EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

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

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All remittances are to be made, and all lette FAII remittances are to se made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent. Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cent

of the Agents of the American, Massachusett, Pi spirania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies authorised to receive subscriptions for The Labouaton.

EF The following gentlemen constitute the Pinancial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, vir :- WENDELL PRILLIPS, EDWUND QUINCY, EDWUND JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



his down as the law or nation. I any later mis-pricip takes, for the time, the place of all munic-tations, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; under that state of things, so far from its being, he States where clavery exists have the exclusive at of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE STATES, but the CONTAINER OF THE ARMY, PER TO CONTAINER OF THE ARMY.

HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. ... From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CYLL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Coroness extend to interference with the institution of

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 12.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1862.

WHOLE NO. 1680.

Refuge of Oppression.

LETTER FROM MONTGOMERY BLATE.

Washington, D. C., March 2, 1862.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of yesterday, inviting me to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York, at the Cooper Institute, on the sixth inst., and requesting my views on the sixth inst., and requesting my views on the subject of the call. I shall not be able to attend the meeting, nor have I the leisure to write out my views upon the subject with the care demanded by the nature of it, but I will offer some thoughts for your consideration.

I do not concur in the proposition that certain States have been "reently overturned and wholly subverted as members of the Federal Union," upon which the call is based. This is, in substance, what the Confederates themselves claim, and the fact that secession is maintained by the authors of this call, for a different purpose, does not make it more constitutional, or prevent them from being actual aiders and abettors of the Confederates.

No one who knows my political career will suspect that my condemnation of this dectrine is influenced by any indisposition to put an end to slavery. I have left no opportunity unimproved to strike at it, and have never been-restrained from doing so by personal considerations. But I have never believed that the abolition of slavery, or any other great reform, could or ought to be effected except by lawful and constitutional modes. The people have never sanctioned, and never will sanction, any other; and WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2, 1862.

that the abolition of slavery, or any other great reform, could or ought to be effected except by lawful and constitutional modes. The people have never sanctioned, and never will sanction, any other; and the friends of a cause will especially avoid all questionable grounds when, as in the present instance, nothing else will long postpone their success.

There are two distinct interests in slavery, the political and property interests, held by distinct classes. The probelion originated with the political class. The property class, which generally belonged to the Whig organization, had lost no property in the region where the rebellion broke out, and were prosperous. It was the Democratic organization, which did not represent the slaveholders as a class, which latched the rebellion. Their defeat in the late political struggle, and in the present rebellion, extinguishes at once and forever the political interest of slavery. The election of Mr. Lincoln put an end to the hopes of Jeff Davis, Wise, et id omne genus, for the Presidency of the Union, and hence the rebellion. It extinguished slavery as a power to control the Federal Government, and it was the capacity of slavery to subserve this purpose alone, which has given it vitality, for morally and economically it is indefensible. With the extinction of its political power, there is no motive to induce any politician to uphold it. No man ever defended such an institution except for pay, and nothing short of the power of the Government could provide sufficient gradification to ambition to pay for such service: and therefore Mr. Toombs said, with perfect truth, that the tion except for pay, and nothing short of the Gowernment could provide sufficient gratification to ambition to pay for such service: and therefore Mr. Toombs said, with perfect truth, that the institution could only be maintained in the Union by the possession of the Government. That has been wrested from it, and the pay is on the side of justice and truth. Can any man who respects popular intelligence think it necessary, with such advantages on the side of justice and truth, to violate the great charter of our liberties to insure their triumph? Such an act, in my judgment, so far from advancing the cause in whose name it is performed, would surely be disastrous, and result in bringing our opponents into power in the name of the Constitutional law or slavery with which we have to deal in "securing permanent peace." * * The problem before us is the practical one of dealing with the relations of masses of two different races in the same community. The calamities now upon us have been brought about, as I have already said, not by the grievances of the class claiming property in slaves, but by the jealousy of caste, awakened by the secessionists in the non-slaveholders.

In considering the means of securing the peace of

Government. But the non-slaveholders of the mountain and high land regions, while for the Union, are not free from the jealousy of caste, and the policy I object to would, if adopted, I apprehend, array them against us. Nor would we succeed in our object if they were finally subdued and exterminated if we left the negroes on the soil; for other, whites would take the country, and hold it against the negroes, and reduce them again to slavery, or exterminate them.

This most benevolent and sagacious statesman predicted all the evils which it has been our misfortune to witness, unless we should avert them by this, the only means which, after the most anxious thought, he could suggest. No statesman of our day has given the subject so much thought as he did, or possesses the knowledge or ability to treat it so wisely. Let us, then, listen to his counsels. By doing so, we shall establish a fraternity among the working-men of the white race throughout the Union which has never existed, and give real free dom to the black race, which cannot otherwise exist. ty. The calamities now upon us have been brought about, as I have already said, not by the grievances of the class claiming property in slaves, but by the jealousy of caste, awakened by the secessionists in the non-slaveholders.

In considering the means of securing the peace of the country hereafter, it is therefore this jealousy of races which is chiefly to be considered. Emancipation alone would not remove it. It was by proclaimates to the laboring whites who fill the armies of rebellion, that the election of Mr. Lincoln involved twantiquation, equality of the negroes with them, and susceptually analgamation, that their jealousy assimulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy assimulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy was simulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy was simulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy was simulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy was simulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy was simulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy was simulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy was first the contrary, it belongs to all races, and it is adopted, to extinguish hostility in the hearts of the masses of the South toward the people of the South. On the contrary, it belongs to all races, and it is the people of the real motives of their action. The fact that they oppose emancipation in their midst in the first ward that plant in the property is the condition which the simportal author of the institution. It was essential, therefore, but the wards all peoples of the single was the condition which the immortal author of the people of the single real read of the contrary, it begains to the first was the condition which the mimortal author of the people of the country as it is the first ward that plant in the first was brought by violence, o make it operative, and such a separation of races she condition which the immortal author of the people of t

HOW AN INTELLIGENT ENGLISHMAN RE-GARDS THE WAR IN AMERICA.

Extract from an able and eloquent speech, delive in Leicester, (England,) on the evening of the 18th ultimo, "to the Entire Liberal Constituency," by P. A. TAYLOR, Esq., M. P.:—

if we left the negroes on the soil; for other whites would take the country, and hold it against the negroes, and reduce them again to slavery, or extensions of the south, without removing them, would result in the massacres of them. A general massacre was on the eve of taking place in the State of Tennessee, in 1856, upon a rising of some of them on the Cumberland; and I have been assured by the Hon. Andrew Johnson, who was then Governor of the Hon. Andrew Johnson, who was then Governor of the State, that nothing but his prompt calling out of the militin prevented it.

But this antagonism of race, which has led to our present calamities and might lead to yet greater, it were recognize it as it is—the real cause of trouble and invincible, and deal with it rationally.

We have but to propose to let the white race hand invincible, and deal with it rationally.

We have but to propose to let the white race hand here to break up the slave system by which the most fertile lands of the temperate zone are monopolized and wastel. That is the result which the most fertile lands of the temperate zone are monopolized and wastel. That is the result which the logic of the census shows is being worked out. The essence of the contest is, whether the white race shall have these lands, on the propose to be the same time to break up the slave system by which the body of the seem that the print of the same time to break up the slave system by which the body of the seem that the print of the same time of break up the slave system whether they shall be held by the black race, in the same time to break up the slave system which the race to which that regions and keep pace with the spirit of the age. It has not an antained and cannot and the community so constituted does not flourish and keep pace with the spirit of the age. It has the cause of the strife in America was slavery; and nothing strong the strip of the country, the same time of the same time does. No political management or sentimentalism can prevent the natural resolution sism can prevent the natural resolution of such a system, in the end, any more than such a means could avail to preserve the Indian possession and dominion.

The rebellion, like the Indian outbreaks, is but a vain attempt to stem the tide of civilization and progress. The treachery, falsehood and crucity perpetrated to maintain negro possession, scarcely less than that of the savages, mark the real nature of the contest. Nevertheless, I beliave it might have been reverted if we had adopted Mr. Jefferson's counsels, and made provision for the separation of the races, providing suitable homes for the blacks, as we have for the Indians. It is essential still, in order to abridge the conflict of arms, and to fraternize the people when that is past, to follow Mr. Jefferson's advice.

This most benevolent and sagacious statesman Northern had an equal right to render slavery illegal within their boundaries, and they had done so. But it was impossible for the South to maintain their domestic institution without trampling upon the State rights of the North, by compelling them, under threat and pressure, to pass even stronger laws for the rendition of fugitive slaves. They could not omaintain slavery within their own boundaries without compelling the citizens of the Northern States to act as their man-hunters. Two things were essential for the existence of slavery in the South—first, the maintenance of those Fugitive Slave Laws to which he had alluded; and, secondly, there was this other condition. Slavery was not more wicked than it was wasteful as an application of labor. Slavery could only exist profitably upon the virgin soils, upon new lands, where the idle scratching of the surface by the slave was sufficient to return an abundant f harvest. These soils were speedily exhausted, and it then became essential to find southward and westward new soils for the introduction of the domestic

Examiner says:

"Until recently, the defence of slavery has labored under great difficulties because its apologists—for they were mere apologists—took half-way grounds. They confined the defence of slavery to mere negro slavery, thereby giving up the slavery principle, admitting other forms of slavery to be wrong. The line of defence, however, is now changed. The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon difference of complexion.

The laws of the Slave States systiff the holding of white hear in source.

There was a practical bearing in this question; as at any time discussion might come on in Parliament in regard to the recognition of the Southern States. There could be no doubt that when the South had proved beyond all question their power of maintaining their independence, they must be recognized by England—so long at least as they retained their law against the slave trade, however much we might detest their institutions. But, as Mr. Disraeli had well observed, the decision as to the time was not a mere question of law or precedent: it might be termed "an instinct of the heart." There was a difference between the alacrity with which England would recognize the birth of a new free State, and the reluctance she would feel to ante-date by a single day the necessity for the recognition of a State, which, after the extracts he had read, the meeting would feel he was justified in branding as men-stealers, women-beaters, and child-branders. (Loud pheers.) The present strife might be likened to a fearful storm in which many a bark of domestic happiness would go down, and the labor of unborn millions would be mortgaged; but they might remember that the darkest hour went before the dawn, and that with the bright sky of to-morrow dawned, it would not be felt that that storm had been useless, for the accursed black bark of slavery had gone down below. (Cheers.)

LET THERE BE NO DECEPTION.

Let us deal truly and kindly with ourselves and our foes in the settlement of our difficulties. To deceive either is useless and cruel. What, then, is involved in the reconstruction of the States upon the same basis and with the status as originally constructed? Evidently, it means that we simply put things back two years or more, so that South Carolina and the other Confederates would be again represented in Congress, and her traitors be eligible to the Presidency, as they were two years ago. Of course, her slaves are all to be restored as fugitives, and her slave code go again into full operation. Then what? We begin afresh our political discussions: Shall slavery go into the Territories? Shall new slave States be admitted, and the Fugitive Slave Law be executed? Again the South begins to beat Northern Representatives with their canes. No; that game is ended. That never could be done again. We have now learned to fight, and cannot put off that spirit so easily. They threaten to secute. No; the first word of that kind would bring the reckless offender to the gibbet as a traitor. That could never be tolerated more. What then must the South do? Sit still, and bear what they cannot answer? For clubs and threats are all they have to meet the arguments of freedom with. But if they are thus forced to yield, they might as well now give up slavery, for soon it would be girdled by this course. "No," says the wiseacre, who knows nothing but the Union as it was, "we will not allow the subject of slavery to be touched. That hateful and accursed firebrand must be buried with rebelion." Ay, but that involves some difficulties. Then the South must be allowed to carry their slaves into new-territory and all through the free States, and anti-slavery men say nothing to prevent it. But reaction which the immortal author of the Declaration himself deduced to be indispensable to the condition which the immortal author of the Declaration himself deduced to be indispensable to the condition which the immortal author of the Declaration himself deduced to be indispensable to the condition which the immortal author of the Declaration himself deduced to be indispensable to the property of the the authority of the Declaration himself deduced to be indispensable to the property of the the condition which we have the condition which the property of the theorem of the Declaration himself deduced to be interested to the Declaration of the Declaration himself deduced to the best of a determination to live up to a mistate mean of the Declaration of the Declaration himself the property of the theorem of the Declaration of the Declarat

could be any question as to the North being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being against slavery, there could be none as to the South being them, and exterminate them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share the sons of the slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share them, if they are to be signed. The slavery is a share the sons of the should be shared them, if they are the same them, if they are the sam build the temple of Liberty.—American Baptist.

"RABID ABOLITIONISM."

The future antiquarian, who shall be driven on this passion for mouldiness to read over the Democratic journals of the present day, will wonder what complication of crimes was embodied in the every entire words, "Rabid Abolitionism."

Horaids and Boston Pasts, in St.

cratic journals of the present day, will wonder what complication of crimes was embodied in the ever-recurring words. "Rabid Abolitionism."

In New York Herads and Boston Posts, in St. Louis Republicans and Detroit Free Presses, he will find ten denunciations of Abolitionism to one earnest censure of Treason, of Theft, or of Murder. He will find fifty columns of anathema piled upon Wendell Phillips, but hardly a word derogatory to the character of Gordon, the pirate, Jeff. Davis, the traitor, or Monroe Edwards, the forger.

Men who live blameless lives, who obey the laws of God and of man, are met with sharper abuse than pimps and cut-throats!

And the antiquary will want to know what is this greatest of crimes? Abolitionism! And who are these greatest of criminals? Abolitionists! He will find that, in Rebeddom, all men born in Free States are Abolitionists. Stephen A. Doughs, Lowis Cass, Millard Fillmore—all these are in the category. As he continues his investigations, he will learn that every man who has ever declared for human freedom, and against human slavery, has at some time had to bear the stigma of Abolitionism—Washington, who hoped the States would one day all be free, and who emancipated his own slaves—Jefferson, who said that all men have an inherent and unalienable right to liberty—and Franklin, who was the first to petition Congress for the emancipation of slaves; and he will find that contempo-

ment of the United States."

It must be put down! Men who prefer freedom to slavery must be put down, no matter how good citizens they are! They must be put down, because they think it. Massachusetts, an "Abolition" State, which sent the first men to the field, must be put down! Kanasa, an Abolition State, although contributing more largely in proportion to her population than any of her sisters, must be put down! Such is the logic of slavery.

Alas, poor antiquary!—Kansas Conservative.

GERRIT SMITH AT WASHINGTON.

Gerrit Smith delivered a cogent and impressive Washington, on the evening of the 1st inst. Below

we give the concluding portion of it:—

Having shown that your war is against the Constitution, the negroes, the country, and freedom, it needs no argument to show that it is against God also. To fight against Freedom is to fight against God, for Freedom is an emanation from His own heart. God is free, and hence all whom He makes in His own image He makes free. In giving them His own nature, He gives them freedom to use it. This is as true of all the races of his children as it is that all of them are equally dear to Him. Hence, to deprive any one of these races of freedom is to rob it of what God gave, and to enter into a controversy with God.

deprive any one of these races of freedom is to rob it of what God gave, and to enter into a controversy with God.

Again, you war against God by refusing to listen to Him. He has words of warning for all people. The never-ceasing and the loudest of them to us are:

"Let my people go! Let my people go!" You have fought, and you still fight, against Him by refusing to listen to these words. They have the emphasis of peals of thunder in the present Providential dealings with this nation. Novertheless, you continue to close your ears, and to harden your hearts against them; and thus do you fight against Him more guiltily than ever before. In these Providential dealings, slavery has been put entirely at the disposal of our Government. Its own inflatuated friends—its own blind worshippers—have put it there. Hence there can be no longer constitutional excusses for sparing it. There are now the highest constitutional obligations to abolish it, because there are now in this terrible rebellion the highest constitutional obligations to do whatever can be done to save the country.

I need say no more to show that your war is against many parties, and that because it is so, it is like to prove unsuccessful. Do you ask how the country can be saved? The answer is at hand: Stop all your other fighting, and fight but against the rebels. Another answer is also at hand: Stop taking counsel of Kentucky, and take counted of the nation. I am not prejudiced against Kentucky. I

love her. I have gazed with delight upon her surpassingly rich blue grass fields, and the fine breeds of cattle grazing upon them. I have enjoyed her unstinted hospitality. I have conversed with her fascinating Henry Clay, and with others of her great men. I acknowledge the eminent bravery of her people. Nevertheless, I cannot admit that the advice of Kentucky should be taken in this war. It can but lead to destruction. For this is a war which slavery has brought upon us. Hence a slave State—a State which is still under the infatuating power of slavery—is not fit to give advice in it. Anti-Slavery men, and Anti-Slavery men only, are fit to shape your policy against a Pro-Slavery war. Indeed, the very best counsellors we could have at this juncture are such men as Garrison and Phillips, and Bryant and Jay, and Tyng and Cheever, and Frederick Douglass. You need men in your national councils at this time who know all about slavery—men who have made the monster their lifestudy. Drunkards know little of drunkenness. Their very drunkenness disables them from knowing much of it. It is the clear-eyed Temperance men who know all about it. Slaveholding disables them from knowing much of it. They are its blinded victims—scarcely less blinded than their fellow-victims—scarcely less blinded than their fellow-victims to some how to resist and conquer it. But, as wel

fit even such a mg.

Davis is to counsel us in this was,
the floor of the Senate to have some of the be
noblest men in the land put to death, simply
they are opposed to slavery. To say the 1
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betrays great weakness in this. As he is m
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help of Brigham Young to put it down. He would be like to prove as weak and unwise against a Polygamy rebellion as does Garrett Davis against a ProSlavery one.

Nevertheless, I say, God be good to Kentucky! We will save her if she will let us. We will save her if she will let us. We will save her if she will not interpose slavery in the way of our saving her. At great cost of Northern life and treasure are we now clearing her of traitors. What could she do in her present distresses without the help of the free States against the slave States? The slave States are her fisends. A very ungrateful return does she make to the free States are froes. The free States are her friends. A very ungrateful return does she make to the free States are refusing to surrender the guilty and sole cause of the war—a very cruel return in clinging to slavery, and in thus keeping open the way for repetitions of the war, and for repetitions of Northern sacrifices on her account.

But Kentucky and Missouri, Maryland and Delaware say: "Our slavery has constitutional rights." They should not be saying so at this time. Nothing has rights now but our distressed and beloved country. This is no time to be mousing through the Constitution in quest of personal or any other rights. But this is the very time for us all to exclaim, out of the fullness of our hearts: "Our property is nothing, our life is nothing, only as they can be used, constitutionally or unconstitutionally, toward putting down this piratical and diabolical rebellion."

But Kentucky and Missouri, Maryland and Delaware go on to say that if they give up their slaves, they should be paid for them. From early manhood I have steadily and earnestly held that the North, inasmuch as she is, to say the least, an equally guilty partner with the South in the stupendous robbery of slavery, should be willing to share with her in the present or temporary loss of emacipation. This I have held, notwithstanding no one abominates more than I do the idea of property in man. Let the States I have

generosity toward as generosity toward as a she explicit loss by such abolition. Lacarda as the expend money toward repairing the loss; and her gratitude and love will go along with her money at I said, stop taking advice of Kentucky. If our nation is lost, it will be because of the large influence of the border States in her counsels. A simple countries in attacking corn-field would in

ation is lost, it will be because of the large influence of the border States in her counsels. A simpleton, seeing that the squirrels in atacking corn-fields began upon the border rows, declared he would invent and get a patent for a corn-field without border rows. I am not so simple as to propose that a nation shall dispense with border States. But I am wise enough to wish that there were no pro-slavery border States. Far more dangerous to our nation are the pro-slavery border States than are the border rows to the corn-field. Far more dangerous are the slaveholders in the one than the squirrels in the other.

I advised taking counsel of the nation instead of Kentucky. All the States north of the border States would to-day vote the abolition of slavery. They would do so, not for the sake of abolishing slavery, but for the sake of abolishing the robellion. They do not claim that the abolition of slavery is the object of the war. That any do, is a gross slander. But they do claim that it is right and obligatory to put down anything and everything which stands in the way of putting down the rebellion. Had the President of the Usited States, who is a man not of strong mind only, but of strong intentions to do justice, been born in New England, instead of Kentucky, the rebellion would have been overcome long ago. With his New England education, he would have let Cameron's anti-slavery have its mighty way, and the proclamation of the intrepid and manly Pathfinder have its mightier way. He would, at the very beginning of the war, have decided that slavery could not be taken care of itself; or, in other words, that the staveholder must, as well as the farmer, merchant, and manufacturer, take the chances of war. Nay, with a true New England in the chances of war. Nay, with a true New England

been sufficient to advertise the four million of dollars. For it would be held a half of enslaved and free blacks which was side of their friends—which was the side for no sympathize with and serve. I, of course, to would have been in harmony. These would have been in harmony. These is, and no all the state of the s

the President modified Fremont's Pro-nd indicated so strongly that hatred on were still to be the policy of the towards the negroes, I have strongly our country was lost. For, believing uth would be pressed by our victoric persuasive counsels and tempting offer. troyed, who shall arraign its wisdom? The on our South will be an exceedingly base r the great mass of its whites will be scarce-guorant and servile than the great mass of a fix will, of course, have no other than an y despotic government. Our own long and remnant of a nation will soon be broken up or three nations. Such will be the end of a Republic that loved slavery more than Strongly do I fear that you stand to-day ery brink of national ruin. Strongly do I, if Government shall persist a few weeks in the insane policy of driving the negroes ope along with them (for Europe will go negroes) into a cordial union with the cause, you cannot escape from falling into

But nothing of what I have said of Emancipation by the South do you believe will come to pass. I own it will not, if you shall hasten to deal justly and wisely with the negroes. And I own it will not, if you shall hasten to deal justly and wisely with the negroes. And I own it will not, if you shall anticipate Emancipation by your surrender to the South. Your acceptance from her of anything short of an unconditional surrender will be your base and guilty surrender to her. No Government can come into a compromise with the Robels against it, without perishing in the compromise. But all that I have said of Emancipation by the South will probably come to pass, if, whilst continuing the war against the Rebels, you shall also continue the war against the negroes.

Why will not the South emancipate? Other people have done so in the straits of war. It has been repeatedly done on this side of the Atlantic, and within the life-time of our agod men. To repel the English invaders of Hayti, the French planters armed and emancipated their slaves. To defeat Spain, her American colonists did likewise. Will the South, because she loves slaver, refuse to emancipate by It is true that she loves it, but she hates the North more. Will she refuse to emancipate because it was in the interest of slavery that she began the war? The blows which she is exchanging with the North have become her ruling interest, and slavery is comparatively forgotten by her. The original cause of a quarrel is quite apt to sink in importance, if not indeed to be entirely lost sight of. To achieve her independence of the despised Yankees, the South would sacrifice verything else. "All that a man hath will he give for his life." That independence is dearer to the South than life, and to die achieving it would be far more welcome to her than to live without it.

But could the South, even with the earnest help of all her blacks, bond and free, successfully defend herself against the North? Our nation was busied several years, and at the cost of forty milions of

and to eliminate from them every elekiness and corruption,
you to take councel of the nation, instucky. I close with hesceching you to
I of God. Take it of Him, and you will
The aame of the Lord is a strong tower:
s remeth into it, and is safe." "Thou
ty arm: strong is thy hand and high is
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and."
unsel of Him, and you will quickly drop
of "Reconstruction." A guiltier policy
where under the sun. For what can be
in to repeat the preëminent crime and
the blood-drenched system of our nationling? Nor can them he a made a reliin a like helical precision of the results of the superstance of which the with intense and the superstable precision of our national alavabolida ? Nor can there be a mader policy than to put back the nation into the hands of that matchins Barbariam, that Infornal Power, which has broken it up—and at the cost of so much life and treasures. But, thank God, "Reconstruction is impossible! You might as well undertake to see back into their former poolition, shape, and appearance, the tossed and tumbled buildings of the city which an earthquake has plowed up, as at manding it is getting in a startquake has plowed up, as at manding it is getting in a, the people of the Free States will have had enough of slavery—quite enough of it. to cause them of any remaining disposition to restablish it. I cannot hope that the Border Slave States will also become so sick of slavery as to be willing to give the surface of the power, with the people rared year up and the surface of the proper states in the core of the proper states will also become so sick of slavery as to be willing to give up alsevery until they are obliged to a continuous proper states will not be compared to the power, will be sufficient to the proper will be sufficient to the power, The Rebels meant to give it an endless life. But their own hands are bringing it to a speedy death. Devetees of "Reconstruction!" be you in Congress, the Cabinet, or the army, you will very likely kill your country, and kill yourselves, by persevering in your felly. But be assured that you cannot save

Government p shall also live.

THE POWER OF PREE DISCUSSION.

It is a memorable epoch that is marked State paper, as illustrating a complete trial umph of the power of free discussion and influences applied to the removal of natior. The men are yet alive, and many of them are yet phases, has resulted at last in this substants of the public mind and feeling. I remer first outbreaks. I remember well when Lloyd Garrison lay in a jail in the Sout charge of using inflammatory language. I bet the great stir that there was in the when he came North, and began in unmeas I cannot say to-be-justified language, to the mischiefs of slavery. That man had true for liberty—I shall never cease to re for that; he had an invincible will for that thought to be right and just—I shall never revere him for that; and he disdained and all personal considerations, and laid him the altar of sacrifice for his country's good-It is a me it worse than the end to be accomplished requires. It was desirable that there should be more Christian love; more Christian temperance; more Christian forbearance. (3) It is proper to say these things now, because Mr. Garrison is becoming popular. I have never said them before. He has always, till of late, been in the minority, and to have made these criticisms would have been to join his enemies; to take sides against him, and in favor of slavery. But now, when men in high places invite Mr. Garrison to lecture, and publish his letters, and accept his ideas as no more infinmmatory than any other man's, I take the liberty of saying what I think about him. But I tell you, it is, a great day that we have lived to see, when Mr. Garrison is petted, and patted, and invited, and praised by Governore, and judges, and expectants of political prefermer t. (4) What is the world coming to? I wish we had more men like him and better.

The men are yet alive who were mobbed for the assertion of those truths that are now uttered by the President of these United States, when he declares that slavery is inconsistent with the safety of this government. I must read that sentence again:

"The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most effi-

assertion of those truths that are now uttered by the President of these United States, when he declares that slavery is inconsistent with the safety of this government. I must read that sentence again:

"The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation."

What measure? The abolition of slavery. The President of these United States is not mobbed for that assertion. Mr. Lewis Tappan was, in his day; and Mr. Arthur Tappan; and Dr. Cox; and Mr. Garrison; and Mr. Phillips; and Mr. Alvan Stewart, of blessed memory. All these men, and many more, a large proportion of whom are yet with the harness on, and working, lost place, lost caste, lost preferment, lost influence with lad men, and only gained it with good, for the declaration of principles not so offensive as that which is made'the very axis of the Message of the President of the United States; namely, that this government cannot exist without the abolishment of slavery.

Consider how this change has been brought about. It has been brought about by the simple force of free discussion. The right of free speech was first attacked. You recollect it, and I recollect it. The battles of the Presbyteries of the West were under my notice. Every device was employed to prevent the going forth from those bodies of the declaration that slavery was sinful. In about every Presbytery and ecclesiastical convention or assembly in the North, the determination was that there should not be the utterance of the religious community against slavery. The first great controversy was as to whether they ought to tell it an evil. They did not think that they ought to call it an evil. They did not make it a matter of discipline. And so, step by step, the controversy went on till it divided those churches that would not let it come in. It has torn asunder church after church; and the rupture has not hurt them, either: it has been the best thing that could happen to them—for to rend a church is like tearing a mise

their love of Christ. They had their conviction that the right was with them. They had no power in the State. They had no power anywhere. They had nothing but the invincible power of weakness. They had nothing but the rightcousness of their cause. And this inspired them with intense enthusiasm. And continuing on, they have wrought

the lowest shall be highest. It is an illustration of what is the majesty and might of principle and truth adhered to."

(1) This strikes us as paradoxical, to say nothing of its invidiousness. It is like regretting that a person does not love holiness, because he hates ain so intensely; nor God, because he sedulously resists the devil!

(2) Of course—a necessary and natural result.

(3) This charge calls for no defence, on account of its generalization; but no doubt we have often erred.

(4) This is the latest intelligence received in Boston! We protest that we know nothing of it as an actual fact. Mr. Beecher is too generous and too imaginative! We really believe that "the offence of the cross," in our particular case, has not yet wholly ceased; though we gladly admit that the burden is greatly lessened, and that we are somewhat gaining in reputation. But as for popularity—

1

The Forest Rose (Waldröschen). Nocturne, by Theodore Oesten.

The Warrior's Triumphol March. As played by Gilmore's Band. Music by Harley Nowcomb.

Somedody is Waiting for Ms. Song, by S. Janette St. Leger.

Josial's Courtehip. As sung by Mrs. Lottie Hough for 200 consecutive nights at Laura Keune's Theatre, N. Y. Composed by S. Markstein.

Old Masse on his Trubbels Gone. Quartette. Words by J. G. Whittier, from the Atlantic Monthly by permission. Music by J. R. Thomas.

Spindler's Foroites. A collection of pieces for the plann by Fritz Spindler.

The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1862.

WORD OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

more distinctly. Is it not stated that there is to be no rielding to the rebels 1/ Is it not more than intimated that, if they persist in their rebellion, the most effiient course—Emancipation—may be resorted to!

I know you love to do exact justice, and so I ha

rattention more fully to the para Truly yours, LUCIUS HOLMES.

Charlton, (Mass.,) March 18, 1862. thanksgiving? No—let us rather hold the Government to its solean responsibilities, and tolerate no delay in the discharge of its imperative duty. Evasion and shuffling now are blood-red crimes. Moreover, in proposing "a gradual abolishment of slavery," and in saying, "in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emaneiration that liberty to the President. that liberty is the gift of God and man's inalienabl birthright, and nullifies all the holy commandments mediately abolished; for it is an admission of the present rightful or necessary existence of that "sum of all villanies," and relieves of moral turpitude all who are upholding it. This dogma has always been a subterfuge for the dealers in human flesh, and for all the enemies of the Anii-Slavery movement; against it, as against one of the deadly sins, Abolitionists have strenuously contended from the beginning; and now that it is approved and recommended for approval of Congress, by the President in his official character, it

the powers granted to it. If it is not, then Congress has no constitutional right to "resolve that the United States ought to cooperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, pub-lic and private, produced by such change of system." It is an act of impertinence—meddling with what doe not concern that body. But, if it were otherwise phatic vote. Though it has passed the House ope it will be vigorously and successfully r

sisted in the Senate.

We confess that we shudder at the thought that, possibly, through timidity or lack of principle, the present glorious opportunity to put an end to slavery may be allowed to pass unimproved by the Government of the conference of the conferenc

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN WASHINGTON.

se of the

"On Saturday, Mr. Speaker Grow gave one of I clegant dinner parties in honor of Wendell Phillip Several distinguished guests were present, amountem, Vice President Hamlin and lady, Mrs. Fremo and Senator Sumner. On Sunday, Mr. Phillips we to Alexandria, upon the invitation of several officer and addressed the soldiers." The same paper contains the following notice

"WENDELL PHILLIPS TO NIGHT. This noble pa-triot and incomparable orator will lecture to light at the Smithsonian. Those who wish to hear him ma-igo early, or it will be impossible to gain admittance. Subject—Touissant L'Ouverture, the Statesman and Patriot of San Domingo."

"It was the 14th Massachusetts Regiment to which Wendell Phillips preached the Gospel of emancipation yesterday. He told the soldiers that if they were not all Abolitionists like himself, they were all Yankees, and would give him a hearing. Later in the day, Mr. Phillips had the temerity to visit General McClellan's headquarters. The General commanding was absent."

The Washington correspondence of all ags:—
"Wendell Phillips has delivered a couple of abolition lectures here, but in such a moderate style (!) compared with some of his previous efforts, that he did not come up to public anticipation. (!) He warmly applauded the President's emancipation message although it meant to the Border Slave States, "Nos is your time to sell!" On Sunday Phillips delivered a lecture before the 14th Massachusetts regiment, during which he said that the weapons with which they could wipe out rebellion most effectually were their own mouths. By this he doubtless intimated insurrection."

Doubtless, and certainly, he meant no such thing!

Doubtless, and certainly, he meant no such thing I "Perley," the Washington correspondent of the Boston Journal, writes:—

Boston Journal, writes:—

"The matchless oratory of Wendell Phillips haken the town by storm. His reception has been triumph, and on the floors of the Houses of Congres in the lecture room of the Smithsonian, and at the scale entertainments given to honor him, be has beethe subject of marijed attention. Even the "Bord State men," who regard him as proclaiming a do trine which they think will prevent their cherishs dream of reconstructing the Union, and the few floors remains of political hunkerism who clog the whee of progress, speak of Mr. Phillips with respectful aw A year ago, I doubt if his friends would have be able to have obtified a hall for him to lecture i whereas now the portals of the Smithsonian swi invitingly open, and even such politicians as Sector Powell of Kentucky go through a rain-storm hear him. Ca Ira."

Last year, a volume was published in England, characterised by remarkable critical ability and theo logical independence and liberality of opinion, entitles "Essays and Reviews," and written by several schol ld have been sent to the stake as their merit.

ed doord.

The present volume is composed of a series of Tracts, written also by clergymen and laymen of the Established Church, who are not disposed either wholly to endorse the aforesaid "Essays and Reviews," or to join in the popular demunciation of them, or in appeals to ecclesiastical authorities against them. Hence, the spirit they evince is truly catholic, and their discussion marked by admirable ability.

spirit they evince is truly catholic, and their discussion marked by admirable ability.

BT A new_edition of that truly original and admirable book, The Reflector Stoke, by Rev. Moncare D. Conway, of Cincinnati—himself a native Virginian—is, we are glad to learn, immediately to be pub ished by Ticknor & Fields of this city. The mechanical execution of this edition is to be in every way equal to that of the former one, the retail price of which in cloth was secenty-five cents per copy. This new edition will be sold at not more than jily cents per copy; and those who know the great value of the book will be pleased to hear that an arrangement has been made by which copies may be obtained for gratiatous distribution as low as twenty cents a copy, in cloth, provided ten or more copies are then at one. Those who wish the book, for this purpose, should apply, in person or by letter, to Henrar G. Denny, Esq., 42 Court Street, Boston.

We add one brief word to all our readers and friends, exhorting them to aid the widest possible distribution of this book. To say that it is the most remarkable book to which the present contest with the power of slavers, Boston.

We add one brief word to all our readers and friends, exhorting them to aid the widest possible distribution of this book. To say that it is the most remarkable book to which the present contest with the power of slavers as persons "with no success was highly improbable, and when fillure would put us completely in the power of our worst enemy, who might, if he pleased, deliberately fing us to death, to deter his other victims from slavery, under the circumstances in which our slaves have lived, indicates a high degree of the qualified to judge. It is in every enems si fee book to which the present contest with the power of slavers are not so bad as the indeed.—s.

THE MODERN JONAH.

unto Abraham, whose surname was Lincoln-w this Abraham was of the seed of Jonah, him storetime was sent of the Lord to cry against ch; howbelt, he feared, and fied toward Tar-

day. Some sank under their heavy burdens, some perished miserably by the scourge, and some were cast alive into a burning flery furnace.

And if came to pass that a son of Abraham, even hie son also, died.

And the cry of the oppressed continually went up, saying, How long, O Lord, how long?

And many of the people of the land said unto Abraham, their ruler—How long halt we between nake Proclamation, as he hath commanded!
But Abraham refrained still, and held his peace

Howbeit, after many days, Abraham said unto the elders and councillors, even the grand Sanhedrim—Go to now, speak ye for me unto them of the South,

part of that which the Lord hath said, (for we would not that ye should be rash enough to do the whole of it,)—if any of you will begin, very slowly and mode-rately, to do this work, Lo I we will stand by you and

hedrim, he took water and washed his hands before them, saying—If they will not hear your voice, and if RUIN follow, I am innocent. See ye to it.

Even thus spake Pilate aforetime, when he left the nnocent in the hands of the oppressor. The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding

and the good. soever a man soweth, that shall he also reap Verily, the end is not yet .- c. K. W.

SLAVES - METAYERS - FREEMEN.

Mn. Garrison: Your correspondent C., on the fourth page of last week's Liberator, recommends a change of the slave system of the South to the old "Metayer" system. The characteristic feature of the latter was, that the proprietor of the land furnished the farming laborers with seed, cattle, and instrusary for cultivating the farm; and the produce was di-vided equally between the proprietor and the farming laborers, after setting aside what was necessary for keeping up the stock, which was restored to the prowhen the laborers either quitted the farm or

Your correspondent proceeds to say-

The Metayer culture does not differ essentially me the custom of taking a farm upon shares in this untry. The chief distinction appears to be, that stom governs wholly in the Metayer system, while the

is a very important one; and that the difference tween having and not having "a special contract,"

tion of freedom for the laborer, appears from the following subsequent paragraph in his article:—

"Obviously, these laborers must work with or up somebody's capital beside their own, for they ha none. To turn them adrift in freedom, with unce tainty of employment, and dependent upon wage without any organization of capital or labor to provi them; with no self-reliance, and no power of self-see ing or self-assertion, would be, it appears to me, rath cruel than kind. Freedom upon such terms would a doubtful boon."

ful." He has availed himself of that delusive ed adrift, in the same position as a ship floating with out a human being on board. To such an extent have this phrase, and the many kindred once used by slaveholders, misled the Northern mind, that it is necessary constantly to repeat that the slave is a mean and a brother; that God has given to him, as really as to us, the powers needed for self-government; and that emancipation, instead of inflicting upon him as injury, (as the expression "turned adrift" implies,) at once restores the right which had always been his due, and confers upon him an inestimable advantage.

slave laws authorize them to be, and where part of a slave's time is allowed him for his own advantage, what diligence does he frequently show in lates, when keenness in bargaining, what thrift in laying up, demption-money! Setting aside the highest type of human excellence under the disabilities of slave human excellence under the disabilities of saving (the classes represented, respectively, by Nat. Temer and by Uncle Tom.) the slave does as well is caring for himself as you can reasonably expect asy than to do under like circumstances.

Freedom, then, would by no means be that "does ful boon" to the slaves which "C." represent it. They know very well how to "take care of the selves." All they need is the opportunity. Let us size it then

rive it them.

This phrase is merely a cheat, practised by sin

ment and dependence upon wages" are ting them to be such, what I say is, the speakably less than slavery. To continue slavery thing akin to it, for the sake of avoiding

on laborers and others, natives and foreigner, as om uncertainty of employment and insufficien-ages. Would "C." recommend their enslaved as a remedial measure?

most especially for the slaves, on their emanciata, is to assist in providing employment for them, as extent of our power, both as a nation and a viduals. Of course vention or diminution of theft, to good laws, natural tending to discourage it, and bearing equally spablack and white. In the same mar toms" of wealthy proprietors shall "govern" laboring class, instead of law, uniform in its open over the whole community. Our one thing needed a securing to men and women of the rights of me and women. After that, as much help to the needy you please; but let freedom, assured, legalized in m, equal freedom for all, under law, come firstc. K. W.

THE N. Y. OBSERVER ON THE PRESIDENT MESSAGE.

of different portions of the public n pecting the President's late Message to Coppe re exceedingly various. Its motive, its purport endency, its fitness, its moral significance, and it probable amount of its practical interference with very, all are differently understood, not only by ferent classes of men, but by different members of men class. Some abolitionists like it, and class lislike it. Some pro-slavery people praise, and ondemn it. It-is natural that the n

ers of slavery should bestow enthusiastic appear apon a document like this, which interposes a plant Species South Carolina, of the Genus sla invited the slaveholders to this line of po opens to Uncle Sam the agreeable prospect of cycling, in hush-money to the rebels, a sum equal nal, to that which he will have expended

fighting them.

This Message, however, is by no means so bell to the manual it is This Message, however, is by no means so below it might be. It would be easy to have made it just much more effectively into the hands of the star holders. And that organ of Presbyterian picty, in New York Observer's pursuing its accustomed critical by its accustomed evil means, bringing mendacity, the aid of slavery, in a column of unqualified easy of the President, and of his Message, impulsely twists the meaning of that document in the directs of its own wishes, and puts its own words in the Pre-ident's mount, as follows:—

of its own wishes, and puts its own words in the includent's mouth, as follows:—

"The points of special interest and of commaning force in the manifesto are the following:—

1. The exclusive right of the several State is regulate the subject at their own discretion. It is power on the part of Congress to meddle with its matter is thus expressly repudiated.

2. In proposing to offer compensation to the Susta to be used at their discretion, and in showing large to be used at their discretion, and in showing large years soon the current expenditures of the war were purchase at a fair valuation all the slaves in any used State, the President recignizes the idea of pergrand the consequent obligations, as plainly as the Castitution does.

3. The President says—In my judgment, grain and to sudden emancipation is better for all the president and the subject of the subject of the includes of slavery, and the Louisvine for the incubes of slavery, and the Louisvine of the border States, now slaveholding, would long ago large abolished slavery had it not been for 'aboltions of the President of the United States. Of the three specifications here represented as a propositions of the President of the United States.

Of the three specifications here represented as a superpositions of the President of the United States.

presty included in the President's Message, two are absolutely false, and the third (true, because quoted in the very words of the Message) has a stale fiction of the slaveholders tacked to it by the Observer. Any one who reads the President's language can see that it does set repudiate all power on the part of Congress to meddle with slavery; all that it does is to make it claim to such a right in the present case. Any person accustomed to think can see that the proposal to offer compensation to slaveholders does not necessarily recognize the idea of property in man. It would be absurd to say that all who gave ransoms for the release of captives in Tunis and Algiers thereby acknowledged the right of the enalayers to require them. Lastly, every intelligent person knows that the pretente that roluntary enancipation would have taken place in the Border States, but for anti-slavery effort in the North, is mere cant and humbug. A small rule mority, in some of those States, proposed and urges such action. There was never the least probability that the majority would adopt it.—c. x. w. that the majority would adopt it.-c. K. W.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE. ted for THE LIBERATOR from the BOSTON Pro-March 12th.

It is natural to ask: What has induced Mr. Lin-coln to make a proposal which appears to be in direct contradiction to his policy hitherto? Neither hucontrangenon to his policy intention, reason that manity, nor a horror of slavery, nor a conviction of its rainous consequences. No, only the accidental circumstance that slavery is a hindrance to the terminacumstance that slavery is a hindrance to the termina-tion of the rebellion, as he regards it, and so a momen-tary source of embarrassment. He speaks of the "means of self preservation," and immediately after declares, that "a practical reacknowledgment of the National authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease." Therefore if to-morrow of Decile and one his weatness. Mr. Lincoln is conpeff. Davis says down as weapon-tent that the Union should be restored as it was, ur concerned by the fact that the cause of the rebellior concerned by the lact that the cause of the robellion, slavery, continues, and will in time give birth to a new one. Mr. Lincoln admits in the motive which he assigns for his proposal to Congress, that alavery is the cause of the robellion, when he expresses his confidence that the Border States he intitution. dence that the Border States, by initiating the of slavery, will lose the incentive and interest to unit selves with the rebellious States. He thus identithemselves with the rebellious States. He thus identi-fies slaveholding with rebellion and secression, as every sensible man has long since done. Nevertheless, he is ready to allow slaveholding to continue, provided the rebels now lay down their arms. Yes, he even has the weakness to call his proposition an indispensable neans to the restoration of the Chinologie that he reservation, or, in other words, to announce that he annot overcome the rebellion with his army of 600,000 nea without the impression which the abolition of slamen window the very in the Border States is expected to produce; and yet he does not dare to attack slavery, but thinks he can reach it by roundabout methods whose proposal betrays his weakness to the enemy.

What I has Mr. Lincoln no simpler, more straight-forward means of wresting their "hope" from the leaders of the rebellion, than his indirect abolition scheme! Is not his proposition rather an encourage-sent to the rebels, since they gather from it that he lacks the confidence or the will to destroy their hope with cannon and bayonets! Nay, is there not just ere an inducement for the Border States to reject the that they have merely passively to oppose the propos tion made from sheer despair by Mr. Lincoln, in order ance and the approaching warm season, with the nning plan of the President, and at last to preserv

cunning plan of the President, and at last to preserve their own slavery, therefore with the rebellious States it. We deem it very doubtful whether the Border States,—insignificant Delaware excepted,—will give heed to a resolution from Congress in the sense of the President's proposition. But were they so to do, nay, if to-morrow all the Northern Slave States should profess themselves ready to abolish slavery in a month, still the end of the war would not thereby be decided. It is not the hope of the future addition of the Border States that sustains the rebellion, but the hope of being able to resist the army of Lincoln. If Mr. Lings albe to resist the army of Lincoln. If Mr. Lings albe to resist the army of Lincoln. States that sustains the rebellion, but the noger-ing able to resist the army of Lincoln. If Mr. Linbe forced to acknowledge the independence of a part of the South, he need give himself very little trouble about the farther hope that the Border States will fol-low that part. What logic, to wish to annihilate a aise by an attack on its consequences !

Had Mr. Lincoln conducted a genuine war, or would teen now conduct it, it would be forever all up with every hope of the rebels. Their hopes are in Mr. Lin-toln and his Generals, not in States which, for the moof and as Generals, not in outer states which they expect gain to acquire, if Mr. Lincoln cannot throttle them in their own States. Mr. Seward, in his note on the rent affair, ascribed the prolongation of the rebellion the hope of foreign recognition; Mr. Lincoln now add the cause of this prolongation in the hope of the

o longer to need any additional confirmation of consist simply in this, that Mr. Lincoln, cossary, on the authorization of Congress,—should use of the ser power, and either abolish slaver mirely in every district gained by the Union troops at least, without more ado, emancipate the slaves of to suspend it by the condition of war and the It is therefore absurd in the extre ions and arrangements, the Constitutional "Stat Rights" have been adjusted by the sword alone. Mr. Lincoln knows this as well as anybody; but he has not the "honesty" to confess it, nor the courage to proceed on this principle, nor the will to attack slavery in earnest. He still induges the expensive hope of inducing the rebellion to surrender the game by indirect means; he would even like, in his doubt as to the regular by the surrender the game by indirect means; he would even like, in his doubt as to the regular by the surrender by the su sult of his previous method, to spare himself the ne-cessity of the only efficient course; and after having lavished the blood and treasure of the nation in an un-precedented style, and sacrificed them to her deadly precented style, and sacrificed them to her deadly enemies, the slaveholders, he now demands that she buy him off, by fresh magnificent outlays, from the necessity of the single true means of preservation. And such a demand is to be hailed as the message of re-

demption, the prophecy of preservation!

After the free States have squandered a thousand millions, and brought themselves to the brink of hankrapter, in order, under the leadership of Lincoln, to protect an enemy who has sworn their destruction, they are now asked to involve also their future indefithey are now asked to involve also their future indefi-nitely in debt, for the same disgraceful end. Whence will the North obtain the money to buy off its slaves from the South, according to the Lincoln proposal? If a single Slave State accedes to it, all can at last; for Mr. Lincoln will exclude none from the rewards which he offers for the crime of slaveholding. He asks, therefore, the North, besides the frightful sacrifices which it was the state of the state of the sacrifices which it has already borne, and must yet bear, in the shape of an enormous taxation, to pay an Extra-Doucear of at least a thousand millions to the slaveholders for their patriotic attempt to rend the Union, to destroy the Republic, and to betray the whole nation to the foreigner! That is to cultivate Christianity to such a degree as to shake religious endurance even in America.

We must wait, and see if Congress and the people have reached this stage of Christianity, or whether they understand that the rebels have not merely to pay

from the message of Mr. Lincoln, consists in this, that by it he is enlisted against elavery, which he has hith-erto so zealously protected, and the emandpation que-tion comes up for agitation throughout the country.

LETTER FROM G. B. STEBBINS.

ROCHESTER, Oakland Co., Mich., March 10, 1862.

W. L. Gannison:
My Frikep—I have been in this State some six weeks, speaking on "The Rebellion—its Cause and Cure," almost always to good audiences, and meet an earnest response from the best men and women, of whatever party or sect, to the most thorough ground in fayor of freedom for all, as the

to our danger, and thus begin to see that Justice and Peace cannot be separated. Whether this change shall sympathies cannot die. All must help to the triump

The old leaders of the Democratic party are ma-king desperate efforts to keep up pro-slavery prejudice, and play the game of fighting Rebellion and Abolition at the same time. The Fres Fress in Detroit has its influence in this way, and is most bitter, reckless and unserupulous. A clique can be found in many places who endorse its prejudiced falsehoods, but its power is on the wane, and therefore its groams the deeper. At Ann Arbor, I found the matter of the mob a year ago not wholly died away. Sunday evening.

year ago not wholly died away. Sunday even here were some rumors of riot, but all was peaceful, and a fair audience came together.

At Farmington, Livonia and other places near, I

Three weeks ago, I went to Grand Rapids, 160 miles from Detroit, on the Milwaukee railroad. It is the largest place, except Detroit, in the State. Bonfires were blazing and cannon firing in the streets, Bonnes were ouzugand cannon aring in the sector, yet some 150 persons met in a pleasant hall the two evenings I was there, my friend J. T. Elliott generously paying the expenses of both evenings. At a school-house and a town-house, north a few miles, I spoke twice. I have since visited Ionia, Corunna, and in the same region, years ago. He would now fir more ease in travel, less rudeness in pioneer life, ar population. The opening of the railre the Grand River valley has developed wealth of a rich region, and the towns are fast in

na, I rested in the evening, and had the pleasure of listening to a lecture on Geology—one of a course by WILLIAM DENTON, an eloquent and abl man, a master of his noble science, who goes thorough py on with his subject, spending no time in poor effort to take care of Moses, lest Genesis and Geology should fall out. He thinks of visiting New England, and therefore I wish him known, as he well deserves to be.
At Flint, on the afternoon of Sunday the 2d, I spoke to a court-house full of soddiers, from a camp near the town, and had excellent hearing from men

little used to such views. Many of them were from the Saginaw lumber regions, and I noticed several In-diana among them. This seemed to me a sad mis-take; for such is their complexion, that if they go South, and engage in the war, they might be mistaker by the rebels for negroes, and thus the feelings of ou 'misguided Southern brethren' might be badly

The active efforts and generous aid or my new.

W. W. Hartshorne were of much value at Flint, as has been the case in former visits to that place.

I came here last week, and have had my feebles are now by. A Congregations

neetings at two points near by. A Congregationa church in the village was engaged for Saturday night and Sunday, with a popular demand for the lectures which promised well; but Saturday night we found which promised well jour cautiday highs we found the house closed. A revival is in full progress in the Baptist church, and those in control of the house promised to us broke their word without spology or warning, lest the revival might be injured! Doubt-

Sunday morning, we obtained a Univer tices on the hotels, and it was read by t ster of the Congregational church, with a warning

Amidst a rain-storm, we had some seventy persons, mostly Democrats, who gave good attention, and received with much gusto my suggestion that Jeff. Davis would be gratified to hear of the action of the re-

and wait, "without haste and without rest."

I have spoken here twice in a Baptist church to good audiences. What I have said refers to the people in Western New York and Michigan more seped Michigan more esp G. B. STEBBINS.

EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION.

The Committee on Teachers and on Finance all the attention of the friends of the directed, systematic labor, they would very soon be

fulness, cleanliness and order. With times will use combined intellectual, moral and religious instruction. The plan is approved by the U. S. Government, and Mr. Edward L. Piuncz, the Special Agent of the Treasury Department, is authorized to accept the services of the agents of this Commission, and to provide for them transportation, quarters and subsis Their salaries are paid by the Commission.

More than one hundred and fifty applications have been received by the Committee on Teachers, and hirty-five able and efficient persons have been se-lected. Twenty-nine of these sailed for Port Royal in the Atlantic, on the 8d instant. Three were already actively employed at that place, and the others are to click by the part stagers. Some of these are volunteers, who gratuitously devote their time and labo Others receive a monthly salary from

ort those now in service for two or three mo usly employed in the vicinity of Port Roya be added as our armies advance. The present ex penditure is from twelve to fifteen hundred dollars

the liberal subscriptions already received, a large a immediate addition to the funds of the Commission upon its resources:
Since this Commission was organized, an a

has been formed in New York, with similar objects which has sent out more than twenty teachers. Other societies are forming in other cities and towns.

The Commission at Boston will co all contributions from societies or individuals, to the great objects for which they are intended. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. WILLIAM ENDI

orr, Jr., Treasurer, No. 33 Summer street, or to ither of the Committee on Finance.

GEORGE B. EMERSON,
LE BARON RUSSELL,
LORING LOTHROF,
CHARLES F. BARNARD,
JAMES T. FISHER, WILLIAM L. BOWDITCH, Boston, March 14, 1862.

KANSAS EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

TO THE FRIENDS OF IMPARTIAL FREEDOM.

Our name indicates the purpose of this organization

ceived with much gaste my suggestion that Jeff. Davis would be gratified to hear of the action of the revisit would be gratified to hear of the action of the represent, and promptly stated that he was ignorant of the whole matter, and did not at all approve it.

To-morrow I go to Pontiac, and thence by stage to the Wilson of the motion of the whole matter, and did not at all approve it.

To-morrow I go to Pontiac, and thence by stage to this first the state of the whole matter, and did not at all approve it.

To-morrow I go to Pontiac, and thence by stage to this first the state of the part of politicans, and the may reach you in time to follow it on the same page. I meant to have said a word of the temper of the people now and last autumn.

Then there was a strong wish, an earnest loope, that and act boldly. He did done so, or had any branch of the Government, a hearty support would have followed, in which many oppopeness would that the slavery guestion in hand, and act boldly. He did done so, or had any branch of the Government, a hearty support would have submerged their prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the projedices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the projedices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and which they had no moral courage of the prejudices, and whic

ction with this, we will establish e patent to all. Our object, our work, our pla this centre. We ask employers to study the bow manted. Each community owes to itself to see that every incentive to industry, and opportunities for education, be afforded them. It is an arduous, and, perhaps, unthankful task we undertake, but results will commend it to our fellow-citizens. We need ds as well as sympathy. Day by day, scores of

ight upon her. We have never had to appear free, we win blessings from the Future. In alding her former slaves to become useful citizens, we add wealth in industry and intelligence to the nation. Hence it is we sak your aid. We need money, clothing, previswe sak your aid. we need money, clouding, five-ions,—all things necessary to attain our objects. Clothing will be especially valuable. Friends who wish to correspond with the League can do so by ad-dressing the Resident Corresponding Secretary, at Leavenworth. Contributions should be addressed to Hon. G. W. GARDNER, CATE Of LEWIS OVERTON

Secretary of Executive Committee. We trust this stirring appeal from Kansas for aid to the fugitives will be promptly and generously responded to throughout the Free States.—Ed. Lib.

Kansas Emandifation League — Officers for

862:—
President—D. R. Anthony.
Vice Presidents—John C. Douglass, John H. Me

John C. Vaughan.

Secretaries—Richard J. Hinton, G. G. Walker, W. L.

Freeman.

Executive Committee—G. W. Gardner, Chairman
Lewis Overton, Secretary; J. E. Gould, Robert Cald

Treasurer—R. C. Anderson.
Superintendent of Contrabands—Wm. D. Matthew

WENDELL PHILLIPS AT WASHINGTON.

WEADELL FILLIERS A WASHINGTON.

A year ago, Wendell Phillips would have been sacrificed to the Devil of Slavery anywhere on Pennsylvania arenue. To-day he was introduced by Mr.
Samner on the floor of the Senate. The Vice Pracdent left his seat, and greeted him with marked respect. The attentions of Senators to the apostle of
Abolition were of the most flattering character. Marvelous conquest of prejudices, and marrelous morement of Northern ideas!

Listening to Wendell Phillips's lecture this evening,
in the Smithsonian Institute, were Senator Powell of

roal is progressing rapidly. The whole road will be ment of Northern ideas

Listening to Wendell Phillips's lecture this evening, in the Smithsonian Institute, were Senator Powell of Kentucky, and many other Southern men of note and the Vice President of the United States, and the Vice President of the United States, and the oration on the platform. During his lecture, he was frequently interrupted by applause, which was at no time so hearty as when he spoke of Gen. Fremont, who, on the eve of victory, at thousand miles from the Capitol, at a word from the President, sheathed his to Europe, I breed heroes; sit down at my feet. John Brown, first of all men, deserved the Mountain Department, next Fremont." Of the President's emancipation message, he said it was a voice from the hold of the holes. It meant just this: Gentlemen of the Border States, now is your time to sell. The exity of the holes. It meant just this: Gentlemen of the Border States, now is your time to sell. The exity of the holes. It meant just this: Gentlemen of the Border States, now is your time to sell. The exity of the holes. It meant just this: Gentlemen of the gency may arise that will call me to take your slaves, if you refuse to sell now.

The old negro preacher said that, if there were text in the Bible bidding him to go through a stone wall, he would jump at it, and trust to the Lord for getting him through. The President had gone at size yery. It was for the nation to get him through. The President had gone at size yery. It was for the nation to get him through. The President had gone at a very little wedge, but it was a divident had gone at a very little wedge, but it was a divident had gone at a very little wedge, but it was a five house and the president of the pres

THE NEW ARTICLE OF WAR APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT. President Lincoln on Thursday ap-proved of the additional article of war, which goes into immediate operation, namely :--

GREAT VICTORY-CAPTURE OF NEW MA-DRID.

CAIRO, Ill., March 14. The rebels evacuated New Madrid last night, leaving a large quantity of guns and stores they were unable to carry away. Some fighting took place yesterday between their gunboats and our siege batteries, in which we lost 20 killed and wounded. A shot from one of their guns dismounted one of our 24-pounders, killing 4 or 5.

Capt. Carr, of the 10th Illinois regiment, was killed on Wednesday night while placing the pickets.

The loss of the enemy is not known, they carrying off their dead and wounded. Their force is supposed to have numbered 6.000.

to have numbered 6,000.

27 Gen. Pope, in his despach to Gen. Halleck, says our success at New Madrid has been even greater than reported. Twenty-five pieces of rifled heavy artillery, thirty-two batteries of field artillery, thousands of small arms, quantities of fixed ammunition, tents for an army of 12,000 men, and an immense quantity of other property, of not less value than a million of dollars, have fallen into our hands. The men only escaped, thoroughly demoralized, during a furious thunder storm. Many prisoners have been taken, and the colors of several Arkansas regiments. Hollins was in command of the rebei fleet, and escaped with his gunboats down the river. CAPTURE OF NEWBERN, N. C.

BALTHORE, March 18.—[Special dispatch to the New York Times.] The enemy's works its miles be-ow Newbern, North Carollins, were attacked on Fri lay last. They were defended by a force 10,000 trong, and having 21 guns posted behind formidable atteries over two miles long.

the to eatthe particular of the evacuators had been contely panic-stricken. Shot and shell to the value of
0,000, besides ten heavy guns, all of which have
in destroyed but two—one a 125 pound rifted Enggun, made in 1858 at the Low Moor works, which
1 be taken to Washington. The most life.

After the battle of Pea Ridge, Gen. Van Dorn After the battle of Pea Ridge, Gen. Van Dorn of the rebel army sent a request to Gen. Curtis, commanding the Federal troops, that he would permit a burial party to collect and inter the bodies of the Confederates who fell in the engagements on the 7th and 8th instants. Gen. Curtis granted the request, concluding his acknowledgment of its receipt as follows: "The General regrets that we find on the buttle-field, contrary to civilized warfare, many of the buttle-field who were tomchancked, scalped, and their bodies shamefully manifeld, and expresses a hope that this important struggle may not degenerate to a savage warfare."

No rebel flag is now flying in Missouri.

The work of repairing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is progressing rapidly. The whole road will be in complete working order in ten days.

At Manassas, the secret agents of the Government

med Library.

Doors open at To'clock; exercises to commende at a to'clock. Tickets 16 cents each, to be had of RIGHARD T. GREENT,

ALBERT JACKSON, CHARLES P. TAYLOR, GEO. W. POTTER, J. H. SHAW, EF E. H. HEYWOOD will speak on

AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the A

niety, will speak at N. Y., West Chap

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold me lopedale and Milford,

CHARLES SPEAR and MRS. SPEAR will delive ddresses, at the Congregationst Church as East Cam-bridge, on Sunday evening next, 23d inst, at half-past T Oclock. Subject—Prisons, North and South.

CRISPUS ATTUCES CELEBRATION.—Ther will be a repetition of this calebration at the Mercantil Hall, Summer Street, Boston, on Wednesday evening. April 2, with Tableaux, Yosal and Instrumental Musi-

DIED-At his residence in Philmont, N. Y., on Friday

DIED—At his residence in Philmont, N. T., on Friday, March 14, of congestion of the langs, Seacean C. Barrow, in the Tist year of his age.

Another of our tried and faithful friends, the exmest, conscientious and warm-hearted friend of the slave as of the colored man, the champion of universal justice sad of a world-wide humanity, has passed on to the next sphere of life. His life has been for many years a patient, sumphalic testimony in favor of impartial freedom, without respect to complexion or sex; also a vigorous and most effective protegt against bigstry in thought, and its accompanying narrow, sectarian, prescriptive projudices. He lived largely for his fellow-men. His last labor was that of securing from his fellow-citizens an expression, by petition, for the n his follow-citizens an expression, by petition, for the to family, and a large circle of was is, who feel keenly his removal. A.

INDUCEMENTS TO SUBSCRIBE.

TO New Subscribers the present year, the CHRIS-TIAN EXAMINER & ATLANTIC MONTH-LY will be furnished for \$5.00 a year; the CHRIS-TIAN EXAMINER AND NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW will be furnished for \$7.00 a year; the CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and ATLANTIC MONTHLY, will be furnished for \$9.00 a year. Payment in advance to accompany the order in all cases.

A few subscriptions can be received on the aboverms, beginning with The Examiner for January 862, the first number of the current volume.

March 1, 1862.

CLV. The Oldest House in Boston. CLV.

PRICES REDUCED OF THE FOLLOWING VALUABLE BOOKS:

Echoes of Harper's Ferry.

THIS volume is a collection of the greatest Speeches, Sermons, Lectures, Lettert, Poems, and other Utters ances of the leading minds of America and Europe, called forth by John Browns I avasion of Virginia. They are all given—mostly for the first time—metroged; and the have all been corrected by their authors for this edition

EDITED BY JAMES REDPATH. 1 volume, 514 pages, handsomely ... former price \$1.25.

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With an Autobiography of his Childhood and Youth: * With a Steel Portrait and Illustrations. pp. 408.

With a Steel Portrait and Illustrations. pp. 408.

This volume has been the most successful of the reason, having already reached its Fortium Thousan, and the demand still continues very large. It has also be the published in England, and widely noticed by the British press. The Autology-payl (of which no reprint Printiples of the most remarkable compensions of the kinds the English language. In addition to being the authentic higgslish language. In addition to being the authentic higgslish language and the state of the second of the structure of the structure

SOUTHERN NOTES

FOR NATIONAL CIRCULATION.

FOR NATIONAL CRCULATION.

This is a volume of facts of recent Southern life, as related by the Southern and Metropolitan press. It is not too much to ray that, next to Unaries Summer's speech, it is the mest unamererable and cabasative impassionsent of the Slave Power that has litherts been published. Although treating of different topics, it extends, completes, and strengthens the argument of the Sendor. To it a history of the Southern States for all most subsequent 15 plan Brown's Iuvasion of Virginia. No one who has read Summer's speech should fail to procure this pamphlet. The diversity of its contents may be 'judged from the titles of its chapters :-Key Notes, Free Speech South, Free Press South, Law of the Saspected, Southern Geopel Predom, Southern Hespitality, Post-Office South, Our Adopted Fellow-Citizans South, Persecutions of, Southern Citizens, The Shivering Chivalry, Sports of Heathedfentiemen, &c., &c., &c. As a manual for Asti-Eavery and Republican orators and editors, it is invaluable.

A handsome pamphlet of 128 pages. Price 12c. Ferner price 25c.

EF Copies mailed to any address on receipt of price.

LEE & SHEFARD,

155 Washindron Straker, Bostor.

March 21.

March 21.

Boetry.

m the Oswego Commercial Tin WENDELL PHILLIPS.

noek and remoted at the day she rose in wrath, and etands to day solt the ear of Freedom on its way. all not be; true hearts like his stand strong, and their shafts to pierce the heart of wrong.

And sond their shafts to pierce the heart of wron.
His was the heart unflinehing in the storm—
His was the noble, almost godilite form.
That walked the streets of Boston in the day.
When Preedom's scoptre half had lost its sway.
Then, "Liberty's proud cradle" rocked her child
But roughly—Tyranny looked on, and smilled,
From his broad platform, where he sent his word,
Like bursting shells, to hearts till then unstirred.
His was the agont that the ereat man wins. From his broad platform, where he sent his word.
Like bursting shells, to hearts till then unstirred.
His was the excert that the great man wins,
Who dares to speak against time-wordshiped sins!
The mob by thousands followed in his train,
And, but for law, that fearless form had alein;
Yet calm, erect, with Jore-like front he met
Those wares of men till buckward they were set.
Like some firm rock that still defice the ses.
Though years the waves have dashed most angrily,
Above the strife, its proud, defiant form
Stands all the same, allie in calm or storm.
But when our Northern blood had stained the street
Of, Baltimore-foul Treason's work complete;
When Massachusetts sprang to avenge the stain,
Then Wanners. Plintairs could be beard again!
They pressed to hear-the mob of weeks ago—
Their hearts with patriot fire at last aglow;
At Freedom's shrine they gathering boved with thee,
Enarch heart and strong i—then came thy victory!
We give thee welcome to our midst to-day!

We give thee welcome to our midst to-day!
Pour forth thy words till Freedom bears the
O'er all our land; until no slave shall be,
But all shall bear the seal of Liberty!

Lamch thy "Philliples" through the hearts
Who dare not meet the cause of all our wees!
Hold up the fing until all hearts shall say
Its stars shall chose old Feror's night sway!
Let still the cry be, "Woo, forever wee
To all, until they LET MY PROPLE SO!"
Owego, March 6, 1862.

From the Christian Inquirer. PORT ROYAL.

BY O. EVARTS, M. D., SURGEON TWENTED

On the shores of Carolina,

Where an ancient Evil broads

Over cities, over hamlets,

Over fields, and over woods—

Came a whisper to the bondmen,
Came a promise from the skies,
Of deliverance from bondago—

Of deliverance from bondage— From the tyrangy of lies ! Came a whisper on the North wind, Saying: "Ships are drawing ness; Northern ships, with shot and cannon-Lo ! the banner!—they are here!"

On the shore then gathered quickly Dusky sons of other lands—

Blaves no longer—standing "waiting With their bundles in their hands"-Waiting, watching for the shipping

Drawing nearer to the shore, Whilst their human hearts were beating As they never beat before.

Then the fron mouths of despots
Harled their hissing curses forth—
Hurled their heated fron curses
At those brave ships from the North

But the brave ships beeded nothing, Sending back the tyrants' threats; Sending back from decks and portals Answers o'er their purspets—

Till the labors, for and sear, Trembled an their thrones of coral, Like a rised king, with fear; Till the crowned Cotton shuddered; Till the crange groves were bare; Till the minions of that Evil

Flod their strong holds in desp

Then a short rang out, of triumph, From those forts beside the sea, As their barren flag-staffs blossomed With the banners of the free!

Then the ships sailed on in silence, Bearing hopes toward that closes Hopes deferred, yet ever coming; Hopes, at last, deferred no more

Chall they wait there, human-hearted, "With their bundles in their hands Wait there, slaves, until the shipping Comes from the off, silent lands?

Human-hearted! ever-joyed! Craving, waiting for the hour: Oh! the brasen-lipped old list, Who denied them human dower!

50, the Age! Thank Ged! no le Antique sin is ranctified; Antique sin is ranctines; Not is Last, though heavy-headed, Shielded by an ancient Pride.

Love, estilving all the Ages, Wedding Wisson, brings forth Usz, And demands of Justice Phinney,

Let the desert rock be smitten; Living water shall gush forth, And God's Previdence be written On the free flag of the North!

Fortress Monroe, Va., 1862.

THE DOOMED CITY.

BY J. C. HAGEN.

O Charleston! thou city so fair,
That sat'es like a queen by the sea;
While Commerce would smilingly bear
The choice of her treasures to thee;

Where now is thy traffic so wide ?

Thy haughtiness rainly assumed?
They re stricken thee down in thy pride!
Proud queen, thou art doomed! thou art doomed!
And fearfully dark is that doom!
Not Sodoin's is deeper than thine;
No virtue relieving the gloom,
Through the night that unskrouds thee, shall shine.

O then who couldst Freedom dely,
And trample her fing in the dust,
And place, without wavering or sigh,
In falsehood and treason thy trust!

The hoels of the traitors by thee

To the contest unbely were led;
And well may the foot of the free
Thy ashes relentlessly tread.

Thy law was the fast they would urgo, Who power unrighteous would sook; Thy arms were the fetter and soourge; Thy motto, "No keps for the week?" The avenger that slumbers not, came;
And who would his sentence recall?
Oh! Pity may sigh for thy shame,
But Justice weeps not at thy fall.

The Liberator.

THEN AND NOW.

This is the character of our past political life for a quarter of a century, grounded in slavery, animated by the spirit of the despot and the sneak, till it culminated in its wickedness and expired in its weakness in the ever inglorious attempt at compromise with treason in the capital of the nation, and in the fall of Sumter. Then treason might boast its triumphs in many a great city and in many a quiet valley throughout the North. The slaveholding politician of the South had not only succeeded in corrupting to his tyrannous purposes the masses of his own section, but, we extend the contraction of the contractio rannous purposes the masses of his own section, but, by systematic effort, through press and pulpit and rostrum, he had infused his polluting spirit—in measure to subserve his base purposes—into the thinking and reading North. He had threatened to tear down the fair structure of our government, and break the nation in twain; and he had reckoned not without reasured. encopined into its fail decrines, and so subservent and bereft of all nobility or courage or manhoos so steeped in attachment to the mighty dollar, so completely had every Northern man his price in the alaveholder's estimation—that it was deemed by his a favorable moment to carry his oft-repeated threat into easy execution. And while in his phrenay has the control of the course ism and ignorant masses of white men, upon a rooting never to be disturbed, he was to enjoy the high sat infaction of seeing in the North only a second rat power, while the South should present to the world a model of the most exquisite political and social order ever dreamed of in the tide of time—a magnificent triumph of despotic rule over the hallucing tions of democracy.

a glorious leap from the ridiculous to the sublime! I sow impressive the lesson that, under the surface, as seen through the medium of politics, in a country so grand and among a people so brave, there, in the great heaving breast of the nation, burns calmly and intensely an undying love of this beautiful country, and a determination to preserve it now and forever in all its excellence and wholeness to the remotest generation! What a lesson to the selfish politician, in all sections of the country, that it is dangerous to presume too much to trifle with the holy instincts of twenty millions of freemen!

too much to treemen!

discuss the question, whether alavery is right
mg, and to propose methods for its extinction—
er irritating to those most interested among a
who believe or do not believe in the full toleman liberty and good government—and, as in our own case, and in our own estimation, the best government God ever vouchsafed to man—is quite another and a different thing. The most ardent advocates of untry unbroken, under one government, issuing from an educated and free people, all good institutions and influences as free as sunlight, with the highways and by ways of honorable competition, open to all orders of talent throughout all human interests in all the States, embracing all sections and clines over our broad domain; with laws sufficient and stringent enough to punish all who shall be base enough to abuse privileges so precious. Let this creed be established in every heart, and be written with ineffacable characters on the frontlet of every American citizen, and we have a country deserving our highest efforts to preserve.

This great contest in which we are now engaged has wrought out these thoughts to us all, and shaped our course in the loyal States into a mighty determination, by force of srms, or, if need be, by the resolution of what are called seceded States, into original territory, and the reinitiation of sectety, to subjugate

1st. When cers and soldiers of any brigade desire to have a homocopathic surgeon attached to the brigade, such ad-ditional surgeon shall be appointed.

reatment.

4th. As allopathic surgeons are by their education and position necessarily disqualified for intelligently examining candidates in homocopathic medicine, as additional Examining Board shall be appointed for

sent to Hon. Henry Wilson of the United States Sen ate, and Hon. B. F. Thomas of the House of Repre Houses of Congress

THE AMERICAN BOARD.

Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Bourd of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Boston: 1861.

history of the fervent few as would amply justify the intense sympathy which we felt impelled to offier. We are utterly disappointed. Rev. Rufus Anderson has produced a cold and calculating official report—a painful blue-book. The spirit of the official stifles the heart of the historian. We were instantly reminded of the proposal, at a meeting of the Board, to have "a season of prayer," when the discussion of the slavery question seemed tending to a decision perilous to conservative support. Dr. Anderson avoids his subject under the cover of a vigilant effort to be pious. He seems half conscious that a thorough and candid history of the half-century of the Board and its missions would put in peril a considerable portion of "the funds of the Board." In the first vigor of his effort to edily "the patrons of the Board," in his report of the Jubilee meeting, there is an absurd subjection of the Christian to the official. Speaking of the receipts and the payment of the debt, be says: "This ampicious result was owing to the spirit of nucommon liberality which God was pleased to give to the friends of the enterprise generally, but more especially to a well-planned efforts for the removal of the debt, suggested by a mercantile friend in Boaton." That contrast between the suggestions of

nation, by force of arms, or, if need be, by the recolution of what are called seceded States, into original
territory, and the relatitation of society, to subject the
and dearny rebellion at any cost. This determination is the result of a year of national labor and conflict,
of sacrifices and suffering, of skill and energy, never
before surpassed, and of observation of the workings
of slavery in rebellion, and of increasing appreciation
of the untold blessings of free institutions.

Whatever of dulness to perceive the cause of our
national distresses in times past, Sumer removed the
scales from off every eye. The intensest lovers of
"peace" and "no coretion" are sow on the side of
the country, and believe that slavery—the cause of all
our disasters—is doomed to speedy extinction.

The next stage in the great abolition movement is
now inaugurated by this way. Port Royal, protected
by our bayones, is soon to be the scene of an experiment which will test the great question of few labor,
nego capacity, and the productiveness of Southern
soil under the application of science. Northern men
with noble hearts and full heads are about to take the
place of slave-drivers in the seat of despote ease,
place of slave-drivers in the seat of despote ease,
harbor, cities and beautiful. villeges will itse as by
magic over numerous islands; Northern capital and
enterprise will find here a sure investment; and the
world will behold here somether gratemy to the South
hrough which Northern art, science and institutions
will hereafter flow. Enlivened and sustained by freedom, this great commercial centre shall yet be inproductive will hereafter flow. Enlivened and sustained by freedom, this great commercial centre shall yet be
industrial and social interest of that charming seed to
patient to us all that in no other way could the great
production of slavery be logically reached and settled,
but through the blood dard fire of revrolution; and insuppress this vicked rebellion, and it will soon be revident to us all tha

resisted the "extraordinary amount of prayer" policy, and compelled decided action, at the risk of seeming to prefer the convictions of an honest conscience to the suggestions of the Board's Holy Ghost.

A chief reason for the unquestioned ill-success of the Board is in the fact that it does not present evidence that it can make a good use of means, as such a use is estimated, not by sentimental piety, but by sober common sense, wisely judging of the duty which is first. It is an error to say that missiona as such are made obligatory by the law of the Gospels and the words of Christ. They were in the time of the Apostles, and we are bound to fulfil the whole whole spirit of that command. And when a work is within our reach—in India, in Hayti, in Liberia—then we must do it. But to assume that money must be raised, and a mission undertaken at random, or beyond the sphere of clearly-defined good opportunity, simply that we may think that we have done our duty in the matter of missions, is the scrious error of many good men. Place a given church in the midst of a heathen community, and it must become, like the early Church, a missionary organization. Not so placed, it cannot as realily undertake the work of missions; and by the law of what it can well do, or do best, it must choose or decline this work. The Board assumes that a certain attempt at missions is in itself a Christian duty, and it thus stands on a false basis in its appeal to the benevolent, to a great degree failing of good work, and almost wholly failing to engage the means and men of the Orthodox churches to an extent at all consistent with their professions of faith and duty.

We will add here but a single remark—that benevolent organizations like that of the American Board should confine their operations to gathering and administering funds in aid of those enterprises which can support their papeals by clear evidence of a good work already begun, and sure to be done to some extent, even if no aid is rendered. We do not believe in throwing away help

LETTER FROM REV. STARR KING. THE FLOOD IN CALIFORNIA.

San Francisco, Jan. 20, 1862.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 20, 1862.

To the Editor of the Boston Transcript:

Let me see if I can find any paper in the house that is not soaked or mildewed. If I can, I will write you once more about our terrible flood, which has become a far more extensive and said calamity than we supposed it would be when I sent word to you of its first wrath, three weeks ago.

In the interior of the State there has been scarcely any sunshine since the tenth of November; and the rain that has fallen since the first of January I shall hardly dare report, as I may wish, one of these days, to resume in Boston some vestiges of character for veracity. Our average of rain in San Francisco, for the year, is about twenty inches. Already, in a little more than two months, we have had thirty-four inches, and the clouds to-day are dark as ever, while more than two months of the rainy season are still before us—the months, too, in which the freshest usually come. Seventy-one days ago, the rainy season set in, and fifty-five of them have. son are still before us—the months, too, in which the freshets usually come. Seventy-one days ago, the rainy season set in, and fifty-five of them have belonged to the Baptist persuasion. The interior, near the base of the mountains, receives much more rain than we do on the coast; but never has anything been known there like the outpouring of the last month. At several points in the foot-hills, where measures have been kept, seventy-two inches of water have fallen since the first week of November. I believe that your supply in Massachusetts is about forty inches in twelve months. You can judge, then, of the freedom of utterance of clouds over the Sierra, and their copious delivery, if they furnish nearly twice the amount in two months which your storms souply in twelve.

boats and little steamers that have cruised on Samaritan errands of rescue, and brought away paupers that two months ago were independent.

I visited Sacramento last week, and sailed in the rain through streets alive with boats, and lined with houses half-buried in the slimy tide. But the aspect of the city, partly drowned as it is, was cheerful, compared with the vast lagoons over which we steamed, that should now be green with the peeping grain. A cold north wind blew the sleesty storm over the muddy waste that was relieved only by trees here and there, or the roofs of a few houses, or now and then a mound just swelling above the yellow expanse, on which huddled and starving cattle were shivering in the wet blasts. We overtook one relief steamer, and took from her over a hundred people, some of them children with naked legs and feet, who had been rescued from homes in which they had suffered for days from lack of fire and scanty food. Most of them had lost everything.

The charity of San Francisco and the cities of the interior has been unstined and glorious. In Sacramento the largest hall in the city is a hospital, under the control of an admirable Benevolent Society, to farnish beds, clothing and food for all who are homeless. Thirty thousand dollars were contributed from San Francisco in money and supplies to the treasury of that Sacramento organization. A

Sacramento the largest hall in the city is a hospital, under the control of an admirable Benevolent Society, to furnish beds, clothing and food for all who are homeless. Thirty thousand dollars were contributed from San Francisco in money and supplies to the treasury of that Sacramento organization. A week-ago, on Sunday morning, word came to us of the higher rise of the water in Sacramento, and the difficulty of getting any provision there. Collections were taken at once in many of the churches before service; a committee was in session in our great Music Hall; wagons were sent through the city to collect cooked food; bakeries were set at work; the cooking apparatus of halls and hotels put in requisition; and in the afternoon tons of food, ready to be eaten, were sent by steam to the capital, and distributed early Monday morning. Strong men in Sacramento cried like children when they saw the unloaded bounty so speedily and thoughtfully supplied. Now our Music Hall is turned into a Receiving Home for the destitute that come to the city; the steamers bring them down free, and feed them too on the passage; and homes are provided for them by the bounty of our citizens, who open their houses to the sufferers.

But what will the result be to the State? It still storms furiously as I write. The Bay from my window is yellow with solf from the Sierra. Through the Straits of Carquinez the downward rush of water is an enormous tide. It overspreads the Bay with a fresh lake, and pours out at the Golden Gate at the rate of eleven knots continually. For there is no flood-tide on the syrface coming in from the ocean. The downward stream beats it back, and the syrface coming in from the ocean. The downward stream beats it back, and and the syrface coming in from the fresh water that pours out. I do not know that the first water that pours out at and damage already are fearful. In the mines an immense deal of capital is ruined. In the great agricultural districts the hopes of the next barvest are dim. You suffer from the warr,

I believe that your supply in Massachusetts is about forty inches in twelve months. You can judge, then, of the freedom of utterance of clouds over the Sierra, and their copious delivery, if they furnish nearly twice the amount in two months which your storms supply in twelve.

And in a State configured as ours is, you can calculate the effect. We have an immense central prairie, between two mountain ranges. The Sacramento flows from the north southward, and the San Joaquin from the south morthward, and the San Joaquin from the south morthward, and pour their burden of waters together in the centre of the State, in California as two mounts ago. But now we must begin anew, over immense areas, to subdue nature. I hope that persons who propose to leave the East, expecting to do better in California, will consider very seriously the State, to run us down, her intention was to board if is on the canged her programme, probably the constant of the state in education of the state of the state in education as two mountain ranges. The Sacramento flows from the north southward, and the San Joaquin from the south morthward, and pour their burden of waters together in the centre of the State, to run us down, her intention was to board if is on the cube and the calculate the effect. We have an immense central prairie, between two mountain ranges. The Sacramento flows from the north ward, and the San Joaquin from the south morthward, and the San Joaquin from the south morthward, and the San Joaquin from the south morthward, and the San Joaquin from the through the Stratts of Casouinez.

THE NAVAL FIGHT IN HAMPTON BOAR From One who was on Board the Ericsson "Mention"

From One who was on Board the Briesson "Menker."

Friday, March 7th, 8 A. M.—We are steam slowly down the coast, making about five knots hour, with the wind blowing freshly from the Not West. The sea is rising quite rapidly, and a A. M. makes a clean sweep over our man dek. 0 account of improper caulking of the conservant of improper caulking of the conservant forward hatches, the water penetrates to berth-deck and into the fire-room, rendering the stitions of engineers anything but agreeable. 13 The Monitor is making, according to sailed dabad weather. The blower-hatches, from deket arrangement of pipes, allowed a good deal of we present the stition of the strangement of pipes, allowed a good deal of a to penetrate to the engine-room, where coming contact with the straps which revolve the blow on either side of the engine-room, and left the furnaces without a draft. In consequent of this, the engine-room soon became filled with the straps which is about the property of the two presents of the stranger on the furnaces, which in a short time presented Mr. Nowton, the senior engineer. He brought up and placed on the deck of the ten where he remained in an unconspicious condition fifteen minutes. Mr. Stimers, chief engineer, asperintended the construction of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Tourism of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Tourism of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Tourism of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Tourism of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Tourism of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Tourism of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Tourism of the Monite the Government, and who was a passenger in the Courter of the Monite the Government.

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