CHIZERS OF the NOTH, that the restora-tion of the Confederate Commissioners was an act of disgraceful timidity yielded by our Government to threats, or in fear of the power of Great Britain, their agry merification would be irrepressible. Not only would they lose all confidence in an Administration which thus betrayed them, but, to wipe off the supposed which thus bedrayed mem, but, to wipe on the supposed disgrace, a war with England, precipitated on our part, would be inevitable. The evil Mr. S. professes to deprecate and avert would be produced by his own

But this letter has a further mischievous tendency But this letter has a jurqueto produce war with fassional, not only by the impression on the American people, that their honor has been
surrendered, but also by the irritation to be produced
in the English people and government by the charges
of fraud, dishonor and aggression made in it, while
professing to love them; which are adapted to counfacility the outderwars for conciliation, so fully credieract all the endeavors for conciliation, so fully credi

teract of Mr. Thompson.
Mr. S. does indeed give credit to England for the compensated emancipation of her slaves—for this is conformable to his own hobby; and he sympathizes with her reconquest of India, as it accords with those doctrines of coerced allegiance ever assumed by Euro-pean governments, and now claimed for our own, in adiction to the declared principles on which it is built. But he sees only hostility in the impartial at-titude of Britain, regarding our war, which, like other writers, he twists into a charge of partiality for the South. He charges, as a violation of neutrality, the transportation of non-combatant persons, on a mission of peaceful mediation, from one neutral port to another in a neutral ship; forgetting the number of American in a neutral ship; forgetting the number of American ships employed in carrying English and French soldiers to the Crimea, of which Russia never complained; and he calls it a declaration of war "on the part of Britain, that she should send troops and national ships to her own provinces." These are precisely the sort of accusations that would be made by a nation determined to pick a quarrel with another; and when he asks, if it is strange "that his countrymen should have this stinging sense" of such alleged wrongs, can he not see that it is he himself who gives the sting, to produce the excitement which will neutralize the pa-cific efforts of Mr. Thompson? Should America de-clare war against England, as Mr. S. predicts, he will entitled to great credit for his aid in its production.

It is not in a spirit of triumphant criticism, or with a desire to depreciate the character or impair the in-fluence of Mr. Smith, that I make these remarks; on the contrary, his unhappy lapse into the pernicious delusions of the day does not in the least diminish the admiration I have ever cherished for his talents and independence; the gratitude for his unselfish generosity; the sympathy with his boundless philan-thropy and spirit of reform. It is more in sorrow than in reproof, more in alarm than in correction, that I make these expositions. Inconsistency, in man of his estimation, will be overlooked by his admirers; and the most fallacious side of it will be adopted and acted on, if accordant with previous desire to ruinous results.

I have said "inconsistency." Mr. S. says-"That ould be opposed to the war, and yet be in sympathy with our large Northern armies, may possibly be an inconsistency." Friend S., if your enlightened conscience and strong reasoning power had been al-lowed fair play, this "may possibly be," would have been changed to "certainly is." How is this inconsistency attempted to be avoided? "Believing, as I subjects, I am conscious of no inconsistency between my opposition to war and my sympathy with armies, however large, if their sole object is the quell-ing of domestic insurrections." The mustering of armies, fighting battles, attacking fortresses, &c., are war, by every sound definition and common parlance; and when between two portions of the same nation, it is usually termed "civil war." If Mr. S., then, is opposed to all war, he can only sympathize with "our large Northern annies" by shutting his eyes, and denying that they are engaged in any war at all; and if he can find, in the New Testament, an express exemption from the frijunction to love his enemies, and return good for evil, in the case of a rebellion, he may

But, however Mr. Smith may reconcile the ap proval of the present war with peace principles or Christianity, under the subterfuge that it is merely a suppression of rebellion, and not a real war, he can-not justly complain of the British Government and le for their impartial neutrality, and resist our violation of it, until they can be brought to take the same view as he does. Judging of the nature of our Government, as they have a right to do, from the professions we have ever made before the world of a Government derived from the people, and held only by their consent, as solemnly declared in the Declaraby merr consent, as solemnly declared in the Declara-tion of Independence, the nations of Europe have watched with intense anxiety the trial of this princi-ple; the success of which the people have prayed for, and the monarchs have feared. For seventy years, and the monarchs have feared. For seventy years, it seemed to be in successful experiment; and is it wonderful now, when it is brought to its severest trial, it cannot be unded.... it cannot be understo feat, it should be suddenly abandoned, and involun tary allegiance of one portion of the nation to another enforced on the European principle of the inherent perogatives of Government,—the principle by which Rossian and the principle by which subjects Poland, and Austria to subjects Poland, and Austria to people of other it cannot be expected that the people of other its cannot be expected that the people of other subjects Poland, and Austria Hungary, to their nations can understand the American paradox of a free Government, sustained by military cocretion, and especially that distinctly organized portions of a mation, which have never resigned the whole of their sovereignty, should, on secession is right or wrong, when it is so far accomplished as to produce a powerful to and a laif of the extent of the original nation, excusing all its own laws without foreign control, and defending itself by a military force which keeps at bay the claiming Government for months, to deny its bay the claiming Government for months, to deny the faltening of America', and, seeing in the Southern Confederacy no other than a distinct Sovereign Government, for the time, is bound by the settled law of cameni, for the time, is bound by the settled law of cameni, and even American practice, to recognize the manufactual and even flattation of America'; and, seeing in the Southern Confederacy no other than a distinct Sovereign Government, for the time, is bound by the settled law of cameni, for the time, is bound by the settled law of cameni, and even American practice, to recognize the manufactual can be a control of the confidence of the confi

that independence. And the attitude of refraining that independence. And the attitude of refraining from doing so, and the use of the more dubious term "belligerent," should be regarded as a friendly relaxation of international law, in favor of the Northern Government; and not abused as an indication of hostility. But Mr. S. assumes that the people of Great Britain must agree with us, that this is a mere rebellion; and the whole argument in his letter, so far as it inculpates that people, is built on that assumption. Nor have they yet seen that this war is for the abolition of slavery, and cannot, therefore, be expected to tion of slavery, and cannot, therefore, be expected to sympathize with our prosecution of it on that ground. This, however, I am glad to see Mr. Smith admits, at the close of his letter; it is an indifference on their ment of which he accelerated. part, of which he acknowledges he cannot justly com

Every American, blest with common sense, rejoices that the affair of the Trent was settled on American principles; but Mr. S. says "that America has no maritime principles." How so ! Because concession on those supposed principles, in this case, was com on those supposed principles, in this case, was co-pelled. Indeed! Many persons would be oblig as surprised if so acute a logician as Mr. S. wor favor them with a demonstration, that a true principle ceases to be any principle at all, whenever its admission is in any case compelled.

J. P. B.

OUR DUTIES TO THE SLAVE.

Individuals or even companies of men pass for little in times like these. A day now counts for weeks Events come throughing upon us so thick and fast from such unexpected sources, that no mind can discern their forestadowing results. The persistent and guilty inversion of right principles has by degrees plunged our country into a struggle most desperate and sadly solemn; and no man among the wisest can tell how much suffering is yet in store for us, before we shall be willing to accord to all others such rights

as we rigidly claim for ourselves.

The poor unoffending African, and the treatment he has received at the bands of this nation, lie at the bottom, and are the cause, both remote and immediate, of all our woes. The many, many years of the unhal-lowed connection between the African and Caucasian on this continent, is yielding up its bitter fruits. War "grim-visaged" war, with its dread implements o destruction, is now full upon us—the chosen arbiter of the great dispute. It would be useless to allege that this might have been averted by listening to th voice of reason and conscience. Wise men and fool-ish had in vain warned the country of the danger but, ignorant and unscrupulous majorities cho smother conscience for pelf, and in selfish coward ice visit their iniquity "upon the third and fourth gen The past justly yokes together both North and South

as principals in the great social and political abuse. This we all know when freed from prejudice. In our purse-pride or egotism we either deny it, or fail to any cause or object in the events which we shall sooner or later have cause to deplore. Unjust as has been the English press towards us, however much it may side with English conservatism, there is also much that pictures faithfully what all honest Englishmen see, that here on this side of the Atlantic is a great nation deserving praise for growth in all that pertains to material prosperity, and for much that adorns and ennobles morally and intellectually : but, by its organic law, the Government and people under it are held to the support, tied up and commit-ted to a social and political crime unsurpassed in magnitude in any age or nation; and all this in the sacred name of freedom. They see us, after many years of schooling under the auspices of a dominant and unscrupulous political power, pledged to the belief that Constitution under which we live is little less worthy our veneration than the Maker of the Universe; while they and we know that when interpreted away from the influence of this political power in the light of history and reason, in the stern and over-relia ble interest of common sense, its authors meant it and so framed it, that, long before the year of our Lord eighteen hundred sixty-two, it should be henceforth and forever purged from the stain of slavery. These honest Englishmen see, and so do we all of us who have not owl's eyes in our heads, that from the date of the first cotton crop to this hour, a mighty, and as wicked as mighty Slave Power, through long years of sleepless activity, has sought the overthrow of this Constitution, while it has prated to us, and the greatest among us at the North, of its purity and sacredness. But for this infernal school of poli-tics, its insidious and crafty corrupter of pulpits and seminaries of learning through these many years of its intense labor, we should long since have unloosed the shackles of the slave. The truth is, we are not a free people in the sense of many of the noble founders of this republic. For considerations of gain and political power, North and South, by complicity and di-rectly, we have been cruelly unjust to what see deem our inferiors. And if England, a monarchy, has been overbearing and cruel to weaker nations, so also have we, a republic. The form of government or politics is no indication, in either case, of the presence or absence

of justice. In the eyes of the civilized world, this people, to whom all others have a right to look for the best ex-amples of good government, honor and humanity, presents to-day a dark record of the absence of these presents to-say a cark record of the assence of these essential features. And it is beginning to be more and more evident, that so unobservant had we become of the plainest principles of right and honor, that nothing short of a revolution through which we are now passing could bring us to see ourselves as we are seen. The first step to extrication from our troubles like in seeing and in beautily acknowledging our great lies in seeing and in heartily acknowledging our great injustice to the slave. If our national sufferings bring us to this point, the day of our deliverance will soon draw nigh. But if we artfully dodge this momentous question, and continue to couch the dodge in phrases so fraught with selfishness as that of "military ne cessity," now that Divine Providence seems to open before us this golden opportunity to perform a long sought act of justice, then, if it be done in spite of us, with or without our instrumentality, and against our will, in all time to come we shall deserve only the

name and the brand of cowards.

If the country is to be saved, we must in all cases be willing to do ample justice. Not only must the slave he liberated, but generous as well as suitable provision must be made, in consonance with his wishes, too, for his fature home. If his freedom is effected by the violence of war, our dealings with him afterward should be especially tender. If there is a human being on this continent deserving of our warmest with the continent deserving of our warmest violence of war, our dealings with him afterward should be especially tender. If there is a human being on this continent deserving of our warmest sympathies, it is this poor, down-trodden brother. Whether the country is ready for this unquestioned at of justice cannot be so well discrened through the conflicting pollitical elements. That we shall never prosper as a people till this great work be done, and done heartily and thoroughly, is most certain. Should it take place while yet in our power to direct it, then war will cease in our borders. We shall regain our long-lost self-estimation, and the civilized world will cheerfully welcome us to the circle of the mations. Then shall the oppressed once more find it, in a dearer sense than ever, a land of the brave and free.

Mr. PILLERS A. S.

ANTI-SLAVERY LABORS IN ILLINOIS.

ALBANY, Feb. 12, 1862. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,—The following extracts of a letter from our excellent coadjutor, Mr. Edwin R. Brown of Illinois, may interest your readers. Since the suspension of the Anti-Starery Bugle, the Western Abolitionists and the agents there have no journal through which to communicate, except the Standard and Liberator.

and Liberator.

Though the tone of the political press at the West is much higher and truer than the Eastern, whatever may be said of the public sentiment and feeling, still, in prejudice against color, and some other pro-slavery manifestations, nothing in their behalf can be boasted. And so our few noble friends there have yet a mighty work on their hands; and I desire to be speak for them every encouragement

Very sincerely yours,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

"You will see by my bill how much of the time I have worked 'with and for' you, since I wrote last. Except in one or two instances, I have had full houses, and always a good degree of interest has been manifest. At two places, I met violent opposition. When I spoke in one town last winter, a number of 'the faithful' pledged themselves never to permit another Abolition meeting to be held there, and gave me fair warning. A short time since, however, I went, have ing been invited to do so by the friends. I had just begun my lecture, when fourteen rowdies came in, i a body, led on by a rabid old blackguard of 70 years, a man of property, if not of standing. I smelt whis key and 'rot' at once. He called on his men to 'sail in'; the intention being to put me out of the house; but they were met by a larger number, who were for fair play, and a storm of words and threats raged for half an hour, while I stood quietly waiting the issue. The mobites were at last squelched, and I finished my

lecture in comparative quiet.

The same gang followed on, three miles, to my next meeting, on the following evening, and we had another stormy time; but I was able to go on with my speech,—a Democrat standing at one side of the desk and an Abolitionist at the other, for my protect

cipation to a company of threshers, a man came at me with a pitchfork, and the look of a flend; but as I only laughed at him, he went back to his place.

With these exceptions, I have had good order, ometimes the unanimous amon of the hearers. I will not trouble you farther with incidents. Your experience will suggest most of them. Last Sunday, I discoursed at the funeral of the daugh-

Last current, I discoursed at the timera of the dadge-ter of a stanch old Anti-Slavery friend, in this town. A large audience was present. How is the idea of compulsory colonization received.

in the East? To me, it seems the sublime of meanness. I see nothing in our papers in relation to it. ness. I see nothing in our papers in relation to it.

Here, our emancipationists are generally preaching
expatriation as a necessary consequence. The quality
of our Anti-Slavery is not equal to the quantity. Our
Constitutional Convention will 'stake and rider' the
Black Code which fences the negro out of Illinois.

I suppose we are 'on the eve of great events,' again. Mr. Seward says so, and he may be right. A clock with no 'works' inside is right once in the of great ever

GREAT VICTORIES-THE BACKBONE OF THE RE-BELLION BROKEN!—The last week has chronicled a succession of victories by the Federal over the rebel forces on a scale of such magnitude as to indicate a speedy termination of the struggle, by the overthrow of the Southern Confederacy. The particulars, in brief, may be found in another column; though we could occupy our entire sheet with the thrilling accounts of the various battles, all of them desperately contested, but in every instance resulting in the cap-ture of the rebel strongholds, with thousands of pris-oners, &c. &c. The intelligence has been every where received at the North with demonstrations of patri otic exultation-with illuminations, bonfires, the ring ing of bells, the discharge of cannon, from Eastport to the Mississippi. In the Legislature of Massachusetts on Monday last, the following resolutions were unaninously adopted :-

mously adopted:—
Resolved, That the two Houses of the General Court, on behalf of themselves and the people of the Commonwealth, present their thanks to the gallant officers, soldiers and sailors of the army and navy of the United States, on the occasion of the series of brilliant victories recently won by their courage and skill in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Missouri, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee.
Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to order a salute to be fired in honor of the great success of the army of the Union.

Twelfth Baptist Church, in Boston, a few days before Harriet Tubman left the city, where addresses were delivered by several gentlemen, and also by the Beneficiary herself. A donation festival took place imp after in the vestry, the pecuniary result of to prepare. It is, however, hoped that on some future occasion a testimonial will be tendered, more in keeping with their appreciation of her services in the cause

DESERVED. We learn that the Union Progre Association recently presented their President liam C. Nell, a handsome copy of Worcester's illustrated Quarto Dictionary.

Wm. C. Nell announces that the Crispus At-tucks Commemoration, March 5th, will this year be observed in a novel and attractive manner. Particu-

EDUCATION OF THE CONTRABANDS. A meeting of persons interested in sending teachers to the contrabands at Fortress Monroe and Port Royal was held in the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Union, Friday week, the Rev. E. Hale, the President of a previous meeting, in the chair. The Rev. J. M. Manning, from a committee, reported the draft of a constitution for the association proposed to be organized,

UNION AND REBEL VICTORIES.

June 17—Booneville,
July 5—Brier Forks, (Sigel's victory.)
July 11—Defeat of Pegram by McClellan.
July 18—Carrick's Ford, Gen. Garmett killed, ro.
Aug. 28—Hatterns Forts.
Sopt. 10—Bout of Floyd, Gauley Bridge.
Oct. 6—Second defeat of rebels at Hatteras.
Oct. 11—Repulse at South Pass.
Oct. 25—Charge of Fremont's Body Guard.
Oct. 27—Romney, (Kelly wounded.)
Oct. 27—Fredericktown, Missouri.
Nov. 7—Port Royal.
Dec. 13—Camp Alleghany, Virginia.
Dec. 18—1,000 rebels captured by Pope in Miss
Dec. 18—Dranesville.

c. 18—Dranesville.

1862
Second Repulse at Santa Rosa.
Humphrey Mariahll's rout.
Capture of rebel batteries in S. Carolina.
Mill Spring, (Zollicoffer killed.)
Fort Henry.
Roanoke Island.
Fort Donelson, (15,000 prisoners taken.)
REBEL VICTORIES, 1861.

ril 12—Fort Sumter.

April 12—Fort Sumter. June 10—Big Bethel. July 21—Bull Run. Aug. 10—Wilson's Creek on's Creek, (Gen. Lyon killed.)

Sept. 20—Lexington. Oct. 21—Massacre of Ball's Bluff. Nov. 7—Belmont. 1862, NONE. Union victories, 24; Rebel victories, 7; ratio, 3 to 1.

A Week of Triumph. The week that has closed as been one of almost unalloyed triumph. We recapitulate as follows:—

The capture of Fort Henry.
 The victory at Roanoke.
 The apture of Edenton, Elizabeth City, etc., etc.
 The destruction of the Rebel Navy in the North

Carolina waters.

5. The retreat of the Rebels from Bowling Green.

6. The capture of several prizes at sea.

7. Further advances towards Savannah.

8. The fight at Fort Donelson.

The intelligence from Europe, that the Great Powers intend to respect the Blockade, turn their backs on Privateering, and in all other respects leave us to manage the rebels in our own way.

nanage the rebels in our own way.

The capture of Fort Donielson, with three rebel Gen-rals and 16,000 prisoners, begins the present week uspiciously. Next to the capture of Roanoke Island, it is the greatest victory of the war—Ibid.

SURRENDER OF FORT DONELSON -TURE OF GENERALS JOHNSTON AND BUCKNER, AND 15,000 PRISONERS-&c.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 17. The following is a special

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 17. The following is a special dispatch to the Times:

Fort Donelson, Feb. 16th. Fort Donelson surrendered at daylight this morning unconditionally. We have Generals Buckner, Johnston and Buscherod, and 15,000 prisoners and 3000 horses. Generals Pillow and Floyd with their brigades ran away on steamers, without letting Buckner know their intention.

Gen. Smith led the charge on the lower end of the Fort Henry runaways were bagged here. The prisoners are loading on the steamers for Cairo. Our loss is heavy, probably 400 killed and 800 wounded. We lose a large per centage of officers, among them Colonels Ewin, of the 20th Illinois, White of the 31st, and Smith of the 48th Illinois. Colonels John A. Logan, Sawyer and Ransom are wounded.

Colonels Erwin, of the 20th Illinois, White of the 81st, and Smith of the 48th Illinois. Colonels John A. Logan, Sawyer and Ransom are wounded.

Major Post, of the 8th Illinois, with 200 privates, are prisoners, and have gone to Nashville, having been taken the night before the surrender.

The enemy's loss was heavy, but not so large as ours, as they fought behind intrenchments. We should have taken them by storming on Saturday, if fur ammunition had not given out in the night. McClernand's division, composed of Oglesby's, Wallace's and McArthur's brigades, suffered terribly. They were composed of the 8th, 9th, 11th, 19th, 20th, 20th, 30th, 31st, 46th, 48th and 49th Illinois regiments.

Gen. Lewis Wallace, with the 11th Indiana, 8th Missouri and some Ohio regiments, participated. Taylor's, Willar's, McAlister's, Schwartz's and Decesse's Latterles, were in the fight from the commencement. On Sunday morning, the enemy were met on their approach by a white flag, Buckner having sent early in the morning a despatch to Gen. Grant aurrendering. The works of the fort extend some five miles on the outside.

outside.

The rebels lose 48 field pieces, 17 heavy guns, 20,000 stand of arms, besides large quantity of commissary.

tores.

The rebel troops are completely demoralized, and ave no confidence in their leaders, as they charge

The rebel troops are completely demoralized, and have no confidence in their leaders, as they charge Pillow and Floyd with desertion.

Our troops from the moment of the investment of the fort on Wednesday, lay on their arms night and day, half the time without provisions, and all the time without tents: A portion of the time there was a heavy storm of rain and snow.

No officer in the army had any idea of Fort Donelson's defences until they had been gained and examined.

son's defences until they had been gained and examined.

Several men, when out of ammunition, rushed forward, and although exposed to the full force of the rebel artillery, gallantly drove their foes back with the bayonet, and captured their guns.

The following are the names of some of the rebel officers captured: Col. Gault, Col. Voorhies, Col. Forrest, Col. Brown, and Col. Abernethy.

Some of our best officers and men have gone to their long home. Hardly a man that went over the field after the battle, but discovered some comrade who had fallen. We lost three Lieutenant-Coloniels, and at least one-quarter of the other officers are wounded or killed.

The rebels had all the advantage of position, being

ed or killed.

The rebels had all the advantage of position, being well fortified on two hills, with their fort near the river on a lower piece of ground. From the foot of their entrenchments, rifle pits and abattis extended up the river behind the town of Dover. Their fortifications on the land side, back from the river, were at least four miles in length. Their water battery was in the centre of the fortification where it came down to the river and mounted nine heavy guns.

least four miles in rengin.

the centre of the fortification where it came down to the river, and mounted nine heavy guns.

The rebels were sure of success. In any other cause and against less brave troops, they could easily have held the position against 109,000 men.

The rebel Surgeons place their loss at between 300 and 400 killed, and double the number wounded.

The gunboat assault was terrific, exceeding even the Fort Henry bombardment. It lasted about an hour and a half. The enemy had fronting on the river two batteries, the lower one of nine and the upper one of four guns, besides a 10-inch columbiad. The wooden gunboats Tyler and Conestoga were engaged in the fight. Flag-officer Foote pronounced the engaged in the fight. Flag-officer Foote pronounced the engagement the hottest he ever witnessed. upper one of four guns, besides a 10-inch columbiad. The wooden gunboats Tyler and Concetoga were engaged in the fight. Flag-officer Foote pronounced the engagement the hottest he ever witnessed.

The Memphis dispatch to the Richmond papers enumerates seven robel ateamers that were either burnt or sunk during the trip of the Federal gunboats up Tennessee river, and two that were captured. Only one rebel steamer escaped.

The New York Post sums up the results of the Trecent splendid victories of our troops as follows:

We have taken, by these actions, two large divisions of the enemy's army; we hold as prisoners no less than four of their generals, a score of colonels, majors and lieutenants by the hundreds, and privates to the number of sixteen thousand at lesst. We have compelled the aurrender of six important strategie points, possessed ourselves of vast quantities of ammunition and supplies, and driven whatever remains of the rebel army of the West entirely out of Missouri and Kentucky, and away from the sea cost of North Carolina. But the points of strategy gained by the Unionists are still more valuable than the actual gain in men and means. By the fall of Donelson the whole of Tennessee, and with Tennessee the Gulf States, is opened to the advance of our troops.

St. Louis, Feb. 16. Gen. Halleck has received dis-

Sr. Lours, Feb. 16. Gen. Halleck has received dispatches from Gen. Cartis, stating that Price's rear guard was overtaken in the pursuit from Springfield, and after a brief resistance the rebels fiel, leaving the road strewn with their wagons and baggage. Gen. Curtis reports that he has taken more prisoners than he knows what to do with.

Sr. Louis, Feb. 18. The following dispatch is from

West is doing its duty nobly:

West is doing its duty nobly:

W. H. HALLECK, Major General.

CAPTURE OF GEN. PRICE AND STAFF! Washington, War Department, Feb. 19, 1852. The ollowing despatch was received at Headquarters to-

day:—
"Sr. Louis, Feb. 19—10.30 A.M. To Major Gen.
McClellan—Gen. Curtis has captured Gen. Price, Col.
Dorsey, Col. Cass and Capt. Judge of Gen. Price's
staff. (Signed,)
H. W. HALLECK, Major General."

SEDALIA, (Missouri,) Feb. 19. Brig. Gen. Edward Price, son of Gen. Sterling Price, Col. Phillips, Maj. Cross and Capt. Crosby were captured near Warsaw and Sunday night by Capt. Stubbs, of the Sth Iowa Iregiment, and brought in.

CONTISCATION RESOLUTIONS IN MAINE. The attention of the Senate in the Maine Legislature was almost exclusively occupied fast week with a debate on a series of resolutions relating to the confiscation of slaves. An amendment was offered, embodying the famous Critenden resputton, passed by Congress at its extra session, to which was attached a full endorsent the president's construction of the Constitution. of the President's construction of the Constitu-nd his war policy. They were referred to the nittee on Federal Resolutions, where another set resented, and reported to the Senate, and imme-r passed by a vote of twenty-four to four, as

Resolved, That we cordially endorse the Administration of Abraham Lincoln in the conduct of the war against the wicked and unnatural enemies of the Republic, and that in all its measures calculated to crush this rebellion speedily and finally, the Administration is entitled to and will receive the duwavering support of the loyal people of Maine.

Resolved That it is the data of Comment has the conductive that the conductive the conductive that the conductive tha

is entitled to and war records
of the loval people of Maine.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress, by such
Resolved, That it is the rights and safety of the Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress of the configuration of the configuration of the configuration of extates, real and personal, of rebels, and for the forfeiture and liberation of every slave claimed by any person who shall continue in arms against the authority of the United States, or who shall in any manner aid and abet the present wicked and unjustifiable rebellion.

manner aid and abet the present wicked and unjustifiable rebillion.

Resolved, That in this perilous crisis of the country, it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, to "raise and support armies," to provide by law for accepting the services of able bodied men of whatever status, and to employ them in such manner as military necessity and the safety of the Republic may demand.

CONTRABANDS IN WASHINGTON. Marshal Lamon has yielded to the orders of the Government, and issued the following order:—

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 9, 1862.

To Juiler and Guards of the Public Juil in the District of Columbia:

of Columbia:
You will this day release from custody all persons claimed to be held to service or labor, and not charged with any crime or misdemeanor, who are now in jail, who have been there for the space of thirty days or upwards—from their arrest and commitment—and in future you will, in regard to persons claimed to service or labor, and not charged with crime or misdemeanor, govern rourself in strict accordance with the order to me as Marshal for the District of Columbia, of date January 25th, 1802, from Hon. Secretary of State.

Respectfully, Waan H. Lamon,
United States Marshal, District of Columbia."

PORT ROYAL AND THE COTTON CROP. It appears at considerable supplies of cotton may still be found that considerable supplies of cotton may still be found on Edisto Island, if a reconnoissance in force should be made. The negroes report that there are small quantities of cotton hidden in various localities, and small quantities of unginned are to be found in nearly all the plantations on Edisto Island.

The despatches say it is worthy of note as indicating the changes in the blacks, that now they express themselves most anxious to obtain arms. The black man who has general superintendence of the colony wished to land his force in Rockville, and drive the rebel soldiers back corressing the utmost confidence

rebel soldiers back, expressing the utmost confidence that with about twenty old muskets that they had picked up, many of them with flint locks, he would be able to effect his object.

Able to effect his object.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL. Rev. Dr. Strickland writes from Port Royal: "Extensive preparations are being made here for the accommodation of the slaves of the district. Long rows of houses, capable of containing, hundreds of contrabands, have been erected west of the encampment of the provost marshal; and we infer from this that all who have been left on the islands will be sept here for safe keeping. One end of the building on the east is partitioned off for church and school purposes, having all the appointments necessary therefor."

DISKEGARD OF THE CONSTITUTION. Messrs. Cobb, Toombs, Crawford and Cobb, of Georgia, in their address to the people of that State, say:

"Our enemy has exhibited an energy, a perseverance, and an amount of resources which we had hardly expected, and a disregard of Constitution and laws which we can hardly credit."

which we can hardly credit."

If it were not for the seriousness of the subject, it would be amusing to read a lecture from the South on the "disregard of the Constitution" exhibited by the North! Men who have spit upon the Constitution and the flag and the fame of their country, dishonered the mother who hore them, and trampled under foot the principles of the fathers of the Republic, now affect astonishment at "the disregard of the Constitution" exhibited by the North!—New York Observer.

A Lie Squelched. The silly story, first broached in Congress, that on the publication of Mr. Cameron's Report, five Illinois regiments laid down their arms and refused to serve their country, is without a shadow of foundation. It had its origin, as we gather from the proceedings of the House, in some random talk indulged in by the Hon. John A. Logan, which was afar from the truth as one of his speeches; and it is merciful to suppose that that gentleman was "unduly excited", when he invented a casard so prejudicial to the loyalty of his State. Illinois follows the flag, and her troops never lay down their arms !—Chicago Tribune.

Loss or Honses. It is truly heart-sickening to read the account of the loss of horses sent on ship-board from Boston to Ship Island. One hundred and fifty-three horses were put on board at Boston, and out of these one hundred and forty-seven died on the passage, and were thrown overboard! Only six arrived at Ship Island! The loss to the Government is estimated at from \$50,000 to \$60,000, and is all to be attributed to gross ignorance and blundering on the part of the Government official who had the charge of shipping the poor creatures.

LOYAL BLACKS HELPING OUR SOLDIERS. LOYAL BLACKS RELPING OUR SOLDIERS. We learn from Hatteras that loyal blacks from North Carolina helped to man the fleet of Flag-Officer Goldstorough, and to serve the guns which have sunk Lynch's boats and compelled the surrender of Roanoke Island. The navy, although a large proportion of its highest officers are from the slave States, has not been in the habit of examining a seaman's complexion before shipping him. "Can you fight?" is the only question.—N. Y. Tribune.

question.—N. Y. Tribune.

Poon Bright. Another added to the political mornality list. Cause—the Inevitable Nigger. Poor Bright! A decent man enough, but never otherwise, in an unlucky day he married a family of niggers and a Kentucky plantation. Since that time, his course has been downward. His love of man-selling and woman-whipping, acquired after he grew up to manhood, obliterated his love of justice and his love of country; and now, expelled from the Senate as a traitor, he is an object of abhorrence to every patriotic man. So the virus of slavery works.—Chrago Tribune.

The first of saving which was a president for aix years of the Southern Confederacy. It must require a marvellous amount of coolness and hopefulness to keep his inaugural from reading like a funeral oration. While he will be haunted by the ghosts of Zollicoffer and Wise, and depressed by the clustering losses of Roanoke Island, Forts Henry and Donelson, and Savannah, he can brighten by only as he congratulates Virginia that

The day being the historic 22d of February, President Lincoln has issued a proclamation, recommending to the people of the United States that, on that day, "they assemble in their customary places of meeting for public solemnities, and celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Father of his country, by causing to be read to them his immortal Farewell Address."

dress."

37 The Washington correspondent of the New York Evening Post says that after each anti-slavery lecture in the Smithsonian Institute, complaint is made by the "old fogies" of the use made of the Institute lecture-room, so that the President of the Lecture Association, Rev. John Pierpont now makes it a rule to precede each lecture with the statement that the Institute is in no wise responsible for the lectures delivered in this course. This statement is the signal for an explosion of laughter from the audience, and puts them in the best of humor for listening to the discourse which follows.

Sr. Lours, Feb. 18. The following dispatch is from headquarters:—

Sr. Lours, Feb. 18. The following dispatch is from headquarters:—

The Hutchinsons attended a party given by Secretary Chase on Thursday evening, last week, and sang an anti-slavery song by Whittier, for sing the lours of the Control of th

present who always seeminister preaches something they do not some minister preaches something they do not some some seeminister preaches and the related to receive or to distribute the two thousand suits of clothes sent from the tribute the two thousands suits of clothes sent from the tribute the two thousands. It whom they have the machine. North to our prisoners, to whom they have themselves denied every comfort, because the packages were not addressed to the "Confederate States."

BT Senator Morrill of Maine, of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, has prepared a bill for the immediate emancipation of the slaves of the District, about 3000 in number, paying loyal owners \$300 for each slave.

GENROE THONTRON. This gentleman has recently been lecturing in England, on the subject of "American Affairs." Some years since, when a member of the British Parliament, he visited this country, to witness the workings of our inalitudions, and we very well recollect that he was charged, on his atrival, by what was then known as the Democratic party, (since happily dead,) with being an emissary of the British aristocracy, ent here to sow the seeds of disunion, and to overthrow our Republican form of Government. The Slave Power knew well the character of the nian, and that it was dangerous to allow him freedom of speech. He was requested to address the people of Boston, Springfield and Philadelphia; but in all these cities the halls and public places were closed against him through pro-slavery influence. Where are his accusers now, and where do we find him They are in arms against our free institutions, and vainly trying to overthrow one of the best forms of overnment over devised by man, while he is found raining down siedge-hammer blows on the heads of the vile traitors, and defending the course of the Administration in its efforts to crush out this unholy rebellion.—Clester (Pa.) Republican.

The Rev. J. Sella Martin, of this city, was well received in England, where he was engaged in upholding the Union cause. He has done more for that cause in England than has been done by any white American, and the English naturally listen to him more readily than they would to white men, most of the latter not speaking adversely to slavery. Mr. Martin vindicates the course of the North in all respects. At Ipswich, three clergymen threw their pulpits open to him, and he had crowded congregations at all three services. Two days later, he made a long address to a numerous audieoge, the Mayor of Ipswich presiding; and a unanimous vote of thanks was adopted by the meeting. Let him be remembered, and let not the liberality of the English in these instances be forgotten—Boston Traveller.

RECEPTION MERTING. Rev. J. Sella Martin, on returning to his congregation after a six months' ab. The Rev. J. Sella Martin, of this city, was well

eturning to his congregation after a six months' ab-ence in England, was greeted by a large reception meeting at Joy Street Church, last Monday evening. The interesting exercises terminated with a social rathering in the vestry.

THE FEDERAL LOSS AT THE TAKING OF ROLNORE.
ISLAND. Despatches from the Burnside Expedition
state that the Federal loss at the taking of Roanske
Island was 42 killed and about 140 wounded; the rebel
loss was 30 killed and less than 100 wounded. Three
thousand prisoners were captured by our troops, and
all their gunboars burnt or taken except two, which
sceaped in the canal. The troops which particularly
distinguished themselves were the 21st, 26th and 27th
Massachusetts, the 9th and 61st New York, and the
10th Connecticut. The rebels were driven from their
intrenchments by the Hawkins Zouwes and 21st Massachusetts. Edenton has been taken without resistance.

EVACUATION OF BOWLING GREEN. The following letter, dated Louisville, February 12th, appears in the New York Herald:—

New York Headd:—

"Bowling Green has been evacuated. The statements sent you on the 10th and 11th have been fully confirmed. The facts stated in my letter in regard to the movements of Floyd's and other brigades on the 25th of January have been sustained. The last of the robels left the place on Monday, having removed all their goods and property. The splendid iron railroad bridge and turnpike bridge have been blown up and burned. Everything in the least valuable to our troops has been destroyed, and Gen. Hindmann has laid waste the country from Cave City to Bowling Green.

waste the country from Cave City to Bowling Green.
It was believed at Richmond that the Union troops
were marching on Weldon. The citizens of Weldon
deserted that place in a panie, taking with them their
slaves and household goods, and, in some cases, burning their houses. Transport vessels, filled with Union
trop ps, were ascending the Chowan river, their destination being, it was supposed, Weldon. The slaves
on the plantations on the Blackwater river were being
employed in obstructing that stream in various ways,
to prevent the ascent of the Union vessels. It was
thought at Suffolk that that place would also be attacked. Troops from Petersburg had arrived there to
defend it. Gen. Blanchard was in command. The
defences immediately around Richmond were being
strengthened.

strengthened.

Panis, 21. The Independence Belge asserts that the Southern Commissioners have informed the English Government that in return for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, they would establish most absolute free trade for 50 years, abolish the external slave traffic, and emancipate all the blacks born after the recognition. These offers, however, will not determine Lord Palmerston to abandon the policy of neutrality.

The Virginia journals state that the attempt to make the Merrimac sea-worthy, as an iron-plated rhip, has again failed. She was over-weighted. Never having been meant to wear armor, the stout ship refuses to serve in it. The labors of the rebels on her resemble much those of a band of Nootta Sound savages, when they chance to find a wreck on their coast.

Captain John Brown (son of the John Brown whose soul is "marching on,") arrived at Fort Leavenworth a few days since from Detroit, Michigan, and was accompanied by forty recruits, one of whom was with his father in the Harper's Ferry tragedy. Capt. Brown's company is now full, and is assigned to Col. Jennison's regiment.

Jennison's regiment.

The A special dispatch, dated Leavenworth, February 14th, says that after several interviews between Generals Lane and Hunter, it is evident that amicable arrangements are impossible. General Lane will return to the Senate without delay.

23 John C. Breckinridge, in an address to the people of Kentucky, asking votes for himself as candidate for a seaf in the rebel congress, takes pains to tell them he is utterly opposed to a reconstruction of the old government on any terms. Of course, he is. Such reconstruction involves an unpleasant suspension of such traitors as himself.

It is announced in the rebel papers that Gen. Beauregard reached Columbus on the day that Fort Heury was captured.

The Legislature of Delaware has refused to abolish slavery, and declined to support the Federal Government. Such loyalty is treason.

The Dedham Gazette thinks George Lunt ought to be ducked in a horse-pond. Has our friend no bowels of compassion for the horses !— Roxbury

Journal.

DEATH OF DR. LUTHER V. BELL. Advices from Washington announce the death of Dr. Luther V. Bell, of Charleston, Mass. Brigade Surgeon of Gen. Hooker's Division of the Army of the Potomac. Dr. Bell was born in Francestown, New Hampshire, in 1806, but came to this State in early youth. Perhaps he was best known to the public as Superintendent of the Insane Asylum, at Somerville, a position which he filled with great ability and success. DEATH OF HON. WM. APPLETON. Hon. Willia Appleton died at Longwood, Saturday morning, at

Appleto. o'clock.

27 Hon. Wm. Pennington, ex-Governor of New Jersey, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the last Congress, died at Newark, Sunday, at the age of 68.

President Felton of Harvard College is dan-gerously ill at the residence of his brother in Chester County, Pennsylvania. AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the American

Mamaroneck, N. Y., Toesday, Peb. 25.
New Rochelle, "Thursday, " 37.
Peiday, " 28. Pleasantville, " Saturday, March 1. LEOMINSTER AND FITCHBURG.—PARKER

Leominster, Saturday even'g, March 1.
Fitchburg, Sunday " ". 2. Sunday at 7 o'clock.

JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., will deliver his lecture, "A Plea for Emaneipation," in Wess
Sunday afternoon, March 2d. On Sunday evening, he will
deliver his lecture in Sheldonville, on "The Cause and the Effect of the Rebellion."

JOHN S. ROCK, Eso., will deliver his leet "A Plea for Emancipation," where he may be invited, for a trifle over his expenses. His address is No. 6 Tremont Street, Boston.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak on "Common Sense |

In Hopedale, Sunday, A. M., Feb. 23.
On "The War," in Sunday evening, Feb. 23.
Rock Bottom, Monday " 24.
East Cambridge, Sunday, " March 2.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has remoted to

184 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Par-ioniar attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hears from 2 to 4, P. M.

THE RETRIBUTION WAITING. Not yet! not yet! our cup is not yet drained.
We see not yet the angel through the lees;
But when He wills it,—when our Father ple
We then shall meet you with a soul unstained.

Our blood must wash this blood-stain ! 'tis dec

We thought not this, sipping the surface fair; Our lot with yours we did not then compare:— for this our hearts and hearths, like yours, must Sons must be torn from mothers; spouse from spou Brother meet brother in the angry fray! Ye knew this wrong could not be borne, alway: We knew it not,—wrapt in our deep carouse.

But the hour cometh! now we watch and wait The Christ will come again—we hid him long In a dark sepulchre: but angels strong. Pull at the stone, and soon will ope the gate.

The Eastern lights are rounding to the West. Despair not, then, ye patient little ones !

Come with your token-budgets to our doors Your feet are sandaled for the opal floors,— While we creep, bleeding, over unbewn stones.
Milney, Jan. 4, 1862.

Happening to be in Deerfield, Mass., a few days lines, the following unpublished, but spirited effusions pon the rendition of Thomas Sins and Anthony Burns, written at the time by a much respected citizen of that lace,) were read to us in manuscript by a friend. We leem them worthy of printing, even at this late day, as lare-hunting at the North is not yet ended.—[Eb.

LINES,

Written on learning that Thomas Sims had been de to the " man-stealers" in Boston.

And will ye bow your free-born necks beneath the tyrant oke, or these chains more galling still than those you

fathers broke?

And can ye calmly take your stand around those fathers

Shall Lexington be silent now? Shall Fancuil Hall be

ker Hill ? cott bear his manly breast on Freedom's battle martyred Warren bleed, to teach you thus t

Did Hancock, Adams, Otis, with all the patriot train, Toil through long years of agony, and doubt, and strife, in Have ye forget the lessons these noble heroes taught?

ye give up the heritage by their en-bought? Shall Freedom's holy altar-fires be suffered thus to wane

Shall Freedom's holy altar-bres so sunered thus to wan?
And will ye pile no sacrifice within her sacred fane?
Here in your "Ancient Commonwealth" shall man be bought and sold,
That ye may worship at the shrines of Cotton and of Gold?
Shame I shame upon your recreant souls, if things like these can be!

these can be! Shame, if "Old Massachusetts" no longer dare be free! Rouse up, rouse up, in Freedom's cause! Up, in the nam

sot bear the brand of guilt that's stamped upon your

brow;
Ye must cast off the venal chains that bind your spirit.

now.

By all the stirring memories that cluster round the past—
By all the love ye bear the land in which your lot is cast—
By all the bright and glorious hopes which round your fu-

ture throng-.

By all your sacred love of right, and burning hate o wrong—
By all the faith in Christian truth with which your be

By all your hopes of heaven, and all your fears of hell— And by the llving God above, the God in whom ye trust— Ye will not see His image thus trampled in the dust;

This blot of infamy may not upon your souls remain— Ye must, ye can, ye will wipe off this dark and damning

Deerfield, Mass.—1851.

. ON THE RETURN OF ANTHONY BURNS TO SLAVERY.

Once more, O Massachusetts 1 you've vilely bent the knee Once more proclaimed to earth and heaven that you dare not be free! more the haughty tyrant's foot your sacred soil has tred;

sred; some your back he's scored and gashed, and made you kiss the rod; more you've grovelled in the dust at his imperial

Deck,
And felt the iron heef of power again upon your neek;
Once more you've girt your armor on to guard th' unh

And make anew the slavish boast that you've "m more your shining bayonets have glistened in the

ush the light of Freedom out, and help the deed be

graves,

To brand you with, the epithets of cowards and of slaves!

Their solema voices, and but stern, are walled on the air—
Hear, then, the withering rebuke their thrilling accesses.

And bid a hissing world forget the stock from which yo And but a means,
come;
No longer dare the sacred name of Liberty to mock,
Nor boast of your descent from men who first trod Plymouth Rock;
that lifts its head in pride on Bun

And bar the doors of Fancuil Hall, and keep its echoe still; Let "Independence" be forgot—dare not to breathe the

And on your "glorious Fouth" be still, and hide your head

In shame;

Seal up the sacred book of God, nor dare presume to scan

The page where beams that living truth, "THE RECTI-EMBOOD OF MAN";

Tear every Christian altar down mock not your God with

Look not to Heaven, for Justice sits enthroned in judgme

And He who holds the balance true shall smite you with

Deerfield, Mass.—June, 1854. B. K. H.

HOME IS WHERE THERE'S ONE TO LOVE US.

Home's not merely four square walls, Though with pictures hung and gilded; Home is where affection calls— Filled with shrines the heart hath builded! Home! go watch the faithful dove, Sailing neath the heaven above us;

Home is where there's one to love us. Home's not merely roof and room ; Home's not merely roof and room;
Home now something to endear it;
Home is where the heart can bloom,
Where there's some kind one to cheer it!
What is home with none to meet?
None to welcome, none to greet us?
Home is sweet—and only sweet—
When there's one we love to greet us! The Liberator.

LETTERS FROM ENGLISH ABOLITIONISTS ON THE WAR IN AMERICA.

, (England,) Dec. 7, 1861.

On the great topic of the day, the American Revolution of 1861, there is a wide difference of opinion entertained between New and Old England. Public opinion here I think decidedly recognizes the right of the Southern States to choose their own form of would have made a great difference in the sentiment of this country; but my own deliberate judgment is, that you—the North—have no right to interfere, by force of arms, in the government of the South. As it is, the North is simply fighting for empire. The basest and most brutal tyranny that exists upon the earth is attempting, by force of arms, to sustain itself; for there can be no doubt that thirty-four force of a the subject of the su stand-point that we look upon the revolted colonies of

lieve this yet. A seven-years' war, with all the sufferings it will entail on the whole continent and the spirited young men here, and I dare say with you also, nothing but bitter experience of life will tame the wild blood, and extort from them the recognition of those facts which prudent age always saw, but youth wa

South, and their subjection to Northern ideas, is a sheer impossibility, and therefore absurd to fight for. No doubt distance from the scene of contest, as well as from the passions excited by it, must always present the facts very differently from their appearance to an excited actor in their midst. The difference is natural; the justice and truth of the conclusions of either can have no arbiter but time. We must await the final result, and believe and trust in the goodness of that ever ruling Providence

"which shapes our ends, Rough-hew them how we will."

I dare say you will demur to the doctrine, and see falsympathy of the Free States with the Canadian insurrection; or suppose that now, for any reason—for mere logical reasons in such cases are the veriest moonshine of delusion—the Canadians thought fit to assert their right to govern themselves independently of the not your sympathies involuntarily flow forth towards them in their endeavors? I am sure they would; and just so every lover of liberty, whose personal robbery mean nothing but the expression of revengeful feelings or disappointed ambition. Assuming the truth of the conspiracy, and the traitorism of the South, it is all justified, so far as the thing can be jus-tified, and perfectly so too, as against the North, by the' present attitude and behavior of the North itself. If the South had not availed itself of the opportunities of arming itself. &c. &c., where would it have been of arming itself, &c. &c., where would it have been now, in the face of the overwhelming military power of the North? Take Maryland as an example. The North will not allow the free constitutional expressio of opinion on the part of a "sovereign" State. The dent with your military strength, is seen in the fact that Maryland, in spite of the presence of an over-whelming military force, would have voted herself out of the Union, but for an act of oppression and despot-ism that only has its parallel in Russia and Austria at the present time. And I hold military despotism to be the same everywhere, and that is at present the

coerce the people of the separate States.

I want the Abolitionists of America to take a broader and wider and deeper view of this subject than they have done. I loved them because I thought they were "MEN," not Americans, or New Englanders, or Northerners, but, rising above all such distinctions, were universal men; and to my great grief I found they nearly all sank from this sublime height to the level nearly all sank from this sublime height to the level or Americans. It affords me an illustration and proof of the power of public opinion over the very strongest minds; and, very probably, had I been living with you, I should have shared your feelings, and joined in your policy; for I have tried to measure the one I had been in your midst, I might have been carried away by the flood, I still must record my judgment the Abolitionist body have fallen fro sition in which they stand little higher, at the pervenes, they naturally acquiesce in silence. But nity around them; and that, while they have destroy-ed for themselves the impregnable fortress of their old position, I see no likelihood of military success ing (as success in this world is wont to atone) for dices are arrayed on the side of the South, and

of the Southern ports, it can only have, from your point of view, anti-American results. What a consolation it is to know that, under and beyond all the follies and wretchedness of mankind, there is a Divine wisdom working to Divine ends!

Our sympathy in the cause is as great as ever; and I do not think that the Anti-Slavery feeling has any whit diminished in Britain. It is no evidence of it and thought you too would, in consistency—only regretting that all the slave States had not gone, and that thus the point for which you (Abolitionists proper had been working, had at length been attained. Bu on the other hand, your Government and people of termined to coerce back these seceders—to prepar to those who went forth to battle for the Union, and joined the cry of denunciation against us who still occupied the high ground on which they had placed slavery sympathy, but rather from the opposite, that

that there is a strong undercurrent of genuine ant-slavery motive and feeling among the people. We trust it may increase, and bear fruit abundantly. In the mean time, this bitter feeling against England l been fosfered; and now your officers have committed an outrage on liberty which we fear may bring on war with us! Oh! how our hearts sink in the thought own protection. It would be a dangerous thing for

I farey, prove the crowning triumph of the South.
I carriestly wish we could have given a decided announcement, that we should hold no dealings with the Southern Confederacy; and then we might have left share in the judgments slavery brings on all who sus tain it, and do not repent; for our churches and mer than it, and do not repent; for our curreness and mechants "have not done their duty." And who can say that he has done his duty!—although you about tioniats have more than any maintained the righteous cause in the evil day. We are very anxious you should not lose one inch of your vantage ground in any

• • Truly, you never needed m more than at present; and it was a great mistake to give out, in the spring, that your work was likely to be accomplished for you. I expect you will still have a very great deal to do, for the end is not yet. Oh! I long for your preservation on the right hand and on the left, and that the little salt may not lose its savor!
With very earnest, affectionate sympathy in all

your struggles for the slave, I remain, thine, very sincerely,

It is asked from America-1st. Are the English less against slavery than the

2d. If not, why do so many facts seem to give such

an impression?
I answer to the lat—In my opinion, certain
Test England in any mode that can be called no and I believe the answer would be as sound as at any previous time. A petition in favor of slavery could not be got up, not a public meeting held, I will not say in its favor, but in palliation of its enormity. I hardly know any other question on which Englishmen would individually or collectively sacrifice so much as to maintain that a slave could not tread upon British

erate term of time-perhaps not within centuries-certainly, not within thirty-one years. In times o the old opinions are not dead and let a fee opportunity arise, they will make signs of life. This is the favorable opportunity for slavery to be defended, atoning (as success in this work is work to sawley within some classes amongst us begin their egregious error. They will find at the end, I am afraid, that in uniting their own with the dominant and popular feeling, they have sunk in moral power, and gained nothing by the sacrifice.

You see I am frank and outspoken. My personal regard for my old and dear American friends is not abated. The fact that I thus speak the truth that is in me will, I trust, be evidence of this. I am not without hope that I shall again see them (not all, indeed, for some very dear once are passed away) in their own glorious land—yet to be far more glorious, when all past glories will be forgotien by reson of "the glory that excelleth"—swallowed up as the twinking stars in the glory of the rising sun. But, whether this hope be fulfilled or not, I shall carry my the North is really fighting against slavery. And no very great wonder, when they reflect—

Again-may it not be said, for the slave there are

1st. That the North shall be made to feel its ina

Why, then, should we pray for the success of the North! Well, for one reason—because we cannot help it. But I fear the rout at Bull's Run was a good element for the slave. Declare for emancipation, and see what England will have to say! Not one advocate of slavery will be discoverable for another quarter

We are entitled to the sympathy of Europe only on the ground that this war, as waged by the Federal Government, is, either in its aims or inevitable ten-dencies, a war against slavery. We have hoped it was so; some of us continue to hope against hope that it may be so. The people of Europe, undoubtedly, could not for a long time believe that an administration elected by the free State dealing that the think we are beginning to find that we have made the mistake of expecting "grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles."

thistles."

For twenty years, Mr. Garrison, you have labored to prove that the American Constitution was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and that the only exodus for the slave was over the ruins of

I will not go back to show that the Republican par-ty, through all its influential leaders, its stump orators, in all its conventions, by unanimous votes in Congress, declared that it had not the purpose or the constitu-tional right to interfere with slavery in the States. To a European Abolitionist, that meant that the Re-publican party and its administration would never at

tempt to redeem a single one of four millions of slaves from bondage. Some of us hoped better things. Mr. Lincoln came into power, and the country was plunged into a gigantic war. From the beginning, the sole purpose of the war has been declared to be the preservation of the Union. The President's last message declares—and all his messages contain sub-tractified by the same declaration—if here is accessed. spondence, constantly declares the same thing. To Mr. Dayton he writes, June 8, 1861: "The present, paramount duty of the Government is to save the American Union." And, to remove all doubt as to what he means, he repeatedly and emphatically de-clares that this "paramount duty" is to maintain the old Union, with all the old constitutional guarantees of slavery.

In his first letter of instructions to Mr. Adams, Mr.

In his first fetter of instructions to Mr. Adams, Mr. Seward says—"It may, probably, be stated, perhaps without giving just offence, that the most popular motive in these discontents was an apprehension of designs on the part of the incoming Federal administration bettle to the incitinities of deposits element in the hostile to the institution of domestic slavery in the States where it is tolerated by the local constitutions and laws." (How gingerly!) Mr. Seward forgets, in a long dispatch, to say whether this "apprehension" has any foundation or not; but in his instructions to

has any foundation or not; but in his instructions to Mr. Dayton he says:—

"The attempted revolution is simply causeless. It is, indeed, equally without a reason and without an object. Confessedly, there is neither reason nor object, unless it be one arising out of the subject of slavery." ... "I refrain from any observation whatever concerning the riberality or immorality, the economy or the waste, the social or the unsocial aspects of slavery, and confine myself, by direction of the President, strictly to the point that the attempt a revolution on account of it, (slavery,) is, as I have already said, without reason and without object." ... "The territories will remain in all respects the same, whether the revolution shall succeed or fail. The condition of slavery in the several States will remain just the same, whether it succeed or fail. There is not even a pretext for this complaint that the disaffected States are to be conquered by the United States, and the condition of every human being in them, will remain subject to exactly the same laces and forms of administration, whether the revolution shall succeed, or whether it sall fail. In the one case, the States would be federally connected with the new confederacy; in the other, they would, as now, be members of the United States; but their constitutions and laws, customs, habits and institutions, in either case, will remain the same."

"It is hardly necessary to add to this incontestible statement, the further fact that the new President, as well as the citizens through whose suffrages he has come into the administration, has always repudiated all designs whatever and wherever imputed to him and them of disturbing the system of slavery as it is existing under the Constitution and laws."

Again, in his instructions to Mr. Clay, our minister to Russia Mr. Saward and and any contents the states.

Again, in his instructions to Mr. Clay, our minister to Russia, Mr. Seward says :-

"All existing interests of slavery are protected now, as heretofore, by our federal and State institutions, sufficiently to prevent the destruction or molestation of the institution of slavery, where it exists, by federal or foreign intervention, without the consent of the parties con-

pondence, as officially published, from the fourth of March to the middle of November. Not one gene-rous word for freedom; not an intimation that any-thing else was involved than the old-time right of governments to the allegiance of their subjects, foolish-ly and wickedly excited to senseless and objectless re-1848. Not only so, but our representatives are prohibited from discussing the me

"The President will not suffer the representatives of the United States to engage in any discussion of the merits of these difficulties in the presence of foreign powers, much less to invoke their censure against those of our fellow-citizens who have arrayed themselves in opposition to its authority."

I might multiply such extracts to almost any ex-I might multiply such extracts to almost any ex-tent, and every official utterance of every member of the Cabinet has been in accordance with these doc-trines; and every military order and every military proclamation (not modified or rebuked) corresponds. Not one single slave of the thousands who have field from rebel masters, and signified their loyalty to the Government, has received, from that Government, the bean of freedom, and one. Government, has received, from that to-day as slaves, to be returned to their former masters the very moment their masters profess loyalty. To-day the President of the United States is the largest slave-holder in the country; and Gen. Wool is keeper of the

whether this hope be fulfilled or not, I shall carry my American memories with me to the spiritual home, to which I am swiftly journeying,—memories that will there be radiant with joy and peace, enduring, if the will of the Lord be so, for ever and ever.

I had written thus far when the news of the sad affair of the San Jachton, as the booming of war, came to this country, and was carried by the telegraph to every district. Nothing is stranger to us than the made carries of your little officials to do unauther are target salve pensons.

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is, that the question of slavery is not involved, would not do him injustice. In his instructions Mr. Burlingame, (page 187,) he says:—

ote whether the Federal Government or the Con-

In exact conformity with this doctrine have been all the utterance from Washington. The border slave States have been implored to remain in the Union, because slavery would be safer in the Union than out of it! Not a single slave would have been found in Maryland to-day, but for the presence of free State troops. One hundred and twenty-five thousand free State soldiers stand guard over the slave-pens of Ken-

Islands to confine them in.

Now, Mr. Editor, I hold that Europe has the right—
indeed is bound—to take the Administration at its
word, that "the condition of every human being in
the United (including the second) States will remain

whether it shall fail."

Let us take one peep into this Sodom which Mr.

Seward says shall remain "exactly the same." The

Hilton Head correspondent of the London Star says:

"There are two classes of slaves in the cotton states, as in those of the border: the field hands

Multiply these facts by one million, and we have

status is to remain ancessage, or or or Administration, carrying on war for such purposes, that we ask European sympathy!

We remember Polk and the annexation of Texas,

of its direst danger; and now, whatever the issue of the war, slavery, as Mr. Seward says, is eternal! I have no heart for comments. Just such is the as-pect of our situation to European observers. Let not American Abolitionists join in denouncing them, be-cause they do not ignore facts as clear as neon-day. Let us rather recognize but one relation between us and the present administration, as it has been between us and past administrations—that of undying ho as to enemies of God and Humanity.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

There is no exaggeration in this. Southern slavery does things not charged against the Cities of the Plain; for the last account of which, see the Special Correspondent in the Morning Star of December 13th. And British Anti-Slavery horries to the Land of the things look not amiss. American common-sens will conquer, in spite of all that can be done to hin det it. Every day brings men over to the knowledge, that to quench rebellion in the Southern State. by calling on the loyal, including the colored popula-tion, was from the first the way that civil or military wisdom would have taken for a bloodless solution, and which, after oceans of bloodshed, must be taken who ever dreamt of an exodus of four millions of negroes to go none can say whither. Had General Fremont been let alone, he would have offered emancipation to the slaves on condition of their entering into such engagements as they might, to work for wages for such masters as gave in their adhesion to the new order of things in return for condonation of past rebellion, and for government commissioners appointed to administer the estates of obstinate rebels. And this, accompanied with General Orders against vagrancy, such las a general in the field knows how to give, and the Provost-Martial on horseback to make respected.

A REIGN OF TERROR IN RICHMOND.

From the Albany Express

From the Albany Express.

When the rebellion broke out, the Southern people rejoiced that they had cut loose from the demonstration and the control of the North; in fact, they declared that all sin and vice were to be found north of the Potennae. The South was a perfect paradise of virtue and morality—somewhat contaminated however, by the influence of the Free States. We of the North were low, degraded beings—a modella—steeped in all the depths of crime, unconscious of shame, and addicted to all the vices tending to demoralize and debase humanity. They of the South, who shunned vice as a leper, and guarded with serupulous care their associations, lest corruption and immorality should creep in. Now what is the truth with reference to Southern society, and, the Southern people? We do not propose to describe them ourselves, but will allow the Richmond Examiner, of Wednesday last, to depict the deplorable state of all. ourseives, but will allow the Richmond Examiner, of Wednesday last, to depict the deplorable state of af-fairs in the once quiet and sleepy capital of Virgin-ia. It says:—

"The rowdyism now rife in this city has bee "The rowdy ism now rife in this city has become intolerable, and demands immediate suppression with the high hand. Acts of brutal violence, vulgar refanism and gross indecency are of momentary occurrence in our streets. The most orderly citizen and the most delicate lady are exposed to outrage and insult. No man's life, even, is secure in broad daylight on our most public thoroughfares. To surround knock down, bruise and maltreat has become the pastime of the ruffians who throng our pavements. The evil must be suppressed, or else society mass surrender its authority to brute violence. We must disorganize the social system, resolve ourselves into savages, and prepare for protection by the most effective weapons of self-defence, or else we must as sert the power of the law upon the persons of the

fective weapons of self-defence, or else we must assert the power of the law upon the persons of the roffians and vagaboods that infest our streets and alleys.

"More vigilance should be required of the police, and a larger constabulary employed. Every street-corner should be manned by a policeman in unform, armed to the teeth, whistle in hand, prepared to the teeth whistle in the teeth whistl form, armed to the teeth, whistle in hand, prepared to rally a dozen colleagues on the instant of disturbance. The license money arising from the rapid increase of grog-shops would seem appropriately employed in invigorating the police. If these furnaces of hell-fire are allowed to dispense at every corner what not merely intoxicates but crazes, surely the revenues which they pay into the city treasury should be expended in protecting the valuable lives which they imperil, and in restoring the order which they disturb. The city by tolerating a thosand dens of iniquity and passion, owes the duty to its population of affording it protegtion from the dangers and outrages thus engendered and preparations. dangers and outrages thus engendered and prepa-ed. The time has arrived for vigilance and summa-ry reform, or else ruffianism, theft, arson, drunken-ness and murder will soon claim the city as their ex-clusive reserve."

In another column of the Examiner, we find the ollowing extraordinary statement, on which it is not ecessary to remark at all:—

necessary to remark at all —

"A few nights ago, the gamblers of Richmond held a convention in this city, and, after the fashion of 'the noble refrigerators' of Congress, transacted their business in secret session. We are informed that one hundred and fifty members of the gambling and 'plug' fraternity were present; that fifty thousand dollars were voted and subscribed to us a fund to carry the next election for Mayor; and that the candidate nominated as likely to unite the gambling and rowdy interests of Richmond is an ungrammatical grocer and whiskey-worm of the name of Dawid J. Saunders. We are very much of the opinion that, if matters are not speedily bettered in Richmond, the gamblers, 'plugs,' and the retired and unsavory whiskey dealer they propose as their candidate, will be in the hands of a vigilance committee before the date of the next municipal election."

PRAYER OF A CONTRABAND.

In one of Mr. Lockwood's (missionary to the contrabands at Fortress Munroe) letters, he reports a portion of one of the colored brother Carry's prayers, though he says it is impossible for him to give its force and beauty, as follows:

though he says it is impossible for him to give its force and beauty, as follows:

"O Lord, if you please, look down upon us this evening, I pray, and give us a closing blessing. We thank and praise thee for all that we have heard from the lips of our Northern brethren, who have come over the briny waters to preach to us the pure gospel. O Lord, though I cannot read thy word, I thank thet that thou hast written it on the table of my heart, and given me an understanding mind, and kept it blazing before my eyes like the sun. Yet, O Lord, I confess that we have never been thankful enough for all thy blessings. We confess that we are like the children of Israel, ever ready to murmur and complain. But for murmurings O Lord, you have given us blessings, and this makes us come for more. O Lord, we believe that you have come to deliver your people. O Lorample the secessionists under foot—bless the Union cause, and right every wrong. Bless the President, the Congress Hall and the Senate. Help them to make laws that shall be for the good of the Union, and the freedom of thy oppressed people, O Lord, I pray. Bless the army and the officers. Make them wis as a serpent, and bold and persevering as a lion, till thy people are delivered. Look this evening upon our dear brethren and sisters and children far away in the home of bondage, especially those who have been carried away by the secessionists. Comfort their minds, and interpose for their deliverance, and if they are not in Christ, bring them in, O Lord, I pray. Remember our dear brother (Jocelpu) who has been with us, and is about to leave: preserve him on the mighty waters, and reward him for his labors of love, and remember our brother (Lockwood) who has come back to us. Strengthen him in the inner and outer man, and give him grace and strength for suffering time, that he may go in and out before us, and do us good. And when you have remembered all, remember me, and after you have done and suffered your holy will with me, please to receive me to yourself, O Lord, I pr

REWARD FOR LOYALTY. The Port Royal correspondent of the New York Tribune, in his account f the destruction of the rebel batteries at Port toyal Ferry, after describing the reireat of the bels before our troops, says that our forces returned s rapidly as possible, leaving the poor negroes to tender mercies of mastes enraged by the loyalty of their slaves to the Federal flag. He says:—

"The negroes were greatly disappointed, having and no notice of the departure of the troops. From "The negroes the departure of the troops had no notice of the departure of the troops every direction, they came running across the fields, loaded with bundles, followed by their wives and children, and in some instances mounted on horses which had lately belonged to less loyal masters. When the were able to get away. We could see which had lately belonged to less loval masters. Few of them were able to get away. We could see them from the deck, slowly and mournfully returning to the cabins. Some of them had no cabins to retire to, for the fire had not spared loval homes. It was sad to think what their fate might be if the rebels returned, as they almost certainly would, to carry back with them the negroes whose willing services we rejected. I must not forget to say that the pilot of the Ottawa was an intelligent slave named William, and that only by his knowledge of the channels and perfect fidelity were the gunboats able to penetrate these treacherous waters, and I am glad to add that he was cordially thanked on the quarter-deck by Capt. Rodgers and Capt. Stevens."

deck by Capt. Rodgers and Capt. Stevens.

"AN ACCURSED STATE." Mr. Times Russell, LLD., is shocked because the chaplain of one of the found that the state of the