



Refuge of Oppression.

OPINIONS OF THE PRO-SLAVERY PRESS.

The President has given the country and the world another evidence of that firmness and moral courage for which he is so distinguished. Although he had no official evidence that the proclamation attributed to Gen. Hunter was genuine, he saw that it was doing mischief, compromising his own and the position of the Government, and increasing the irritation already sufficiently violent upon the question of slavery.

The President has rebuked an assumption far less dangerous, by removal. He has declared against the Federal right of Emancipation in the States, both Houses are pledged, by solemn resolutions, to resist to the bitter end, and won no position, assumed to be the policy of the President and the pledges of Congress, by blowing this windy blast of an empty proclamation through his camp.

Our readers will see from our despatches that we were right in telling them in the Journal, that Gen. Hunter's abolition order was without the slightest authority. That gallant officer must be mad—at least upon some subjects.—Louisville Journal.

President Lincoln has again shown his own good sense, his consistency and steady adherence to the Constitution and the laws, by repudiating Gen. Hunter's recent emancipation proclamation.—Philadelphia Ledger.

What could have impelled so good a general to make a proclamation so wild in its statement of facts and so impolitic as to its probable effects, and so violently opposed to the officially declared policy of both the National Executive and the National Legislature, surpasses comprehension.—Phil. Inquirer.

We do not hesitate to say that, for this monstrous usurpation of power, for this inconceivable folly and recklessness, so totally unbecoming for an officer of every consideration, Gen. Hunter should be reprimanded and ignominiously suspended. We need some decisive dealing with such cases to put a stop to them. Congress, especially, owes it to its own dignity to vindicate its prerogatives from such impudent and arrogant invasion, and to set its seal of condemnation upon one of the most audacious acts perpetrated by any General of the United States armies in the course of this war.—Phil. N. American.

It is at variance with the whole policy of the administration, and is, therefore, calculated to embarrass it extremely. Unless the proclamation has been issued under special instructions, which the President does not consider applicable to other parts of the rebellion, we shall expect to see him direct that it be modified, as was General Fremont's proclamation.—Philadelphia Bulletin.

If this infamous policy has been adopted by General Hunter, we shall look for the President to recall him, just as he overruled Cameron on a similar issue.—Cincinnati Enquirer.

General Hunter's episode having been safely concluded, the country is upon the whole to be congratulated that it has occurred. So complete is the success with which the President has improved the occasion for his own purposes, that but for his denial of any knowledge of the order, Gen. Hunter's intention to issue his order, or might almost credit the suggestion that the order was issued for the purpose of being declared void by this proclamation. However the hopes of a limited class may have been disappointed, the President has to-day a stronger hold upon the confidence of the majority of the people. The praises of his wisdom, moderation, sincerity of purpose and independence, are upon every tongue, and more than ever do the people now rally about him, as the chief stay of our hopes at this moment.

It is surprising that any general in the field should take the responsibility of a step so important, and so important as this, without instructions from the President. It will be remembered that General Fremont was obliged to modify a proclamation far less sweeping than this, in accordance with orders from Washington; and we apprehend that no other officer is likely to expose himself to similar risk, even if he failed to see that such a step involves matters of policy, respecting which no officer lower than the highest can well judge.

In the event, if General Hunter has really issued this proclamation, which, as we have hinted, are we almost tempted to doubt, we suspect that he will have occasion to modify it, quite materially at an early date.—Boston Advertiser.

The recent proclamation of the President is of official to relieve the public mind to this extent, that emancipation is not hereafter to be left at the discretion of military commanders. While the necessity which called for the proclamation shows in what an uncertain state the policy of the Government had been reported to be, and we must remark that it is not creditable to have left it, yet we must congratulate ourselves that all this is now at an end, so far as any present thought of emancipation is contemplated. Mr. Lincoln does indeed announce that he reserves to himself the consideration of the question, whether it may be competent for him, as Commander-in-Chief, under any future circumstances, to execute any such supposed power, as was assumed by Gen. Hunter, without authority. And since Mr. Lincoln proposes only the possibility of a contingency which might lead him to consider whether any matter until it comes fully confident that it never can come up in any shape to obtain an affirmative decision. Any careful review of the subject will satisfy Mr. Lincoln, that he can have no more authority to emancipate slaves than Gen. Hunter has, except in some capacity different from that of President of the United States, or of Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States, under the Constitution—and to institute a revolution, and to assume a jurisdiction quite inconsistent with an allegiance which citizens owe to the Government *de jure*, and not to another Government, however it might assume to be one *de facto*.

It must be evident, we think, to the plainest capacity, that no system of emancipation can ever be instituted, except precisely in the way provided for by the Congressional resolution recommended by

Selections.

SURRENDER OF SLAVES BY THE ARMY.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

Delivered in the United States Senate on Thursday, May 1, 1862.

On motion of Mr. WILSON, of Massachusetts, the Senate resumed the consideration of the following resolution, submitted by him on the 3d of April:—

"Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia be directed to consider and report whether any further legislation is necessary to prevent persons employed in the military service of the United States from aiding in the return or control over persons claimed as fugitive slaves, and to punish them therefor."

The pending question being on the amendment of Mr. GRIMES, to add to the resolution:—

"And to report what reorganization of the Army, in its personnel or otherwise, may be necessary to promote the public welfare, and bring the rebellion to a speedy and triumphant end."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SUMNER. Some time has elapsed since we listened to the persuasive speech of the Senator from Iowa, [Mr. GRIMES], but the subject is fresh still. The character, if not the efficiency, of our armies is concerned in the complete enforcement of the late legislation with regard to slaves. If this legislation be set at defiance or evaded, I think that our military strength will be impaired, and I am sure that our good name will suffer.

I am grateful to the Senator from Iowa for the frankness with which he exposed and condemned the recent orders of several of our Generals.

One of these officers, though recently of California, was originally of Massachusetts. He served honorably in the Mexican war, and, I believe, is an excellent soldier. His present position as a General is due partly to my exertions. I pressed his appointment. But had I for a moment imagined he could do what he has just perpetrated, he would never have had my support. When an officer falls bravely in defence of his country, there is an honest pride which mingles with the regret that we feel. But when an officer falls as General Hooker has now fallen, there is nothing but regret. He has fallen, although not dead. I say this with pain; but I cannot say less.

The order of the Senator from Iowa, which I ask leave to read part of a letter which I have received from his camp:—

"I take the liberty of forwarding to you the enclosed order of General Hooker, with a report of its results, thinking that you will be interested to know how the late act of Congress forbidding the rendition of slaves by Army officers is violated; and hoping that some effort may be made to prevent such unjust and outrageous measures on the part of superior officers."

Our moral and humane feelings have been violated by having been compelled to witness the attempts of slaveholders, known to be such, to search our private quarters for their slaves, under the cover of a protecting order from a General who exceeds his authority.

If such unjust orders are to be issued, and such oppressive measures enforced, all order and discipline in our ranks will be lost.

It is exceedingly difficult to restrain the indignation of our soldiers, who are learning more and more to sympathize with the poor slave, as an oppressed laborer, and who feel a righteous antipathy towards the slave masters whose loyalty they have every reason to question.

It is to be no end of such offences against the moral sense and the patriotic feelings of our officers and soldiers? Are we still to be made the protectors and defenders of slave-hunters, who surround and invest our camps, by authority, with deadly weapons to employ in the recovery of their fugitive slaves?

This letter expresses feelings that are natural to every humane bosom. In contrast to the conduct of General Hooker, I desire to call attention to the course of General Doubleday, whose headquarters are here in Washington. I read his order:—

"HEADQUARTERS, MILITARY DEPARTMENT, NORTH OF THE POTOMAC, Washington, April 6, 1862.

Sir,—I am directed by General Doubleday to say, in answer to your letter of the 2d instant, that all negroes coming into the lines of any of the camps or forts under his command are to be treated as persons, and not as chattel.

Under no circumstances has the commander of a fort or camp the power of surrendering persons claimed as fugitive slaves, as it cannot be done without determining their character.

The additional article of war recently passed by Congress positively prohibits this.

The question has been asked, whether it would not be better to exclude negroes altogether from the lines. The General is of the opinion that they bring much valuable information, which cannot be obtained from any other source. They are acquainted with all the great movements of policy in which the masses of the people have acquiesced. Indeed, there can be no doubt that he would, by approving Hunter's wild and illegal announcement, offend the sense of justice of the great majority which now sustains the Government against the rebellion.—Detroit Free Press.

If Gen. Hunter has issued this proclamation without the sanction of the President, as we presume is the case, it is a stretch of authority which is to be deprecated. It is certainly to be regretted that the Administration has had no definite policy upon the subject of slavery within the jurisdiction of the army, but has left the question to be dealt with entirely by the commanding generals in the field. While Halleck at the West keeps all slaves without his lines, not even giving those of the rebels a chance to free themselves, Gen. Hunter declares the freedom of slaves who are beyond his actual jurisdiction.

There are two extreme ideas prevailing in the treatment of slavery, which might be harmonized by the promulgation of some simple, well-defined plan for guidance of the Union forces.—Boston Journal.

Mr. Lincoln's last proclamation has one good feature; it effectually kills off this rotten business of military proclamations, many of which have proved weak and ridiculous. We employ these men to do our fighting, and pay them for it; when they have done that, their business ceases. We no more want their officious impolitical questions—of which they may know less than some of the privates in the ranks—than we should want the opinion of the shoe-maker on any subject, or the talk of our minister on politics. Each man to his trade.—Newburyport Herald.

Can we listen to such a statement, and not feel indignant at the levity with which human freedom is treated?

But similar cases multiply. There is the provost marshal of Louisville, who seems to be a disgrace to our Army, if we may believe the following report:—

"Louisville has been noted as being one of the best Southern cities for negroes, and our people, but it has undergone many changes for several years—for the worst. When the rebellion broke out, we were worshipping every Sabbath and once through the week, in our churches, and when the legions of the North made Louisville their headquarters, it seemed that a new religion was instituted, and we worshipped in our splendid churches almost at liberty, and nothing said to the contrary notwithstanding."

But, lo! a sad change has taken place, the Northern army has proceeded southward, forcing its passage into the "land of Dixie." Kentucky has been redeemed; "free white people are free, and free blacks are enslaved, and they have no rights that white men are bound to respect." Our condition so far is worse than before the war. Our churches are closed, and a free man cannot walk after dark, though he has his free papers, with the great seal of the State and the seal of the United States.

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General Halleck. I have it in my hands, and quote these words:—

"We will prove to them that we come to restore, not to violate, the Constitution and the laws. The orders heretofore issued from this department in regard to pillaging, marauding, and the destruction of private property, and the removal and concealment of slaves, must be strictly enforced. It does not belong to the military to decide upon the relation of master and slave. Such questions must be settled by the civil courts. No fugitive slave will therefore be admitted within the lines or camps, except when specially ordered by the general commanding."

In this order, so strangely inconsistent, absurd, unconstitutional, and inhuman, the General has perverted perservered. In every aspect, it is bad. It wants common sense as well as common humanity. It is unworthy a man of honor and a soldier.

It is inconsistent with itself, inasmuch as the General proclaims that he "comes to restore, not to violate, the Constitution and laws," and then proceeds to a direct violation of them. In the same order, he says: "It does not belong to the military to decide upon the relation of master and slave. Such questions must be settled by the civil courts." And then, in the face of this declaration, he proceeds to say that no fugitive slaves are to be admitted in our lines or camps. But pray, sir, how can such persons be excluded from the lines or camps without deciding that they are fugitive slaves? Here is a flat and discreditable inconsistency.

But worse than its inconsistency is its absurdity. This watchful, prudent General proposes to exclude all fugitive slaves from his camps. In other words, he shuts out from his camps all those opportunities of information with regard to the condition of the enemy which may be afforded by this class of deserters. They may come charged with knowledge of the movements and plans of the enemy, but the General will not receive them, because they are slaves. They will not be able to disclose the secret of our campaign, but the General will not have it, because they are slaves. If we have failed thus far in knowledge of the designs of the enemy, it has been because this absurd policy has prevailed.

General Halleck will be instructed by General McDowell, whose opposite conduct appears in a dispatch published in the papers:—

"CATLETTSVILLE STATION, VIRGINIA, FIFTEEN MILES SOUTH OF MANASSAS JUNCTION, April 13.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War: An intelligent negro has just come in from Stafford County, and says his master retained his morning from Frederickburg to his home, and told his wife, in the negro's presence, that all the enemy's troops had left of them leaving on Sunday morning. This last has just been confirmed by another negro."

Here are two negroes who have come into the camp with important information, both of whom General Halleck's order would repel and drive back to bondage. And he will be instructed by the dispatch of General Wool, just received, announcing our success at New Orleans, the news of which came by a "fugitive black." General Wool adds, "the negro bringing the above, reports that the rebels have two iron-clad steamers nearly completed, and that they are being sent to the Gulf."

But worse than its inconsistency or absurdity is its positive unconstitutionality. What right, under the Constitution, has this General to set himself up as the judge in cases of human freedom? Where does he find his power? By whom has he been invested with this attribute? It is the boast of the Constitution of the United States that all are "persons." The Constitution so regards everybody, and surrounds everybody with the safeguards of "personal liberty," even to the extent of declaring that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law;" and yet the Army is gravely told to treat certain persons as slaves. Of course, this cannot be done without sitting in judgment most summarily on human freedom. How does the General know that they are slaves? On what evidence? Because they are black? Why may they not be free blacks? General Halleck would reverse the true presumption. He assumes slavery when he ought to assume freedom. In the eye of the Constitution all are free-men until proved to be slaves, no matter of what color or race. The only question to be asked is, are they loyal? Are you loyal or rebel? If loyal, then welcome to the hospitality and protection of our camps. If rebel, then surrender to our arms. Let these be the inquiries and let this be the rule, and the Union which we seek to restore will not be indefinitely postponed.

But worse than its unconstitutionality is the inhumanity of this order, so shocking to the moral sense. This General, who professes to fight the battle of the Constitution with the commission of the Republic, speaks of the "concealment of slaves" in the same breath with "pillaging, marauding, and stealing." I class with "pillaging, marauding, and stealing," an insensibility to human rights. It is like those shameful advertisements which garnish Southern newspapers, where "the boy Tom" and "the girl Sally" are to be sold in the same lot with "horses, mules, cattle and swine." That such an order should be put forth in the name of the United States may justly excite our indignation.

On these various grounds I object to this order. In my criticism which I make with sincere sorrow, I do not travel out of the order. General Halleck is said to be an able officer, and I think also an able soldier. I do not intend to question his talents. But I do protest against his perverse violation of the Constitution in order to carry out a miserable and disgraceful pro-slavery policy; and I protest against his being allowed to degrade the character of our country. Sir, we are making history now. Every victory adds something to that history; but such an order is worse for us than a defeat. More than any other, it will discredit us with posterity, and with the friends of liberal institutions in foreign nations. I have said that General Halleck is reported to be an able officer; but most perversely he undoes what he had what he does with the other. He undoes by his orders the good he does as a General. While professing to make war upon the rebellion, he sustains its chief and most active power, and degrades his gallant army to be the constables of slavery.

Slavery is the constant rebel and universal enemy. It is traitor and belligerent together, and is always to be treated accordingly. Tenderness to slavery now is practically disloyalty and practical alliance with the enemy.

Against these officers to whom I have referred to-day I have no personal unkindness. I should much prefer to speak in their praise; but, sir, I am in earnest. While I have the honor of a seat in the Senate, no success, no victory, shall be any apology or any shield to a General who undertakes to insult human nature. From the midst of his triumphs I will drag him forward to receive the condemnation which such conduct deserves.

Of General Buell I know nothing personally; but such an incident must fill us with distrust. He may possess military talent. He may be a thunderbolt of war; but it is clear that he wants just compensation for the times and that sympathy with humanity without which no officer can do his complete duty.

The former master of our boy will not get him without an order, and an imperative one; I believe; and if one is given for him, his master having been a strong and active secessionist—a quartermaster for the Southern army in fact—I have about concluded to follow it by humane resignation, and this, whether the order be for him or any other negro. The order would make it an official act. What do you think my duty would be in the premises?

General Buell may perhaps shelter himself behind the instructions of his superior officer; and this brings me to the famous order No. 3 of Major

PROCLAMATION OF GEN. HUNTER.

The proclamation of General Hunter is a move in the right direction. The emancipation of the slaves in the military district over which his authority extends is the necessary and natural result of the efforts made by the slaveholders to dissolve the Union. The war has reached that state when military necessity can no longer hesitate to strike the blow that shall end it. The necessity of the measure—of which the military authorities are the proper judges—makes the act of emancipation perfectly justifiable and valid. No act of Congress defines the limits of military necessity, and martial law asserts its supremacy over all restraints.

Some timorous persons have made up their minds that President Lincoln will repudiate the proclamation of Gen. Hunter. President Lincoln will do no such thing. Those who argue from the case of Fremont, that Hunter will be overruled, do not bear in mind the altered circumstances and the new facts under which the question is now to be decided. The President does not by too much haste permit himself to be mastered by events; he calmly awaits their development, and then, by adapting himself to the emergencies which they create, shows himself at all times equal to the occasion. He did not sustain Fremont; neither did he condemn him; for he gave him another important command. He had the sagacity to foresee that a measure, at first deemed perilous and injudicious, might, at another time in the progress of events, be a measure that could be sustained. The success of Fremont dealt his first appalling blow at slavery, has made great progress, and the views of the people as to the best means of putting an end to it have made great progress also. When the idea of freeing the slaves of rebels through the instrumentality of the war power was first acted upon, the true character of the rebels was not fully understood; they were not then supposed to be capable of committing crimes, from the atrocity of which a Sepoy would shrink; and it was still hoped that they were not beyond the reach of conciliation and pardon. The revolutions of the last few months have made the civilized world better acquainted with these people. They must be put down at all hazards—and the least hazard, in the quarter in question, is that of substituting freedom for slavery!

In the case of Fremont, there was this embarrassment—there were many loyal slaveholders in his district. In the case of Gen. Hunter, there is no drawback of that nature. His military department is composed of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. There are some loyal men in the latter two States, but they will not be injured by the decree of emancipation. South Carolina is an unbroken waste of desolation. There is no individual in this State, said the rebel agent to Gen. Hunter, who would be injured by the decree of emancipation. When he handed them General Hunter's proclamation, "whom you would call loyal?" When Gen. Hunter, therefore, says, as he virtually does say in his proclamation, that he can only suppress the rebellion within the limits of his department by suppressing slavery, we believe him, and hope that the Administration and the people will sustain him in the course he has taken.

P. S. Since our paper was put to press, we learn that the President has revoked the order of General Hunter. Notwithstanding, we print our comments on the order as a matter for record as the rebellion progresses.—Northwestern Free Press.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

Closely upon the heels of Gen. Hunter's Order, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and to the three slave States, with the exception of the department; and immediately upon the heels of the instantaneously manifested good effects of that act, comes the President's Proclamation for annulling it, and rendering it of no value!

Deeply do we deplore the deleterious influences that have prevailed with the President on this occasion. He has grieved and weakened his best friends. He has gladdened and strengthened his worst enemies—the worst enemies of the country. His Proclamation is directly calculated to reduce the spirit of liberty, which is the life-blood of our free Constitution, to the Union, of fidelity to our free Constitution, to the Union, of fidelity to our free Constitution, to stimulate the spirit of slavery, which is the spirit and animus of the rebellion. Considering the President's surroundings, and the appliances brought to bear upon him from men, who either in or out of Congress, are in the daily habit of uttering ill-concoiled or unconcealed threats of joining the rebellion, unless their policy of conducting the war and treating the rebels can be carried out by the Government, the Presidential compliance, after two or three days' hesitancy and suspense, carries too far the appearance of that servile submission to the Slave Power that reigns supreme in the Executive Mansion, previous to the present. We fear it will be so understood and interpreted, by friends and enemies, at home and abroad.

We do not overlook that feature of the Proclamation which apparently anticipates the possibility of future action by the President in the same direction with the Order of General Hunter, on a wider scale, should the rebel States fail to respond to that applicant's beseeching appeal. The effect of that provision is, that if the President should, with an acknowledgment, be touched, will not be likely to be such as the President desires. Submissions, on the part of President Lincoln, to the Wickliffes and Crittendens and Davises of the Capital, with whose presence the White House is daily infested, are not, in our judgment, the precursors of submission from the Secessionists, and Johnsons of this Confederacy, to President Lincoln. The portals, to our vision, are precisely the reverse.

But, be it so, that at some future period, the President may be driven, by stress of weather, to attempt running the ship of State into the harbor of abolition rather than foundry. Is it quite certain that the hand which he does with the other. Can the nation afford to remain at sea, adrift, without chart, rudder, or compass, at the expense of three millions of dollars a day?

If the President intends that Abraham Lincoln, rather than Moore and South, be no time to lose. The day of deliverance will have passed, or will have been improved by another, if much longer he hesitates and delays.—The Principia.

GEN. HUNTER'S ORDER.

Gen. Hunter's order is one of the most important of any issued since the war began. Not in its importance, but in its character. Gen. Hunter has always been an abolitionist, and anti-slavery men always opposed to the "conservatives" and "moderates" who have superseded Fremont—and was the very general who superseded Fremont.

mont last year, in Missouri. Fremont's order was simply to free the slaves of rebels active against the government. Now General Hunter has been proclaimed for the same kind of emancipation in his department for some time, with very little opposition even in any quarter, and with but very little opposition even in the Border States. And now this conservative general, free from the taint of "abolition," having been placed in command of a department in which existed the very quintessence of slavery—this general, for reasons at least satisfactory to himself, finds it necessary to free all the slaves within his district. In South Carolina, the slaves are over one hundred thousand in the majority. Gen. Sherman, when he went there, gave the whites all the nice and tender assurances which any "conservative" General could dish up; and yet there is not a loyal white man found there that we have heard of. Of the loyalty of the blacks there can be no doubt, as witness a host of instances, and especially the case of Robert Small, a colored seaman, who has just taken a rich prize from Charleston to Port Royal. We think it strange that such a man as Gen. Hunter should have issued such an order, without something solid on which to found it. What was "modified" in Fremont last year, is now sanctioned by all the departments of the government. It took less than a year to educate the country up to that point. It will take even less time to bring it up to Gen. Hunter. We can well afford to wait and abide the time. —Bellevue Falls (Vt.) Times.

HUNTER.

The greatest act of this war has been performed with the pen, and the General from whom it proceeded has, to our knowledge, but once had a chance to spill blood, and that at a very early period. He has exhibited a courage, from which all masters of bloodshed have hitherto shrunk with trembling. The hero of whom we speak is General Hunter, Commander of the chief slaveholding department, stationed at Port Royal; and his deed, a proclamation in which he decrees martial law in his department, comprising South Carolina, Georgia and Florida; and under this right of war he declares forever free the entire slave population.

Gen. Hunter thus goes still farther than Fremont. He does not confine himself, in accordance with the well-known law of Congress, to those slaves who have served the rebels in war; and whom he has hitherto declared free by special order in every single case; nor like Fremont, to those slaves who "belong" to rebels; but he makes at once the most extensive use of the war power, cuts out the cancer from its roots, and cleanses the Augean stables at a stroke and for ever. And in order that practical measures may straightway attend his proclamation, he begins to exercise the freed negroes in the use of arms, and under white officers, to form them into regiments. From the past of Gen. Hunter, who has been a West-Pointer, and not for any long-cherished "abolition" idea, has led him to this bold step. We must suppose that he has recently learnt from a purely military standpoint the necessity of suppressing the rebellion by freeing the blacks, and the impossibility without these auxiliaries of carrying on the war down there with Northern troops during the summer. On this theory it would be the "sun of liberty" but simply the sun in heaven, that has ripened the seed of emancipation in the very nest of slavery. However, let us render to General Hunter the highest acknowledgments, because he had the moral courage to attack a measure by which he knew he would inflame with hatred against him not merely all his former friends, but the whole "conservative" fraternity of the North as of the South. Yes, he must have expected to be condemned and removed from his command by the man who once "corrected" the proclamation of Fremont. All this did not deter him from taking a step which, in his conviction, was necessary, and in which no other General dared to anticipate him. He has had the daring—he has with a bold hand broken the way, and for that let him be honored. He has shown what a soldier can do who possesses a loftier courage than that of bullets; he has raised himself to that level on which the might of ideas overtops the might of cannon, and has embodied the rude war power by its employment for moral ends.

It is said that Mr. Lincoln is in the highest degree incensed at this emancipation, of which he has known and suspected nothing in advance; others assert that he will not interfere, because he has confidence in the wisdom of the measure, and that the majority of the Cabinet are reported in favor of the measure. But should the President and the Cabinet too condemn it, we are persuaded that it cannot be reversed, but that it will and must be carried out.

The consequences cannot be too highly estimated. According to the latest intelligence, they were expected a negro insurrection in Charleston. Yet that is not the case, which is, that Gen. Hunter cannot be left unsupported, that elsewhere he must be initiated, and that slavery in the whole Union is destroyed, if it be thoroughly swept from South Carolina and Georgia, the ancient foci of slaveholding and rebellion.

Now may the friends of freedom again take courage. The fulfillment of their desires has at length become a necessity. However shameful it is, that outward necessity and the "logic of events," not premeditated resolution and moral motives, have given the impulse, the way has once been broken, the demonstration is made, and the power of the regulating idea shall conquer the now disposable matter.

In conclusion, one pious ejaculation: O that General Hunter were a German Major-General! Postscript. Abraham Lincoln has nullified the proclamation of General Hunter, so far as it abolishes slavery. At the same time, he announces that he reserves to himself, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, the right to free the slaves, and has not entrusted it to any General. In concluding, he exhorts the slave States to avail themselves of his proclamation, sanctioned by Congress, for the buying out of slavery, and giving them to understand that some day they will encounter a "too late."

Mr. Lincoln may declare what he pleases. For his wisdom, that "too late" has long since appeared; and the sun's heat, and the finances, and the pest, and the opposition of the rebels, and the perils from abroad, will drive him to the road from which he has crowded first Fremont, and then Hunter. We might await this moment with tranquillity, if the delay which Mr. Lincoln necessitates in the proclamation issued by him, should have been issued without his consent, and he had said:

We are not surprised at this action of the President. We know too well the strength of slavery in this country. It exists not so much in the President's own mind, as in the public opinion, as evinced by the general outbreak of disapproval by the press of Gen. Hunter's course. The North has submitted with almost unanimous assent to the abrogation of its constitutional rights for the purpose of saving the unity of the nation, to the suspension of the freedom of the press, to the arbitrary arresting of individuals, to the refusal of the writ of habeas corpus, to the appointment of military governors over independent States, and other acts; but that opinion which remains direct interference with slavery is still strong, and the President is still under its influence, still hesitates, still withholds his approbation from acts which experienced generals declare to be necessary. We regret it. We think the proclamation of General Hunter ought to have been sustained, or that the President ought, without further delay, to exercise the right which he prefers to retain exclusively to himself, instead of entrusting it to subordinates.

THE PRESIDENT AND GEN. HUNTER.

We suppose all our readers have seen the experiment, so astonishing to the juveniles, of blowing out a candle, and then rekindling it by placing a light in the ascending current of gas from the smoking wick. The President has performed this experiment, and has rekindled the candle of slavery, blown out by Gen. Hunter, declaring the proclamation issued by him, should have been issued without his consent, and he had said:

We are not surprised at this action of the President. We know too well the strength of slavery in this country. It exists not so much in the President's own mind, as in the public opinion, as evinced by the general outbreak of disapproval by the press of Gen. Hunter's course. The North has submitted with almost unanimous assent to the abrogation of its constitutional rights for the purpose of saving the unity of the nation, to the suspension of the freedom of the press, to the arbitrary arresting of individuals, to the refusal of the writ of habeas corpus, to the appointment of military governors over independent States, and other acts; but that opinion which remains direct interference with slavery is still strong, and the President is still under its influence, still hesitates, still withholds his approbation from acts which experienced generals declare to be necessary. We regret it. We think the proclamation of General Hunter ought to have been sustained, or that the President ought, without further delay, to exercise the right which he prefers to retain exclusively to himself, instead of entrusting it to subordinates.

erate with them in abolishing slavery, and warns them of the probable effects of neglecting to do so. The anxiety of the President on this subject does him the highest honor. It is indeed most ardently to be desired that emancipation should be permanent. By making it so, the American people would remove the only ground of sectional difference between them, and would facilitate the great change from slavery to freedom so as to alleviate in a great degree the necessary embarrassments of that change.

But we have not the slightest idea, there appears not the slightest probability, that the people of the Gulf States will pay the least attention to this proposition. They are wedded to their idol. They are determined to rule or ruin. They care not what they bring upon themselves, if so be they can but avoid the crash of their own fall. They would enjoy with feudal malignity the suffering occasioned both in this country and Europe by their course. There is no hope of them, and no hope for the nation, except in the entire reconstruction of Southern society, and no prospect that this reconstruction will be undertaken voluntarily, except perhaps in the case of three or four of the border States.

Meanwhile the war is dragging on far into its second year, and into the heats of a Southern summer, one month of which is more fatal than a dozen battle-fields. We have made some progress, but are still in a critical position. Our advance is slow, and this is the policy of the enemy to bring about. They seek only to delay the war, while they will have the yellow fever and the malaria. Our troops occupy only the exterior and the most unhealthy portion of the Confederacy, just the portion that is most fatal to them. The mass of our forces ought to spend the summer in the elevated and more salubrious regions of the South, and to enable it to do this, it ought to have the black population on its side. The recent gallant exploit of the black pilot who recently ran away from Charleston shows that this population can do for us, and it is folly to reject it.

We believe Gen. Hunter was fully aware of the emergency of his position, and acted with wisdom in view of all the circumstances. He aimed a striking blow at the rebellion, and such his proclamation gave it. We believe that blow will seal the fate of secession, and that it will not be long before the President himself will be convinced of it. We only fear that the delay will be at the expense of more millions of money and more thousands of the lives of our Northern soldiers, thus sacrificed off a misplaced tenderness for an institution which has already brought so much suffering to the nation. —New Bedford Republican Standard.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

We see nothing in the President's Proclamation to justify the obloquy and condemnation that have been heaped upon Gen. Hunter. Those who have abused the loyal and able officer will look in vain for the passage in this latter proclamation, that second their unjust and unwarranted attack. Gen. Hunter is in the very midst of the horrors of slavery, and he acted upon the necessities and requirements of his own position. It is easy for a man here at home, in his slippers and dressing-gown, perhaps, to sit and write epithets and expletives of abuse of Gen. Hunter for taking the hydra-headed injury by one of its throats, and giving it a twist that was felt through all its ramifications, although he had not the power to strangle it entirely. But we would like to see the same writer so sensitive on the subject of slavery that they cannot bear it spoken of too harshly without a homily—in the field themselves, and feeling some of the horrors of this war. We presume they would soon learn, as many others have, to be less tender of the accursed institution. They would come to the conclusion, as many others have, that there are other interests that need protection besides those of slavery and slaveholders. —Kenosha Telegraph.

EMANCIPATION IN THE SOUTH.

A great step has been taken in the march of liberty within a few days, which has astonished and delighted the friends of freedom, while it has surprised and chagrined the hunkers, and alarmed the timid. The Cahawbe, from Port Royal, brought news of the publication by Gen. HUNTER, now in command of the Southern Department, of a proclamation, emancipating under martial law, and as a military necessity, all the slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina.

The right one can deny; though its policy is made the gravest of questions among the politicians. The Miss Nancies and Mrs. Grundies at Washington are totally nonplussed; and the telegraph reports all kinds of rumors—all colored by the wishes and fears of the reporters and gossips.

The great question is, whether it will be countermanded or sustained. It is said the President disavows it, and says Hunter acts without authority. On the other hand, it is said the Cabinet, or a majority of them, will stand by Hunter. For our part, we rejoice, hope and fear. We rejoice, because it is the beginning of a work that must progress, though it may meet with many setbacks, and because many slaves have been already freed under it, and another blow has been given to the institution. We hope, because there is a probability that Hunter will be sustained, and the Government cannot well recede from this step. We fear, because the pro-slavery party and the half-hearted, time-serving politicians at Washington will bring to bear on the President the most powerful pressure they can exert. A combined effort will be made that it will be almost impossible to resist. Still, the administration may withstand the clamor of the southern sympathizers. We look with great interest and anxiety to the action of the government, and wait with impatience before we shout forth the full joy we feel in contemplating this greatest act of the war. —Antislavery Sentinel.

THE SUPPORT OF SLAVERY TREASON.

To labor in behalf of slavery, now it has made itself an outlet, and become the enemy of our constitutional nationality, is to help the dark work of treason. We care not under what plea cabinet ministers and legislators may shelter themselves, every man that now takes the part of the nation's great enemy, SLAVERY, is a traitor, and should be unmasked. We have no other enemy than slavery; the pretence that slavery is not the foundation of this war is a disgraceful subterfuge. We have seen the march of that enemy, open and undisguised, through every step in the career of rebellion, and know well that the procuring cause of all our troubles is the one solitary, gigantic Crime. We know, too, that if this crime is not scotched but not killed, it will gain in its crest and expand its hood, to strike the hand that has spared it. Its very essence is lawless violence; the spirit that animates it is a spirit of treason. Carle and Crittenden, Holt and the rest of the Kentucky dictators to the President, are every one of them fostering treason, aiding and abetting the enemy, and striking more effectively in behalf of slavery than Jefferson Davis himself. Shall we say that the men who organized this rebellion are what they are? Away with such miserable sophistry! If it is treason to serve Davis and Beauregard, much more is it treason to serve the king to whom they owe their allegiance. Slavery has arrayed itself against the Constitution, and, as a consequence, the Constitution has driven our rulers into war with slavery. These two grand combatants, slavery on the one side, and the Constitution on the other, are now in the open field, waging a contest that can only end with the death of one or the other. Such being the nature of the strife, let us first ascertain who among us are the traitors, the go-between, that would hold off our hands from the enemy, and give pledges that slavery shall come out of this war safe and intact as when it went in. Such men should be expelled from camp and cabinet, and placed on the other side of Mason and Dixon's line. It has been a boast of the rebels that there are enough of the old officers, that sympathize with the South, still left in our army to prevent us from ever gaining the victory; and the doings of some of our generals go far to prove it. —American Baptist.

We are happy to find, and the conservative men of the country will rejoice to know that the President maintains a firm and unwavering position. —Trenton True American.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1862.

THE CALL UPON MASSACHUSETTS FOR MORE TROOPS.

GOV. ANDREW'S REPLY TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT. The New York Tribune, of Friday last, prints the following letter from Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, which has been received at the War Department.

BOSTON, MAY 19, 1862. To Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War: Sir,—I have this moment received a telegram in these words, viz:— "The Secretary of War desires to know how soon you can raise and organize three or four more infantry Regiments, and have them ready to be forwarded here, to be armed and equipped. Please answer immediately, and state the number you can raise." [Signed] L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

A call so sudden and unexpected finds me without material for an intelligent reply. Our young men are preoccupied with other views; still, if a real call for three regiments is made, I believe we can raise them in forty days. The arms and equipments would need to be furnished here. Our people have never marched without them. They go into camp while forming into regiments, and are drilled and practised with arms and muskets as soldiers.

To attempt the other course would dampen the enthusiasm, and make the men feel that they were not soldiers, but a mob. Again, if our people feel that they are going into the South to help fight the rebels, they will kill and destroy them by all the means known to savage, as well as civilized war, will deceive them by fraudulent flags of truce and lying pretences, as they did the Massachusetts boys at Williamsburg, will use their negro slaves against them, both as laborers and fighting men, while they themselves must never fire at the enemy's magazine, I think they will feel the draft is heavy on their patriotism. But if the President will sustain Gen. Hunter, and recognize all men, even black men, as legally capable of that loyalty the black men will wait to assist and then fight with God and human nature on their side, the roads will warm, if need be, with multitudes, whom New England would pour out to obey your call.

Always ready to do my utmost, I remain most faithfully, your obedient servant, JOHN A. ANDREW.

Nothing could be better conceived or better expressed than this letter of Gov. Andrew; and it is as timely as it is touchingly admonitory and truly patriotic. As a matter of course, "the staid press" denounces it in the bitterest terms; and the pseudo Republican Boston Journal perverts its meaning in a manner contemptible base. They would have it altered to read thus:—"If our people feel that they are going into the South to help fight the rebels, who will kill and destroy them by all the means known to savage, as well as civilized war, will deceive them by false flags of truce and lying pretences, as they did the Massachusetts boys at Williamsburg, will use their negro slaves against them, both as laborers and fighting men, while they themselves must never fire at the enemy's magazine, I think they will volunteer with all the more alacrity, and stand by the government in pursuing such a murderous policy all the more firmly and joyfully." Rather than have the foul and brutal slave system overturned, they prefer to subject the brave soldiers of the North to be shot down, assassinated, poisoned, mutilated while living, and their dead bodies dishonored and outraged in the most revolting manner—the war indefinitely prolonged—the national debt needlessly and enormously increased—and tens of thousands of Northern lives destroyed by malaria and disease in their multitudinous forms on the Southern soil! Will the people longer countenance such journals? Or will not their indignation burn like fire against them?

The following startling Proclamation calling for more volunteers from this State was issued by Governor Andrew on Sunday evening:— A PROCLAMATION, BY THE GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. The wily and barbarous horde of traitors to the people, to the government, to our country and to liberty, menace again the National Capital. They have attacked and routed Major-General Banks, are advancing on Harper's Ferry and marching on Washington. The Executive crisis on Massachusetts to rise once more for its rescue and defence. The whole active militia will be summoned by a General Order issued from the office of the Adjutant-General, to report to Boston Commencement to-morrow. They will march to relieve and avenge their brethren and friends, to oppose with fiery zeal and courageous patriotism the progress of the foe.

May God encourage their hearts and strengthen their arms, and may He inspire the Government and all the people! Given at Headquarters in Boston, at 11 o'clock of this Sunday evening, May 25th, in the year of our Lord 1862. JOHN A. ANDREW.

The following General Orders have been issued: Headquarters, Boston, May 26, 1862. General Order No. 12. The Battalion at Fort Warren will be raised immediately to a Regiment, and placed under command of Major Francis J. Parker as Colonel. All who are desirous of enlisting forthwith in the volunteer service, with a view to departing at once for Washington, are invited to report themselves to-day for enlistment. Lieut. Col. T. L. D. Perkins is authorized to act as Recruiting Agent, his Headquarters at Hancock House, Court Square. All who would join this corps must enlist without delay. The enemy has repulsed Major-General Banks, and are marching in force on Washington. Massachusetts will repeat the patriotism, enthusiasm and glory of April, 1861. By command of His Excellency, JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor and Commander-in-Chief. WILLIAM BROWN, Assistant Adjutant-General. In obedience to the patriotic summons of Gov. Andrew, troops and volunteers, from every quarter, came pouring into Boston, and were forthwith on their way to Washington. But it has turned out "a big scare."

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The anniversary of this Society was held at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening, May 27th. Rev. J. C. WHESTER, of Hopkinton, President of the Society, presided, and the exercises were commenced by reading of Scriptures, and a prayer by Rev. Mr. Thurston, of Littlefield, Me. The President then read a few letters from gentlemen, regretting their necessary absence, among whom were Prof. Calvin E. Steere, of Andover, and Rev. Mr. Wolcott, of Cleveland, Ohio. He continued in a brief address, stating the objects of the Society, and remarking that President Lincoln, in his opinion, really desired to liberate the slaves if he was confident of being sustained by the people.

The following resolutions, offered by Rev. Henry T. Cheever, of Jewett City, Conn., were then read, and finally adopted:— I. Resolved, That in common, we believe, with the great body of true Christians throughout this country, (and the same, we are satisfied, will be found to hold throughout all Christendom,) this Society regards with inexpressible grief the late repudiation, by President Lincoln, of the wise and necessary Army Order No. 11 of Major General Hunter, in the Department of the South. And we cannot withhold the conviction, that if the President's repudiation of said Emancipation Order prevails, history will hold him mainly responsible for the protraction of this unparalleled war; and get the anti-slavery friends of our State, like Massachusetts, whose "roads swarm with men" eager to fight "with God and human nature on their side," and to fire the hitherto tabooed "MAGAZINE" of the Rebel Enemy.

II. Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Society—while the manifest advance of anti-slavery sentiment in the country, during the last year, is matter of devout thanksgiving; and while the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for which we both congratulate the nation, and praise God, is worth to the country all the cost of such a dreadful war, seeing that it was not to be had peacefully—there is, at the present time, more need than ever in the nation of thorough Christian principle and activity, to counteract the influence of a timid and temporizing expediency, which has so long been acted upon in Church and State that it has become the habit, both of the national politics and the national religion.

III. Resolved, That, in our view, National Emancipation is both just and constitutional, is the only evidence of national repentance of the iniquity of slaveholding which a righteous God can accept, and therefore upon His scourge from the suffering nation; and, therefore, IV. Resolved, That it is now more than ever the duty of the Church and of the Ministry to urge such immediate repentance upon the Nation and the Government, as being both right in itself, and necessary for the successful closing of the war—independently of any proposition of expatriation or of colonization, which are only to be resorted to at the request of the emancipated themselves, and in conformity with a wise plan of Christian benevolence and justice, that shall acknowledge the nation's debt to the entire body of its freedmen.

V. Resolved, That for teachers of religion and morality to argue, as some are at this time arguing, that "what territory slavery now has, slavery may keep and curse if it will, but it shall snatch no more," is essentially anti-Christian, and incompatible with loyalty to the Great Head of the Church and King of nations; and if the same principle were acted upon with reference to other evils and crimes in the world than slavery, there would be an end to all progress and reform whatever.

VI. Resolved, That unanimity among Christians, in regard to the policy to be now pursued by the National Government toward the still enslaved and recently emancipated, is so important, that a National Convention of American Christians, irrespective of school or sect, at Washington or elsewhere, is to be greatly desired, in order to lay before the Government the views of the Christian community in reference to unconditional emancipation, and in order also to give expression to our well-matured convictions concerning the position which the Church should occupy in the present glorious hour of opportunity offered by God to a guilty nation.

VII. Resolved, Finally, That there is no propriety in discussing the question, what shall we do with emancipated slaves or the nation's freedmen, since it is clear that God and their own brawny arms of industry, under the stimulus of wages, and the need which the country has of their labor, are satisfactorily settling that. But, as justly put by an eloquent advocate of the rights of man, and a broad Christian statesman, the question is, "Is there virtue, intelligence, purpose, enough in the North to absorb the barbarism of fifteen States, neutralize it, and survive a united, free, Christian Republic?"

Rev. Mr. TRASK, of Fitchburg, seconded the resolutions, and was for prosecuting the war to the overthrow of slavery. He likened Hunter's proclamation. Rev. Mr. MASHINGO, who next followed, also spoke of it in high terms, and thought the Hunter stock was rapidly rising. Hon. AMASA WALKER, of West Brookfield, the next speaker, said we could never whip the South until slavery was abolished, and he hoped we would not, and did not believe God would let us.

AARON M. POWELL, of Ghent, N. Y., arose after Mr. Walker's speech, and denounced an address delivered by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop before the New England branch of the American Tract Society, at New York, in this building, as infamous and traitorous.

At the close of his remarks, the Secretary, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, offered the following resolution:— Resolved, That we congratulate the country upon the discovery made by the Managers of the New York American Tract Society during the last year, that the publication of tracts and books on slavery is "not inconsistent with the catholic basis of said Society." Such a discovery, though made only by the lurid light of the flames of war waged in the interests of slavery, warrants the expectation that it will soon be found out also that publications on the duty of immediate emancipation "are calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians."

The resolution was laid over for discussion at the Business Meeting of the Society in the Melancon, on Wednesday morning, May 28th, when it was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was then submitted by the Secretary, seconded in a vigorous and eloquent speech by Dr. Wray, of Boston, and adopted:— Resolved, That this Society hereby offers its warm sympathy to Rev. George Gordon, of Iberia College, Ohio, unjustly sentenced for alleged violation of the Fugitive Slave Law to six months' imprisonment in Cleveland Jail; and we commend his refusal to accept a reprieve from President Lincoln in terms that implied him to have been guilty of a crime in doing to a brother man as he would be done by;—and this Society fervently prays that, in the annals of the United States, the name of Mr. Gordon may be written as the last of the martyrs under the most unjust statute that has ever disgraced a Christian State.

A resolution was also passed, instructing the Committee of award, for the best tract on the question, How shall Northern Christians absolve themselves from all responsible connection with Slavery? to offer the same for publication to the Publishing Committee of the Boston American Tract Society.

After a vote of thanks to the choir of Rev. Mr. Grimes' (colored Baptist) Church, for their very acceptable singing, and the reflection of the officers of last year, the Society adjourned.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION IN ILLINOIS.

EARLVILLE, (La Salle Co.) Ill., May 15, 1862.

MY DEAR MR. GARRISON:

Several letters from friends in Massachusetts have recently been addressed to me, inquiring about the new Constitution of this State, and the probability of its being adopted by the people. Thinking that, perhaps, an answer to these inquiries, through the columns of the Liberator, would not be uninteresting to its readers, I address this letter to you, for publication therein, if you think it well.

At the last regular session of our Legislature, an act was passed, and approved by the Governor, January 31st, 1861, providing that "a convention to alter or amend the Constitution of the State of Illinois" be called to meet at the State House in Springfield, on the first Tuesday in January, A. D. 1862. The Legislature was Republican by a small majority, and this was a Republican measure, necessary and desirable; for the State was sadly in need of a new organic law, adapted to its present stage of development, her population having more than doubled since 1850, and nearly trebled since the adoption of her Constitution in 1848. In 1850, the population of Illinois was 851,470. In 1860, 1,711,768. Doubtless, our population to-day is three times as great as in 1848. The increase in wealth and public improvements, and the development of the natural resources of the State, have been co-extensive with the increase of population. It is not necessary to specify wherein our present Constitution is unsuited to our present wants; but it is about as well suited to the body politic of to-day as the short jacket and trousers of the boy of ten years are to the full grown man who measures six feet in his stockings.

The Republican Legislature, aiming in good faith to legislate for the interests of the people, provided for the amendment of the Constitution, never for a moment anticipating that events were soon to happen, which would, by means of such legislation, place the State in the hands of a bloated and reckless party, more dangerous to the State and the nation than the rebels themselves. Yet this in part has already taken place, and will be finally consummated at the election to take place in June.

The election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention was held in June last—(when Abolitionists held their breath in agony of suspense, fearing that the last hope and vestige of liberty was to perish—and Republicans struck down party lines, hoping thereby to win disloyal Democrats to the support of the Union, and oppose a united North to the gathering hosts of rebellion)—and the result was, the Republicans were treacherously cheated in the Republican counties, and a convention to frame the new Constitution elected; a large majority in which were Democrats and traitors.

The Convention met and passed resolutions of sympathy with the South, and proposed to elect a Senator to fill the seat of their great leader Douglas, notwithstanding the Governor had appointed Mr. Browning to fill the vacancy. An elaborate eulogy upon Douglas was pronounced before the Convention by John Wentworth, only a few months before the boldest anti-slavery editor in the State (as Mr. Douglas said of Lincoln, "he wanted my place.") It proposed to assume general legislative powers, and acted or proposed to act upon almost every matter which it had no right to meddle with, and for a long time neglected to act at all upon the only subject which it had a right to act upon, to wit, "to alter or amend the Constitution of the State of Illinois." The Convention even proposed to usurp the powers of the Executive of the State, to assume the care and control of the Illinois volunteers, and appointed a committee to take the subject into consideration, and report. It called authoritatively upon the Treasurer of the State, to report to the Convention how he had disbursed the funds of the State, and the condition of its treasury. It proposed when it should have finished its labors in preparing a constitution, and calling an election for the people to vote upon it, to adjourn until after the election, and then reassemble to see what might be done to place its members permanently in power in the State. But I need not enumerate its traitorous scheming further. Suffice it to say, that a more thoroughly disloyal body of men have not assembled in any common State since the rebellion was inaugurated, than this Rump Constitutional Convention of Illinois. While seventy thousand of our brave volunteers were fighting against the traitors of the South, the seventy-five members of this Convention were plotting treason and discord at home. Finally, on the 28th of March, the Convention adjourned; and now we have in pamphlet form, (a copy of which I forward to you with this,) not the proceedings of the Convention,—it took good care not to publish these,—but the result of its doings,—to wit, a new Constitution, with a sugar coating in the shape of an Address to the People attached thereto.

In all offences less than felony, the grand jury is dispensed with; thus making prosecutions and executions, to the party in power, easy and effectual; and a county judge, without the presentment of a grand jury, is to try all cases not extending to death, or imprisonment in the penitentiary. County judges were elected when the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were and are almost to a man Democratic, in consequence of the cheat practiced upon the unsuspecting Republicans, before referred to. The Convention of traitors, in order to tie up the hands and feet of the Republican administration party effectually for all time to come, usurped the power belonging to the Legislature alone, and, hitherto, never in this State or elsewhere, it is presumed, exercised by a Constitutional Convention, of incorporating into the proposed Constitution a State Senatorial and Representative, as well as Congressional appointment, by which, if the Constitution shall be adopted by the people, a large Democratic majority is secured in both branches of the Legislature, until at least light shall break forth in "Egypt."

As an example,—in ten Democratic counties, with a population of 71,516, five representatives are allowed. In eight Republican counties, with an aggregate population of 228,362, only twelve representatives are allowed. The eight Republican counties have more than 10,000 more than three times the population of the ten Democratic counties; yet the eight Republican counties have three representatives less than three times the number allowed to the Democratic counties. Which is equal to about four representatives filched from the Republican party in eight counties!

Again,—Sangamon county is Democratic, with a population of 82,272, and gets two representatives; while La Salle county is Republican, with a population of 48,332, and gets only two representatives. These are samples of the way the Republican party has been or is to be bound and delivered over to its enemies in this State.

But the way this Rump Convention schemed things, to secure the adoption of their infamous code by the people, beats all the tricks of all the jugglers of India, and of all the traitors of the South. It is provided "that the President of the Convention shall appoint three commissioners, to proceed within twenty days from the adjournment of the Convention, to visit the various camps, barracks, hospitals, and localities of the volunteers from this State, in the service of the United States, and beyond the limits of this State, for the purpose of receiving the votes of said volunteers for or against this Constitution."

The act, calling the Convention, provides that "each voter shall vote only in the election district in which he shall at the time reside and be entitled to vote, and not elsewhere."—[Laws of 1861, page 84, sec. 6.] It will be seen that not only is this scheme of the Convention, in going into a half dozen States to poll votes, unheard of and unconstitutional, but expressly violative of the act of the Legislature calling the Convention. To induce this flagrant and illegal act, there must have been a very strong motive on the part of the Convention; and this motive is apparent upon the face of the facts. The President of the Convention is a notorious half "seceder," Democrat, and, of course, he would not appoint commissioners of like faith, who are not sworn in any manner. The volunteers, it is true, are, by a large majority, Republican;

but they, knowing that the movement to amend the Constitution was initiated by Republicans, and not having had the opportunity of knowing anything about the action of the Convention, never having seen the Constitution to be voted for, would be likely, if taking the vote of the soldiers is not prevented, these unscrupulous Democratic commissioners, not acting under oath at all, can do it *en masse*, by compassing a regiment, and return the vote unanimous for the Constitution, although half having no opportunity of voting in the negative might not vote at all. Thus, with 70,000 votes to be placed for the Constitution at the option of the leaders in this mischief, it will be as strange if it is adopted, in spite of the efforts of the best men against it. Thus having secured the Constitution of their own manufacture, with the infamous apportionment as a part of the organic law of the State, they will control the Legislature for a generation! And by the terms of this new instrument, two-thirds of the Legislature, in joint ballot, is requisite to call another Constitutional Convention. The Republicans cannot hope to get that number under the apportionment; therefore, if the Constitution shall be adopted by the people, the Republican party is forever powerless in the State.

The Convention, not satisfied with "damning the Abolitionists," (these slave hounds call all Republicans Abolitionists,) have, of course, to the full extent of their desires, "d—d the niggers." Only white males can exercise the right of suffrage. "Negroes, mulattoes and Indians are excluded from the militia," as well as from the State. The following is Article XVIII entire:—

SECTION 1. No negro or mulatto shall migrate to or settle in this State, after the adoption of this Constitution.

SEC. 2. No negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage, or hold any office in this State.

SEC. 3. The General Assembly shall pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this article.

After the adoption of this article by the Convention, a Republican member proposed that "No negro or mulatto shall hereafter be brought into this State, to be held or used in labor, either temporarily or permanently." This proposition was voted down—40 to 21.

Thus it is proven by the record left by these threats, that they are opposed to negroes only as free men. They must not "migrate to or settle in," but may be "brought into, and held, and used in labor," in this State. How black the negroes are! How they smell! How woolly their heads! What a deplorable to the whites! What horrible amalgamation, when they "migrate" into the State! But low individuals in deed, and sweet smelling, when they are "brought into the State!"

Here we have in a nutshell a key to the character of the Convention, and its work. This is Democracy in Illinois. Such an exhibition of unblushing audacity can scarcely be found in all history. Yet it is greatly to be feared that the inquiry will be field upon the people against their will, and that we shall be obliged to submit to it for a long period of time to come. What can be done is being done by those who are not bribed to silence by the promise of office, or in hope of reward. John Wentworth is said to have elected to the enemy, in consideration of being elected to the Senate. The Democrats, it will be seen, are to get the consideration on their part before John can get his,—as the Legislature elected under the new Constitution, if adopted, are to elect him, in consideration of his having helped to secure a majority for the Constitution. John is very fox, but he is surely bold to be caught in this trap, if reports are true. The Democrats here are making a desperate dash to crush out Abolitionists, and to poison the public mind against the President and Secretary of War. They are determined, cost what it may, to win the Government at the next election, restore slavery, the District of Columbia, compromise with the South, and expatriate all free negroes, prohibit speech and a free press, and welcome Blaine, Sumner, Davis and Wigfall back to Congress and the Cabinet. They are desperately opposed to any and all colonization bills, or any and every measure of the army or Congress, calculated to injure their "dear brethren" of the South. Such is their desire, and such the programme. But they will be ignominiously defeated as a national party. It cannot be possible that a people of the Free States are soon again to permit traitors, who have well nigh destroyed the Government, to try their hand at the helm of State. These desperate efforts of the Democratic party, and the spasmodic contortions of a dying man, will soon struggle and gasp for the last time. A. J. GROVEL.

LETTER FROM MRS. H. M. T. CUTLER.

EL PASO, (Ill.) May 20, 1862.

After writing to you last week, I pursued my way, hoping to find appointments made through parties whom I had written. In only one instance did I find this to be the case; and I concluded that henceforth I should find it wisest to attend in person to my own announcements.

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Poetry.

THE GENIUS OF LIBERTY TO AMERICA. I sought thy soil with pious care. To plant and nurture Freedom there;

The Liberator.

REVOLUTION AND PROPHECY.

Extract from a Discourse, delivered in Music Hall, Boston, on Sunday, April 27, 1862, by SAMUEL JOHNSON, Minister of the Free Church in Lynn.

In a few days or weeks. A year has passed, and who will fall as when we shall see the end? A year ago, no man could look one day's length into the coming state of the nation.

who weight of the crisis, carefully feeling the pulse of the people, and at every step awaiting their response, himself as blind as they are as to what to-morrow will bring—is this he for whom we long—this our Deliverer? May God indeed strengthen and guide him, and lead his feet straight forward in the path of His purpose!

we feel like one who wakes late with the dawning sun in his face. "What are we to do with the negro?" The question answers itself now. What are you to do without him, in peace or war, in those rebel States?

ter which I wrote just after leaving Le Roy, in which I used these words: "owing to my increasingly weak eyes, I have been obliged to disconnect myself with college"; and Mr. C. asks what I have to say in reply to what the gentleman, to whom the first letter was written, said: "It would not pay for me to come to Le Roy again until I had made it clear that I was not an impostor."

THE LADY MAJOR.

"Gov. Yates, of Illinois, has made Mrs. Reynolds a Major of the State militia, as a recognition of her courageous services in taking care of the wounded at the battle of Shiloh, where she was present on the field throughout the fight."

MAY.

Beyond the bursting greenness of the woods, Into the misty, mountain solitudes, Has April breathed her sweet and changeful moods.

THE TRUE LIFE.

Have we not all, amid life's petty strife, Some pure ideal of a nobler life, Some pure ideal of a nobler life, Some pure ideal of a nobler life?

FLOYD AND THE DEMON.

Floyd, the feet-footed—may his legs hold out— Awoke one night from a wild dream of guilt, And saw within the shadows of his tent, Making it blue, and like a match in soot,

WAR MEETING IN LE ROY.

MESSRS. EDITORS.—A meeting of rare interest was held in the Congregational church in Le Roy, last Tuesday night. Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Vail, president, and Wm. Carlos Martyn, of New Haven, delivered a speech of great power and eloquence.

REJOINDER OF WM. CARLOS MARTYN.

DEAR MR. GARRISON.—I am glad to see that my assailant's remark in the Liberator of 23 May is much more pleasant to talk to them in the daylight.

AN OLD SLAVE EXPERIENCES A SENSATION.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette, writing from Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi River, tells the following story of an old slave woman, who, apparently, had a mortal fear of "de rebels":

THE PROGRESSIVE AGE.

THIS is a monthly Journal, of eight pages, edited by Bryan J. Bates and published in May, 1862. It contains the following articles: "The friends of an unqualified free paper are invited to consider its claims on their patronage. Specimens sent free to any address. Terms—Single copies, 50 cents a year; clubs of twenty names, \$5.00. Address B. J. BUTTS & H. N. GREENE, Hopedale, April, 16.

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