ements of a square and over insert er line; less than a square, 75 cents Yearly and half yearly advertise-asonable terms.

The Agents of the American, Mas

of The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, bu are not responsible for any debts of the gent, vii :- WENDILL PRILLIPS, EGRUND QUINCY, Engry, vii :- WENDILL PRILLIPS, EGRUND QUINCY, Engry, viii :- WENDILL PRILLIPS, viii CHON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WE LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

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

me. I say that mil-

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 35.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 26, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1751.

Refuge of Oppression.

TOASTS TO ABE LINCOLN. THE HEAVY CURSE.

May Heaven's curses, dark and dire, Commingled with almighty fire, Fall on your head and press you down With dreadful torture to the ground!

May peace forever from you fly, Pleasures fleet when they seem r And in their place may gnawing pa-Seire and rack your burning brain !

May sleep ne'er bless your weary eyes, Nor guardian angels from the skies Around your bed their vigils keep, To guard you well should e'er you sleep May friends forsake you in distress, And no kind hand assist or bless, But all the world to you be foes, And crush your life with bitterest woes

May loatheome sights appal your eyes, And wasting age and maladies So mar your life that thou shalt rave For final refuge in the grave!

On you may bell put forth its might, And shroud your soul in endless nig May this e'er be thy resting-place, And that of all your cursed race!

And if there be a curse more dire
That bell with all its liquid fire,
(th, may it in your soul e'en croep,
and hellish fiends their nightly orgies keep! Mobile Southern Tribune.

COLORED SOLDIERS.

The fanaticism of the radical party has cost the usion on immense sacrifice of treasure and life, and nothing has this been exemplified more thoroughly in in, the paster of negro troops. Why were her required at all? The white men of America are not slow in volunteering. There was no refused as neglect in filling up all the requisitions. The headent was no reason to doubt that the citizens which controlled the results of the control would do all their duty. Nor can all or agglest in filling up all the requisitions. The resident size no reason to doubt that the citizens of in coaptar would do all their duty. Nor can say one oneign a good reason for substituting black man say one oneign a good reason for substituting black as for white. On the contrary, if the President id called for them, he would have had a white man adva in series for every black man now enlisted, with the white man would have been worth ten of the black. The only motive for adopting the black observation was the fanatical idea of negro equality, as the determination of the vadicals to do repulsage possible to raise the negro to the social and policial level of the white. They refused to py any attention to the question of expense. Der vere willing to lose battles, right terrible failt-material to the series of the Union self, if they might only secure a step in their nerp equality plan for the country. It is certainly sin that this was the object. No other can be impased. Witness the persistence. Negro. troops tamble disaster on the armies in which they have read to the series incorporated. All the expense wasted on for estimate that been thrown away, and worse in the face of all this? Nothing less than to adjust negroes as far as possible for the white reasons of the Governor of this State, because k ha declined to give official authority to any one sensit negroes instead of white men. They are wind in their department of the contract of the fining up the army with negroes. The face of all the failures of the negro troops, they are spread the failures of the negro troops, they are spread the failures of the negro troops, they wast the failattions of negro-evolution to the serve the say the serve are promitted to the serve are the serve and the serve are promitted to the serve are promitted

we are the men shall stay at home, and proser age unbattones! We at it vain for any other explanation of this,
sure the fantisism of negro-equality notions. If
the many the fantisism of negro-equality notions. If the
dishar are worth anything to the nation now, they
at be of the best quality of soldiers. If the
madest attengthens the army at all, he should
fraghten it with white material. If he could fill
a find of five hundred thousand men with negroes,
at which dish the property of the services of the repetition of the services of the rebellion. Could anything be
sense about, more fatally fanatical, than this negro
stay han, which is thus persistently urged on the
stay than the services of west but know that fifty thousand white men weth more to any army than five hundred and negroes. The cowardice which brought simpler on these poor victims of abolition, when they field from the first fire at Petersburg it he characteristic of the race. With bayobind as before them they may fight, as the lest and most timid animal will fight, in a cornection to the country, the of the Union cause, on such soldiers is madness. It is that the negro is a dependent, on the saan, and needs protection, support, defence. is that the negro is a dependent on the the man, and needs protection, support, defence. It is no more fit to be placed in the front of our mine than are our young children. To raise an any of the year old children would be regarded as a time squart humanity, and this raising of negro received is a crime of precisely the same nature. It is not to the white man of inself, the negro is a trust to the white man of inself, the negro is a trust to the white man of the country, and we have no more right, to make the poor dependents in regiments, to become not for poor dependents in regiments, to become not fee poor dependents in regiments, to become not fee poor dependents in regiments, to become full find the poor dependents in regiments, to become full find the same vain and useless sacrifice. It there are men to-day who are load in their demanders of these who refuse to advocate filling par quesa with negroes instead of white men, all the man that it is patriotic to find negro subtentials for the white men called for. With such an is nates to argue.—N. Y. Journal of Com.

WHAT NIGGER FREEDOM COSTS.

HAT NIGGER FREEDOM COSTS.

Single of humanity, to free the niggers, and their himself of humanity, to free the niggers, and their himself of humanity, to free the niggers, and their himself of humanity, to free the niggers has now raged releminary to the present war.

There was the commencement four millions of niggers aftery. It is estimated that the war has made an along the himself of himse the round sum of five thousand.
Thus for every nigger that has a obedience to the clamors of the

friends of humanity, the whole country has given five thousand dollars and the life of one white man. At this rate, what will be left of us when we have made free the whole four million? Will it not be like the Kilkenny cat fight? Will there be any more left than the tails?—Bennet's Herald.

How much it has cost to make Wendell.
Phillips happy. More than half a million niggers, who, three years ago, were fed by planters on
hog and hominy, are now fed by the United States
on hard tack and salt horse. To bring about this
change in the condition of these niggers, it has cost
the United States about five thousand dollars, and
the life of one white man are since they the on hard tack and, salt horse. To bring about this change in the condition of these niggers, it has cost the United States about five thousand dollars, and the life of one white man per nigger. Has the change in the condition of the nigger been of any advantage to him, commensurate with this price? No. No one can pretend that the sable wrethes were not in all respects better as they were. But we have gained one great point by this change—we have made Wendell Phillips happy. Another great point gained is that we have satisfied Garrison, Greeley, and Exeter Hall. Can a free people desire to barter national prosperity for a nobler purpose than this? Northern and Southern men, to the number of a million—the first choice and very flower of the race—have fallen in battle or have died more horribly in hospitals, and the nation is inearly broken down with financial embarrassments; and all this has been done to make some hundreds of thousands of niggers even more wretched than they were—and to make Wendell Phillips happy. Has any one the impudence to complain that this is a very large price for a very little whistle? Send him to Fort Lafayette.—Bennett's Herald.

NO PEACE WITH LINCOLN.

Never will this bleeding land see peace with such an administration as Mr. Lincoln has or can have. It is now evident that eternal war and his reëlection are synonymous. It is evident that more fighting, rivers of blood more, wider devastation, more awful play still of the dreadful enginery of war, Pelion upon Ossa of the corruption that war feeds, war alone never will settle this gigantic struggle. There is every sign that the time has come for the marshalling of the moral forces to settle it; and it is a solemn fact that, so far gone is confidence in Mr. Lincoln, he is as powerless to summon any moral force as the child unborn. His administration stands before the people as a malefactor. It Lincoln, he is as powerless to summon any moral force as the child unborn. His administration stands before the people as a malefactor. It has proved faithless to its trust. It has trampled on the great inherited rights of freemen. Its programme has not a particle of the moral force of conciliation, but is surcharged with every hellish element of war. It may direct the vast physical power it wields to the work of a war on private property; burn villages, capture cities; but, in Brownson's language, it never can restore the Uuion, maintain the nationality, or give the country peace. What we urged three years ago, with all the force we could command, we urge to-day; war alone, we repeat, can never settle this rigantic strife; the moral forces must be summoned; and the first step to something besides the hell of war must be a change of Administration. Let the man, who, with the light before him, is not ready to go for a change of Administration, suspect his ability to worthly serve his country.

Can there be peace so long as Mr. Lincoln and his set—the engineers who run now the political machine—are at the head of affairs? Who are they, pray? How often are Democrats pointed to Stanton and Holt and Halleck, and now Andy Johnson, with the remark. Democrats run the machine. Who does not know that they, hold their positions on the tacit bargain to sereen the men and the measures they have, their whole lives long, condemned; that they have to bend and cringe to the real engineers; that it is a mockery, an insult to call their adhesion to Mr. Lincoln that of Democrats. They are Democrats no longer! They have been powerless but to do the ruinous work of carrying out abolition measures, and the whole country knows it; and no Democrat, for a moment, will accept one of them as an exponent.

The real engineers are well known; their theories and their objects. They are the same Abolition set that every Democratic National Convention that ever met characterized and denounced as enemies to the Constitution and the Union. One of them is Charles Summer, with his Cosmos theory of the South, as clean as a sheet of white paper, and he a second Locke to write all over it a new law.—Where, in God's name, is there the first sign of any hope whatever of peace on this theory? There is Henry Wilson; and he has a hundred times over pledged himself to work on until the sun shall rise on no master and set on no slave. How can he bring on peace? Is not the moral force of his whole past arrayed in phalanx against him? There is William H. Seward, who reiterated Rufus King's diea that, as to a citizen's rule in civil affairs, there is a higher law than the Constitution, and who sanctions the whole line of Abrabam Lincoln's transactions, can he make peace? Who supposes it idea that, as to a citizen's rule in civil affairs, there is a higher law than the Constitution, and who sanctions the whole line of Abraham Lincol's transactions, can he make peace? Who supposes it possible for him to do it? Is he not the accrediate father of the irrepressible conflict doctrine? Did Helper, and the John Brown class of small abolition demagogues, do more than put his volcanic words into acts of blood? Can he give peace to the country rears, literally cursed, and swore against the Union? Has he not continually called it a covenant with death and an agreement with belt and for the rife to go to the front, but stays behind where safety is, and urges schemes that turned this land into a holocaust of blood. Is there a peace element in him or in his theories? Go forbid that he should be an agency for peace. Once more, and to go to the head: Did not Abraham Lincol's announce that this country must be either all free or all slave? With this well known, a party content, and the should be an agency for peace. Once more, and to go to the head: Did not Abraham Lincol announce that this country must be either all free or all slave? With this well known, a party content, and the should be an agency for peace. Once this gan as their candidate; and though adroit and deceptive, and making nothing of solemn pledges to others, he has been true to this idea—true to Phillips, Garrison, Wilson, and the abolition conspirators. As the Chief Magistrate of the country, should not have the constitution, but on his so-called military necessity principle. An extended the surface of the order deared on the carried of the order deared on the carried of the country should be carried the surface of the country should be carried the surface of the country should be carried to the country should be contrained for the resident surface of the country should be contrain

Selections.

PEAGE AND UNION.

What is it that is likely to be a firebrand in the future? Is it any question of tariff, or bank, or taxation? With the sad experience of civil war which the American people bave had, no question of purely material interest is likely to divide them in years to come. There is but one thing that stands in the way of union and unity, and that is a diversity of social institutions. Slavery has caused this rebellion, and it will continue to be a disturbing element until it is removed. Says the Richmond Enquirer, "the South now maintains that slavery is right, natural and necessary. While it is far more to obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites—for they are only fit to labor, not to direct—yet the principle of slavery is itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion." Jefferson, in his forecast, anticipated slavery as "the rock upon which the Union would split." Alexander H. Stephens, now Vice President of the rebel Confederacy, and who was one of the most liberal of the Southern statesmen that were forced into the rebellion, says that "African slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution," and that "the prevailing ideas entertained by Jefferson and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that he enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically." Mr. Stephens affirmed that "our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundation is laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not the equal of the white man; that shavery, surbordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition." Mr. Stephens ana, ridiculed the idea that secessionism had grown out "of any aggression on the part of the United States and the other aristocratic. Mr. Garnett, in his letter to Trescott, said that "democracy and slavery are incompatible." How Henry May, who recently represented the Baltimore di

We might, multiply these extracts, showing that Southern statesmen clearly appreciate the diversity of institutions which has made—which will make—a harmonious union impossible. There must be a oneness—a unity—of institutions before we can have peace. How are we to attain this? By abandoning slavery, Mr. Lincoln maintains. By strangling abolition agitation, say the peace Democracy. They practically agree with the Southern rebels, that slavery must control the whole Union. Alexander H. Stephens said, "Looking to the distant future, and perhaps not very distant either, it is not beyond the range of possibility, and even probability, that all the great States of the North West shall gravitate this way as well as Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, &c. Should they do so, our doors are wide enough to receive them, but not until they are ready to assimilate with us in principle."

Arkanas, &c. Should they do so, our doors are wide enough to receive them, but not until they are ready to assimilate with us in principle.

Many of the peace Democracy have already shown, a readiness to do this. There worship of slavery and jealousy of any eneroachment upon the institution is as hearty as that of the aristocratic Southern planters; nor would they hesitate to introduce it into the free States, first, however, "hanging every abolitionist," which is their favorite way of disposing of those who are opposed to the oppression of a race.

The fact is that the nation must exist all free or all lave, and this is the momentous issue which the people, must meet in deciding upon the terms of peace. It will be the issue of the coming election, if the Democracy commit themselves against the abandonment of slavery. It is an issue before which all questions of candidates or policy in the abandonment of slavery. It is an issue before which all questions of candidates or policy in the management of the war sink into insignificance. Grant that the Administration has abused its power, trespassed upon individual rights, wasted the substance of the people—grant all that a reckless opposition, greedy for power, has charged upon it—the issues presented by them are unimportant compared with the question whether America shall be a land of freemen or of slaves? So deep are our own convictions upon this subject that we care not we holds the reins of government, or what policy is adopted in the further prosecution of the war, how long the war may be protracted, or how soon is acopted in the turther prosecution of the war, how long the war may be protracted, or how soon peace may be concluded, if that peace, when it comes, is based upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and makes the institutions of this country truly democratic, republican and homogeneous.—Boston Journal.

that we know not whether he who entertains it deserves most the indignation or the pity of mankind y and yet we have a whole school of politicians and philosophers about us, who talk as if the President's proclamation of emancipation was a mere waste of paper, and slavery was again to be the great interest and controlling political power of the United States. Whether that proclamation is worth anything or not, depends on the simple question whether the Union is maintained or goes down. If the rebellion succeeds, then the devil may reign in the South, and we shall have no power to resist his sway. But if the rebellion is crushed, as we never doubt it will be, then slavery perishes with it. And any President or Congress, any party or man, who should propose a restoration of the Union with slavery in its former status, must not only be at bottom a knave, but must combine with the knave such a measure of the fool as to form a monster. It would be to throw the country back where it was when the rebellion sprang into existence, with the same causes of strife, the elements of an irrepress-ble conflict, and the torch already burning to kindle anew a protracted and wasting civil war. Let us not only end the war, but provide against its recurrence. And nothing but the abolition of slavery, can do this.—N. Y. Christian Ambassader.

THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY.

The views expressed in the following article from the London (Eng.) Star are so eminently just, that we feel we are doing a good service to our readers by copying them. We bespeak for the article a candid consideration. Says the writer:

by copying them. We bespeak for the article a candid consideration. Says the writer:

"We aympathize with the North because in a war which we find in progress, and with regard to which it is impossible not to entertain sympathies, we follow with anxious hopes the army which brings deliverance to the captive, and whose victories make impossible the consumation of the foulest and most gigantic conspiracy against human rights which the world has ever seen. Many of our own countrymen have, somehow, become possessed of the notion that the cause of the South is linked with that of freedom, little imagining that no sooner would the success of the South be assured than the liberated slaves of Louisana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, Western Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland would be hurled back to bondage by the operation of a law more barbarous and releatless than the Fegitive Slave Act, which happily for humanity, no longer deseprates the Hnited States statute-book. The Southern panal enactments against teaching slaves to read, or to assemble together to worship God, or to leave the plantation on which they labored, would be made more severe. Abolitionists would be hunted out and forced to leave the country, or be hanged by the brutalized mean whites; the hideous traffic in buman flesh would be resumed; General Forrest, that fine specimen of Southern chivalry, mould return to his occupation of hunting runaway negroes with bloodhounds; Virginia planters would begin with fresh zest to breed up children

believes Davis to be a man of truth, which we do, not—that what they ask is their independence; they are not fighting for elavery." and that they will have their independence is be exterminated in the attempt. New, in amending that the rebels are not fighting for elavery." In the third of the property of the property

cases where no contracts had been made, there was such a haste manifested to comply with the demands of Government that the Commissioners of the district could hardly get through the work. Now, in the midst of October, there are few negroes who have to be employed by the authorities, though there may possibly still be some wandering about without any employment.

"The negroes have not all remained on the same plantations where they had lived as slaves. Many have returned to plantations where they had lived as laves. Many have returned to plantations where they had lived as laves. Many have returned to plantations where they had been located before, or have taken service elsewhere.—Many, too, have left the sugar plantations, preferring the lighter work in cofice or cotton grounds, so that the production of sugar appears to have decreased. But, in general, no noticeable change has taken place in the colony with regard to its marketable productions. The negroes have remained at their old work, and the cultivation of the plantations continues as before.

We have not yet met a single trustworthy statement which would in the least impair the weight of this testimony.—N. Y. Tribune.

"WHAT THE NIGGER COSTS."

Under this tasteful and suggestive caption, one of our popular New York dailies, which professes to be loyal, though just now in a most unhappy distraction of heart between McClellan and Grant, edifice its readers with the encormous expeases in blood and treasure, inflicted upon the country, by the present rebellion. Thirty years ago, a few abolitionists, we are told, began to agitate the country, and now see what the nigger costs!

Of course, all this immense sacrifice of life and wealth is to be ascribed to the abolitionists. But for them, all would have been in peace and prosperity. The lion and the lamb would have laid down together, liberty and slavery would have been bosom friends, and the master, driving a hundred daves, would have harangued the universe on the glories of American freedom! But as the serpent entered paradise, so abolitionism sprang up in a luckless hour in the United States, and there was an end to the peace of our "happy family."

—As for keeping four millions of our fellow-beings in eternal ignorance and chain, that was nothing; they were only "niggers." And what if we did stand before the world a great political lie—a disgrace to the religion and civilization of the age—was not cottou king, and did not alavery pay? Who cared for principle—who loved any liberty except his own—who regarded truth, fusice or humanity? These things were obsolete. We had ignored them; and but for the abolitionists, tey would never have been hard of agin. We would have ignored God, too, if we could.

To charge this rebellion, and all its cost, and all its miseries upon the abolitionists, is an ingenious device of the lovers of slavery; as shread as the cry of his fit his police and courts of justoe, and charging them upon honest citienes, who only wish to roin the country by taxation. To ferret out, arrest, try and punish a single murderer has cost our city a hundred thous

and dollars. Our sapient editor would charge all this expense, not to the murderer, but to the polico and courts of justice I. But for these pests of society, this vast sum would have been saved, and—the murderer gone free!

Yes, "the nigger," this poor down-trodden thing that "had no rights which white men were bound to respect," is proving rather expensive. Jefferson, our great Democratic leader when democracy meant something besides slavery, foresaw this day, and said, "I tremble for my country sches I remember that God is just." Could he, or the abolitionists that rose after he had gone to his grave, have been heeded, and slavery abolished, our country to-day would have been united, prosperous and happy. Wrong-doing cannot always prosper.—N. Y. Christian Ambassador.

IS THIS FREMONTISM?

The Westlinke Post, of this city, the leading German Fremont organ in this State, and the only one in it which commands any considerable influence, is out in an article advising Fremonters to vote for no radical Union men for Congress who suppool of the State except

in it which commands any considerable insuence, is act in an article advising Fremonters to vote for no radical Union men for Congress who support Lincoln. In every district in the State except one, the Second, the only contest will be between Lincoln radicals and Copperheads; and the advice of the Post tends directly to help elect the Copperheads. Are we to understand this to be the policy of the Fremont party of Missouri? If so, the sooner the fact is established and generally comprehended, the better, as them many honest anti-slayery and Union men, who, on account of their anti-Lincolnism, have committed themselves to the Fremont movement, will see where it is bearing them.

For Fremonters, in a majority of the Districts of Missouri, to act upon the Post's suggestion would be simply to help elect Copperheads, without voting for them. The effect might be to send back to Congress Rollins, Hall, King and Scott, the bitterest endmiss the Radicals of the State have ever had, when they have the power to substitute for them sound and thorough Radical men, who would work for freedom and the Union. Such action would not be Radicalism—it would, in effect, be Copperheadism, none the less reprehensible because not so open and direct in its operations as the pro-slavery and pro-rebel article which goes by that name.

The most of our Fremont men say they cannot go with the Union party, because they are opposed to Lincoln. Their opposition extends merely, if we give them credit for sincerity, which we have been disposed to do, to one man—Abraham Lincoln. But here we find the organ of Fremontism in Missouri engaged, not merely in opposing Lincoln, but just as bitterly opposing J. W. McClurg, Ben. Loan, S. H. Boyd, and others who are just as true and brave Radicals as the sun ever shone upon, and contributing by its counsel to the election, in their places, of such miserable pro-slavery Conservatives as James S. Rollins, William A. Hall, John S. Phelps, Thomas L. Price, John G. Scott, &c., &c. We akagain, is this Fremontism?

McKinstry and Claiborne throwing their influence in favor of Fremont's immediate adherents might use their influence for some of the friends of McKinstry and Claiborne for other offices, but we make no such charge. What we want to know, and what ought to be known, is whether the Westliche Post, in advising against helping to elect such Radicals as McClurg, Loan, Boyd and Knox to Congress, speaks the authoritative voice of the Fremont party of Missouri. We are very certain there are very many Missourians, who have called themselves Fremonters, who will sustain no such counsel. With rare exceptions they are Germans, who are true friends of freedom and the Union, and who will be no parties to the support of Rollins, Hall & Co., either directly or indirectly. Not only will they not vote for them, but they will vote against them, in such a way as to defeat them and elect Radicals, and they will meet with soorn any propositions to the contrary. If the Post does speak the voice of genuine Fremontism, then are the days of Fremontism in Missouri about numbered. It will have gone to seed and perished, long before the political season is ended.—Missouri Democres.

HOW MUCH LOYALTY IS THERE IN THE DEMOGRATIO PARTY?

HOW MUOH LOYALTY IS THERE IN THE DEMOURATIO PARTY?

The above has become an interesting inquiry, and in more than one respect an important one to the country. It is a notorious and undeniable fact, that all the disloyalty there is in the country—reference being had to that portion which ostensibly acknowledges the supremacy of the Union—finds shelter and welcome within the ranks of the Democracy. We remember the remark in one of the speeches of John M. Botts of Virginia, made previous to the war, but after secession had become the subject of public discussion, that "so soon as a man turned disunionist, if not already in the Democratic party, he went forthwith and joined it." Thera was truth in the remark. The rebellion grew up beneath the shadow of the Democratic party, The chosen rapresentatives of that party previous to the revolt, Pierce and Buchanan, were its guardians, if not, properly speaking, is nurses. Without their complicity—the treason which was cubminated in open warfare against the Union could never have successfully organized for the contest. Every development of treason preparatory to the revolt was made in the name of Democracy.

Has time purged the Democracy of its disloyal elements? We apprehend not. We believe there are loyal men claiming to belong to it, but at the same time Vallandigham belongs to it, vorthers belongs to it, and we have never yet met a peace sneak or vile Copperhead, whose tongue was blabing treason to the government which protects him, who did not claim to belong to it. Is not Vallandigham acknowledged by every Democrat as a moment of the contest of the contest of the Comment of the Contest of the Contes

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II. P. San Bar

as the only possible chance of seizing the reins of government, and bringing back "the reign of chaos and old night."

This is our view of the state of affairs; and if it is "electioneering for the reflection of Lincoln," we do not at all object to the imputation; for we have in-dulged in similar "electioneering" ever since we be-

came an Abolitionist. In consequence of the rebel-lion, Mr. Lincoln stands on broader anti-slavery

grounds than did Owen Lovejoy, Joshua R. Giddings

grounds than did Owen Lovejoy, Joshua R. Giddings, or Charles Summer, when they were candidates for Congress; yet, as against their venomous pre-slavery opponents, and accepting their nominations as signs of a growing sentiment hostile to the further extension of slavery, if not to its abolition, we hailed their election, even under the old "corenant with death and agreement with hell." So we stood by "the old man teloquent," John Quincy Adams, and did what we could to cheer his heart and strengthen his hands while the terms work of the Southern lords of the

to be maintained-and remembering that the law of

development and progress is, "first the blade, then the ear, then the corn fully ripe," and "not desplaing the day of small things"? What public man has

vilified and feared, by the traffickers in human flesh

or by their copperhead abettors, with reference to the slavery question, than Abraham Lincoln? Whose elec-

tion is so dreaded by them as the token of their per

dition as his? With what other man are they no

willing to run the risk of success or defeat than him-self? Against whom are they so openly gnashing

their teeth, and cursing by all their gods, on the ground that he is a "d-d Abolitionist," whose only

concern is to "free the niggers," and not to conciliate the South? Who has had such trials to endure, such

perils to encounter, at their hands as Mr. Lincoln

Is it not underiable that "hell from beneath is mov-

ed" to defeat him at the mighty trial of strength in

leaders avow that their only hope is in his discom

of mind is the testimony of Brig. Gen. T. Seymdur, who has just been released from "under fire" at Charleston,—an old West Point officer and a Demo-

crat, but not of the copperhead stripe,-and who, in

it is nearly time that it should end, and of sheer de

letion it must end before long "-and emphatically

" Disappointed from the first in not having been ac

"Disappointed from the first in not having been acknowledged by foreign Powers—more bitterly disappointed in their general expectation that Northern
cowardice or dissension would secure their ends—but
a single chance remains, and that is the result of our
next election/for President. If a Democrat succeeds to
Mr. Lincoln, they profess to feel sure of negotiations,
and sure of their Confederacy. They believe a
Democrat will be elected. In Mr. Lincoln's re-election they see only subjugation, annihilation, for the
war must then continue, and continuance is their failure and ruin.

are and ruin.
In military affairs it is an excellent rule never to do
what the enemy desires—is it not equally true in poltics? Certain it is that the only remaining hope of the
South lies in Mr. Lincols's defeat."

Can any anti-slavery man justify himself in so act-ing to secure Mr. Lincoln's defeat as to give fruition to "the only remaining hope of the South"? Tarn to the "Refuge of Oppression" on our first page, and

treated the

New York, gives his "impressions of the precondition of the Southern Confederacy." He

Added to much other evidence of their state

class who are nail inclined to lond the leading of T. B., I want to say a word to them. More than thirty years ago, I came to this coan

by no means clear of the tincture of Chartism. I had

used my pen somewars in its defence, and been mit-bed, and thought it better to come to this commy where I could be free from the tyranny of an aristo.

where I could be free from the tyranny of an image racy than uselessly contend with men with who "might was right." I came, and soon becase a quainted with the Liberator; and in my humble with as Secretary of an Anti-Savery Society that followed very much in its wake, was a co-worker with it. On

very much in its wake, was a co-worker with it. On comustances occurred that reminded me of the pathility of devoting so much of my attention to hat Slavery and kindred subjects, as to neglect water important matters. I bought a small farm, were newer as a reformer of rough land, dropt some of my newspapers, and endeavored to carry out, as are practicable, at sentiment, highly approved by the Abilitionists of England, and endorsed by the Constitute of the American Anti-Slavery Society, agreed as a Philadelphia in 1833,—that is, the duty of shatting from the use of slave-grown productions. But the mas of the people sniffed at the idea. The remonstration of Ellin Burritt, and Gerrit Smith and of the same of the people sniffed at the idea. The remonstration of Ellin Burritt, and Gerrit Smith and of the same of the people sniffed at the idea. The remonstration of Ellin Burritt, and Gerrit Smith and the same of the same o

fulfilled, and the inflexible law worked out.—"He than

of othodoxy rather than a love of the stare; hence it falled of producing the desired conviction on church members; and no other alternative seemed to be left

but either to settle down quietly under Southern rule, or stir up the embers of self-government

We have suffered ourselves to drift through the peaceful times in which it was possible to effect a set-tlement of the "vexed question" without the effusion

of blood; but the masses turned a deaf ear to that

roposition, and we are now whirling in the vortex f civil war, and every one inquires, "What will be

end will be; but of this we may rest assured, that he services of an honest man at the helm, who has lees tried, are much more to be desired than those of anoth-

er one, equally honest and well-disposed as the re-

favorable to the reclection of Abraham Lincoln. No

four years more.

I send you five dollars in this letter, (as a donation,) to aid this "fallen chief" in the confusion of the Liberator—a paper dear to me in many point, and one, not least, is that of advocating the greater toleration and largest liberality in matters of opinion;

fully believing that it would be well for this ation, in this the "Gethsemane of her moral agony," if she had many such "fallen chiefs."

Thine for the largest freedom, both physically and nentally, JOHN GORDON.

MR. GARRISON - I observe that a sharp contest is going on in New England among the pioner Aloitionists there, in reference to the next President.

A soldier, having had some opportunity for judging

A soldier, having had some opportunity so specified of the popular feeling in the army, would be lets to say, first, it is evident that Gen. Fremont is at it sympathy with the people, and that (however art torious the platform may be on which he sunds) it is related in the platform of the problem.

cannot be elected. Second, it is evident that Pres-

cannot be elected. Second, it is erapen una dent Lincoln possesses more political strength with the people than any other candidate that could be se-

lected from the Union party. Third, to case us considerable division in the Union forces so as in

considerable division in the Union forces as as as throw the. Government into the hands of the opposition would, at least, be hazardons if not fatal to the Union and the cause of civil liberty. Footh, Mr. Lincoln is already committed to a line of polyc the will, if successful, accomplish the grat object for which the Abolitionists have labored for the last thirty

which the Abolitionists have innered as ultra a position years. Fifth, Mr. Lincoln occupies as ultra a position of

guarantee against any wilful encroschmen to his part on the principles of civil liberty or free indis-tions, that will in the least permanently impair the constitutional rights of any American citize. He may, or may any

motives in doing so. Nor will any one pretrol, that when this rebellion is put down, and this Goretz when this rebellion is put down, and this Goretz

ment restored, he will not leave those essential prin

be captious or too critical. Let us take the less chances that present themselves for saving the Gorgian and the contract of t

ernment, and then let each man do his best, and trust consequences with God.

ople. Sixth, Mr. Lincola's knors

which the Abolitionists have labored for the

integrity of character and patriotism

on the slavery question as he can, and be tust

NATCHEZ, (Miss.) July 27, 1864.

a paper that supports that candidate

ROBERT F. WALLCUT:

chief,

four years more.

No one can say with certainty what the

oweth the wind shall reap the whirtwind." The severe criticisms of the Liberator on the pathy of the churches were attributed, by many, to shared of othodoxy rather than a love of the stere; becce it the stere is the stere is the stere in the stere is the stere is the stere is the stere is the stere in the stere is the

Burritt, and Gerrit Smith, and the "had

no means clear or the man and a sometime. I had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat in its defence, had been maked my pen somewhat my

mark.

It is most true that, in a purely voluntary organization like a political party, the presence of had men is not necessarily conclusive of corruption. No man can be precluded from calling himself a Democrat, a Whig, a Republican, or by any other name known to the political vocabulary, nor can he be prevented from voting its ticket; but the flocking of all men of a certain class—as for instance sympathic all known to the political vocabulary, nor can he opervented from voting its ticket; but the flocking of all men of a certain class—as for instance sympathizers with treason—to one party in preference to all others, is positive proof of something to be found there which meets their approval, and ministers to their hopes. It is like the gathering of foul birds to a feast of carrion. But, so far as the Democratic party is concerned, this affiliation of treason-lovers is more than a matter of omen. They come not as unbidden guests. They are welcomed with ovations and rejoicing, and they are indorsed by the masses of the party as the faithful expounders of their political faith. When and where, we would ask, has a Democratic leader been repudiated by his party, because he has made a disloyal speech, or otherwise done service to the rebellion? Has Alexander Long, of Ohio, been rejected by the Democrats of his district, because of his treasonable utterances in Congress? Has Voorbees, of Indiana, been discarded by the Democrats of his district for indorsing Long? In all the range of the party, has a single representative lost caste because of sympathy, actual or supposed, with the traitors of the Southern Confederacy? We allude to facts, and to facts which are as well established as the existence of the party itself.

posed, with the traitors of the Southern Confederacy? We allude to facts, and to facts which are as well established as the existence of the party itself. When Vallandligham returned from his compulsory exile, where did he go, except straight to a Denocratic convention? How he was welcomed with cheers and assurances of protection—how he was at once honored with a delegateship to the highest convention of the party—are matters of history. What has he to do—a recent wanderer through the

once honored with a delegateship to the highest convention of the party—are matters of history. What has be to do—a recent wanderer through the realms of Secessia, where he was met only with smiles, and from which he parted with the "God speed" of traitors to cheer him on his way—the associate of Clay, and Holcomb, and George N. Sanders, and other rebel emissaries, and who returned to the soil of the Union breathing direst threats of resistance to its lawful Government—what has he to do, we ask, in a loyal party?

It is not a question whether the Democratic party is free from treason, for that none will claim, but whether treason or loyalty predominates therein, and which is to govern. Could there be a more humilating reflection to a Democrat who is truly a loyal man? We can scarcely comprehend how such a man could have the patience to hold the balance between loyalty and treason, when terting the character of an organization to which he claimed to belong. But if any such Democrat there is, and he will undertake the task of weighing the elements composing the party, we opine small space will be required to convince him of its unsoundess. Let him get to one side the Vallandighams, the Fernando Woods, and all the men of that ilk holding high positions in Democratic ranks, and on the other all the truly loyal men he may know that musters there, putting McClellan, if he pleases, at their head, and we are much mistaken if he does not speedily find the preponderance of the former marked and formidable. Nor must it be lost sight of what is the real character of much of the professed War Democraty of the times—how much of it is the mere product of policy and the hollowest preteñce. Let the associations of many of our so-called War Democrats hecause they keek to upholed and strengthen the hands of the Government in the prosecution of the war? Are they War Democrats, because they seek to upholed and strengthen the hands of the Government in the prosecution of the war? Are they War Democrats, because they help to fight th war? Are they War Democrats, because they denounce traitors, and oppose peace-on-any-terms men, and all other sympathizers with treason? Or are they not rather War Democrats, because they profess to support for political preferment some patriot like McClellan, who, while he wears the sword of a Major General in the service of his country, is segaged in bidding for the support of men who would rather see that sword buried in his own heart. The wind the suppression of the rebellion? We might allude to the existence of the O. A. K., and other treasonable organizatious which find their strength within the bosom of the Democracy; but why seek to multiply proofs, when nothing is more smanifest than that he who reposes his hopes for the Union upon the loyalty of the Democratic party leans upon a broken seed?—Missouri Democrat.

[From the Boston Traveller.]

GENERAL SHERMAN'S LETTER TO COLONEL

SPOONER.

Messes. Editors:—The letter in the papers of the 13th inst., purporting to be written by Gen. W. T. Sherman to Col. Spooner, if genuine, is no credit to its author. Instead of civilly recognizing Mr. Spooner as a lawfully appointed agent for recruiting in rebel States, Gen. Sherman, with his usual passion for writing long letters, indulges in a little teeble wit, and then delivers seven extraordinary "opinions" relative to recruiting in the rebel States, and to the conscription law, which ought not to pass unchallenged. As to the first, that civilian agents about an army are a nuisance, Gen. Sherman is probably qualified to judge—but his second "opinion"—viz.: that the duty of citizens to fight for their country is too sacred a one to be peddled off by buying up the refuse of other States—contains an ill-timed sneer at the only humane provisions in a law of Congress passed after more discussion and deliberation, perhaps, than any measure for the last ten years. What difference does it make to Gen. Sherman or anybody else, whether A, who is drafted, serves in person, or sends B as a free and willing substitute? And if this substitute be a black man from a State now in rebellion, and his going saves us at home a valuable farmer for mechanic, is not the wisdom of this provision abundantly justified? "As to the General's third and fourth opinion that it is unjust to the brave soldiers who are fighting to place them on a par with such recruit as Col. Spooner is collecting, and that the negro is in SPOONER. ing to place them on a par with such recroits as Col. Spooner is collecting, and that the negro is in a transition state, and is not the equal of the white man—we can only say that any soldier, however brave, ought to feel honored to be placed side by side with men who fought as negroes did at Port Hudson, Milliker's Bend and Fort Wagner, and that the theory about the transition state may be correct, but that it is equally as probable that Gen. Sherman is in a transition state from profound hunkerism to a just appreciation of our present position. Truly, if Gen. Butler were out West, he would find that the "inveterate prejudice" he so much laments is not "gradually dying out." Negroes, even now, in the opinion of some officers, are not good enough to be killed. ing to place them on a par with such recruits Col. Spooner is collecting, and that the negro i

uen. sherman further says that a universal draft would "separate the sheep from the goats," and "show who would fight for their country, and who would only talk." Such a draft would on o such thing. It would simply take a certain number of unwilling individuals, too poor to buy substitutes, Gen. Sherman further says that a universal draft would only talk." Such a draft would do no such thing. It would simply take a certain number of unwilling individuals, too poor to buy substitutes, and make them fight, whether they would or not. It surely is very hard, when a draft would certainly (at least, under the present law) bring so much trouble and misory in its train; and when people are so earnestly at work raising enormous sums of money, purchasing and putting in substitutes, and doing all in their power to ward off a draft—to have their efforts and plans neered at and their enthusiasm chilled by so high an authority as Gen. Sherman. M.

To the descriptive sketches of members of congress, on the last column of our fourth page hould have been added the following of

GEN. GARFIELD. About as close to the Speaker's desk as he can get is another General, who, perhaps, cannot quite abandon his old fashion of being in the front. Looking just now more like a schoolmaster than a dashing officer; with hair so bright a brown that, in his boybood, it must have looked as if drawn from a distaff, you would hardly suspect that the mild-eyed man, not tall and a little stout, in a short-skirted business cost, almost brief enough to be witty, who goes about as if he were mending pens for the scholars, could be James A. Garfield, of Obio. His eyes do not flash swords, the germ of battle is all washed away, and he is no longer a star-bearer in the brilliant constellation of Rosecrans' staff, but, only and merely, "the gentleman from Ohio." He carries he had indicated well thrown back, I mean—a head liberally rounded out in the propelling regions. Entering Congress with a soldier's prestige, if he has not attained the rank to which his advocates laid claim, it proves not so much his lack of ability as their excess of enthusiasm, for the two things in the world that require a handling the most unlike are words and awords. About as close to the Speaker's desk as he can

The Ziberator.

against him all who are resolved upon the degradation and enslavement of the negro race, and if hell itself howls and shricks at his presence, is it for those who claim to be on the side of loyalty and freedom to

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 26, 1864.

OUR "PARTISANSHIP" OF MR. LINCOLN.

A few weeks since, we published a letter from an old subscriber to the *Liberator*, Mr. Brisaniu Escreasos, 24, of Haverhill, in which, after preferring availant us various false and spienetic accusations afagainst us various false and splenetic accusations af-fecting our anti-slavery integrity, he ordered the im-mediate discontinuance of his paper. The "head and front of our offending" was a disagreement with him as to the approaching presidential struggle—he being hostile to the election of Mr. Lincoln, and we tion, but it cannot secure that of Gen. Frement or any other but a pseudo peace, doubly-traitorous coppenhend. It cannot ensure victory to the cause of Liberty and Union as "one and inseparable," and in all probability it will lead to the most deplorable consequences. To seek to promote it, no matter on what pretext, is nothing but abeer infatuation. To foster it, by every conceivable artifice, is what the seditious democracy of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do, the property of the North will labor assiduously to do. being hostile to the election of Mr. Lincoln, and we believing it essential to the suppression of the re-bellion, the abolition of slavery, and the preservation of national unity, that Mr. Lincoln should receive the strongest possible loyal support at the polls in Noember next.

In our present number we insert a replication from
fr. Emerson, in answer

Mr. Emerson, in answer to some animadversions we made to his former letter. A subscriber for thirty years to the paper which he has so summarily drop-ped, so well aware is he of our uniform fairness to those who dissent from us in allowing them to be heard in our columns, that he sends us this long re-joinder, expecting to see it promptly published as a matter of course. Yet, having printed his first ac-cusatory letter and replied to it, he has in justice no cusatory letter and replied to it, he has in justice no further claim upon us. As a matter of indulgence, however, we print his second letter, which gives us the right to review it, and to terminate the discussion if we think proper. He knows that it is not our habit to prolong a controversy with any one, so effective do we regard a simple statement of the truth as against a flood of sophistical reasoning. If he wishes the last word, he can have it, though not entitled to. it. But the state there of decreey and many we submit to him, on the score of decency and manly behavior, whether having made his arraignment of ou and discontinued his subscription, it is for him for him while the stormy wrath of the Southern lords of the lash, in Congress, was beating pittlessly upon his nakin apked head for defending the sacred right of petition course and discontinued his subscription, it is for him to seek to occupy our columns with a reiteration of his defamatory allegations against us. Is this his aphis defamatory allegations against us. Is this his appreciation of a free and independent press? In drop without respect of persons; notthstanding that, at that very time, he arowed his opposition to the prayer of his support, he sets an example which, if followed and, of course, he would like to see it followed by of slavery in the District of Columbia. Was this to every other subscriber, would at once terminate its existence. As long as our columns are open to him, and to all others, to express sentiments adverse to our own, can he do better than to renew his subscription, the result of the state of the presentation of events to the value of persons and the relation of events to the tion, that he may continue to enjoy the rare luxury of reading a paper which allows all sides to be freegodlike cause that was so dear to us-recognizing the fact that where the assault of the slavocracy was ly and fairly heard in its pages? Or, has he at last made the highly interesting discovery, that any dis sent from his opinion—even where fair play is allow-ed him to the fullest extent—must forfeit his support ed him to the fullest extent—must forfeit his support the ear, then the corn fully ripe," and "not despit of the journal thus presuming to differ? If he has read the subsequent numbers of the Liberator, he been, or is at this hour, more detested, proseri must have discovered in what estimation his conduct is held by persons at least as warmly devoted to the cause of the slave as himself; and also to what extent his withdrawal is likely to affect our subscription

But this is merely prefatory. Let us look at the justification of himself made by our Haverhill censor.

1. He accuses us of "electioneering for the reelection of Lincoln," which proves, he thinks, that

we have "abandoned the cause of the slave."

To this we reply, that if to give the weight of our sympathy and influence to Mr. Lincoln's re-election makes us recreant to anti-slavery principles, then every other man who does so is also recreant; then Lovejoy and Giddings were recreant before they died; then Gerrit Smith and a host of others long conspicuous for their consecration to the abolition cause are | fiture ? recreant; then the loyal sentiment of the country, em-bodied and expressed in the Baltimore Convention which re-nominated Mr. Lincoln on the basis of the total abolition of slavery as essential to national safety and unity, is recreant; then Mr. Lincoln himself, an instructive letter to W. E. Dodge, Jr., Esq. of for accepting such nomination, and desiring an amendment of the Constitution so as to render slaveholding an illegal and criminal act throughout the that "the rebel cause is fast failing from exhaustion land, is recrean t!

But if Mr. Lincoln is thus recreant, how does it happen that not a rebel in all the South, nor a Cop-perhead in all the North, are aware of the fact?—that their malignant hatred of him avowedly for no other reason than that he is determined upon the exterminof slavery, and is "a black-hearted abolition ? -that the one great issue to be met at the ballot-box in November is, whether the President's e mancipation policy shall stand or be repudiated, in relation to the rebellion and the reconstruction of the Union? Have the enemies of impartial freedom lost their old pro-slavery instincts? Is it true that birds of a feather no longer flock together? If Mr. Lin-coln were as ultra an abolitionist as Mr. Emerson modestly claims to be, could be be more bitterly denounced or more furiously opposed by the conjoined copperhead and rebel elements of the country? And while he holds a position which arrays against him all these elements, doubtless soon to culminate in such an outbreak of sedition and violence as few yet dream of, is he to be also ostracised by the professed friends of universal emancipation? Is this to be accusted by principle or guided by common sense? When the traitors of the South, or their yet more base accommon sense? plices at the North, shall begin to speak decently of Mr. Lincoln, and to take sides with him as against General Fremont, will it not be quite soon enough to

see what maledictions are poured upon the head of the President by the Southern traitors and their Northern accomplices I. In view of such ferocious assaults,-which are, in fact, splendid testimonials to the patriotism of the assailed,—of what avail is it for such cavillers as Mr. Emerson to declaim about the 'incompetency " of Mr. Lincoln—to accuse him of having " no settled principle of action," best friends of the country unjustly," "trusted too much to men of doubtful loyalty," and "nearly ruined the country by refusing to use the means at his com-mand for putting down the rebellion," &c., &c., &c. &c. suspect his honesty of purpose and question the abil ity of his administration ? Granted that all has not been done for the colored on, bond and free, for which the Abolitionist Granted that these afflicted and oppresse What boots it that outerles are made at this late hour because Fremont's edict, emancipating some thou sands of slaves, was deemed premature by the Pres people have many grievances yet to be redressed, to the reproach of the government and the shame of the nation. Granted that there is more or less of confuident,-seeing that Mr. Lincoln has since liberat sion and paradox in the conduct of military superiors more than three millions of slaves, and under his sanction so many grand anti-slavery measures have been carried? What sense is there in dwelling upon and inferiors towards the negroes within their jurisority. What then? Is been carried? Is not the primary difficulty in the popular prejudice against the negro race? And is there not another resignation of Mr. Chase to do in warranting a rival political movement to defeat Mr. Lincoln's election the only result of which, in all human probability can be to give success to the nominee of the Chicag side to the shield? Has not wonderful progress been made, in many ways, in breaking the fetters of the lage, and solemnly decreeing that they Convention? Such issues the rebels South and the copperheads North laugh in their sleeves to see mad shall be "forever free" ! Is the annihilation of mor by professedly loyal men, and they eagerly circulat them as the best means of accomplishing their ends then three fourths of the accurred slave exetem by the dict of Abraham Lincoln no cause for jubi them as the best means of accomplishing their ends for unless they can divide the ranks of the loyal the unanimous committal of the loyal sentiment of the country to the entire abolition of slavery, and to they cannot conquer.

Mr. Emerson thinks a solution for the copperhea its constitutional prohibition to the end of time, not a cheering sign of the times? Is the cleaning of the District of Columbia from its slaveholding and slave nation is to be found in the scriptural passage, trading pollution and blood nothing ! Is the recog "When a man's ways please the Lord, he makes ever his enemies to be at peace with him." We believ nition of the right of colored persons to give testi mony and defend their rights in the courts of the mony and defend their rights in the courts of the United States nothing! Is the acknowledgment by Congress and the Government of the Independen of Hayti and Liberia nothing? Is the enrolment of hundred thousand negro soldiers under the national

flag, and to put down the rebellion and ITS CAUSE-

even though they are not allowed the full pay of whit

soldiers—nothing? Is the repeal of those abborren acts, the Fugitive Slave Bills of 1859 and 1799

whereby slave-hunting ceases to be legalized, both ing ! Is the treaty with Great Britain for the effectu

al suppression of the foreign slave trade, by a common right of search, nothing? Are not all these sublime measures combined for beyond what the most san-

as possible—ay, and within a period of less than two years 1 Or are they to be flippantly cast said-

power! Who but ABRAHAM LINCOLN! And if for so doing—and for nothing else—he has roused

his enemies to be at peace with him." We believe the Lord has no hand in the matter. In his first letter, Mr. Emerson accused us o garbling" the speeches of Mr. Phillips in the quo tations we made from them. This we denied, not with any "ire" or "apparent wrath," but with par donable earnestness, challenging our accuser to show wherein we had done injustice to Mr. Phillips. In stead of accepting the challenge, he attempts to es cape from his scandalous impotation by saying that the word "garbling" only means, (according to Web ster,) "to pick out or separate such parts from a whole ster, "to puck out or separate such parts when we are may serve a purpose," and therefore "does not imply anything wrong"! Pitiful subterfuge! Why then did he bring it against us as proof of unfair and dishonorable desling on our part? The popular use of the word implies and means, artfully picking sentences so as to make a writer of out words or somences so as to make a writer or speaker seem to utter scotlinents the very reverse of what his essay or speech inculcated. But Mr. Emerson takes it all back; and we take our leave of him; of superior anti slavery vigitance and number to them put his hand and seal heartily and promptly to them hoping that, on a calm review of his other charges against us, he will be equally prompt to cancel them

who claim to be on the side of loyalty and freedom to join with his estants foes in attempting to cover him with odium, and to break down his administration in a crisis like this? For ourselves, by our allegiance to God, by our pledges to the oppressed, by the heartfelt interest we take in the welfare and stability of the whole country, we will be guilty of no such folly. Never were we more satisfied that we are pursuing the course dietated by the acondest policy, the highest wisdom, and the sternest adhesion to principle, than now. Division upon rival candidates for the Presidency, among the loyal portion of the people, is next to damnation. It may defeat Mr. Lincoln's election, but it cannot secure that of Gen. Fremont or any other but a pseudo peace, doubly traitorous copper-

LETTER FROM BENJAMIN EMERSON.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

The Liberator of July 20th—is before me. Your generally make it proper that I should give the resument of the same of the "To pick out or separate and process." It does not imply anything may serve a purpose." It does not imply anything myong. I would only add, that if you made such an extensive collection of sentences and parts of sentences from Mr. Phillips's speeches without having "surpose." you must be laboring under some 'hallucination"; and, if that is the case, the wish you so kindly express for me I most fully recip-rocate for you, and hope you may yet be found "clothed, and sitting in your right mind." And

refused to receive them, and told them to go back and work for their masters. When slave-owners missed their slaves, they were allowed to come into our lines and search for them; and, when found, to take them back. In fact, our officers became watch-dogs for slaveholders. I never yet learned of any rebuke from the President to any of his officers for their abuses of the fugitives; and some of the abuses were such as would make a savage blush.

Lincoln soon manifested a desire to retain his office for another term or more, by showing his jealousy of ing of trust than he was; and he appeared determined

o crush their influence, if possible.

I wish first to glance at the case of Fremont:

I wish first to glance at the case of Fremont:—

"Fremont was in Paris when the tidings of the rebellion reached him. He left at once, and arrived in New York on the 21st of June, 1861. On the 9th of July he was commissioned a Major General, and appointed to the command of the West—comprising Illinois, and the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, including New Mexico, with his bead-quarters at St. Louis. The task allotted him was to expel the rebels from the soil comprised within his command, and to free the course of the Mississippi from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Fremon's total resources consisted of arms for about twenty-three thousand men, which he had collected with great difficulty. He had no sooner reached St. Louis than the Government ordered these arms to be sent to the army of the Potomac, then commanded by McClellan.

Fremon's position was truly critical. He had the honor's and the responsibility of the second command in the Republic, with a splendid programme to zerry out, but no arms and no army. There was not a single sabre in the St. Louis arsenal. His political rivals had drawn him into a dangerous sanze, upon the prefect of meeting the will of the people; and as a token of the confidence of the Government, he had been appointed to one of the two great commands but the means to justify that confidence, and to

token of the connedered of the two great commands; but the means to justify that confidence, and to meet the exigencies of the situation, were sltogether denied him.

The following letter from the Postmaster General, in reply to the demands addressed by Fremont to the Government, fully exhibits the state of affairs existing:—

'I have received your two dispatches, but I find it impossible to fix the attention of the Government upon Missouri and the state of affairs at the Weat. Act for the best, and assume every responsibility that events may render necessary to defend and encourage the people that you are called upon to protect. (Signed,)

BLAIR, Postmaster General.'

the people that you are called upon to protect.
(Signed.)

Blair, Postmaster General.'

Fremont acted upon the discretionary order above, and again collected troops. As his popularity was great, the soldiers flocked to his standard; but Government constantly devised means to embarrass his. Termont proposed to march in person to the relief of Col. Mulligan, (who was defending Lexington, at the head of the last five thousand men left him, when an order reached him from Washington directing him to send these five thousand men immediately to McCiellan, to reinforce the army of the Potomac, which was already ever seventy thousand strong. It was in vain that Fremont remonstrated to the Government the danger of withdrawing these five thousand men from him; a second despatch, more imperative than the first, forced him to be bey. He did obey, and Lexington surrendered. The town was captured on the 20th of September. On the 28th, Fremont began his campaign with all the troops that he could collect at ter the increasant drafts made upon him by the army of the Potomac. On the 30th, Price fell back before Sigel, who commanded Fremont's advance guard. On the 18th of October, Lexington was recovered; and on the 28th of October, Lexington was recovered in at Newsho, in the southwestern extremity of the contested State, that he was forced either to give battle or abandon the State. This time Fremont succeeded in getting his orders executed, and the divisions of Asboth and Lane effected a junction. In the ranks of these commands were two hundred negroes, the first colored troops employed during the war. Everything promised a decider we letter to give battle or abandon the State. This time Fremont succeeded in getting his orders executed, and the divisions of the second of the second described with t

I will now look at the case of Secretary Chase, and

I will now look at the case of Secretary Chase, and see how he was rewarded for his fidelity:

"No one will need to be informed that when Frank Biair had, from his fraudulently-obtained seat in the House, denounced Mr. Chase's public and private character, had assailed his personal integrity, and had done his best to break down the Government credit, and when within twenty-four hours after this assault Constitution and law had been violated to make him a Major-General, the Secretary naturally felt he could no longer bonorably remain in the Cabinet. The Ohio delegation in Congress, accompanied by Governor Brough, waited upon him to remonstrate against his intended resignation. He asked them if they would remain there under such circumstances. They said, 'No.' He said, 'Then you ask me to do that which none of you would do yourselves?' Theyeald, 'We'do.' He did make the sacrifice. The investigation ordered to altence his assailants, Frank Biair and Sames Brooks, went on; Mr. Chase offered every facility; and on the 20th of June, the majority of the Committee (Mr. Fenton disagreeing in no essential point) adopted a report, fully vindicating Mr. Chase in every, particular. Mr. Blair's hostility was now more open, pronounced and earnest than ever. A thousand indications served unmistabily to ahow the influence he was exerting over the mind of the Presideat. At this juncture, Mr. Chaco, long United States Sub-Treasurer at New York, tendered his sesignations. This office is believed to be the minds important one of the kind entrusted independently to a single man in any government. Twenty millions a 'day sometimes, fifteen millions very often, pass through it. For a position s odeletate and responsisee how he was rewarded for his fidelity cortant one of the kind entrusted independently to a single man in any government. Twenty million that any of my fellow Anglo-Americans, who felt is a single man in any government. Twenty million that any of my fellow Anglo-Americans, who felt is a display sometimes, afficen millions very often, pass through it. For a position so delicate and responsable to the paper over which Mr. Garrison presided, the paper over which Mr. Ga

Mr. Chase, therefore, sent in his resignation. The

President accepted it.
You are ready to protect Lincoln from charges of want of justice to the colored man, or other wrongs, by his constitutional obligations or his oath of office; but it is plain by the extracts above, and by other things on record, that Constitution or law has never "clothed, and sitting in your right mind." And I carnestly pray that it may take place long enough before the November election to give you a chance to counteract some of the bad effects of your labor for Lincoln.

Lincoln, in selecting officers for the army, gave a large proportion of commissions to men who were strong aympathizers with the rebellion. Most of those officers, when the slaves came to their lines, refused to receive them, and told them to go back and

Look at his sending the slaves back to their masmy knowledge, taken the first step to put a stop to it, although he has always had the means in his hands. If he will thus violate his official promise, who is

emocratic principle, that the people have a right to choose their own rulers, remains to be vindicated in the reflection of Abraham Lincoln." Magnanimous! But if the people think that four years' trial has suf-ficiently proved the incapacity of the present incumbent of the White House, and that the safety of our institutions requires a change, and that John C. Fre-mont is the safest man to put there, what then ! You say it is neither wise nor justifiable to press the claims of any rival candidate at that time. It is possible that the people will convince you, next Novem-ber, that they dissent from you, and claim the privilege to make their own selection.

preference io Lincoln, ranks him with them." glad you can find no better argument against him. I think I can give you a more correct reason. I hav read in an old book, "When a man's ways please th Lord, he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him." BENJAMIN EMERSON, 2d.

ADDITIONAL WORDS OF CHEER.

WM. LLOYD, GARRISON;
ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I desire to add a postscript to
my respects of the 18th inst., and enclose six dollars

constitutional rights of any American citizen. Its may, or may not, (for aught I know,) hare aske mistakes in regard to the arrest of citizens supered of treason, and the suspension of the writ of the corpus, but no well-informed, candid man vill prend that the President has been actuated by userly motives in daino so. Nor will any one pretod, this This is but an evidence of the reaction of the times. iment restored, he will not leave those essential pro-ciples of free government to the people uninspired. Seventh, this is no time for faction among the friends of free government. The stake is too great, the con-sequences of defeat too appalling, for any man via-loves justice and the cause of human redemption is be cantious or too estimal. Let us take the less Wherever the influence of thy great truths is felt rage thy heart. That it may continue so to b

ALFRED H. LOVE.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON

slavery sentiments, should now "lift up the heel against him," on the plea that he has deserted his first pains to compare some of the late numbers with corresponding dates twenty years ago, (1844,) and corresponding dates twenty years ago, (1844,) and I confess I am unable to discover in what particular "It

WM. THIRDS, 64th U. S. C. L.

Extract from a letter from a lady who has occupled a prominent position in the anti-slavery lecture ling field at the West:—

"I have not seen the Liberator or Standard for sereral weeks past, and do not know how you regard the
Presidential question of late. But when last I see
your paper, I was very glad that you still had taid
in the Administration. your paper, in the Administration—or, perhaps it women in the Administration—or, perhaps it women to say, in God and the people. I believe that we to say, in God and the people. I believe that we are more safe in the hands of Mr. Lincoln than we are more safe in the hands of Mr. Lincoln than we are more safe in the hands of Mr. Lincoln man or a copper shall be in the hands of a disloyal man or a copper

"No one desires peace more than I do, but not at

of Linn Burntt, and Gerrit Snith, and the "halful." of their associates, were unheeded. Emanjation would be looked for only from "church acion,"
which proved a broken staff to lean upon; or bra
stringent political action, that peace-men prefeed
would end in blood. That prediction is nor bein

their white population to fight us; and pursuing this course until the country was nearly shipwrecked. Will you tell us whether this was treason? His in-justice to the colored soldiers is reproved in a letter addressed to him by Gov. Andrew, dated May 18th. The soldiers had then been kept out of their pay for promised the colored soldiers the same protection as white soldiers, and they have been enlisted under that promise. When any of them have been captured by the rebels, however, they have been murdered with all the torture that the malice of flends could invent, and they continue to do it: but Lincoln has never, to safe under his administration?

You say, in your strictures on my letter, "The

I notice that you frequently hold up the argument, so often brought forward by other supporters of Lin-coln, "that copperhead sheets giving Fremont the Haverhill, August, 1864.

for two new subscribers. They heard I was about to close up the gap caused by the two seceders, and re-marked, "With both hands we will subscribe to the

the earnest wish of thy friend,

MONRTON, (VI.,) August 20, 1864.

pay my subscription for the Libe

ay my aubscription for the Liberator.

Allow me to say, I regret that any, especially old ubscribers, who acknowledge their indebtedness to Allow me unberibers, who acknowledge their indebteaness the Editor of that paper for the elements of their anti-lavery sentiments, abould now "lik up the beel lavery sentiments, abould now "lik up the beel lavery sentiments, about his first

that any of my fellow Anglo-Americans, who felt it natural "to pass from the Chartist papers of England

tried man may be. Accordingly, a peece man at am, I do hope that Abraham Lincoln will be reikeded, and am willing to throw in my mite in support of Respectfully, your friend, HENRY MILES. SALEM, Columbiana Co., (O.) Aug. 12, 1864 DEAR SIR-I see in reading the last Liberators, the few men have become dissatisfied with M on's course respecting the administration of President Lincoln, and have consequently ordered a discontin-ance of their papers. They charge, that Mr. Guri-son has descended from his high moral position, and has become a political partisan contestant. The Nar Nation, (a Copperhead sheet,) calls him "the fallet chief," "drunk with the wine of human expedience," &c. I consider such charges not only false, but imp and slanderous. I have taken and read the Liberate for some twenty-eight years, and have yet to discover any such divergencies from the true track that these accusers raise such lamentations over. The whole difficulty with these persons is, that Mr. Garison is

the wrong very a Na and t yet in yet and i wrong very very too a leid of the habor in to at leid fear (DEL

this is just the trouble with Jeff. Davis, Horatio Ser and Clement L. Vallandigham, down to the lowest type of the dregs of Democracy. Any thing that seems to them unfavorable to the reflection of the President they "roll as a sweet morsel under their tongues." It is more than manna to such treason-steeped souls as Vallandigham. Now, anything that gives them comfort, in this particular, gives me sorrow. I know this is a safe rule to go by. I do not look upon President Lincoln as a man without faults, (who is without such ?) but I look upon him as the represen tative of sublime principles-principles that lie at the foundation of true government. He is piedged to put down this accursed rebellion, and the cause of it, and I believe he will do it. The man who made tha declaration to the Kennacky delegation—" Gentlene, you mean slavery shall live, I mean it shall dis "—who nobly said—" The nation's pledge to the site must be kept "—is good enough for me for Preiket, four years more.

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the peril or universal total y victories alone. The property out at once, and by victories alone. The property of the peril of the peri street who cannot so a speecy tramps, through systems who can seize the helm of government, and ake us into a peaceful and safe harbor, have not and aske us into a peaceful and sale narbor, have not tril themselves of prejudice against the colored and, and the belief in the right of intellect or aris-

ersey to rule.

-Many of these gramblers are opposed to Mr. Lin servey to rate. Many of these grumblers are opposed to Mr. Linmin because he is a common man. I find that the unitmanifeding in Washington among Secessionists and
real sub-very Republicans. There are others who
fished him for bettef reasons. But it would be better,
the dished of him. I think, to see that rebellion is
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the dished of him. I t string anarmy into the field, nor crush treason out the Northern heart. What we want is a united he Northern near the second rance of hard be sentiment of endurance—endurance of hard for and endurance of the President's faults—faith res, and faith in God; and we surely shall slength, when the pain is sorest, bring into national subsets, when the pain is sorest, bring into national subsets universal liberty. This is my faith, and I

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CELEBRATION OF W. I. EMANCIPATION AT KEOKUK, IOWA. KEOKCK, (Iowa,) Aug. 15, 1864.

PRIEXT GARRISON:

I know that it would have made your heart glad
phase been with the colored people of Keokuk on to have been with the the let of August. They got up a celebration which the let of August. They got up a celebration which that them credit; and when I fooked upon them as the platform, and remembered that aded the platform, and ren they surrounded the short time ago were seafy the whole of them a snort time ago were in saver, but now were really free men, women and salven! Loudd not help saying to myself, "What a based promise this is of the good time coming!" I was glad of the opportunity to be in their midst, to what I did see, and to speak encouraging words

They had a base of and most of the females were gir to the grove, and most of the females were fened in white, with head dresses and sashes com of our national colors. Their banners and paed of our national colors. Their banners and magazeroicis tore appropriate mottoes, such as—sect india Emancipation, 1824 "—"800,000 Liberal"—"The Right Way the Safe Way "—" God at the side of Justice "—" God says, 'Let the opnued to free "—dec. &c. As they marched through most possible manufactures to the side of Justice "—" and the head of manufactures told may be a be a benefit or the side of t men business street, a gentleman told me that he at man counters at more beautiful sight in Keokuk. A another number of these negroes came here from Misser, nome, however, are from the lower Southern case. But as far as I can learn, they conduct themeirs like men and women. Give them work, and or vill take care of themselves. There was no leace on the first of August that they lacked either or self-respect. They have their enemic her, and a few years ago this celebration would not ere, and a lew years ago are been tolerated. But, thank God, their friends a multiplying. Last Suuday, I visited one of their ols, and was pleased to see so many cit an and soldiers teaching children and adults. ve can only help them a little, I believe they will

Let me say before I close this short letter, tha bee of us here who have known you, and have felt electest in the great work you were doing, rejoice the noble and patriotic course you have pursued are the commencement of this war. We do not eve that you are sacrificing freedom to policy of esciple to politics, or that you have sold yourself to pretrament or a party. We should blush to entereren a fount of your integrity, and we feel sure at the sien who can entertain such a doubt, and are embre leady to drop the Liberator, are more illiber and our-abled than broad and generous. Can the er can bed with suspicion upon the course of one o for so overy years, through good report and evil offinchingly the friend of the slave ok men possess comprehensive views, when to has they endorsement they demand, even in the near of the vast strides which have been taken evel, the surrender of hope in the future! Must Shame on such narrowness! Delive of from being a reformer, if I am to be a bigot! Fat me down for another Liberator—one of those

dainers. I will inform you soon where to send it Yours, R. HASSALL LEGISLATION FOR THE FREEDMEN.

WASHINGTON, August 19, 1864.

Dist FRIEND,-I have been strongly impressed to Markin Washington, and make every effort in my Markin secure the attention of our law-makers to aperious demands of the Freedmen for legisla

I have thoroughly investigated the condition and wants of Freedmen, under the protection of Government through its military agents, and also those who er living in an unprotected way in this city, dependwholly upon themselves for shelter, and bread rich time I have seen them in every condition of on their first landing, sitting in the sand th their babies hovering round them, without shell is bread, through all the varieties and grades ut hesitation, that with assistance from de of the Freedmen, and cooperation from er them in regard to their homes, labor and Mon, this independence is their proper status of the and duties, and the only one that will give a suifaction, and secure their confidence in our transection, and secure their confidence in our imment and people. Indeed, I am astonished a nce and thrift that they possess, under

rmountable difficulties.

Ito hundred of these poor things were landed her t few nights since, coming from King and the booksellers generally. the arrivals—and they have been daily till quite Sader Arington Heights, instead of in the city; the and of those who came before them are open, and he see them in most generously. I assure you; the self-see them is most generously. I assure you; the self-see them is seen to be seen that the self-see them is seen to be seen that the seen that the self-seen self-see A began with a babe three weeks old, and four othone habits, turned her large, hopeful eyes to me,
all babits, turned her large, hopeful eyes to me,
all babits, turned her large, hopeful eyes to me,
all cases and the large fifteen dollars, our monhabit can' get a cabin or any bread with that.
I can good for much here; but if I can find
align to morrow, and get fifty cents for it, madalign laint good for much wanted him, and he's
as retting for 'em-this long time; but if I get
tat, I can take care of the chillen." I find that the
beneficial field, both among those independent of the man face care of the chillen. I find that the man face independent of the miniment and those under its care—that freedom at he relieved to them, when they find marketable the Thomas and the second of the marketable t

There is no despair, though there is much suf-line to them, when they find marketable is. There is no despair, though there is much suf-line the sufficient are required to work out them for the extension of that relief and protec-ie to them which is their due from the Govern-out because the Government and the people must be about the fact that they are freed mea. Even to be the sufficient in the hands of our wisest legisla-tia, did not steer clear of anneanticeship in fact, or Screw bill, in the hands of our wisest legislain, did not steer clear of apprenticeship in fact,
so they did in form; and the present commercial
tout, into whose hands they have now been passed
a bre, in their rules and regulations, left no opficially for the fredman to have absolute control of
in product of the fredman to have absolute control of
in product of the fredman to have absolute for his
last has the advantage of the bargain, and the agent set has the advantage of the targain, and the agent specimending has the irresponsible management of

the immense fund, collected by a tax upon the Freedmen's labor, called sometimes "an Indigent Fund," for the sick and poor among them, which in so case, I believe, has yet been disbursed for their relief. Mr. Mellen, the General Agent of the Treasury Department, has now in his hands, I am told, \$800,000, collected in the Mississippi valley, that should have been disbursed long ago. And this cannot be reached. Judge Johnston and Solicitor Whiting, J. W. Joliffe, of Clincinsati, and many other highly reputable gentlemen who have a large collection of startling facts in the shape of correspondence with reliable men from the Yazoo up to Cincinnati, relative to the bellection and capture of property, licenses to trade, &c., considand capture of property, licenses to trade, &c., consider the whole business, as at present conducted, she most stupendous system of robbery, fraud and outrage that was ever carried on in this or any other Government. And now the Vendous ernment. And now the Freedmen are also throw completely into their hands. Unless we can secure the spointment of men who are honest, and comprehend that these men are now free by the laws of the country, and are to be treated as men, having their rights guarantied in the Proclamation of the Presi-dent, in addition to the Higher Law which is over all, and gives to the Proclamation its validity,-unless we

can bring some influence to bear on the Treasury Department, there can be no safety to the Freedmen or to his friends who desire to give him relief and

The delegation from the Northwestern Freedmen' The delegation from the Northwestern Freedmen's Associa-tions of the West-after seeing Mr. Lincoln, and finding that he could do nothing for the protection of their efforts and the people's money, sent to give re-lief to these poor sufferers in the valley of the Mis-sissippi, felt that their only hope was in gelting an in-creased number of Commercial Agents, with a Gene-ral Agent to remain here in Washington, having the management of Freedmen's matters exclusively. This is all the bill will allow. If we can get this, it will be a safeguard, at least, and allow of a generous will be a safeguard, at least, and allow of a generous cooperation of Freedmen's Associations and the Gov ent. The Northwestern Commissi official support to this measure, as do Congressmen Foot, Wade, Sumner, Julian, Eliot, and several others. R. D. Owen also concurs in this, emphatical ly, that agents should be appointed for this work with reference to their qualifications for this very purpose; and we are collecting a large amount of influence that we hope may affect the Secretary in our favor

NOTE FROM REV. M. D. CONWAY.

94 HOLBORN HILL, LONDON, Aug. 6, 1864.

Mr. Sella Martin accuses me, in your columns, the misrepresentation of a colored co-laborer. I should have been at a loss to comprehend the allu sion, had not a friend informed me that, last year, Mr. Martin had in the *Liberator* written something to the same effect apropos of an affair that occurred at Islington, London. I did not see that letter, but I re quest you to publish the following statement of wha occurred on the occasion referred to.

Mr. Sella Martin, in the course of his address

speaking of the general corruption which slavery had produced in America, declared that even the Abolitionists in America were corrupted by it; that ever they did not practically treat the negro as an equal I felt somewhat wounded by this; for I certainly had, for many years, treated negroes as equals, and I knew that others had; so I said to the gentleman by my side on the platform, though not loud enough for the audience to hear, "I doubt that." Mr. Sella Mar-

tin hearing this, the following colloquy occurred:

Mr. Martin: "A gentleman behind me says Mr. Martin: "A gentleman behind me says in doubts that. He is not a colored man; he has not felt MR. CONWAY: "Does Mr. Martin mean to say that William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips do not treat negroes as equals ?"

MR. MARTIN: "I do not exculpate anybody nor inculpate anybody; but I know what I have said

Soon afterwards, I was called upon to speak, and is opening said : "It is my duty to say, that the last time Fraw Mr. Martin, until I met him here to-night, he was seated at an Anti-Slavery meeting comfortably between Garrison and Phillips, and did not seem to have any shoe pinching him at all."

This is the first and last time that anything has ever passed between Mr. Martin and myself. Fortu-nately, there were enough persons present who rewords used on the occasion. I do no know what Mr. Martin means by jealousy; but I do know that whilst he was penning his attack on me was publishing kind words about him in England.

Yours, truly, M. D. CONWAY.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY, for September, pre-

nents the following table of contents:—

1. Our Domestic Affairs. By George Wurts. 2. Ænone. Chapter IIX. 3. Aphorisms. By Rev Asa S. Colton. 4. A Glance at Russian Politics.
Part I. By Charles M. Mead. 5. Asleep. 6. A
Castle in the Air. By E. Foxton. 7. The Devil's
Canon in California. By Henry B. Auchincloss. 8.
Fly Leaves from the Life of a Soldier. Part I. 9. The Sacrifice. By S. J. Bates. 10. Streck Verse. By E. B. C. 11. The Undivine Comedy. A Polish Drama. By Count Siglsimund Krasiuski. Translated by Martha Walter Cook. 12. Sound Reflections By E. B. C. 13. The Constitutional Amendment. By Henry Everett Russell. 14 Averill's Raid. By Alfred B. Street. 15. Observations of the Sun. By Charles E. Townsend. 16. An Army: Its Organization and Movements. Fourth Paper. By Lieut-Col. C. W. Tolles, A. Q. M. 17. Violations of Lite-rary Property. The Federalist-Life and Character of John Jay. By Henry T. Tuckerman. 18. A Sigh-By Virginia Vaughan. 19. The Antiquity of Man-A Philosophic Debate. By William Henderson 20. Who Knows! By Edwin R. Johnson. 21. Lit erary Notices.

New York: John F. Trow, Publisher. For sale by

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for September, presents the following table of contents:-1. The Cadmean hadness. 2. The Bridge of Cloud. 3. The Electric Girl of La Perriere. 4. Literary Life in Paris—III. 5. The Maskers. 6. Cullet. 7. What will become of Them I—II. 8. Forgotten. 9. Wet-Weather Work—VIII. 10. Regular and Volunteer Officers. 11. The Total Depravity of Inanimate Things. 12.
What shall we have for Dinner? 13. Before Vicksburg. 14. Our Visit to Richmond. 15. Reviews and Literary Notices. 16. Recent American Publications.

Ticknor & Fields, Publishers, 135 Washingto Street. Terms of subscription, \$3.00 per year

JENNY JUNEIANA: TALKS ON WOMEN'S TOPICS.

By Jennie June. Boston: Published by Lee & Shepard.

Whoever gets hold of this racy and unique volume will be pretiy sure to retain it until its thorough perusal is completed. The author of it has a talent for writing In a manner to amuse, to interest, and to in-struct. We add our commendation to the following from one of our exchanges:

from one of our exchanges:

"This is one of the sprightliest little volumes we have read for a long time. It is full of shrewd observations and lively humor, full of "good things." The author being a married lady is acquainted with all the mysteries of woman's life, and her paragraphs on woman's topics are as entertaining to men as to women, and may be read with pleasure and profit by both. She treats of Grifs and Babies, Courtship and Matrimony, Household Artangements and Female Pleasures, and a hundred kindred themes of like interest. The chapters were originally contributed to a New York newspaper, and have gained by popularity their title to a permanent form. They are brief, but good enough to make one wish they were longer, which is a rare merit. We advise those who wish to read a book on woman, that is not dull by reason of aiming to be profoundly philosophical, to peruse this one."

eril of universal liberty; and that cannot be the immense fund, collected by a tax upon the Freed- LOYAL ACTION OF THE NATIONAL CON-VENTION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

VENTION OF SPIRITUALISTS.

Pursuant to a call issued by a Committee appointed at a Convention holden at Boston, a large number of Spiritualists from eighteen States and the Province of Upper Canada assembled at Bryan Hall, in Chicago, August 9th, at 10 o'clock, A.M. The Convention was called to order by Dr. H. F. Gardner, of Boston, Chairman of the Committee on the call. The proceedings were highly interesting and spirited, eliciting prolonged and carnest discussion, especially upon the following strong series of resolutions in relation to the rebellion and the pending presidential election:

Whereas, In a crisis so distressing and so perilous

Whereas, In a crisis so distressing and so perilous in relation to our beloved country, the government has the right to expect and receive the sympathetic expression and cordial support of every popular body, whether religious, commercial or political; therefore, Resolved, That this Convention readily improves the present occasion to declars, as indicative of the position it holds and the spirit by which it is animated.

the present occasion to declare, as indicative of the position it holds and the spirit by which it is animated.

1. That the existing rebellion against the government, having avowedly for its object.—First, The definal of the democratic theory of the right of the people to decide who shall administer their public affairs, and, consequently, the substitution of the olitons of the human family and their posterity, herding them with the beats that perish, and trafficking in their bodies and souls—is to be abhorred and denounced by every patriot, Christian, and friend of justice and humanity, and resisted and crushed by all legitimate and rightful instrumentalities—no matter how long the struggle, how great the cost, or how fearful the sacrifice.

2. That no compromise is to be offered or accept-

how long the struggle, how great the cost, or how fearful the sacrifice.

2. That no compromise is to be offered or accepted, and no terms of peace agreed upon, which leaves, in existence the oligarchic or slaveholding elements in any part of the land; for otherwise it will be a virtual riumph of despotism over freedom, of wrong over right, and of treason over loyaity, to be followed in due season by another convulsion still more bloody and exterminating.

3. That as it was against the election of Abraham Lincoln, in whose veins runs the blood of the common people, that the slaveholding aristocracy of the South rose in arms, so the re-election of Abraham Lincoln at the approaching Presidential struggle will be a special vindication of the right of popular suffrage, and a signal triumph of the forces of Liberty over the hosts of Tyranny, in which the oppressed of all nations are deeply interested.

4. That whatever may have been the mistakes or errors of President Lincoln in conducting the war, whether through excess of caution or slownesses of decision, every truly magnanimous, disinterested and patriotic spirit will charitably remember the endless difficulties and perplexities of his position, the terrible perits which have best his path, these arilly divided state of public sentiment, even at the North, and the crushing burdens that have been imposed upon him.

5. That however slow and circumspect, he has nev-

upon him.

5. That however slow and circumspect, he has never taken a step backward, but has steadily proceeded onward in the right direction, striking at the root of the rebellion, and seeking to secure the unity of our now dismembered Republic upon the basis of universal freedom and justice, without which there can be

now domentoneer tempotice upon the dasts of universal freedom and justice, without which there can be no peace.

6. That his best certificate of character as to his honesty and administrative ability is to be found in the fact, that all that is slaveholding and treasonable at the South, and all that is pro-slavery, factlous and seditions at the North, are fiercely seeking to defeat his reflection—regarding it as the sure sign that the doon of the rebellion and of slavery is sealed.

7. That as the loyal sentiment of the country, even when concentrated upon one candidate, is none too strong to secure suggests at the polls at the coming election; and as that sentiment has been overwhelmingly expressed in favor of reflecting Abraham Lincoln, therefore any division on any pretext in favor of any other candidate will practically operate to encourage the rebellion, to imperit the safety of the Republic, and to strengthen, extend and perpetuate that sum of all villainy—American Slavery; hence this is no time for the indulgence of personal preferences, of partisan animosities, or of selfish ambition.

Whereas, From the time of his nomination to the

partisan animosities, or of selfish ambition.

Whereas, From the time of his nomination to the Presidential office to this hour, the slaveholding traitors of the South, and their allies in the North, have opposed Abraham Lincoln because, in their view, he was an abolitionist, and as such would use his influence as President against-alsavery and slave labor, and in favor of freedom and free labor; and Whereas. Their great argument against him to-day is, that he has actually used the power conferred upon bim by the people, by the Constitution, and by the rebellion, for the destruction of slavery and slave labor, and the preservation of freedom and free labor:

abor, and the preservation of freedom and free labor

labor, and the preservation of freedom and free labor; and Whereas, By the action of his political friends, and also by the universal assertion of his pro-slavery political enemies, Abraham Lincoln stands before the larope, as the political embodiment of the spirit and principle of freedom and free institutions, and as the political representative of the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation; therefore, Resolved, That this Convention deems it incumbent upon all the friends of impartial justice and liberty, and of universal progress, to use all the social, moral, religious and political influence, which, in their opinion, they possess, to secure the redicction of Abraham Lincoln in the impending Presidential canvas.

Every device was resorted to, by a converbead mis-

Every device was resorted to, by a copperhead minority in the Convention, to prevent the passage of these weighty resolutions, but they were adopted by an overwhelming majority-eight to one! All hono and credit to such Spiritualism !

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES IN MAINE.

Andrew T. Foss, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will spend a short time in the State of Maine, speaking on the great questions of Emanci-pation and a Free and Just Union. He will be glad to receive calls to lecture from any of the Anti-Slavery friends in Maine.

His address, for the present, is, Care of S. Water

house, Esq., Ellsworth, Me.

WM. Wells Brown, an Agent of the An Anti-Slavery Society, has gone to the State of Maine, where he will spend four or five weeks. His adcresses on the entire emancipation of the slaves, and the recognition of the rights of men without regard to color, will no doubt interest the people.

THE REBELLION RECORD : A Diary of America Events, 1860-'64. Edited by Frank Moore, and published by G. P. Putnam and Henry Holt, 441 Broadway-Part XLIII. Just published-containing finely engraved portraits of Brig. Generals W. B. Hazen and O. B. Willcox. So voluminous are the official docu-ments and events of this stupendous conflict, that the dates in the present number reach only to July, 1863 ! The whole work will be of great historical interest and value, and its patronage ought to be equal to its merits.

LETTER FROM SENATOR WILSON. In reply to certain false statements recently current, Senator Wilson has addressed the following letter to the Bos ton Transcript :-

ton Transcript:

NATICK, Aug. 20, 1864.
A statement, copied from New York papers, has been telegraphed to New England, to the effect that I had been to Washington to urge upon the President the policy of an armistice with the rebels. There is not the slightest foundation for the report, as I have never entertained, for a moment, any other thought than that of conquering a peace by the defeat of the rebel armies.

than that of competing a peace by the deteat of the rebel armies.

No public man connected with the Administration is in favor of an armistice. I personally know that President Lincoln and the members of his Cabinet have undoubting faith in the success of our armies in the field, and the ultimate, complete triumph of our cause. And with this belief, they will pursue the most vigorous measures to raise money and men.

HENRY WILSON.

HENRY WILSON.

New York, Aug. 20. The Times' Washington dispatch says that the speculations of certain New York sensation journals upon the armistics question are all both. Neither Mr. Lincolo's friends nor the leading Republicans are urging the experiment upon him, and his views, expressed only yesterday, in his remarks to returning Ohio soldiers, proclaimed his determination to devote all his powers to the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union.

BALTIMORE, Aug. 22. The Point Lookout corresondent of the American sends the following:

pondent of the American sends the following:

"Large number of refugees from Richmond continue to arrive. They report a large infantry force under Lee in person having gone up the Shenandoah Valley to seinforce Early. They assert that this body numbers 40,000. Their purpose in to secure the plunder captured by Early in Maryland, which they fear will be taken by the advance of Sheridan, and also to attack Washington or invade the North."

A SPEECH FROM THE PRESIDENT.

to the President in front of the Executive manalon, who addressed them as follows:—
Soldiers—You are about to return to your homes and your friends, after having as I learn perfermed in camp a comparatively short term of duty in the great struggle. I am preatly obliged to you and all who have conformed to the call of their contry. I whish it might be more generally and universally understood what the country is now engaged in. We have, as all will agree, a free government, under which every man has a right to be sequal with every other man. In this great, struggle, this form of government and every form of human rights is endangered if our enemies succeed. There is more livolved in this struggle that is realized by every one. There is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed. I say this in order to impress on you, if you are not already so impressed, that no small matter, should divert us from our great purpose. There may be some irrequiarities in the practices application of our system. It is fair that shot man shall pay taxes in exact proportion to the value of his property, but if we should wait before collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on each man in exact proportion with every other man, we should never collecting a tax to adjust taxes on ea

Cheers were given for the President, and he was aluted by the regiment, after which the march was aken up for the railroad station.

PATERNITY OF THE COPPERHEADS.

There is one vein of denunciation that runs through all the Copperhead effusions—the President has established a despotism, the country is ruined, life and property have been wrested from us, peace can be easily obtained somehow, and is worth everything else, &c. &c. The following extracts will suffice for examples:

"And what else has he [Mr. Lincoln] done ! Let the nearly two millions of men called into the field "And what clee has he [Mr. Lincoln] done? Let the nearly two millions of men called into the fleid answer. Let the two hundred thousand graves he has made tell their own tale. Let the maimed, and halt, and diseased respond. Let the Government Debt and the People's Taxes answer. Let the Poor speak, and the Rich, whose riches take to themselves wings, neply. Mr. Lincoln and his policy have well night ruined the most favored nation and the most prosperous people on the face of the earth."—New York Express.

"Reviewing the course of President Lincoln, he de-nounced him as a usurper. We have lost all self-con-trol, he said, and the right to self-government. Gen-Lee, of the rebul army, is a better champion of the rights of self-government in this country than Abra-ham Lincoln."—Speech of S. S. Drew in the Maine Democratic Companion. Democratic Convention.

"Mr. Lincoln was declared to be a military despot. If the conservative men succeeded, it would be their duty as Christians and philanthropists to propose conciliation and concession."—Speech of Bion Bratbury.

"The deliberate invasion by the National Administration of the rights of the States, the freedom of the press and the personal security of the citizens."—West obtains of same body.

Now we will go back to a peace man in 1780, who it will be seen, adopts precisely the same style of ar gument, often the same epithets, and has the same artful suggestions of peace on any terms: [From Benedict Arnold's Proclamation to the Citizens Soldiers of the United States, Issued Oct. 20, 1780.]

Soldiers of the United States, issued Oct. 20, 1780.]
You are promised liberty by the leaders of your affairs, but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it, saving your oppressors? Who among you dare speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your sons, draps you to the field of buttle, and is daily delaying your country with wour blood?

robbed you of your property, imprisons your sons, drays you to the field of battle, and is daily deluging your country with your blood?

Your country once was happy, and had the proffered peace been embraced, the last two years of misery had been spent in peace and plenty, and repairing the desolation of a quarrel that would have set the interests of Great Britain and America in a true light, and comented their friendship.

I wish to lead a chosen band of Americans to the attainment of peace, liberty and asfely, the first objects in taking the field.

What is America but a land of widows, orphans and beggars? But what need of arguments to such as feel infinitely more misery than longue can express? I give my promise of most affectionate welcome to all who are disposed to join me in measures necessary to close the scene of our affliction, which must be increased until we are content with the liberality of the parent country, who still offers us protection and perqual exemption from all taxes but such as we shall think fit to impose upon ourselves.

ENERDICT ARNOLD.

exemption from an users.
It to impose upon ourselves.
BENEDICT ARNOLD. VALLANDIGHAM AT DAYTON, OHIO.

The great peace apostle spoke at Dayton, Ohio, on the 18th inst. We make the following extracts from the report of his remarks:

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

I expect speedily by the grace of God—and I ask no higher authority—to be at Chicago. And the eyes and hearts of the nation are turned in that direction. Even Republicans, in the silent stumbers of the night—the hearts of hundreds of thousands of shem—are turned to the Chicago Convention—pray that wisdom may direct its action, as I have not the least doubt it will. When its work is finished, then will be ready to devote myself from morning till sight, and from night till morning, if need be, to a discussion of the subjects that will be involved in the struggle to follow, I can assure you, as far as my judgment is worth anything, that that convention will meet in harmony, will at in harmony, adopt the right kind of a platform, nominate a true candidate, and furthermore, that that candidate will receive a constitutional majority of the votes that will elect him President of the United States.

WHAT WILL FOLLOW.

WHAT WILL FOLLOW.

Then will begin the work of reducing taxes; of stopping drafts, of arresting the fearful destruction of war, of stanching the flow of blood, of re-establishing that state of things in the land which is described in sacred history, which our fathers enjoyed, and which we have been or children may yet see, when "every man shall sit down under his own vine and fig tree, with none to make afraid."

MY TIME HAS NOT COME."

"MY TIME HAS NOT COME."

Now, I call upon you to carry out your convictions. You have prejudices against the democratic party, and you have stronger prejudices against me. This I cannot help. I know that my time has not come. It does not need that Republicans should tell me this. "When ye see the fig tree put forth its leaves, then ye may know the summer is nigh." Great cheering, indicative of some secret understanding between the speaker and its authors.) I am not going to quarrei with you. Time will do its work.

speaker and its authors.) I am not going to quarrei with you. Time will do its work.

MUST HAVE A PEACE CANDIDATE.

I think we will put forward a peace candidate. Why not? Suppose we were to nominate a war. Democrat, pledged to prosecute the war, in what respect would such a ticket be better than the Lincoln ticket? You would have all the evils of the war still to press you down, increased taxes, drafts, and the slaughter of your sons. What would you gain by his election over that of Lincoln? You say that be would not interfere with the negroes South. Well, that is no consideration with me. What do we care for the negroes down South, when our own liberties and lives are at tatke? We want a man who will try compromise in the settlement of our national difficulties, and such a man hundreds and thousands of Republicans are looking for. If they want a war man, they have as good a one as they could get in the per son of Lincoln. I would as soon be drafted under him as under a war Democrat. And I would agree with Abraham, that it is no time to swap horses while awimming a river.

A GOOD RETORY. The New York Journal of Commerce, quoting that oft-repeated commonplace that the rebellion is on its last legs," asks peevishly how many legs the rebellion has got. The Chicago Tri-ware answers:—

"There is a leg in Ohio called Vallandigham, one in Chicago called The Times, two in New York, The Journal of Commerce and the World, and one in Cincinnati, the Enquirer, besides two very lame legs at Richmond and Atlanta. The Northern legs are the most serviceable."

ANOTHER FALSEHOOD EXPLODED. The holy horror expressed by the sending-North of four hundred
women and girls who were making clothing for the
rebelarmy in a factory in Georgia has been meplaced, it seems now that the exodus was voluntary, and arranged by Gen. Sherman at the request of the emigrants themselves. They were naxious to go where
they could escape starvation and earn a livelihood.

27 The recent Democratic mass convention at Peoria, numbering between seven and eight thousand participants, resolved that

"War as a means of restoring the Un failure and a defusion; and if the peo-ceding States would restore and pressangle and a delusion; and if the people of the non-secoding States would restore and preserve their shat-tered Constitution, and avert from themselves and heir posterity the slavery of a military despotism and a public debt, the interest on which can never be net, they must bring this war to a speedy close." The Democratic constituents of Mr. Long have en-orsed his course and his sentiments, saying also:

"Hesofred, That we are in favor of immediate peace, and against the further projecution of this war. Resofred, That the Government of the United States as no right to course a sovereign State."

As a practical inference from such doctrines as these, the Milwaukee Ness gives the following reasons for not wishing the triumph of our gallant, self-sacrificing troops:

troops:

"If Grant wins a battle, it is in part a triumph one the fundamental law of the Government. It Sherman conquers Atlants, an essential person of the Constitution is thereoffee dead. If our soldiers win a victory, its olory is lost in the consciousness that a person of its fruit is a marred and battered Constitution."

"Ithania has been

The two predomanting characteristics of the Morels and June 19 To the two predomanting characteristics of the theorem of the Lindson of the Lindson of the speakers to Gen. Grant for the Morels of the Morels of the Lindson of the speakers to Gen. Grant were received with "groans." The New York, the allusions of the speakers to Gen. Grant were received with "groans." The New York Works report is interspered with such parentheses as these, at the mention of Gen. Grant's name—"groons, and cries of the bubber 1the bubbles 1"—"great excitement, groons for Grant and Lincoln ""renewed cries of Grant, the bubber 1". One speaker remarked that "If Gen. Grant had bagged the army of Lee, and put down the rebellion, he might have been President of the United States," and "many voices" cried "no, never!" etc., etc.

The two predominating characteristics of the Morelsian meeting were groons and hisses at the name of Grant or Lincoln, and loud cries for peace on any terms, no matter what. Whether a disunion peace or a submission to the rebels made no difference with that Celtic rabble. And Mike Lellan was the bye for them to make the peace, and let the Union slide.—Chicago Tribune.

Tribune.

27 Copperheads are a sentimental race, for they say they are "loyal to the Union as it was." That is, they are faithful to a memory. "The Union as it was" is dead and buried, and could no more be restored to existence than Stonewall Jackson. Its ghost haunts some people, but it can never live again in the fiesh. If there be anything material about it, it is only as a skeleton is material. An Englishman who should say that he is loyal to the Stuarts would be as reason, able as the American who proclaims his loyalty to the Union as it was." A Union will exist should our armies smash those of the rebels; but neither our the Union as it was." A union will exist should our armies amash those of the rebels; but neither our success nor the unconditional surrender of the rebels would restore the Union that: was destroyed by the Confederates in 1861. Such restoration will take place on the same day that we shall see Dido in Carthage and Zenobia in Palmyra.—Traceller.

The Copperheads know full well that a reinforcement of 100,000 men to Sherman would of itself smash the rebellion. It would enable him to capture Atlanta, crush or capture Hood's army, and sweep over Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama at pleasure, in which States alone he could recruit 200,000 colored soldiers. Savannah, Charleston, Mobile and Wilmington would all fall into his hands, and the rebellion in the cotton States would collapse. The Copperheads understand all this full well, and it is for the purpose of preventing Sherman from being reinforced that they are raising such a dismal how against the war, and threatening to resist the draft. Let no man be deceived. The rebels have given the "Order of American Knights" the signal of distress, and called on them to prevent Sherman and Grant from being reinforced.

Gen. Garfield has been renominated for Congress in the 19th Ohio district. The following is one of the resolutions adopted almost unanimously by the convention:

"Resolved, That the recent attack upon the President by Mesars. Wade and Davis is, in our opinion, ill-timed, ill-tempered and ill-davised, carrying great and undisguised Joy to rebel camps in the South and rebel sympathizers in the North, and to the Union cause can be productive of svil, and only evil; and inasmuch as one of the authors of said protest is a citizen of this congressional district, and indebted in no small degree to our friendship for the position he now occupies, we deem it a duty no less imperative than disagreeable to pronounce upon that disorganizing manifesto our unqualified disapprobation and condemnation."

At the mass convention of peace men at Spring-field, Illinois, they had a printing press in a wagon which attuck off sheets containing the Wade-Davis manifesto and the Peoria peace resolutions. Honest but too impulsive Ben Wade must feel that there is something wrong when he learns that fact.

POLITICAL. The New York Times says it is pretty generally understood that Fremont is to be withdrawn as annidiate for the Presidency, and somebody else nominated in his place at Baffalo. His name does not prove to be the tower of strength it was expected to prove.—Boston Journal.

Type It is asserted that General Fremont is to with-traw from the Presidential contest. He should with-lraw, for he is that deadest of all dead things—a dead ailure. His nomination completed his ruin.—Trav-ller.

The manifest apostacy of Fremont from his The manifest apostacy of Fremont from his conspicuously avowed principles makes him an object of natural distrust, but the Copperhead leaders see that he is recklessly bent upon destroying the unity of the great Union party, and hence are willing tous him to place themselves in power. They know he would prefer their success to that of Mr. Lincoln, and they consider him a ready ally. So he is. The Copperheads have more hope in Fremont to day than they have in any other man in the nation, or in any event, except the defeat of Gen. Grant. They are advocating him, and urging him and his friends to action, and so well satisfied are they with his action and intentions, that they are willing to stand aside, and let him achieve a Copperhead victory.—Cheago Tribune.

A correspondent of the Chattanooga Gazette, riting from East Tennessee, says:

The A correspondent of the Chattanoga Gazette, writing from East Tennessee, says:

"Sangaine as I have ever been, I must confess to great surprise at the universal popularity of the Linou and Johnson ticket. Many gentlemen, reported as incutered with copper, I find out-spoken and earnest surceates of Abe and Andy, and for the immediate removal of the great and only cause of disagreement between the people of the North and South—slavery."

New Hampshire Democrats threater the result of the Presidential election, in their State, should its decision be due to the votes of soldiers. They are quite ready to inaugurate civil war at home, to effect a diversion in behalf of their old masters, the slaveholders—Traceller.

The Richmond Examiner predicts the overthrow of Mr. Lincoln. It says:

"Whatever may turn out to be the meaning of the fact, the fact itself begins to shine out clear—that Abraham Lincoln is lost; that he will never be President again; not even President of the Yankee remant of States, to say nothing of the whole six and thirty—or, how many are there, counting 'Colorado' and 'Idaho,' and other Yahoo commonwealth, lately invented?"

The pirate Tallahassee, after destroying a score or two of vessels along the coast of Maine, put into Halifax to procure a supply of coal. After she had received three or four hundred tons on board, sufficient for a week or two, Admiral Hope sent several boats' crews to her, and ordered the coaling to be stopped. She sailed at two o'clock on Saturday morning, bound east. The U. S. gumboat Pontooguc arrived at six o'clock, having been detained by the fog, and was to sail immediately in pursuit. Another steamer was signalled west.

THE VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN. An officer of high rank in the army of the Potomac says, official figures foot up Grant's loss in the campaign thus far at 11,000 killed, 40,000 wounded, 15,000 prisoners. The rebel loss three-fifths of ours. He says it is known positively that Hood has not been reinforced, and that Lee's fighting force does not exceed 60,000 men. He also asserts, that but for the failure to carry out Grant's orders, Lee would have been whipped on three different occasions. Hancock is the only corps commander who has not blundered once or more.

The 24th regiment went into the fight at Deep Bottom. 400 strong, and came out with 200. Their loss will probably be 125. Col. Osborne was slightly wounded, and Lieut Williams killed.

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE. The seventeenth Annual Term will con free to students needing a ticulars, address the sub ing aid, wherever residing. For par-e subscriber, at the College, No. 30

ton street, Boston, SAM'L GREGORY, M. D., S.

57 E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in West Wrentham Sunday, Sept. 4th, at half-past 10, A. M., and half-past 1, P. M.

Of typhoid fever, at the Hospital in Washingn, D. C., Aug. 9, Albert M. PARKER, m ber of Co. H. 150th Reg. Ohio National Guards, aged 20 years and months, son of Wm. F. and Rebecca M. Parker, of Cleve

Portrait of Mr. Garrison.

JOHNSTON'S Crayon Portrait of Mr. Garrison is on electribition at the store of Williams & Everett, 234 Washington at teet, and elicite warm approval. It will lithographed by Mr. Johnston, and published early in September. Price \$1.50 per copy.

C. H. BRAINARD.

Subscriptions received by R. F. WALLCUT, Anti-lavery office, 221 Washington street. July 29.

WEST NEWTON

English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Sept. 7, 1864. For particu-lars, inquire of N. S. ALLEN, Aug. 19. West Newton.

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AT ORCHARD HILL, BELMONT, MASS. HE School will commence the last Monday of Sepember. culars and references when requested.

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Circula July 8.

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NEWBURG, N. Y. The Fall Term will commence on Wednesday, ept. 21. Aug. 26-2w

Proclamation of Freedom.

Tine Photographs, 18 by 13 inches, of Paine's Pen-and-Ink Drawing of the Emancipation Proclamation, handsomely lilustrated. The original was donated to the Brooklyn Sanitary Fair, and by a subscription of \$500 pre-sented to the President of the United States. A single copy sent by mail on receipt of \$3.00. A liberal discount allowed to declare or canvascers. It is a beautiful and ar-

nlowed to dealers or canvassers. It is a beautiful and a sistio work.

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August 19.

THE HUMAN VOICE indicative of character; Physe tology of the Voice—base, barytone, tenor, contrato, coprane; Male and Female Voice—what causes the dif-erence? How to Cultivate the Voice; Stammering.

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The errors of Temperance Reformers and the medical rofession, and the effects of alcohol on plants, animals and man, are here for the first time plainly pointed out.

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Every Church, Sunday School and Private Family MAY HAVE

A GOOD ORGAN

T a very moderate cost.—\$85, \$100, \$110, \$135, \$165, \$260, and upward, according to number of Stops and tyle of case.

They are elegant as pieces of furniture, occupying little
psace, are not liable to get out of order, and every one is
warranted for five years.

THE CABINET ORGANS,

introduced shout a year rince, and manufactured exclusive-sively by MASON & HAMLIN, have met with ruccess un-precedented in the history of musical instruments. Sup-plying a long-felt want, they have been received with the greatest pleasure by the musical profession and the pub-lic, and have already been very widely introduced, and the demand for them is still rapidly increasing, and must con-tinue to increase as their merits become known. They are to private houses, Sunday Schools, and smaller churches. In addition to this, they are admirably adapted to the per-formance of secular as well as sacred music. The Cabinet Organ is essentially different from and a very great improvement upon all instruments of the Melodeon or Harmonium kind. Its superior excellence consists in

great improvement upon all instruments of the Melodeon or Harmonjum kind. Its superior excellence consists in many important characteristics, among which are:

1. The more organ-like character of list tones. Indeed, it is asserted with confidence that it has not yet been found possible to produce a better quality of tone from pipes than is attained in these organs.

2. It has greatly more power and, volume of tone in proportion to its cost.

3. By the employment of a very simple and beautiful invention, its capacity for expression is made vastly greater than has ever before been attained in such instruments. This invention is especially valuable, because careely any performer can master it in an hour or two.

4. It admits of great rapidity of execution, adapting it to the performance of a great variety of lively secular music.

5. No instrument is less liable to get out of order.
6. It will remain in tune ten times as long as a plane

5. No instrument is less liable to get out of order.
6. It will remain in tune ten times as long as a plano forte.
It may be reasonably said, that if these instruments have the great and obvious superiority thus claimed for them, they must have received very warm recommendations from professional musicians, who would naturally be most interested in the introduction of such instruments, and who are the best judges of their excellence. Such recommendations siready have been given to hear, to an extent unparalleled.

Among these the have proferred written testimony to their samment hear as unequalled by any other instrument, the samment has a unequalled by any other instrument, the profession of the samment has a unequalled by any other instrument the samment has a unequalled by any other instrument the profession of the samment has unequalled by any other instrument the profession of the samment has a unequalled by any other instrument the profession of the samment has unequalled by any other instrument the profession of the samment has a unequalled by any other instrument the profession of the samment has a lovel of Maxon. Thomas Hastings, william B. Bradbury, George F. Root, &c., it he most distinguished organists in the country, as Cutler of Trinity Church, N. T., Morgan of Grace Church, Zuadel of Mr. Becebers Church, Braum, Wele, Wilcox, Tuckerman, Zerrahn, &c. : such calebrated pianists as Gottschalk, Wim. Mason, Mill, Sanderson, Strakosch, etc. : in brief, more than two hundred mantelans, including a large portion of the most emission in the country, have testified to this effect. Each Cabinet Organ is securely boxed, so that it can be sent safely to any part of the country.

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Zoetry.

PALINGENESIS. BY HENRY W. LONGPELLOW .

I lay upon the headland height, and listened ceant sobbing of the sea In caverns under me, watched the waves that tossed and fied and glisten Until the rolling meadows of amethyst Melted away in mist.

Then suddenly, as one from sleep, I started;
For round about me all the sunny capes
Seemed peopled with the shapes
Of those whom I had known in days departed, On faces seen jn dreams.

A moment only, and the light and glory Stood lonely as before; And the wild roses of the promontory Around me shuddered in the wind, and shed Their petals of pale red.

There was an old belief-that in the embers
Of all things their primordial form exists,
And cumning alchemists
Could recreate, the rose with all its members
From its own ashes, but without the bloom-Without the lost perfume. Ah, me ! what wonder-working, cocult science

An, me! want wonder-wants,

Can from the ashes in our hearts once more
The rose of youth restore?

What eraft of alchemy can bid defiance
To time and change, and for a single hour Renew this phantom-flower?

"Oh, give me back," I cried, "the vanished splen The breath of morp, and the exuitant strife,
When the swift stream of life
Bounds o'er its posky channel, and surrenders
The pond, with all its lilies, for the leap
Into the unknown deep!"

And the sea answered, with a lamentation Like some old prophet wailing, and it said,

"Alas! thy youth is dead!

It breathes no more, its heart has no pulsation; In the dark places with the dead of old It lies forever cold!"

Then said I, "From its consecrated corements I will not drag this sacred dust again, Only to give me pain; But, still remembering all the lost endoarmen Go on my way, like one who looks before, And turns to weep no more."

Into what land of harvests, what plantation Bright with autumnal foliage and the glow Of sunsets burning low; Beneath what midnight skies, whose constellations Light up the spacious avenues between This world and the unseen !

Amid what friendly greetings and caresses, What households, though not alien, yet not m What bowers of rest divine : To what temptations in lone wildernesses, What famine of the heart, what pain and loss, The bearing of what cross!

I do not know; nor will I vainly question Those pages of the mystic book which hold The story still untold, But without rash conjecture or suggestion Turn its last leaves in reverence and good heed, Until "The End" I read.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

SY RICHARD REALF, EIGHTY-EIGHTH ILLINOIS INFANTRY

God never leaveth utterly The world that He bath rounded;
All human stress is by the sea
Of his dear pity bounded.

Upon so Israel, to its ill, The grip of Pharach Beyond the liberating skill On some anointed Moses.

Beside us, in all atmost straits, Walk the delivering angels, And on the wings of our black hates Ride his supreme evangels.

In rictions glut of wrongs abhorred
A people's shame increases,
When, lo! some prophet draws his sword,

O, leader of our mored cause, Twin sharer in our sadness, Defender of the trampled laws From perjured felons madne In all our press of mortal strife, Our weariness and weeping, Our hearts thank God our country's life Is in thine honest keeping !

So blithe amid the cares of state, So calm 'mid howling faction, Clear-souled to hasten or to walt, As fits the largest action; With joyance like a little child's Along thy grave moods straying, and breezes as from heather wilds In every cheery saying.

God bless the reverent lips that spake The one grand word whose thunder Thrilled all the gladdened heavens, and Our damned chains asunder! God bless the patient hand that traced The golden, glorious pages Whereby our lost crowns are replaced nemorial ages !

We follow where thou leadest; for Beyond the tribulation That drapes these dreadful years of war, We see a newer nation, Through balmy days of greatening power, And nights of calm as Expand into the perfect flower Of God's divine intention.

TRUE FREEDOM.

And all are slaves besides. There's not a chai That hellish foes, confederate for his harm, Can wind around him, but he casts it off With as much case as Samson his green withes. ad into the varied fiel of nature, and though poor, perhaps, compared With those whose mansions glitter in his sight, Calls the delightful scenery all his own. His are the mountains, and the valleys his, His are the mountains, and the valleys h And the resplendent rivers his t'enjoy With a propriety that none can feel, But who, with filial confidence inspired, Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eve And smiling say-" My Father made them all !"

Have faith in God that for thee all is well— So, whether thou in Fortune's smile dost dwel Qr, crushed beceath Adversity's dead weight,

Cr. crushed beceath Adversity's di Lie 'neath the burden near disconse Thou yet shall be content. Not that "content" which Idlene itent" which Idleness begets But that of faith and steadfast hold on God. But that of faith and steadfast hold on God,
Which aver, when its sun beclouded sets,
Writhes like a wayward child beneath the red.
Oh, sweet Content, that hath such faith in Right,
It restets cam, serene, in God'y own will, in dark
as in light.
John S. Adam.

TRANSLATION FROM MARTIAL

TRANSLATION FROM MARTIAL.
Thiores may break in and bear away your gold,
The cruel flame may lay your manifon low.
Your dues the fitthies debot may withhold,
Your fields may not return the grain you new;
A spendthrift stemard at your cost may live;
Your chips may founder with their precious store;
But wealth bestowed is safe—for what you give,
And that alone is yours forevermere. W. C. Bayany.

The Tiberator.

THE POSITION OF SPIRITUALISM

CRICAGO, Aug. 11, 1864.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:
MY FRIEND,—I am here to attend the great National Convention of Spiritualists and friends of progress, as a delegate from a Convention of the friends gress, as a delegate from a Convention of the Friends of impartial justice, liberty and human brotherhood in Granville and vicinity, N. X. I left Boston Tuesday morning, Aug. 22, for this place, via the Vermon Central, the Grand Trunk, and lakes, Huren and Michigan. Before leaving Boston, it was intimated to me that Spiritualism, through its first National Convention, was to define its position in regard to slavery and the rebellion, and our duties in reference savery and the receiving, and our duties in reference to them. It was also intimated to me that a plan was being concected by a few individuals to make that position one of sympathetic and practical support to slavery and the rebellion, and that the declarations and doings of this Convention were to be so shaped as to give countenance and support to the Convention of Democratic slave-mongers and traitors to assemble here the 20th of the month to nominate a Presidentia candidate who, if elected, will be the tool of Vallan digham & Co. to aid once more, by a compromise with the slave-breeding and slave-driving traitors of the South to cast the betrayed North into their hands, with a view to restore dominion to the Democratic party, at the expense of freedom, free labor and free

to this place. I could scarcer believe time frue, in the shape in which they were repeated to me. But on arriving at Chicago, the same reports were re-iterated. I was deeply anxious to have this Con-vention define the position of Spiritualism to be one of loyalty and devotion to justice, liberty and equal rights. I reached here Sunday, the 7th. On Monday, I attended a preliminary meeting of dele-gates who had arrived, to see what could be done to was to meet on Tuesday, the 9th. At this meeting, I stated to the friends the importance of having the Convention give an unequivocal expression of its sympathy with the government in its efforts to crush the rebellion and to wipe out slavery, the acts of the control of the c the rebellion and to wipe out slavery, the sole cause of the civil war that now seeks to overthrow the Republic. A committee of six was designated by that informal preliminary meeting to prepare and report to the Convention, when it should assemble, a series of esolutions on national affairs for discussion

sidered by them, and it was determined to report them to the Convention for discussion and adoption provided the Convention should deem it expedient t ized, the resolutions were presented, and referred to a special committee on national affairs. Meantime. the resolutions appeared in the Chicago Tribune of Tuesday morning, before the Convention assembled that all the delegates and friends might get printed copies of them, and have time to look them over, and

be prepared to act upon them intelligently.

The special committee of five decided to report
the resolutions to the Convention for discussion and
adoption, should they see fit. To-day was set spart exclusively for the consideration of the resoluti so important did the Convention consider them.

Meantime, a general committee on resolutions, consisting of two from each State represented, was appointed, and it was voted that no resolutions should be allowed to come before the Convention except such tions reported by the special committee were pre sented to this general committee, and by them also adopted, and presented to the Convention for discus-sion and adoption, thus receiving the sanction of two

At 9, A. M., the discussion began, each speaker being confined to ten minutes, and the chair autho ized so to rule the discussion that each side be heard alternately. The discussion proceeded till 12; was then adjourned to 2, P. M., when it again began, and was continued till 5; then adjourned to 8 in the eve ning. At that time, the previous question was mov-ed, and the evening spent in taking the yeas and nays twice; first on a motion to lay on the table, and second on the resolutions; the final vote being 803 for the resolutions and 40 against them—eight to one.

The whole Convention then joined in shouting the
Battle-Cry of Freedom, and singing the John Brown

Every effort was made, up to the last moment, by the opponents of the resolutions, to prevent a vote. Several friends of the whole series proposed a com-promise by retaining the first two, and striking out all promise by retaining the first two, and striking out all the remainder; but the opponents—those of them who evidently were present to make the Convention subservient to the Vallandigham Democracy that is to meet here on the 29th—would not be satisfied, but declared themselves opposed to the whole.

On Wednesday night, a caucus of those who opposed the resolutions was held at the Sherman House, to concert a plan to defeat them, headed by those who had come to attend the Convention of Democratic

had come to attend the Convention of Democrati sympathizers with slavery and treason. They boped to make capital out of the Convention of the friends of progress to support and give moral character to that conclave of slave-mongering traitors. Instead of leaving the Convention, the largest portion of the Ohio delegation not only protested against the pledge of their Chairman to leave the Convention in case Ohio delegation no. See the Convention in case of their Chairman to leave the Convention in case of their Chairman to leave the Convention in case of their Chairman to leave the Convention in the resolutions were adopted, but actually voted for them on the final vote. It is said, and probably it is true, that the decree had come from Washington to certain individuals in Cincinnati and Chicago to make certain individuals in Cincinnati and Chicago to make out the would gladly welcome those of the majority as such. edom, watered and consecrated by the tears and prayers and cemented by the blood of ers, to the tender rcies of kidour fathers and mothers, to the tender mercies of kid-nappers and pirates of the South. It is certain that The proposition was made, and has been accepted create riots and civil war in the North, and to invite rebel raids into Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, were gathered into the hall by their leaders, some of them professing to be Spiritualists. stamp and clamor down all who were in favor of the resolutions, and clamor up those who op posed them. But the Convention, as I was sure i astically adopted the resoluti and thus gave it as the national position of Spiritual ism, that it was truly and heartily loyal to the spirit and principles of freedom, free labor and free instituon, of justice and humanity.

I have attended many Conventions of Abo I have attended many Conventions of Abolitionists and friends of progress during the past thirty-five years, but never have I attended one in which justice, liberty, free labor, free institutions, free thought and free speech, and loyalty to God and man, have received a more enthusiatic support, and cunning, fraud, injustice, slavery and treason a more signal, triumphant and numistakable defeat. From 1500 to umphant and unmistakable deteat. From 1000 at 2000 have been present at the discussion of these res olutions. The loyal papers of the city, especially the Chicago Tribune, have given full and fair reports of Chicago Tribune, have given full and fair reports of the debates. So it has come to pass that slavery and rebellion at the South, truckling to slavery in the North, and Democratic riots and murders, will get no comfort or support from the first National Convention of Spiritualists and friends of progress. May their defeat be as complete at all times and in all places!

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

CHICAGO, Aug. 14, 1864.

W. L. GARRISON

has been the cry of A. G. W. Carter, Amanda Spence, A. B. Whiting & Co. in the National Convention of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress that has for six days held its three sessions per day in this place "Peace, peace, at any price! Nothing so sweet, noth "Peace, peace, at any price! Nothing so sweet, nothing so good, nothing so lovely, nothing so desirable, as peace!" What do they mean? Simply that liberty should cease to fight against slavery, free labor against slave labor, truth against slavery, free labor against slave labor, truth against falsehood, purity against pollution, justice against injustice, civilization against barbarism. "Alas! alas! that the heating of drums and the sound of martial music leading forward o slanghter, should cause the last band to forsake the to slaughter, should cause the last band to torsake the altar of the living God, to war against alayery and for freedom!" Such has been the simple import of the cry of peace raised against the resolutions adopted by the Convention against slavery and rebellion. Pazon: ! There is no word in the language so significant of blood and carnage, of degradation and horror to the nation and the continent, as this word "Peace," in the mouths of pro-slavery Democrats and Spiritual-ists. God save the world from such a peace as they to the lusts, the inhumanity, the whips, chains and bloodhounds of their fellow slave-breeders, slave raders, slave-drivers and slave-hunters.

I am just in from the last session of our six day.

Convention. The sympathizers with slave-breeder. and traitors struggled to the last to bring the Conver tion into harmony with the Peace Democracy, are to meet here on the 20th, to how! for "Peace!" when God says there can be no p I. e., with man-stealers and pirates. They brought in a protest, in which they assert that "there had been a manifest design, concocted and pursued by a few one-idead individuals in the city of Boston, as we are informed, to impose upon this Convention of Spiritualists a scheme of politics and political machination altogether foreign to the great objects of said Conven-tion, and entirely subversive of the aims and end of Spiritualism. The Convention, by adopting th political preamble and resolutions of said committee indicative of said scheme and machination, have so which could maniphy be accepted by the silicotry.

The Convention was turned into a political areas for the exhibition of political gladiators, or more properly, stump speakers, who spoke for war, carnage and blood-ahed, and not for peace on earth and good will to men."

This protest is signed by Amanda Spence, A. B. Whiting, A. G. W. Carter, and others. The Convention refused if receive it or have it so upon their tion refused to receive it, or have it go upon their records, because they deemed it unqualifiedly false in Convention to receive the protest, but it was so enti y saturated with copperhead venom, that they utterly fused to have it go upon their record. The leadin Peace Democrats, there to express their sympathy with slave-mongers and traitors

This cry of "Peace" in the interests of slavery and reason against God and man, is familiar to all Aboli onists. "Peace! Peace! Compromise! Conces sion!" has been the cry of the Peace party of th North for thirty-five years; but always at the expens-of freedom and in favor of slavery. Now the nation has been driven by the Slave Power to adopt the mottos, "Give me liberty or give me death!" and "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God!" and the pro-slavery party of the North affect to be horrifie at war. No horror did that party express at the Sen nole war, the Mexican war, or the Kansas war, with Spiritualists are but the offspring of Copperhead Democrats. It is asserted by those outside of the Convention, that their protest was got up in the office of the Times. If penned by Carter, Spence, A. B. Whiting, or any one who had attended the discussions in the Convention, the person who wrote i asserted what they must have known to be false.

The greatest traitors to God and man, to freedon
and free labor, and to the Declaration of Independ ence, are those who, be they Democrats, Spiritual lats, Abolitionists, Non-Resistants, or by whateve ame called, now, in the death-struggle between Free dom and Slavery, cry "Peace! Peace!" in the in dacious of earth's tyrants) is obedience to God;each one resisting by such weapons as he deem right and most efficient to secure the end; i. e., the abolition of slavery and rebellion.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

THE CURRENT OF EVENTS AND THE DRIFT OF THE ADMINISTRATION. [CONTINUED.]

RECONSTRUCTION.

DORCHESTER, Aug. 16, 1864. The loyal people of Arkansas and Louisiana, a cepting the President's proposition, have already or ganized and inaugurated State governments on hi at the doors of Congress, and claim the right to share in the counsels of the nation. Congress says no. The

day strengthened and confirmed in their present forms. And, to upset or disown them, would be, virtually, to deny the authority of the President to and it c and it cannot be withdrawn or mounter, and it cannot be posing the President, if not the Government, to the charge of bad faith. Emanating from the same authority, it is, so far, equally valid with the Proclamation of Emancipation. Both depend upon the geal and carnestness with which they are austained and sanctioned by the people.

Dissatisfied with the President's plan, Congress ms

tured a plan of their own, and having passed it in the form of a bill, near the close of the session, presented it to the President for his approval. It was not sign ed by him

Five days after the final adjournment, howeve is declared that he was then, as in December last unprepared, by a formal approval of this bill, to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restitution I am, nevertheless, fully satisfied (said he) with th This seems very plausible, but the Preeldent knows very well that no people will adopt it while a plan of restoration, six times as easy, is already open to them by his own arbitrary will. The President is committed to a plan, which, if not resolutely opposed and arrested by the people, he is determined to carry out and establish, as the policy of the country. Indeed, he virtually vetoes and sets at nought an act of Congress, lest it should interfere with, upset, or obstruct the operation of his own plan of restitution; and appeals to the excelse for the justification of his people acquiesce in his policy?

For one, I protest against this usurpation of power

Has it come to this, that in the all-important matter of reconstruction, Congress is completely aborn of it W. L. Garrison:

Mx Fauran,—"Peacol Pekes!" is the cry of Vallandigham, Wood, Cox and Co., and will be of the constrained to endorse and sanction the decrees of the Convention to be held in this city on the 20th. It President! Shall it be left to the President to deter-

mire upon what conditions, and by what method, each of the rebel States may be "restored to practical relations with the Union"? If so, there may be as many different plans as there are rebel States; and yet, out of the whole he expects ultimately to form

yet, out of the whole he expects ultimately to form one harmonlous whole.

It is written, "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and, it need be, shall protect each of them against domestic violence." And it does appear to me that the time had fully come for Congress to assert its prerogative, and establish a uniform pian of restoration, which in their view would be likely to secure to each of the revolted States a republican form of government; and they would have been derelict to one of their highest duties had they done less. It was the one thing needful; and until the people and Congress, and even the President himself, will consent to be "inflexibly committed" to some principle, the work of reconstruction will never be accomplished. The nation will continue to be fearfully unstable; the ship of State will neither ride securely at anchor, nor will she be moving steadily forward; we shall be nor will she be moving steadily forward; we shall be

nor will she be moving steadily forward; we shall be drifting, drifting, drifting still.

The Constitution enjoins a positive dety. The means and method of performing it are left to the wisdom and discretion of Congress. It may be done by percention, or by suppression—by educational and moral means, or by the application of physical forces. Congress is bound to suppress invasions, but has hither to done almost nothing, to prevent them. It did, however, provide that the proceeds of a certain portion of the public lands, in the new States, should be devoted to educational purposes; but left the application of them to the States in which the lands were situated. In other respects, each State might provide for or wholly prohibit the education of the people within its respective limits, just as their interests and their political and social systems might seem to require. But in fifteen States slavery was preeminently the cherished institution; and with that class, embracing, in some instances, two-thirds of the population, education was prohibited, and, as far as possible, suppressed. To teach a slave even the alphset exposed one to the sewerest penalties.

Thus the Federal Government, regardless alike of its own safety and the permanent welfare of the great mass of its subjects, failing to exercise its aubilment and moral or interest function, has virtually abdicated the throne of justice and mercy, in favor of their oppressors. All too tolerant of crime, it has allowed fifteen of the thirty-four States to cherish and nurture in their become an institution state.

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Thus the Federal Government, regardless allke of its own safety and the permanent welfare of the great mass of its subjects, failing to exercise its sublimest function, has virtually abdicated the throne of justice and mercy, in favor of their oppressors. All too tolerant of crime, it has allowed fifteen of the thirty-four States to cherish and nurture in their bosoms an institution which, from its very nature, debusoms an institution which, from its very nature, dehu manizes and deprayes all classes of society, making it wonted strength the feelings of hatred and distrust on the other, leads to plots and counterplots, creating "domestic violence," and threatening continually to break forth in open insurrection.

For seventy years and more this sink of corruption

and nursery of crime has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength; maturing and ripen-ing its bitter fruits, till, in these later days, conspiracy ate forms, with hellish purpose at length breaks forth in massive rebellion against the Government Itself; both the nation and its government forever.

Scourged and bleeding as we are in the strife grow ing out of the crimes and follies of the past, it were heaven-daring wickedness to repeat them. If, in the calamities of the present hour, we do but reap what our fathers and ourselves have sown, let us bewar lest we bequeath a like heritage of sin and wee to those who shall come after us. Weighed down and struggling and writhing under present afflictions. let us take heed that, in the long future, the republi shall receive no detriment from us. Let us and pray, and strive, with all our mind and our strength, that we neither plant nor even tolerate in any State or corner of the land, any institution which will tend to wake and nourish into life, enyy content, endangering thereby the peace of the State and the permanency of the Repul

What though slavery be checked, or nominally abolished, if seridom be allowed to spring up and take

place?

"What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at the other to let in the foe?"

"Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom."

"The discipline of slavery is" so "unknown
Amongst us—hence the more do we require
The discipline of virtue:—order else
Can not subsist, nor confidence, nor peace.
Thus duties rising out of good possessed,
And prudent caution needful to avert
Impending evil, do alike require
That permanent provision should be made
For the whole people to be taught and trained;—
So shall licentiousness and black resolve
Be rooted out, and virtuous habits take
Their place; and genuize plety descend, Their place; and genuine piety descen Like an inheritance, from age to age." H. W. C.

"EDMUND KIRKE'S" INTERVIEW WITH JEFF. DAVIS.

We take the following extract from an article in the September number of the Adantic Monthly, entitled "Our Visit to Richmond," by J. R. Gil-more, giving an account, of the curious journey, to the rebel capital recently taken by him and Colonel Jaques.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Mr. Benjamin occupied his previous seat at the table, and at his right sat a spare, thin-featured man, with iron-grey hair and beard, and a clear gray eye, full of life and vigor. He had a broad, massive forehead, and a mouth and chin denoting great energy and strength of will. His face was emaciated and much wrinkled, but his features were good, especially his eyes—though one of them bore a scar, apparently made by some sharp instrument. He wore a suit of grayish-brown, evidently of foreign manufacture, and as he rose, I saw he was about five feet ten inches high, with a slight stoop in the shoulders. His manners were simple, easy, and quite fascinating; and he threw an indescribable charm into his voice, as he extended his hand, and said to us:

welcome to Richmond."

And this was the man who was President of the United States under Franklin Pierce, and who is now the heart, soul, and brains of the Southern Con-

ner put me entirely at my ease—the College at his, if he stood before Cossar—and I replied:

"We thank you, Mr. Davis. It is not often you meet men of our clothes and our principles in Rich

mond."

"Not often, not so often as I could wish; and I rust your coming may lead to a more frequent and a more friendly intercourse between the North and

he South."
"We sincerely hope it may."
"Mr. Benjamin tells me you have asked to see ne, to "And he paused as if desiring we should finish the entence. The Colonel replied:

"Yes, sir. We have asked this interview in the

sentence. The Colonel replied:

"Yes, sir. We have asked this interview in the hope that you may suggest some way by which this war can be stopped. Our people want peace; you people do, and your Congress has recently eadd that you do. We have come to ask how it can be brought about."

"In a very simple way. Withdraw your armies from our territory, and peace will come of itself. We do not seek to subjugate you. We are not waging an offensive war, except so far as it is offensive-detainsy—that is, so far as we are forced to invade you to prevent your invading us. Let us alone, and peace will come at once."

But we cannot let you alone so long as you repudiate the Union. That is the one thing the northern people will not surrender.

"I know. You would deny to us what you exact for yourselves—the right of self-government."

"No, sir," I remarked. "We would deny you no natural right. But we think Union essential to peace; and, Mr. Davis, could two people with the same language, separated only by an imaginary line, live at peace with each other? Would not disputes

constantly arise, and cause almost constant war between them ?!".

"Undoubtedly—with this generation. You have sown such bitterness at the South, you have put such an ocean of blood between the two sections, that I despair of seeing any harmony in my time. Our children may forget this war, but we cannot."

"I think the bitterness you speak of, eig," said the Colonel. "does not really exist. We talk have Out children may forget this war, but we cannot "1 think the bitterness you speak of, sir," said Colonel, "does not really exist. We talk I as friends; our soldiers meet and fraternize each other; and I feel sure that, if the Union wrestored, a more friendly feeling would arise between than has ever existed. The war has made know and respect each other better than before This is the view of very many Southern mer have had it from many of them—your leading zetts."

swis. "They are mistaken," replied Mr. Davis. "They do not understand Southern sentiment. How can we feel anything but bitterness towards men who deny us our rights? If you enter my house, and drive me out of it, am I not your natural enemy?"

"You put the case too strongly. But we cannot fight forever; the war must end at some time; we must finally agree upon something; can we not agree now, and stop this frightful carnage? We are both Christian men, Mr. Davis. Can you, as a Christian men, lart, put means that may

"Well, suppose the two governments should agree to something like this: to go to the people with two propositions; say, peace, with disunion and southern independence, as your proposition—and peace, with union, emancipation, no confiscation and universal amnesty, as ours. Let the citizens of all the United States (as they existed before the war) vote 'Yes' or 'No 'on these two propositions, at a special election, within sixty days. If a majority votes disuniversal to the hound by it to, let you amnesty, as ours. Let the citizens of all the United States (as they existed before the war) vote 'Yes' or 'No' on these two propositions, at a special election, within sixty days. If a majority votes disunion, our government to be bound by it to let you go in peace. If a majority votes union, yours to be bound by it, and to stay in peace. The two governments can contract in this way, and the people, though constitutionally unable to decide on peace or war, can elect which of the two propositions shall govern their 'rulers. Let Lee and Grant, meanwhile, agree to an armistice. This would sheather the sword; and it, once sheathed, it would never again be drawn by this generation."

"The plan is altogether impracticable. If the South were but one State, it might work; but as it is, if one Southern State objected to emancipation, it would nullify the whole thing; for you are aware that the people of Virginia cannot vote slavery out of South Carolina, nor the people of South Carolina vote is out of Virginia."

"But three-fourths of the States can amend the Constitution. Let it be done in that way—in any

Constitution. Let it be done in that way—in any way, so that it be done by the people. I sim not a statesman or a politician, and I do not know just how such a plan could be carried out; but you get the idea—that the people shall decide the question."

"That the majority shall decide it, you mean.—
We secoded to rid ourselves of the rule of the majority, and this would subject us to it again."
"But the majority must finally rule, either with bullets or ballots."

"But the majority must finally rule, either with bullets or ballots."

"I am not so sure of that. Neither current events nor history shows that the majority rules, or ever did rule. The contrary, I think, is true. Why, sir, the man who should go before the Southern people with such a proposition, with any proposition which implied that the North was to have a voice in determining the domestic relations of the South, could not live here a day. He would be hanged to the first tree, without judge or jury."

"Allow me to doubt that. I think it more likely he would be hanged if he let the Southern people know the majority couldn't rule." I replied, amiling.

"I have no fear of that," rejoined Mr. Davis, also smiling most good humoredly. "I give you leave to proclaim it from every house-top in the South."

"But, seriously, sir, you let the majority rule in a

But, seriously, sir, you let the majority rule in a single State; why not let it rule in the whole coun-

"Because the States are independent and sover-eign. The country is not. It is only a confedera-tion of States, or rather it was; it is now two con-federations."

ederations."
"Then we are not a people—we are only a politpartnership? That is all."

"That is all."
"Your very name, sir, 'United States,' implies that," said Mr. Benjamin. "But tell me, are the terms you have named—emancipation, no confiscation, and universal amoesty—the terms which Mr. Lincoln authorized you to offer us?"

"No, sir; Mr. Lincoln did not authorize me to offer you say terms. But I think both he and the Mr. Morthern people, for the sake of peace, would assent to some such conditions."

Northern people, for the sake of peace, would assent to some such conditions."

"They are very generous," replied Mr. Davis, for the first time during the interview, showing some angry feeling. "But amnesty, sir, applies to criminals. We have committed no crime. Confiscation is of no account, unless you can enforce it. And emancipation! You have already semancipated nearly two milities of our slaves—and if you will take care of them, you may emancipate the rest. I had a few when the war began. I was of some use to them; they never were of any to me. Against their will you 'emancipated' them, and you may 'emancipate' every, negro in the Confederacy, but we will be free! We will govern ourselves. We will do it if we have to see every Southern plantation sacked, and every Southern city in flames."

will do it if we have to see every. Southern plantation sacked, and every Southern city in flames.

"I see, Mr. Davis, it is useless to continue this
conversation," I replied; "and you will pardon us,
if we have seemed to press our views with too much
pertinacity. We love the old flag, and that must be
our apology, for jutruding upon you at all."

"You have not intruded upon me," he replied,
resuming his usual manner. "I am glad to have
met you both. I once loved the old flag as well as
you do; I would have died for it; but now it is to
me only the emblem of oppression."

"I hope the day may never come, Mr. Davis,
when Ishall say that," said the Colonel.

when I shall say that," said the Colonel.

CLOSE OF THE INTERVIEW.

A half hour's conversation on other topics—not of public interest—ensued, and then we rose to go. As we did so, the rebel President gave me his hand, and, bidding me a kindly good-bye, expressed the hope of seeing me again in Richmond in happier times—when peace shall have returned; but with the Colonel his parting was particularly cordial. Taking his hand in both of his, he said to him—

Colonel, I respect your character and your motives, and I wish you well—I wish you every good I can wish you consistently with the interests of the Confederacy."

The quiet, straightforward bearing and magnificent moral courage of our "fighting parson" had evidently impressed Mr. Davu very favorably.

As we were leaving the room he added:

"Say to Mr. Lincoin from me that I shall at any time be pleased to receive proposals for peace on the basis of our independence. It will be useless to approach me with any other."

When we went out, Mr. Benjamin called Judge Ould, who had been waiting during the whole interview—two hours—at the other end of the hall, and we passed down the stairway together. As I put my arm within that of the Judge, he said to me—

"Well, what is the result?"

Nothing but war —war to the knife."

Ephrami is joined to his idola—let him alone," added the Colonel, solemnly. CLOSE OF THE INTERVIEW.

PEN PIOTURES OF NOTABLE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

The following is an extract from one of h Taylor's Washington letters to the Chicago Jo nal, describing some well-known characten is U. S. House of Representatives:—

U. S. House of Representatives:

THAD. STEVENS.

That straight, spare man in black, with Roma features, thinnish face and a dome of a bow, tender the straight, spare man in black, with Roma features, thinnish face and a dome of a bow, tender the straight of the House, that a spare of the Committee of Ways and Means, the "old Anxiest" of the House, Thaddees Stevens late I have given the coutside barbarian. "whose name I have given thim, for no better reason than because National fairly served his time out in such christening & Stevens needs nobody's shoulders to give has it out of any burning Troy. He looks like a sea of fifty, but be begins to speak, and you keep and offity, but be begins to speak, and you keep doubt. His voice is firm and strong, indeed, he with that metallic hardness that indicates a verous seventy; and it tells the truth leafest a verous seventy; and it tells the truth for a partial prayely on, en route for the four zon. Be has been here no end of sessions, is clear-baid strong-willed, speaks briefly, as a man driver and sometimes, to be sure, they are man driver and sometimes, to be sure, they are and driver and the sure of the straight of the sure of the sure and the sure of the sure and the sure of the sure and the sure of the sure of

DALDWIN.

Over yonder are two bundred pound, "and better," of an editor; Baldwin, of Masschnetts and the Worcester Spy. A great heat, overed with a lion-like mass of long, gray hair, and a broad, bosen, thoughtful face, that makes you think of smething solid in geometry. He is a type of these old Net Englanders who sait in the square, high-backed pear, when they sang "Old Hundred" till it seemed his the voice of the wind in a leafy wood, and the wives sait lovingly beside them, with spings of carnway and dill.

HENDE WEVERS. BALDWIN.

HENRY WINTER DAVIS.

HENRY WINTER DAVIS.

Happily, just at the instant you are thinking of Baldwin, his "antarctic" man is passing to his use; as unlike him as two beings can be, and being a the same species. A small, well-moulded, roopes the same species are the same species in a single brown moustache, fine eye, and pleasant smile; at an ounce of waste flesh about him, and yet of surface and the surface of same surface and the surface of Massasoit. His voice, as you might knew with of Massasoit. His voice, as you might knew with bearing it, is shrill, yet clear and pleasat. Lei well at him; for, right or wrong, one of the same tellectual men in the Hall is that Caisma of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Heary Water Davis, of Maryland.

EX-GOV. THOMAS.

EX-GOV. THOMAS.

Ex-Gov. THOMAS.

The man just rising will challenge your attent.
His venerable form, his white hair combed formed over the crown after the ancient fashion, is consous address, all betoken a fine specimen of the race, almost extinct, the old-school gentlema k is Ex-Governor Thomas, of Maryland. His circumstance would finished like a circumstance. not surprise you. He seldom speaks, and the briefly, and yet some member breaks in upon the flash of the "old Maryland bayonet" is in the old man's eye at the rudeness: "Why, Mr. Spat-er," he is saying, "I have been these many am in legislative halls, and I never interrupted a ga-tleman in the whole course of my life!" Thenmark is full of character, and helps to finish out

That member in cool, white lines, with det eyes, dark complexion, and a manly face, his macular form with no aldermanic trait of green tarth, betraying at once endurance, you set down fat direct, working, out-spoken member, whose defiration upon honor you would never this of energy and you run no risk, for it is ex-Goreno Bestwell of Massachusetts, one of the very ablest members from the rock of the pilgrims.

HENLY LOAMES.

The member just beneath 700, with his eyes looking at a thought, a placed face, and little about his to disclose either. his ability or his calling, is the head of the Committee on Elections, Henry L. Dawes; a sterling, soild New England man; ast though to see him sitting there with the light on you would not think so, an earnest effective speals. He ploughed Kentucky this very night with a barding ploughshare. The voices oftenet feard in his hall are the least heeded, though me are slot us find it out. We listen to catch the sound of he billing bell just on the stroke of "one," but then is hammered through all the "twelve," we case to be intent. Thus, to take Mr. Noton from yor or State; always in his place, always doing deft, always watchful for the interests of the durint its represents, and for the whole contry, is spain but little; but that little is every way to the party, and commands the attention and roped of the House. One such man is worts all the vinducible in Spain.

in Spain.

JAMES BROOKS.

But, hark, an editor has the floot in the floot of New York, and of the Engress at la doctrines are "express" but not "admirble" life face, skirted with a sparse fringe of whiten, we like a photograph; the tether of his regulars, this he does not remove, quivers down ha fee life black wave, the very glasses fairly pitter with ment; his long hair is thrown back as a left head a breeze; his thin lips grow tinner as he has them, upon the escaping words like a set lem. He has an abstract African under his cut; no her and the stract African as an institution; the institute all when the stract African as he has the first and left, mandilly and particular, graft the Administration and the country. "The comman from New York" speaks wondows well far man that speaks so badly! James Brock's thin Fanny Ellsler's dancing are alike—"the better is, the worse it is." JAMES BROOKS.

S. S. COX.

Small, frail, dark-eyed as William's Suan, boths than half as true; long, satin hair, as black as regions that sit in darkness; quick as a cap, gat.

Powhattan might have described him, size al over," and you have a rude sketch of the unless over," and you have a rude sketch of the unless over," and you have a rude sketch of the unless over," and you have a rude sketch of the unless over, and a chair saint iterary fame troubles him, for mischerous mellen often introduce the volume, and a chair saint is read from it, wherein he describes his attendants. read from it, wherein he describes has the St. Peter's, St. Paul's, or somewhere abroat, as the ministration of a negro clergman, at we diffied. He would fain make it out a miracle st, and put the African and the Beast of Balan was and put the African and the Beast of Balan with the jockeys say, but his matter lose something fain the jockeys say, but his matter lose something his manner; he is too devil's-darning coefficies? his manner; he is too devil's darning per to go a step higher in the scale of being tration, he flies at and darts about his shis opponent, like a frantic humming list.

tration, he fires at and darts arous such his opponent, like a frantic humming letGEN. SCHENCE.

Exactly in front of me is a face with a good dol of character; of the German cast, and remission and light, and tinged a little like the 'stay is and light, and tinged a little like the 'stay is ger; "upper lip shaded by a moustache; grassl and keen, possibly indicating not so mek insofe tual breadth as acuteness; chin jutting out front tural throat and front tural tura

tured in the assault on Petersburg on the vited namber 1375, and represent 51 different regimes 40 white and 11 black ones.