VOL. XIII. NO. 6. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,150.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial work of the paper, should be addressed "EDITOR OF NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

CONFISCATION AND LIBERATION.

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN,

of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, Friday, May 23, 1862.

THE House having under consideration the bill to confiscate the property and free from servitude the slaves of rebels—

Mr. JULIAN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Before closing the debate on the measures of confiscation and liberation now before us, I desire to submit some general observations which I hope may not be regarded as irrelevant to these topics, or wholly unworthy of consideration. I do not propose to discuss these particular measures. I deem it wholly unnecessary. I believe everything has been said, on the one side and on the other, which can be said, and far more than was necessary for an honest search after the simple truth. Certainly, I shall not argue, at any length, the power of Congress to confiscate the property of rebels. I take it for granted. I have not allowed myself, for a single moment, to regard the question as open to debate, nor do I believe it could ever have been seriously controverted, had it not been for the infectious influence of slavery in giving us false views of the Constitution of the United States. It was ordained "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." I take it for granted that our fathers meant to confer, and did confer upon us, by the terms of the Constitution, the power to execute these grand purposes, and made adequate provision for the exercise of that power. I feel entirely safe in indulging this reasonable intendment in their favor; and I hand over to other gentlemen on this floor, and in the other end of the Capitol, the ungracious task of dealing with the Constitution as a cunningly devised scheme for permitting insurrections, conniving at civil war, and rendering treason to the government safer than loyalty.

Sir, I have little sympathy for any such friends of the Union, and I honor the Constitution too much, and regard the memory of its founders too sacredly, to permit myself for a moment to stand in such hands. The Constitution is not a shield for the protection of rebels against the government, but a sword for smiting them to the earth, and preserving the nation's life. Every man who has been blessed with a moderate share of common sense, and who really loves his country, will accept this as an obvious truth. Congress has power—

"To declare war; to grant letters of marque and reprisal; to make rules concerning captures on land and water; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; *and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into effect the foregoing powers.*"

Here we find ample and express authority for any and every measure which Congress may deem fit to employ, consistent with the law of nations and the usages of war, which fully recognize the power of confiscation. And yet for long, weary months we have been arguing, doubting, hesitating, deprecating.

As to what is called slave property, we have been most fastidiously careful not to harm it. We have seen a lion in our path at every step. We have seemed to play the part of graceless stipendiaries of the beleaguered rebels, seeking, by technical subtleties and the ingenuity of ever-ready professional attorneys in desperate cases, to shield their precious interests from all possible mischief. So long have we been tugging in the harness of our Southern taskmasters, that even this horrid spectacle seems to have so overcome our reason as to cause us to forget that we are a people whose Constitution are one and inseparable. Sir, while I have been present Congress for its great labors and the many good deeds it has performed, I must yet count it a blame and a reproach that we did not promptly enact an efficient confiscation bill in December last, which would have gone hand in hand with our conquering legions in the work of trampling down the power of this rebellion, and restoring our bleeding and distracted country to the blessings of peace. Many thousands of dear lives and many millions of money would thus have been spared; for which a poor atonement, indeed, can be found in the learned constitutional arguments against confiscation, which have consumed so much of the time of the present session of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this never-ending gabble about the sacredness of the Constitution is becoming intolerable; and it comes from exceedingly suspicious sources. We find that just in proportion as a man loves slavery, and desires to exalt it above all "principalities and powers," he becomes most devoutly in love with the Constitution, as he understands it. No class of men among us have so much to say about the Constitution as those who are known to sympathize with Jefferson Davis and the pirate crew at his heels. It will not be forgotten that the rebels murdered our loyal thieves who set this rebellion on foot went out of the Union yelping for the Constitution, which they had conspired to overthrow, through the blackest perjury and treason that ever confronted the Almighty. I remember, too, that we were so zealously on the side of the Constitution or so studiously careful to save it from all detriment as Breckinridge and Burnett, while they remained nominally on the side of the Union. Every graceless miscreant who has stolen his own conscience, every man who would be openly on the side of the rebels if he had the courage to take his stand, every opponent of a vigorous prosecution of the war by the use of all the powers of war, may be found fulminating his dastardly diatribes on the duty of standing by the Constitution. I notice, also, and I do not mean to be offensive—that the Democratic leaders who have recently issued a semi-rebel address from this city, are most painfully exercised lest the Constitution should suffer in the hands of the present Administration.

Mr. Speaker, I prefer to be master in different company. I prefer to show my fealty to the Constitution by treating it as the character of liberty, as the foe of rebellion, and as amply armed with the power to slay its own life by crushing its foes. Sir, who are these men in whose behalf the Constitution is so persistently invoked? They are rebels, who have defied its power, and who, by taking their stand outside of the Constitution, have driven us to meet them on their chosen ground. By abdicating the Constitution, and conspiring against the government, they have assumed the character of public enemies, and have thus no rights but the rights of war, while in dealing with them we are bound by no laws but the laws of war. Those provisions of the Constitution which define the rights of persons in time of peace, and which must be observed in dealing with criminals, have no application whatever to a state of war, in which criminals are by the character of enemies. The powers of war are not unconstitutional, because they are recognized and provided for by the Constitution; but their function and exercise are to be regulated by the law of nations governing a state of war, and not by the terms of the Constitution applicable to a state of peace. Hence I have heard much cant and much about the violation of the Constitution on our part as by sickly haggling of pro-slavery fanatics, or the poorly disguised rebel sympathy of snivelling hypocrites. We must fight traitors where they have chosen to meet us. They have treated the Constitution as no longer in force, and we should give them all the consequences, in full, of their position. By setting the Constitution at naught, they have rested their case on the naked power of lawless might; and, therefore, we will not give them due process of law, by trying, convicting, and hanging them according to the Constitution they have abjured, but we will give them, abruptly, due process of *war*, for which the Constitution makes wise and ample provision.

I have referred, Mr. Speaker, to the influence of slavery in giving us false views of the Constitution. It has also given us false ideas as to the character and purpose of this war. We are not fighting, it is said, for the Union as it was. Sir, I should be glad to know what we are to understand by this. If it means that these severed and belligerent States must again be subjects of a common sovereignty, secession forever laid low, the national flag vindicated, and the old flag waving over every State and every rood of the Republic, then I agree to the proposition. Every true Union man will say amen to it. But if, by the Union as it was, is to be understood that the Union as we beheld it under the thieving Democracy of the last Administration, with such men as Davis, Floyd, Mason, and their God-forsaken confederates, mustered in their places in Congress, in the army, and in the Cabinet; if it means that the reign of terror which prevailed in the Southern States for years prior to this rebellion shall be reëstablished, by which unoffending citizens of the free States can only enter "the land of cotton" to escape with their lives; if, by the Union as it was, be meant the Union with another James Buchanan as its king, and Chief Justice Taney as its anointed high priest, steadily pursuing the work which for years previous to the rebellion, and in the fearful vortex of civil war; then I am not for the Union as it was, but as I believe it will be, when this rebellion shall have worked out its appointed mission. I confess that I look rather to the future than the past; but if I must cast my eye backward, I shall select the early administrations of the government, when the chains of the slave were crumbling from his limbs, and before the Constitution of the Union was mutilated by the servile Democracy of a later generation.

Mr. Speaker, this clamor for the Union as it was comes from men who believe in the divinity of slavery. It comes from those who would restore slavery in this District if they dared; who would put back the chains upon every slave made free by our army; who would completely reëstablish the Slave Power over the National government as in the evil days of the past, which has culminated at last in the present bloody strife, and who are now exhorting us to "leave off agitating the negro question, and attend to the work of putting down the rebellion." Sir, the people of the loyal States understand this question. They know the cause of all the horrors of all our troubles. They know that but for this curse, this horrid revolt against liberty and law would not have occurred. They know that all the mutterings and roars of our battle-fields, all the terrible sorrows which rend so many thousands of loving hearts, all the ravages and desolation of this stupendous conflict, are to be charged to slavery. They know that its barbarism has moulded the leaders of this rebellion into the most atrocious conspirators of the nineteenth century, or of any century or age of the world. They know that it gives arsenic to our soldiers, mocks at the agonies of wounded enemies, fires on defenseless women and children, plants torpedoes and infernal machines in our path, boils the dead bodies of our soldiers in cauldrons, so that it may make drinking-cups of their skulls, spurs of their jaw bones, and finger-joints as holiday presents for "the First Families of Virginia," and the "descendants of the daughter of Pocahontas." They know that it has originated whole broods of crimes never enacted in all the ages of the past, and that, were it possible, Satan himself would now be ashamed of its physical presence, and seek a place in hell for its occupation. They know that it hatches into life, under its infernal incubation, the very scum of all the villainies and abominations that ever defiled God or cursed his footstool. And they know that it is just as impossible for them to pass through the fiery trials of this war without feeling that slavery is their grand antagonist, as it is for a man to hold his breath and live.

In this loyal people of the free States will not only think about slavery, and talk about it, during the progress of this war, but they will seek earnestly to use the present opportunity to get rid of it forever. Nothing can possibly sanctify the trials and sufferings through which we are compelled to pass but the permanent establishment of liberty and peace. If this is not a war of ideas, it is not a war to be defended. As a mere struggle for political power between opposing States, it is a most unnecessary and physical waste of courage, it becomes impious in the light of its horrid baptism of fire and blood. It would rank with the senseless and purposeless wars between the despotisms of the old world, bringing down upon us the curse of God for freedom or the race. What I said on this floor in January last, I repeat here now, that the mere suppression of this rebellion will be an empty mockery of our sufferings and sacrifices if slavery be left standing as the black heart of the nation anew, and repeat its diabolical deeds. Sir, the people of the United States, and the armies of the United States, are not the unreasoning machines of arbitrary power, but the intelligent agents of a free Republic. They will not tamely espouse the side of the Union upon principle. They know, as does the civilized world, that the rebels are fighting to diffuse and eternize slavery, and that that purpose must be met by a manly and conscientious resistance. They feel that

"Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,"

and that nothing can "ennoble fight" but a "noble cause." Mr. Speaker, I can conceive of nothing more monstrously absurd, or more flagrantly wrong, and consequently more fatal to success, than for a slaveholders' rebellion as if slavery had no existence. The madness of such a policy strikes me as next to infinite. Here are more than a million of men called into deadly strife by the struggle of this black power which has made itself master of government, and strike down the cause of free government everywhere, deluging these otherwise happy States with suffering and death without parallel in the history of the world; and yet, on the side of the Union, we have perverted the judgment and debauched the conscience of the country, that we are seriously exhorted to make still greater sacrifices, in order to placate its spirit and spare its life. I think God that such a policy is simply impossible. I know that the great mass of the people of the free States, and of the soldiers we have sent into the field, beat for liberty; and without their love of liberty, and the belief that it is now in deadly peril, there would have been no rebellion. Just as the struggle of our fathers, in 1776, would have ended in failure, if it had been possible to make them ignore the great question of human rights which nerved their arms and fired their hearts.

My colleague (Mr. VOORHEES), in his speech the other day, was quite eloquent in his condemnation of the financial management of this war, and quite pointed in his effort to show the absurdity of our Treasury, the government could only borrow money by paying one per cent. per month, while United States six per cent. bonds are now at two per cent. premium over American gold. As to the immense burden which this war is heaping upon us, it has been chiefly caused by the mistaken policy of tenderness towards the rebels, and immunity for their pet institution; and this policy has been steadily and strenuously urged by my colleague and his Democratic associates. It has been far less the fault of the Administration than of some of our Commanding Generals, and of conservative gentlemen in both Houses of Congress, who have sought by every means in their power to accommodate the war policy of the government to the equivocal loyalty of the Border States. Many precious lives and many millions of money were sacrificed by the military policy which neither allowed the army of the Potomac to march against the enemy, nor go into winter quarters, during the dreary months which preceded the order of the President directing a combined movement on the 22d of February last. The policy of delay, which has so sought to spare slavery, was never accepted by the President of his own choice, but under the influence of those both in and out of the army in whom he once chose both to advise and to command. I repeated confidence at the time.

I propose now to find events all drifting in a different direction. I believe rebels and outlaws are to be dealt with according to their character, and that slavery is not longer to be spared. Congress has already sanctioned the policy of gradual abolition, as recommended by the President, who himself has also sanctioned the policy of slavery in this District, and thus recognizes slavery as the grand obstacle to peace. We have abolished slavery in this District, and thus brandished it in all national territory, now owned or hereafter to be acquired. We have enacted a new article of war, prohibiting our army from aiding in the recapture of fugitives, and I trust we shall promptly repeal the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, or, at least, suspend its operation during the rebellion. We have given freedom to multitudes of slaves through our Confiscation act of last July, and by receiving them into our camps and retaining them in our service. We have enacted the Homestead bill which once recommended the immigration of free people and the dignity of labor, and thus brands the Slave Power as no act of the nation ever did before. Since that power has ceased to dominate in Congress we are perfecting, and will soon pass a bill for the construction of a Pacific railroad, and another for the abolition of polygamy in Utah. Our watchwords are now—Freedom, Progress.

Those patriotic gentlemen who have been anxious to have "A Solomon" in our land, to guile with the rebels, are changing their tune. We are remondering the folly of dealing with rebels as "misguided brethren," who must not be exasperated, and while the country is groaning under the weight of a million of men, to apply to their case the Gospel of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." We are waging war in earnest; we are beginning to love freedom almost as dearly as the rebels love slavery; we are actually contemplating the overthrow of that power which the rebellion demanded in the very beginning, and has constantly invoked during the progress of the war; and when these troubles are passed the people will wonder at the madness which sought to reëstablish by the quickest and most desperate blows, a despotism which, in the language of Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, have been willing to "recognize *all* men, even unto the end of time, as legally entitled to the blessings, the rights, and the privileges, to manifest, and let them fight with God and nature on their side." The proclamation of Gen. Fremont, giving freedom to the slaves of rebels in Missouri, has done more to make his name a household word than could all the military glory of the war; and I rejoice that, while the President saw fit to revoke the recent sweeping order of Gen. Hunter, he took pains to couple that revocation with a decision that he had been wrong, without hesitating nor application if they do not recognize the authority of the Executive in his military discretion, to give freedom to the slaves. That this authority will be executed, at no very distant moment, I confidently believe. The tide of events the President obviously implies it, and forshadows it among the thick-coming events of the future. Conservatives and cowards may recoil from it, and seek to postpone it; but to resist it, unless Congress shall assume it, will be to wrestle with destiny.

Mr. Speaker, I shall support the two measures of confiscation and liberation now before us, for the same reason which led me to support the Homestead bill at last July. They are in the right direction, and I am glad to see any advance step taken by Congress. But I shall retain, at any rate, my faith in the President, and in that logic of events which shows, in the overthrow of the institution of slavery, that slavery idea has been steadily and surely marching towards its triumph. The victories of slavery, in fact, have been its defeats. It triumphed in the Missouri Compromise of 1820; but it there planted the germ of its overthrow. It kindled and diffused an unslumbering anti-slavery sentiment which kept pace with every usurpation of its foe. It triumphed in the annexation of Texas; but this, by paving the way for the Mexican war, made a fearful display of its power of rapacity, and led to an organized political action against which it finally secured the control of the government. It triumphed in 1850, in the passage of the Fugitive Slave act, by which it bound the North hand and foot. Sir, the Wilmot Proviso, and the inauguration of the policy of Popular Sovereignty in our Territories, which afterwards brought forth such bloody fruits in Kansas. But these measures, instead of satisfying the demands of the slave power, whetted its appetite, and brought upon it the roused and intensified hostility of the people. It triumphed in the repeal of the Missouri restriction; but this was, perhaps, the most signal defeat it ever suffered, because it was by aggression and lawlessness, completely unmasking its real character and designs, and appealing to both conservatives and radicals to combine against it. It triumphed again in the election of James Buchanan as President; but this only enabled slave-breeding Democracy to grow to its full stature, and bud and blossom into that perfect luxuriance of diabolism through which it finally secured the control of our Treasury, sent our Navy into distant seas, plundered our arsenals, fired on our flag, and sought to make men and women of the North tremble at the sight, rapine, and murder; but all this was only a grand challenge to the nation to meet it in mortal combat, giving us the right to choose any weapons recognized by the laws of civilized warfare. In these various encounters, slavery has now forced upon the nation the question of liberty or death; and I cannot doubt that the triumphs of freedom thus far will be crowned by final victory in this mortal struggle. In the hour of our victory, in treasure and blood, and the length of the struggle, will depend much upon the madness or the wisdom which may dictate our policy; but I am sure that our country is not so far gone as to be forced to succumb to slavery, or to come out of this contest with its life. To believe this, would be to take sides with "the fool" who "hath said in his heart, there is no God."

The triumph of anti-slavery is sure. In the day of its weakness, it faced proscription, persecution, violence and death, but it never deserted its flag. It was opposed by public opinion, by the press, the religious organizations of the country, by the political parties, which feared it finally rent in twain and trampled under its feet. It is now the master of its own position, while its early heroes are taking their rank among "the noble of all ages." It has forced its way to the long run in spite of us, and rules in the Cabinet. It dictates the legislation of Congress and speaks in the courts of the Old World. It goes forth with our armies, and is every hour more and more recognized by soldiers of the Republic with its spirit. Its course is onward, and while

"The politic statesman looks back with a sigh,
There is doubt in his heart, there is fear in his eye;"

and even those slimy doughfaces and cringing things who have all along been afraid of abolitionism, betray a tormenting apprehension that their day and generation are rapidly passing away. In the light of the past the future is made so plain that "he that runs may read." Sir, I have all the faith in the power triumphed through the "final settlement" which was then attempted, I had the honor to hold a seat in this body; and I said, in a speech then delivered, that—

"Its suspension of agitation in the non-slaveholding States will not and cannot follow the 'peace measures' recently adopted. The alleged death of the Slavery Agitation is premature. Its friends, who have sought to kill it, while its advocates will be multiplied in every portion of the Union, and its opponents will be strengthened. The free States will be repudiated, while a renewed and constantly increasing agitation will spring up in behalf of the principles of the Fathers. The cries of our fathers for rendering free soil to Texan slavery cannot fail to be followed by the same results, and just as naturally as the cries of our fathers followed the passage of the Fugitive Slave bill will open a fresh wound in the North, and it will continue to bleed just as long as the law stands unrepealed. The existence of slavery in the Capital of the Republic, upheld by the laws of Congress, must of itself keep alive an agitation which will be swelled with the continuance of the evil. Sir, these questions are no longer within the control of politicians. Party discipline, presidential patronage, and the spoils of office, cannot stifle the free utterance of the people respecting the great struggle now going on in this country between the free spirit of the North and a domineering oligarchy in the South. Here, sir, lies the great question, and it must be met. Settlements of Congress, even with the devices of partisans can postpone or evade it. It will have itself answered. I am aware that it involves the broad and humane idea that the Negro is a man; and I do not marvel at their attempts to escape it, to smother it, to hide it from the eyes of the people, and to drag up the moral tide which is bearing it upon them. Neither do I marvel at their firing of guns and bachanalian libations over "the dead body of the Wilmot Proviso." Such attempts are nothing by no means unusual, but they will be followed by disappointment. It is vain to expect a quiet agitation by continued concession to an institution which is becoming every hour more and more a stigma to the nation, and which, instead of seeking new conquests, must see its shield be preparing itself with grave doubts for a decent exit from the world; concessions revolting to the humanity, the conscientious convictions, the religion, and the patriotism of the free States.

Sir, I speak to-day in the spirit of these words, uttered nearly twelve years ago, and verified by time. A small band of men in Congress brandished public opinion, the religious sentiment of the country, the form of proscription and intimidation, in standing by the cause which was overwhelmingly voted down. But although outvoted, it was not conquered. Its foe, in the hour of its triumph, falls image truc. Vote it, and revote it, by overwhelming majorities, by jubilant unanimities, thing is *not so;* it is *otherwise* than so, and Adam's posterity, voting upon it till doomsday not changing it.

The history of reform bears unfailing witness to this truth. The cause which bore the cross in its wears the crown to-day. "No power can die ever wrought for truth," while the political graves of its persecutors are clogged with warnings against their mistakes. Where are those Northern statesmen who betrayed liberty in 1820? They are already forgotten, or remembered only to be pitied. Where are those who believed that fresh laurels were won in 1850, by the great men who sought to gag the people of the free States and lay the slab of silence on those truths which to-day write themselves down, along with the guilt of slavery, in the Pantheon of civil war? Has any man in the whole history of American politics, however deeply rooted his reputation or godlike his gifts, been able to hold dalliance with slavery and live? I believe the judgment of God, and of the great mass of the people of this generation were not strong enough to wrestle with it, can the pigmies of the present? It has been beautifully said of Wilberforce that he "ascended the throne of God with a million of broken shackles in his hands, as the evidence of a life well spent." History will take care of his memory; and when our own bleeding country shall again put on the robes of peace, and freedom shall have leisure to gather up her jewels, she will not search for them among the political fossils who are now seeking to spare the rebels by pettifogging their cause in the name of the Constitution, while the sword is lifted to cut their throats. No, God is not to be mocked. Justice is sure. The defenders of slavery and its despicable apologists will be nailed to the world's pillory, and the boldest shrinks from the temple of Anarchy, while the world will be preserved for those who shall most faithfully do battle against this rebellion, as a gigantic conspiracy against the rights of human nature and the brotherhood of our race.

FREEDOM THE SHEKINAH OF AMERICA.

OWEN LOVEJOY IN NEW YORK.

[A large audience assembled at the Cooper Institute on Thursday evening, the 12th inst., under the auspices of the Emancipation League, to hear an address from the Hon. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois. Wm. Cullen Bryant, President of the League, presided, fitly introducing the speaker. Mr. Lovejoy, says *The Times*, was received with most flattering welcome. He spoke for nearly two hours and a half, in the most original, energetic and effective style, both as to matter and manner. His speech was replete with pungent illustration, logic and denunciation. It was brimful of pathos, humor, poetry, patriotism, history, piety and eloquence. He fairly held the audience enchained with the charm of his declamation, and the convincing power of his words. His action was, in many respects, intensely dramatic, and well worthy of histrionic fame. In fact, the entire speech was one of the most successful efforts of the kind ever made. Of course our space will not permit us to print the speech in full, but we give below some of its best passages.]

Every one who will come to the rescue in the hour of our country's peril and take sides with the Republic against the rebels should be free and respected. That simple fact ought to melt his chains as the summer sun melts the untimely frosts. Was there ever beginning of a rebellion so kindled and diffused an unslumbering anti-slavery sentiment which kept pace with every usurpation of its foe. It triumphed in the annexation of Texas; but this, by paving the way for the Mexican war, made a fearful display of its power of rapacity, and led to an organized political action against which it finally secured the control of the government. It triumphed in 1850, in the passage of the Fugitive Slave act, by which it bound the North hand and foot. Sir, the Wilmot Proviso, and the inauguration of the policy of Popular Sovereignty in our Territories, which afterwards brought forth such bloody fruits in Kansas. But these measures, instead of satisfying the demands of the slave power, whetted its appetite, and brought upon it the roused and intensified hostility of the people. It triumphed in the repeal of the Missouri restriction; but this was, perhaps, the most signal defeat it ever suffered, because it was by aggression and lawlessness, completely unmasking its real character and designs, and appealing to both conservatives and radicals to combine against it. It triumphed again in the election of James Buchanan as President; but this only enabled slave-breeding Democracy to grow to its full stature, and bud and blossom into that perfect luxuriance of diabolism through which it finally secured the control of our Treasury, sent our Navy into distant seas, plundered our arsenals, fired on our flag, and sought to make men and women of the North tremble at the sight, rapine, and murder; but all this was only a grand challenge to the nation to meet it in mortal combat, giving us the right to choose any weapons recognized by the laws of civilized warfare. In these various encounters, slavery has now forced upon the nation the question of liberty or death; and I cannot doubt that the triumphs of freedom thus far will be crowned by final victory in this mortal struggle. In the hour of our victory, in treasure and blood, and the length of the struggle, will depend much upon the madness or the wisdom which may dictate our policy; but I am sure that our country is not so far gone as to be forced to succumb to slavery, or to come out of this contest with its life. To believe this, would be to take sides with "the fool" who "hath said in his heart, there is no God."

Sir, I speak to-day in the spirit of these words, uttered nearly twelve years ago, and verified by time. A small band of men in Congress brandished public opinion, the religious sentiment of the country, the form of proscription and intimidation, in standing by the cause which was overwhelmingly voted down. But although outvoted, it was not conquered. Its foe, in the hour of its triumph, falls image truc. Vote it, and revote it, by overwhelming majorities, by jubilant unanimities, thing is *not so;* it is *otherwise* than so, and Adam's posterity, voting upon it till doomsday not changing it.

The history of reform bears unfailing witness to this truth. The cause which bore the cross in its wears the crown to-day. "No power can die with or destroy. I will not now stop to scout, as it ever ought to be scouted, the wild and guilty phantasy that man can have any vested right as property in man, but can there be anything so sacred that it must not yield to the public safety—the life of the nation? When I believe that the very fresh laurels existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety, and even the life of the nation, shall not the pretended claims of slavery give way? Had not the people of Rome a right to drain the Pontine Marshes, whose malarious exhalations nightly rose and spread over the city, bearing sickness and death to its households, although it might interfere with the water lots of frog breeders and snake fanciers? The health of the city was of more consequence than the vested rights of the reptile-mongers that lived on the margin of the immense bog. I beg to know just how sacred this right of enslaving men is. I desire to understand its height and its depth, its length and breadth. At what graduated point on the scale of sacred and precious things does it stand? Is it as sacred as property? The people will have given a tremendous blow at property before this struggle is over, a free-will offering to save the country. Business prostrated, the affluent reduced to beggary, bankruptcy which no skill could foresee and no prudence could obviate, is submitted to uncomplainingly, for the sake of the country. Is property to be said of the commercial community of our great cities, as it was of the early Christians—they took the spoiling of their goods with joyfulness? Property is one thing, and the other for their country's sake. All classes throughout the land have suffered in their kind and degree, in the same manner and for the same purpose. Is property in the bodies and souls of men made in the image of God, consecrated by the blood of atonement any more sacred than other property? Can every other pecuniary interest be sacrificed on the altar of public weal, and this anomalous and impious claim of property in human flesh and immortal souls as too sacred to be meddled with? Human life is sacred. Yet when Ellsworth fell, we said it was right; he died for his country. The scholarly and intrepid and gentle Winthrop, with his sword and pistol, fell, we said, saying, it was for his country. The gallant Baker fell at that terrible slaughter of Ball's Bluff, and we acquiesced, exclaiming it was for his country. The noble-hearted Lyon was borne in triumph to the lonely hills of Western Missouri, and to assuage our anguish we cried, he died for his country. Gen. Wallace, my neighbor, and I know not how many scores, gave up their lives on the hard-fought field of Shiloh, forty of which the President counts, were brought home, and buried in one grave; but we submitted to the terrible tragedy, for they were slain fighting the battles of their country. The story of Williamsburg and Fair Oaks is not yet told. What a vast and precious sacrifice of human life has there been to preserve the republic! Is slavery more sacred than all this human life? There is a young man, the only son of his mother, and she a widow. His country calls, and he says, "I know I am going to enlist." Then comes the struggle—a convulsive struggle—between a mother's love and the love of country—an only son and the republic. At last, with a divine energy of self-sacrifice, she says, "Go, my boy, go and fight, and if it must be, die for your country." I have seen this. And now, in God's name, is this unholy thing, slavery, more sacred than all these? Shall property vanish, the earth be piled with carcasses, and the hearts of parental hearts pierced with the arrows of anguish, wife, sister and betrothed stricken with grief, and yet the clutch of the enslaver remain unrelaxed, and the fell destroyer be hailed as the saviour of our property and life, all this mental and heart suffering, be left unmolested! It cannot be. We are not thus bereft of reason. I have no patience with those who enshrine this stupendous crime and surround it with the sanctities of an idol, and say, Let it alone—Great is Diana of the Ephesians! Great is American slavery!

The adoption by both Houses of Congress, by a large vote, of the resolution of Mr. Crittenden, offered to Congress in March last, forms another distinct landmark in our progress northward, which this road to national emancipation. Some think the butter is spread on rather thin in this resolution. But the Executive rail-splitter understands his business. He knows that the thin end of the wedge must first enter the wood (laughter). The operator first takes the precept of ruleing. The operator first takes the iron wedge, sharpened at one end to a thin point, and strikes it into the wood, just so it will sustain itself, and then with the mall drives it to its head. The explosive force of the wedge, driven home, and struck it into the log of slavery (applause), and now the heavy mall of abolition must let the blows fall till it is driven to the head, and the log riven in twain (great applause). If the log be very ugly and crooked (grained, or frozen wood, the blows have to be a little easy at first, or the wedge flies out (roars of laughter). It is not worth while to strike so hard as to have a rebound, for that would retard the work in no inconsiderable degree.

The President is like a man driving a horse in the shills of a buggy, and leading another behind by a halter-strap. The one in the shaft is a most superb animal—broad between the eyes, ears small, short and pointed, and with a step that shows blood, and spring that brought Tam safe across the running stream, where warlock and witch could na' follow (great laughter). It is very awkward managing two horses in this way, and requires considerable skill (laughter). Now, the President knows that the horse Radical that he is driving can go ahead, for he has by him been taken in handsome style into the Executive Chair (laughter); but he has a little doubt about the other horse, who cannot be trusted going down hill, otherwise he would let go of the old rackabones that hobbles along behind (applause). Now, I do not propose to dash ahead so as to throw the President out of his chair, but to go so steadily that the Executive can be assured that he is safe with the radical steed, down hill as well as up, and on level ground, and then he will drop the strap and let the old rackabones go where he pleases (roars of applause). I am for pouring on all the steam that the machinery will bear; but it is better to get into port a few hours later than to risk the explosion of the boiler. I cry, Go on, gentlemen, go on, and I do, I believe all the dices (applause and laughter). If he does not drive as fast as I would, he is on the same road, and it is a question of time. The great tide of events sweeps onward under a guiding power, directed, reasoning, providential, acting with it President and Cabinet and Congress. Safe pilotage is quite as needful now as propulsive power, for there is a semi-secession foe crouching in the jungles of a sham Democracy, ready to spring upon the Union forces as the very first opportunity that promises any success. There may be an eddy in the flow of this great river, but the resistless current sweeps onward (applause).

The first message of the President to which I have referred, recommends the abolishment of slavery by a system of gradual emancipation, to be carried out under the combined and cooperative auspices of Congress and the States. He uses the word *abolish*, mind. I should have used the word *abolition*; but I have consulted Webster, and I find that abolishment means abolition; so that while we differ in the *determination*, we do not differ in the *determination* (applause). In the first message the President says he does not desire that this rebellion should descend into a remorseless revolutionary struggle, and to avoid that, urges the Border States to emancipate their slaves in the mode indicated as the only means to the suppression of the rebellion short of the war used—that if the slaveholders do not voluntarily break the yoke from off their neighbor's neck, one else must (applause). In the second message he disavows the order of Gen. Hunter, on the ground that he had no power or authority to give such orders. An English King being present at the ceremony of high mass performed by a system of gradual emancipation, to be carried out under the combined and cooperative auspices of Congress and the States. He uses the word *abolish*, mind. I should have used the word *abolition*; but I have consulted Webster, and I find that abolishment means abolition; so that while we differ in the *determination*, we do not differ in the *determination* (applause). In the first message the President says he does not desire that this rebellion should descend into a remorseless revolutionary struggle, and to avoid that, urges the Border States to emancipate their slaves in the mode indicated as the only means to the suppression of the rebellion short of the war used—that if the slaveholders do not voluntarily break the yoke from off their neighbor's neck, one else must (applause). In the second message he disavows the order of Gen. Hunter, on the ground that he had no power or authority to give such orders. An English King being present at the ceremony of high mass performed by a hierarch of the Roman Church in Paris, was so struck with the impressive rites and the dignity of the high priest, that he said to his brother King of France that he would never allow a *subject* to perform such an imposing ceremony. So the President reserves to himself the honor of emancipating the slaves (applause). I do not blame him. If I were President and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, I would make proclamation of Freedom myself. No one should take from me the glory and fame of such a transaction. I would have my name forever associated with that act of liberation, and let it float down through the ages thus associated (applause). And he virtually tells the slaveholders that he will do it if they do not hasten the good work. "You cannot," says the President, "mistake the signs of the times." You have it in your power, in the Providence of God, to do a great work of beneficence, such as the world has rarely witnessed. I urge you to do it, and to do it at once. The tide of events sweeps onward. I give you a few days more of grace. It is better for all that you should do it. This proposition is made in good faith. But if you will not, I cannot, dare not,

this manner. Is this miserable tool of the North Carolina secessionists to be allowed to continue his malignant outrages? The telegraph tells us that Secretary Stanton has written to revoke the foolish order disbanding the schools; but is that enough to vindicate the majesty of the law and to heal the alarmed justice and humanity of the free States? Should not Stanly be dismissed at once, as the articles of war require, and with severe rebuke? When Gen. Hunter claimed military authority in behalf of freedom the President was quick to revoke it in a formal proclamation, in which he declared that he reserved the whole management of the slave question to himself, as Commander-in-Chief; will he be less quick to countermand and disavow an interference which is not relieved by any motives of humanity, but which is infamous in itself, a disgrace to the nation, and an offence to the enlightened conscience of the civilized world?

Stanly's proceedings should be a warning to Congress to hasten the measures of confiscation and emancipation which they now have in hand. If the government had declared its policy, on these subjects, as an earlier day, we should not now be compelled to blush for what has been done; we should have had a uniform rule for the guidance of all the provisional governors that now are, and the good work of to-day would not be nullified by the evil work of to-morrow. Our error, from the beginning of this war, has been the want of decision and consistency in the prosecution of it, and unless we correct it soon, the troubles and calamities it has brought about will be prolonged for years.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial management of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

FOURTH OF JULY!

It has been the invariable custom of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to commemorate this National Anniversary; not, however, in the boastful spirit and inflated manner of those who rejoiced in a Union with slaveholders, and who could see no contradiction, in such a Union, to the great principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. Our celebration has ever been with the distinct and simple purpose of recalling to the mind and impressing upon the heart of the people the great "self-evident truths, that *all* men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Confident that our repeated testimonies on these National Anniversaries have been as good seed, sown upon soil long indeed stubborn and unyielding, but at length fertilized, and now full of promise of a glorious harvest—soon, we trust, to be gathered in—we again invite and summon the friends of freedom, of every name and age, and whether living within or beyond the bounds of this our honored Commonwealth, to meet with us, as aforetime, and in even greater numbers than ever before, at the beautiful and well-known FRAMINGHAM GROVE, on the ensuing Fourth of July.

We need say nothing of the beauty and many attractions of the spot, whether for adults or for the young. The day and the occasion constitute the real claims upon our attention, and to these let the Anti-Slavery men and women of Massachusetts, and of New England, respond fully, as they so well know how to do.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Co. will convey passengers to and from the Grove, upon their main road and its branches, on that day, at hours to be more particularly announced hereafter, and at the same reduced fares as last year, and in some instances at lower rates.

Speakers, and other particulars, to be announced in future papers.

Friends, one and all! Let us be like those who wait for their Lord, at his coming; that, whether it be at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, we may be found ready, our lamps trimmed and burning. Now is the time for us to work with redoubled energy and zeal. The enemy everywhere is sowing tares. If possible, the very elect will be deceived. Let *not* one stay his hand, or hold back his testimony; but, with renewed purpose and with increased hope, do battle valiantly for God and humanity, until the diminishing advocates of slavery are driven forever from the field, and "Liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., WM. LLOYD GARRISON, E. H. HEYWOOD, HENRY O. STONE, CHARLES A. HOVEY, } Committee of Arrangements.

THE FUTURE OF THE WHITE SOUTH.

THE process of "unthreading the rude eye of Rebellion" has now proceeded far enough to make it not absurd to speculate as to what may be, or must be, the future which lies before the governing classes of the slaveholding States. Although reverses may yet await the arms of the nation which may delay the final crushing of the insurrection, the worst can hardly do more than delay it for a little. The encompassing coil of the forces of the Union, now that it has clasped the whole body-politic of the rebellion in its tightening strain, must crush the breath and the life out of it, before long. Any real disaster in Virginia or farther West would summon any necessary, and any superfluous, quantity of men from the free States to repair it, and to make another impossible. The resources of the North seem hardly to have been touched as yet, while those of the rebels can scarcely be eked out much longer, even by the masterly skill which has been displayed in their management thus far. The heaviest artillery and the longest purse—which are indeed convertible terms—is what decides the fate of all issues put upon the arbitrament of battle. "The two main nerves, iron and gold," by which Milton says war moves, always settle such conflicts in favor of the party that is strongest in them. It is now demonstrated, so that even English prejudice cannot deny the fact, that the North has all the material strength which makes victory a final necessity. No nation, by the consent of all military observers competent to speak in the premises, ever raised so large an army, in the same time, of such fine material, and never armed one better or fed it half so well. And as for the indiscipline which had been so fondly prophesied, Generals at the head of armies obey the President, as the London *Spectator* well says, as if he were Napoleon. So the physical suppression of the rebellion is no longer a question of doubt, but only one of time.

But behind this material disposition of the rebellion there remains a moral one to be made of it, even more perplexing in its projection and more uncertain in its result. It needs no very elaborate argument to prove that a beating does not necessarily produce the repentance and reformation of the beaten party. If men convinced against their will are always of the same opinion still, yet there are so are men who have been compelled to submit to the prevalence of the opinion that they hate by dint of hard knocks and cracked crowns. After the rebellion is nominally quelled, after the rebel armies are dispersed and all their strongholds in the possession of the United States, its hard and cruel heart will remain as it was before, or rather made harder and more cruel by the rage of defeat and the agony of griefs, losses and sufferings, all endured in vain. The dear and delicious Democratic dream that the capture of Richmond will be followed by the submission of the South, or rather by its consenting to dictate the terms on which it will vouchsafe to come back and govern us again, will prove as delusive as any that ever issued from the ivory gate, through which

"——false and calum mittant insomnia Manes."

The wish is father to the thought. They think the rebels no more in earnest in their treason than they themselves are in their loyalty, they that indulge in these fond hopes. That there is any appreciable reserve of Union feeling in the slave States is an imagination which the whole experience of the campaign has proved to be a false one. No loyalty is professed, excepting within range of the rifles of our troops, or, more properly, there only is disloyalty disembled. The withdrawing of our forces would be followed, if not by an instant outbreak of insurrection, certainly by a practical nullification of the laws of the nation. Who believes that the courts of the United States could be held in Charleston or Richmond, and their process run into the rural districts of the slave States, excepting under the immediate presence or the swift neighborhood of United States troops? The government would be as helpless to protect any of its citizens in their legal rights, as it has always been to defend Abolitionists, in all those States, except by the strong hand always held over them. Probably, no Southern man would be permitted to hold a United States office excepting within call of a battery of cannon.

We apprehend that there can be but two ways of ending the present civil war—the one, the recognition of the Confederacy, and the other a regeneration of Southern society under the compulsion of military law. The first is, of course, inadmissible and impossible. The North will never consent to be deprived of a square foot of the territory of the nation. No matter how much it may cost, that may be accepted as a preliminary axiom antecedent to the consideration of the problem. The other is the only horn of the dilemma upon which we can lay hold with any hope. And if entered upon and carried out wisely and humanely, it will, in the course of a generation or so, redeem the South from the degradation in which she was plunged before her rebellion, and from the ruin she has brought upon herself by it. No one can read the impartial and dispassionate testimony of Mr. Olmsted without discerning, what the Abolitionists have all along affirmed, that the slave States are in a condition of barbarism, exactly proportioned to the degree in which they are tainted by slavery. Society there is almost precisely what it was all over Europe three or four hundred years ago. A class of landed proprietors, possessing all the education and intelligence, with an exterior of courtesy often among themselves, but one liable to be replaced on slight provocation by brutal and savage violence, for which they were always ready from their habit of going armed, standing on the necks of a predial population, almost without rights, slaves indeed as much as ours at the South, the contempt felt for whom is stamped upon the English tongue by the adoption of their proper appellations—knave, villain, varlet, and the like—as terms of the nttermost reviling. The mediæval slaves having the advantage of the same color with their masters, it was not so hard to supersede their serfdom gradnally by force of civilization. Bnt Southern society has become so thoroughly rotten, depraved and demoralized by its vicious institutions, that no reformation seems possible that can proceed from within itself. It has not the elements of recovery, and can only be cured by the knife and cautery. This the North must apply, or consent to suffer by sympathy the leprosy which makes the South loathsome, and perhaps to perish miserably with her.

We are well aware that there is a large party at the North who would willingly take the risk of future evils for a postponement of them to a more convenient season. But we are confident that this is not an alternative that the South will suffer them to choose. No reconstruction of the Union is possible, excepting through the reconstruction of Southern society. The North must choose between letting the slave States go, and governing them by the military arm, with all the incidents of such a condition of things. Slavery must be abolished as a preliminary of the new policy. This we believe the President sees, and is ready to do, if driven to it by the mad rage of passionate rebellion, unless he be anticipated by the action of the rebels themselves. This action, however, would not deliver them from the fate of conquest which impends over the South, though it would make the task of its regeneration an easier one. When the armies of the rebels are dispersed, and the South, angry and sullen, submits to what she cannot prevent, there is bnt one way of keeping her in order, and that is by the military occupation of her seaports and capital cities, and the according to her of no more self-government than she is willing to use well. The disfranchisement of all willingly engaged in the rebellion, and the forfeiture of their lands, would open the way to a great immigration from the North, which would gradually put a new face on political and politico-economical affairs. Absolute protection guaranteed by the nation, and protected by bayonets and cannon, to freedom of speech and the press, with wise labors for the elevation, moral and material, of the poor whites as well as the negroes, would soon change the whole aspect of the land. Northern capital would flow in, and Northern intelligence and ingenuity be applied to the development of the resources of the soil. Churches and schools would help in the good work, and make the laboring population more and more intelligent and civilized. The present small ruling class might either stay and help, or take themselves out of the way. They are now, as a general thing, mere cumberers of the ground, and could be perfectly well done without. In a quarter of a century at the farthest—and probably much sooner—a new class of beings would possess the land. The poor whites and the negroes, stimulated by the possibility of improving their condition, would go on from good to better. Civilization would bless the families as well as the soil of the South. The products of the soil would be infinitely multiplied, and trade would be as vastly increased by the growth of the consuming classes. The only element of weakness would be removed from our empire, and we should go on from strength to strength till we grew to be the mightiest Power on Earth. Nothing, it seems to us, but folly worse than crime can now hinder this blessed renovation through the infusion of new blood into the veins of the South, which should change her prenature old age into fresh youth, and her deformity into beauty and grace.

MISSOURI.

THE bright hopes lately indulged in some quarters of the speedy abolition of slavery in Missouri were dashed, a few days since, by the action of the State Convention, which, by a very large majority, rejected a scheme of very gradual emancipation. For an account of the action referred to, see a letter from St. Louis to *The Tribune*, on the fourth page. Subsequently, however, Gov. Gamble sent a special message to the Convention, calling attention to President Lincoln's scheme of State Emancipation, and the offer by Congress of aid to such States as may adopt it. He thought it a scheme of "unexampled liberality," and one calling for "a conscious response." Indeed, he said it would be unbecoming to pass in silence such a proposition, originated with the United States. The subject being thus reopened, the following resolutions were adopted, 32 to 27:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States, on the special recommendation of the President, has adopted a joint resolution in the following words, to wit:

Resolved, That the United States ought to cooperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State, at its discretion, compensation for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such a change of system.

And, whereas, The President of the United States in his recent proclamation revoking and annulling a certain unauthorized declaration made by Brigadier-Maj.-Gen. Hunter, of the United States Army, has earnestly invited the people of the States interested to take into consideration the said joint resolution;

Resolved, first, That in the opinion of this Convention the proposition contained in the said joint resolution adopted by Congress, approved March 6, 1862, is entitled, as well from its source as to its intrinsic importance, to the deliberate and respectful consideration of the people of Missouri.

Resolved, second, That while a majority of the Convention have not felt authorized at this time to take action in respect to this grave and delicate question of private rights and public policy presented by said resolution, yet this body desires cordially to recognize as well the generous spirit therein displayed by the government of the United States, as the eminent patriotism and ability which have distinguished the President of the United States in his efforts to subdue this unholy rebellion, and restore peace and order to this State.

The upshot of the matter, as we understand it, is just this: The friends of slavery in Missouri are determined to resist the President's scheme; but, standing in need of Executive favor and patronage, they adopted the above resolutions as a sop to his feelings, and in the hope that he would generously accept "soft words" in place of the action he was looking for at their hands. The President may get from this a hint of what is likely to be the fruit of his Border State policy.

A NEW TRIUMPH OF LIBERTY.

It will thrill every lover of Liberty to know that both Houses of Congress have united in passing the following act, which now only needs the signature of the President to make it the solemn and righteous law of the land:

"To the end that Freedom may be and remain forever the fundamental law of the land in all places whatsoever, so far as it lies within the power or depends upon the action of the government of the United States to make it so, therefore,

"*Be it enacted*, That from and after the passage of this act there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the Territories of the United States now existing, or which may at any time hereafter be formed or acquired by the United States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

A few weeks ago, every true heart beat with enthusiasm when the telegraph told the welcome story that the fetters had fallen from three thousand slaves in the District of Columbia. That good deed of the government has speedily found its parallel in another, securing freedom throughout all the vast extent of the Territories of the Republic. In the whole history of American statesmanship, no instances can be pointed out of nobler legislation than these two acts, which will forever gild the pages of the statute-book whereon they are inscribed.

In future years, when our vast, unsettled Western frontier shall have grown into rich and populous States, when cities shall be built where now forests wave, when cultivated farms shall cover the wastes where now wild herds of buffaloes graze, the far-reaching beneficence of this act will be more gratefully recognized than to-day.

Nor will any future Congress be likely to repeal it. When Ohio was the farthest State west, and Indiana was a territory and a wilderness, settlers from Kentucky plunged into the Indiana forests to rear log cabins to live in. The territory was free by virtue of the Ordinance of 1787. The new settlers, who had been accustomed to use slave labor in Kentucky, petitioned Congress to suspend the ordinance of freedom for ten years, till they could send for their slaves to come over and cut down the trees. Their petition was referred to a committee of whom the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke was chairman. He revolved that strange request in his mind, and wrote a report declaring that slavery would be a curse to the new territory, and that, if the ordinance were suspended, the children of the settlers would live to execrate the day and the deed. The soil was, therefore, kept sacredly free, and the growth of Indiana ever since has been like a young oak! Such is the value of an early edict of freedom to a rising State. Such will be the value, in coming years, of the new edict which we chronicle to-day.

Of late years, legislation for Liberty has been a novel employment for an American Congress. But at present, both Houses are manifesting a growing zeal to render true service to the country. We ardently desire that, having trimphantly gone thus far in the path of duty, they will not stop till they have gone farther. The bill now before Congress for emancipating the slaves of traitors, having passed the House, is hanging in the scale of fate in the Senate. We hope to see the long discussion closed, and the bill passed. We hope the people will demand, and the government will perform, the final, crowning, victorious act of Universal Emancipation. God speed the work!

GEN. BUTLER'S SHORT METHOD WITH TRAITORS.

GEN. BUTLER has administered the punishment of treason by hanging a traitor. This, so far as we know, is the only instance of such a penalty decreed either by the military or the civil power during the war.

The offense was tearing down the flag of the United States hoisted by Commodore Farragut over the Mint. The offender was William B. Mumford, a man about forty years of age. The trial was before a Military Commission of five officers. The warrant for the execution was in the following words:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, NEW ORLEANS, June 5, 1862.

SPECIAL ORDER No. 70.—William B. Mumford, a citizen of New Orleans, has been convicted before the Military Commission of treason and an overt act thereof in tearing down the United States flag from a public building of the United States, for the purpose of inciting other persons to further resistance to the laws of the United States, after said flag was placed there by Commodore Farragut of the United States Navy.

It is ordered that he be executed, according to the sentence of the said Military Commission, on Saturday, the 6th inst., between the hours of 8 a. m. and 12, under the direction of the Provost Marshal of the City of New Orleans; and for so doing this shall be his sufficient warrant. By command of

BENJ. BUTLER, Major-Gen. Commanding.

The New Orleans journals give a detailed description of the scene at the execution. The gallows projected from the second story of the Mint, under the flag-staff from which the traitor hauled down the flag. After bidding farewell in private to his wife and children, he was led upon the scaffold, where he made a brief speech to the vast multitude who stood as spectators, excusing his offence as committed under excitement, and exhorting them, when called upon to meet death, to meet it firmly. The prisoner had a large force of cavalry and infantry kept solemn order in the crowd during the ceremonies. When the unfortunate man finished speaking, the platform sank beneath his feet, and he soul escaped into eternity.

The spectacle fulfilled its design in producing upon the rebellious city the impression that, whoever else may deal tenderly with treason, Maj.-Gen. Butler is in solemn earnest to put it down.

CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENT.

THE following private letter, which the Boston *Journal* was permitted to publish, shows what is thought of President Lincoln by one of the purest and best men in the country and one of the most earnest and devoted friends of emancipation:

SENATE CHAMBER, June 5, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: YOUR criticism of the President is hasty. I am confident that, if you knew him as I do, you would not make it.

Of course, the President cannot be held responsible for the misfeasances of subordinates, unless adopted or at least tolerated by him. And I am sure that nothing unjust or ungenerous will be tolerated, much less adopted, by him.

I am happy to let you know that he has no sympathy with Stanly in his absurd wickedness, closing the schools, and other acts of the nature of turning our camp into a hunting-ground for slaves. He condemns it—positively. The latter point has occupied much of his thought; and the newspapers have not gone too far in reporting his strong declarations against it. I have often heard from his own lips, that slaves finding their way into the National lines are never to be reënslaved. This is his settled conviction, and he will act upon it.

Could you have seen the President—as I was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to Emancipation in the States, Emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the independence of Hayti and Liberia—even your zeal would have been satisfied, for you would have felt the sincerity of his purpose to do what he could to carry forward the principles of the Declaration of Independence. His heart is in the work, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own. In familiar intercourse with him, I remember nothing more touching than the earnestness and completeness with which he embraced this idea. To his mind it was just and beneficent, while it promised the surest end of slavery. Of course, to me, who had already proposed a Bridge of Gold for the retreating fiend, it was most welcome. Proceeding from the President, it must take its place among the great events of history.

If you are disposed to be impatient at any seeming shortcoming, think, I pray you, of what has been done in a brief period, and from the past discern a sure promise of the future. Knowing something of convictions, and of the ardor with which I maintain them, you may, perhaps, derive some assurance from my confidence. I say to you, therefore, stand by Administration. If need be, help it by word and by act, but stand by it and have faith in it.

I wish that you really knew the President, and heard the artless expression of his convictions on the questions which concern you so deeply. You might, perhaps, think that his very simplicity of mind would be grateful that he is so true to all that you have at heart. Believe me, therefore, you are wrong, and I regret it the more because of my desire to see all our friends stand firmly together.

If I write strongly, it is because I feel strongly; for my constant and intimate intercourse with the President, beginning with the 4th of March, not only binds me peculiarly to his Administration, but gives me a personal as well as a political interest in seeing that justice is done him.

Believe me, my dear sir, with much regard, ever faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

THE VICTORY IN THE HOUSE.

THAT dreadful word Emancipation, which has so long been a bugbear to timid members of Congress—which for several weeks has kept half-a-dozen representatives in a constant shiver of fear—has at last lost its terrors, and is to be written down as the law of the land.

On Wednesday, the bill emancipating the slaves of rebels passed the House of Representatives, by a vote of 82 to 54. Of course, it yet waits to run the gauntlet of the Senate. But hardly a doubt is entertained that it will have a triumphant passage through the Upper House.

It provides for the emancipation of the slaves of all officers of the rebel army and navy; of all high officers of State, judges, and foreign ministers and consuls; of Governors and members of State conventions, legislatures, and judiciary; of all persons who have held office under the United States who take office in rebel States; of all who hold any office or agency whatever under the Confederate States, accepted since the date of the secession ordinance of the State in which said person resides; of every person who, after the passage of this act, shall be in rebellion against the United States, and who shall not within sixty days return to allegiance.

This bill, if executed in good earnest, will go far toward abolishing slavery in every Southern State; for we apprehend that the various classes of persons enumerated, who are to forfeit their slaves, comprise a great proportion of the entire body of slaveholders.

The bill thus deals a hard blow and staggering wound to the slave-system. After the Senate shall pass and the President shall sign it, the great remaining duty of the government will be, to say to itself: "Three measures of the present Congress have brought glory upon the nation: first, Freedom in the Great Square of the Capital: second, Freedom in all the territories of the Republic: third, Freedom to the slaves of traitors. One other measure remains, which shall eclipse the glory of all these: UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION!"

This one great measure covers and contains all others. Let Congress enact it, and so end the war, adjourn, and go home. Then shall we see palmy days, and a land at peace!

SLAVE-TRADER CONVICTED.

APPLETON OAKSMITH, son of Seba and Elizabeth Oaksmith of this city, was last week convicted, in the U. S. District Court at Boston, under an indictment charging him with fitting out the bark Margaret Scott as a slaver. Oaksmith appeared in Court, accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Oaksmith, a little child three years of age, and a host of ladies, all appearing to take a deep interest in the prisoner. The evidence against the prisoner was overwhelming. A number of witnesses from New York were examined as experts, in relation to the fitting out of the vessel, and the peculiar manner of disguising the whole business, from the purchasing of the vessels to their destruction, after disposing of their human cargo. A number of ladies were called upon the stand as witnesses for the defense, but they all broke down in tears the moment their eyes lighted upon the prisoner. During the trial they wept copiously, and their beautiful cambric handkerchiefs were used extensively.

Mr. Sawyer, counsel for the prisoner, did his best for his client, endeavored to throw discredit upon the witnesses for the prosecution, and wound up his defense with an appeal to the jury for merciful consideration. He was followed by the U. S. District-Attorney, R. H. Dana, who presented an able and straightforward argument, briefly reviewing the evidence, and marking out the important statements pointing unmistakably to the prisoner as the guilty party.

Judge Clifford charged the Jury, telling them that the crime with which the prisoner was charged was one of more malignant character than that against the captain in actual command of a slaver, while at the same time the law did not set it down as a capital offence. The crime consisted of instigating others to engage in the unholy traffic, furnishing means for the voyage, procuring of the freight, and providing the general plans for the expedition. The case was then given to the jury on Friday and they retired to deliberate.

On Saturday the jury rendered a verdict of guilty against the prisoner, and he was remanded for sentence.

The punishment for the crime of fitting out a slaver is five years confinement in the State Prison, and a fine of $5,000, or in default of payment of said fine, one year's imprisonment for each $1,000.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, who lately returned from a visit to the sick and wounded soldiers at Washington, Yorktown, and White House, recounted to a large audience in the City Hall of Syracuse, last Saturday evening, the interesting story of his journey. It was his privilege to comfort many of the sufferers by ministering to their wants with his own hand, giving them food and drink, bathing their wounds, and in many ways showing them kindness. He testified in eloquent terms to their heroic patience under great physical pain; reporting several instances of soldiers who, though badly wounded, insisted that the surgeon should first go to the help of comrades worse maimed than themselves. He says that the articles principally wanted in the hospitals are colored flannels, cotton drawers, large-sized cotton socks, and cloth slippers with leather soles; and more than all, concentrated milk, portable soup, sherry and claret wines, jellies, dried fruits, and any kind of light food usually needed in the sick room.

We regret to learn that Mr. May was compelled to shorten his remarks by reason of sudden illness while speaking.

The Syracuse *Courier*, in reporting the address, which united the hearts of all listeners, could not help flinging a stone at the speaker. It charges upon Mr. May that he and his political friends, and no one else, have brought upon the country the burden and misery of the war. It then adds the following, as convincing proof:

"Has this eloquent divine any conception of the amount of treason, irreligion, infidelity and corruption flowing out of such publications as he lauds the element of his daily reading and one of which might have been seen in his hat while delivering his discourse at the City Hall on Saturday evening?"

The asterisk points to an explanatory foot-note as follows:

"*Reverend Theodore Tilton, editor of the N. Y. *Tribune!*

We know of a clergyman who never buys a Democratic newspaper while travelling in the cars; "for," says he, "if there should be a railroad accident, and I should die with *that* in my pocket, think of the disgrace to my family!" We are glad to know that Mr. May, during his sudden indisposition, had the satisfaction of reflecting that he had something better in his hat than the Syracuse *Courier*.

AN ACCIDENT TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE find in *The Evangelist* of this city a letter from a Boston correspondent, in which the following allusion is made to Wendell Phillips:

"We went with a mixed multitude to the gathering of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Whatever might be the effect of any other meeting of the week, there was no lack of life and point here. Universal emancipation as advocated by Sumner, and attempted by Hunter, was the key-note. For an hour's waiting in the crowd and heat, we were amply rewarded by the splendid oratory of Wendell Phillips.

'When he speaks, what elocution flows,
Soft as the fleeces of descending snow;'

Simple, natural, yet elegant in all his movements, calm, but not frigid, terse, vivid, dramatic, a master of the art of *things*,' he charms all his hearers. With much that is true and pertinent, there was less of the ultra personal and bitter in what he said than on other occasions. What power would such a man wield were he thoroughly imbued with evangelical truth! *What a power has been lost in him to the Church and the world!*" We mingle our sympathies with this writer, in deplorings sad accident by which Wendell Phillips was lost to the Church. Burke said of Chatham, "His name keeps the name of this country respectable in every other." Wendell Phillips, by lending his name to the Church, might have kept the Church respectable before the world. It was, therefore, a sad misfortune to the Church that Mr. Phillips was suffered to escape the laying on of hands. Fancy our eloquent orator caught and imprisoned in gown and bands! Fancy him rising in the Fulton street prayer-meeting, and making a meek obeisance to the sign on the wall, "No controverted topics permitted!" Fancy him coming down as a country parson once a year to the New York solemnly to pay his salutation to *The Observer!* Fancy him visiting his native city of Boston for an exchange of pulpits with his dear brother in Divinity, Nehemiah Adams! Fancy him receiving parish donation-visits, and making those graceful gestures in acknowledgment of the receipt of a patch-work bed-quilt! Fancy how eagerly the young folks would flock to him to be married, and have the next week's *Evangelist* record, in small type—"By the Rev. Wendell Phillips, D.D." O Wendell Phillips! Five generations of clerical ancestors have bequeathed you a white cravat! What a pity you do not wear it!

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

YEARLY MEETING AT WATERLOO,
ROCHESTER, June 5, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard:

Since writing the Twentieth Yearly Meeting at Waterloo, just closed. This annual gathering seems to grow in value and interest, as well as in numbers. Opening Friday morning, May 30th, and closing Sunday at 5 p.m., the three days were well occupied by an audience of thoughtful men and women.

PHILIP D. MOORE served as Chairman, G. B. STEBBINS and PHEBE B. DEAN as Secretaries; and a Business Committee consisting of C. D. B. Mills, Frederick Douglass, Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Seymour Rogers, Jonathan N. Coleman, Lewis Zisk, and Rhoda De Garmo prepared resolves and planned the general conduct of the meeting. For the first two days, the war in its relations to slavery and its influence on the nation's life and character, filled a large share of time and thought. Its issues are so present and vital, its relations so wide, its dangers so imminent, as, for the time, to take precedence of other subjects, even those of value and moment.

Resolves were offered and discussed, an interesting correspondence from absent friends claimed attention, a Memorial to Congress on Emancipation was adopted with hearty unity, and the addresses fixed and held most earnest attention.

The pic-nics at noon, under the shade of tall trees in the yard, gave rest and social life, and the abundant hospitality of the houses in the vicinity added much to the enjoyment of the occasion.

On Sunday, a rain kept away the throng that usually fill the yard, but all space in the house—floor, galleries, stairs, etc., was filled. The order of business was laid aside, and each speaker uttered his or her thought as "the spirit moved."

Several valuable addresses on true religious freedom and spiritual culture and growth found good listeners. Mrs. Choate, of Auburn, read a valuable paper on Physical Education, and, at 5 p.m., after a short but excellent speech from Frederick Douglass on "What shall we do with the black man?" the meeting closed by singing the "John Brown song."

George Tryon, C. D. B. Mills, Benjamin Fish, F. Douglass, Wm. Denton, E. Andrews, R. Wheeler, Lucy N. Coleman, P. D. Moore, G. B. Stebbins, J. H. W. Toohey, and others, took public part.

The Resolves, etc., I send you herewith, and this brief word will assure those interested of the life and success of the meeting, and of the spirit of freedom that is nobly manifest therein.

The next Yearly Meeting will open Friday, June 5th, 1863. Yours truly, G. B. STEBBINS.

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, at Waterloo, N. Y.

1. Resolved, That the principles which, as Friends of Progress, we inscribe on our banner—the peerless worth, transcendent majesty, and vital, all-sovereign authority of the Truths of the Soul, the laws of Reason, the ordinances of Verity and Justice, the requirements of Virtue, the superlative claims of character—far enough from being cold, lifeless or barren abstractions, the recognition of well nigh inscrutable, buried away in abysses of dim and dubious speculation, are warm and living realities, all fruitful, radiant with light, patent to the understanding, and of the evident and certain, more than all else beside, the primal scripture, oldest and completest bible, lamp for the feet through all the labyrinths of time, succor and solace to the soul, talisman and inspiration, and standard evermore of all effective doing and success.

2. Resolved, That these truths, always pertinent and important, are always full of vital bearings, and charged with most benign guidance and blessing to men, under whatever circumstances and in every age, are especially pertinent and vital and pregnant here and now, in the circumstances of this hour, and the exigencies upon which our nation is to-day cast, and require therefore to be proclaimed and urged home upon the attention of the people with the emphasis, directness and force of application correspondent to the formidable and fell peril of the position.

3. Resolved, That the importance of the Truths, the fatally ruinous consequence, and character and tendency to other matters, of their neglect or denial, has very signal and painfully near illustration in the attitude of our nation at this hour, a nation and government murderously assailed of rebellion, and yet shrinking the most direct and fearful, compelled to struggle at immense expenditure of blood and treasure for the existence of its existence, and continuing day after day and month after month on the very brink of ruin, yet undaring to speak itself delivered and free by utterance of the Word Liberty, half a spell bound and prostrate by incantation of parchment Constitution and statute Reasonment, as before all Truth, all Justice, and even the national Life itself, juggle even in the midst of its rebellion and fierce exterminating onslaught, of supposed involate rights of slavery.

4. Resolved, That while we hail more than willingly even more bright and hopeful signs the time affords—evidence of increasing stability of the part of considerable numbers up and down through the land—awakened attention, under the recent startling events of the hour, to the inherent nature of slavery, growing recognition of its essential characters and crimes and atrocity, conviction that it must and determination that it shall, by any hazard, be extinguished—indications of disposition in many and humane attitude on the part of some of the Commanding Generals in their relations to the negro—beneficent act of emancipation by the General government throughout the Federal District—and remaining hopeful still that, through the events of this terrible war, liberty for the slave shall yet be wrung from this unwilling nation, we yet remember that our relations are primarily and above all to simple Truth and Justice; that never, in the sphere of human conduct, are we to sit supinely waiting what the hour may bring; and so we still bear our testimony for the Truth, and against the nation and government, now as never before responsible for slavery, now as never before imperilled and involved by its continuance, insistent to wipe out the guilty curse—to wash its hands of the blood of its crushed millions, and penitently bid them, in God's name, go free.

5. Resolved, That, for a government to affiliate with oppression, to extend recognition, fellowship and protection to slavery, is at the outset to make itself the accomplice of treason, a partner with rebellion—to break up and annihilate all true grounds of fellowship between loyalty and justice and their opposites—to put itself exposed perpetually to factional revolt like the present wide spread and violent, and tie its hands forever while in that attitude against possibility of effectual resistance and repression.

6. Resolved, That the attempts still widely and in high places, to carry out the decrees of treason, to recognize its dual basis the Union—basis of fellowship and grace to slavery—is the attempt to repeat, and under circumstances of more fearful guilt, the infatuation and its guilt, the old mistake, and intrinsic wrong and a crime as it is, pronounced by late events in our history to be from this time forward an utter futility; the only Union tenable, possible, or even desirable, or even worthy of toleration, the Union of Freemen for the maintenance of Justice and Freedom.

7. Resolved, That with indignant and shame we witness the renewal and prosecution with unwonted rigor of slave-hunting in the midst of the Federal Capital, and, mortifying and humiliating as is the admission, we believe that yet, even now, and even now the government and nation has not suffered enough at the hands of the rebellion to be divorced and emancipated from its sickening idolatry of slavery, and insane and criminal hope of still propitiating the monster, or at least regaining its indulgence and tolerance.

8. Resolved, That we hail the proclamation of David Hunter, declaring emancipation to the slaves throughout the limits of his military district, with gratulation and joy;—a proclamation worthy to be made, honorable to his judgment as a Commander, his compassion of a heart as a man; and we can only here testify our sorrow and indignation that the Executive head of the nation should have so hastily and unjustifiably to humanity, so lacking in just comprehension of the crisis, so subject to the influence of detestable Border State dictation, as to interpose with his disavowal, and rescind the operation of his benign proclamation.

9. Resolved, That in the desolating war now raging in our country, we recognize a just retribution, visited on the people for the sure and awful result of their oppression of a race subjugated by our fathers, and attempted made menial, not only by governmental statutes, but by social restrictions fed and nourished by unnatural teachings that the negro is not a people, not a nation, not a family, not a brother, not a neighbor, not only by and for himself, but with and for others.

10. Resolved, That the time has come by for a people, human family are forbidden to pass, because of the color of skin, the texture of hair, or the cut of features; and that it becomes the emphatic duty of every lover of Liberty and Humanity, in the sphere of the best of Justice, to insist upon the entire emancipation of the oppressed people from all invidious restrictions, either social, religious or political.

TO THE CONVENTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The "Friends of Human Progress," assembled at their Yearly Meeting, at Junius, near Waterloo, Seneca County, New York, in view of the unhappy condition of our country, scourged by a terrible civil war, respectfully and earnestly offer their views and deliberate judgment as to the cause of this war, and the means whereby it may and ought to be brought to a close.

SLAVERY IS ITS CAUSE. This nation is but illustrating anew the lesson that History teaches that slavery is always the element of danger in the State; and that in the nature of things there can be no permanent Peace, Union and Order are impossible, save through wise obedience to those Divine Laws of Justice, Freedom and Fraternity which slavery repudiates.

Slaveholders plotted this rebellion. Slaveholders opened this war, and lead in its conduct with desperate malignity. By an evil necessity inherent in the system they uphold, *it must either rule or ruin;* hence this foul rebellion.

Our sons and brothers and loved ones have gone forth freely in our country's defence, and we are grieved and heartsick to see them the victims and sufferers in the guilty waste of precious life, and the gratuitous exposure to exhausting labors and fatigues, results of a weak tenderness toward slavery in the conduct of this war on the part of the government.

It is shameful that a wicked prejudice, created and fostered by slavery, and which rebel slaveholders now rejoice to find their ally, prevents the acceptance of the proffered aid of the negro, and flings all the burthen and peril of the war on the Northern soldier.

It is folly without parallel to refuse the help of the *only friends* the government has in large portions of the South. It is base ingratitude to drive back those friends into cruel hands.

In the presence of national law, and of the necessities of war, *rebels have no rights.* The first gun fired against Fort Sumter shattered the fetters from the limbs of every slave in the rebel States, under the same principle by which that base act made all its perpetrators and abettors outlaws.

No legal or constitutional barrier stands in the way.

As to the few loyal slave-owners in the Border States, if they be *truly* loyal they will share any sacrifice to which the ending of slavery may subject them as their rebellious brothers for their country's safety—especially when, in the light of a few years of freedom, the sacrifice will be found more seeming than real, and when government stands ready to make them such compensation as may be its share of indemnity for a common complicity with the slave system.

Under the war power there is ample authority for the total ending of slavery, so necessary to the safety, even the very existence of our nation.

We wish Peace, but it is only possible with Freedom—broad and impartial, *as the right of all*, irrespective of race.

We wish safety and a high future for our country, imperilled by the wickedness it has nursed and nurtured in its midst.

We therefore ask that in this crisis you will use your abundant powers to *decree the emancipation of every slave*, with a high faith that Divine Wisdom has so ordered that it is always safe to do right.

In behalf of the Meeting, as its earnest and unanimous expression. PHILIP D. MOORE, Chairman.

G. B. STEBBINS, PHEBE B. DEAN, } Secretaries.

Waterloo, New York, May 31, 1862.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1862.

WILL the next Congress be Republican? This is a very important question, and the Republican members of Congress are somewhat anxious about it—and well they may be. The House is gradually filling up with slave State men. In the Senate the admission of Senators Willey and Carlile from *the State of Virginia* commits that body to the principle of permitting a part of a State to represent the whole. The admission in the House of Dr. Segar to represent

The best thing the government has yet done in this city was done on Saturday last. It took possession of three aristocratic Episcopal churches *for hospitals!* The three churches—the Trinity, the Epiphany, and the Ascension—were the most aristocratic and naturally the most rebellious Churches in the city. Their pastors have refused to read prayers for the President and the success of our armies. Dr. Hall of Epiphany has, I believe, read the Sunday prayers for the President, but when remonstrated with by his rebel hearers, he has replied: "Paul did not pray for the head of the Roman Emperor Nero." It was high time that something was done, for the rebels in Washington and Georgetown were growing more and more impudent each day. The most infamous falsehoods have been told to bolster up the rebellion. Every Union success has been depreciated, every rebel triumph has been exaggerated. These fellows have got so fearless that they have openly expressed their delight at rebel victories and government defeats. Jackson is a hero with them. They toast him—praise him everywhere, and then retire on Sundays to the churches above mentioned to secretly give thanks for the continued success of the cause of Richmond. *The Republican* of this city says a good thing of these churches:

Yet large number of the frequenters of these churches are secessionists. Their parsons—Dr. Hall, of Epiphany, Dr. Vinton, of Ascension, and Dr. Pyne, of Trinity—declined to read the prayer for thanksgiving some time since ordered by Bishop Whittingham for the success of our arms. These are the aristocratic and fashionable churches of Washington—the ones in which the days when the prodigal children of secession found it pleasant to dwell in these borders. In default of numbers and accommodation, and of patriotism in the pastors probably, the government have devoted these edifices to hygienic purposes. The pews and lowly children of the Son of man—the paupers who have heretofore officiated in them—will probably go on being useful, and, by the way of consolation, Will remember that their Divine Master at times had not where to lay his head."

I can easily imagine the wrath of some of the wealthy communicants upon reading this extract. I hear that the pastors are so angry that they hardly know what to do. It is a great pity they do not betake themselves to Richmond. Syle, the pastor of Trinity Church, is engaged to marry a Southern widow of wealth, who has two sons in the rebel army. His secessionism is easily accounted for. The others are influenced to treasonable conduct by different reasons.

Some of the Northern soldiers who come down here are inclined to show that they have not yet got rid of their colorophobia. A volunteer regiment was placed in the northern part of the city, in the outskirts of the town, where there are a good many small houses filled with colored people. They have suffered much from the negro-hating spirit manifested by these white soldiers. A small party of young colored people started off into the country for a pic-nic, some days ago, when they were attacked by a portion of the volunteer regiment alluded to, made to give up their eatables, and one of the party was so severely stabbed that he has since died. I am sorry to say that these northern troops so base that when they come here they seem to have a strong desire to convince Southern people in this vicinity that they are pro-slavery and dislike the colored man as intensely as any slave-owner. The most of our troops soon become anti-slavery—especially if they have any fighting to do with the slaveholders. But many of the army officers are incorrigible—regulars and volunteers. I heard one of our volunteer Majors talking with a Southern member of Congress two or three days ago: "It is a sad war," said he, "and for my part it is very hard for us to meet our friends on the field of battle. I would avoid it if I could, but when they attack us we must kill to save our own lives. I am, however, for conciliation and kindness!" It is that stuff which has paralyzed the government. It has gained nothing by its victories because it kicks vigor. McClellan is busy guarding the houses of rebels on the peninsula. McDowell turns Doubleday out of the house of a rebel leader. McClellan, Halleck, McDowell and all the others are about allies, save Fremont, and he will doubtless be overruled if there is any danger of his hurting anybody, except on the field of battle. Lincoln, upon it, that orders put from some place in this city respecting *this* question. There is uniformity here, however it may be on the slavery question. Slaveholders can be treated kindly, no matter how it may be with the slaves.

I notice that in a published letter of Mr. Sumner's, he says, speaking of the President: "I am happy to let you know that he has no sympathy with Stanly in his absurd wickedness, closing the schools, nor again in his other act of turning our camps into a hunting-ground for slaves. That the republican is both positively * * * I have often heard from his own lips that slaves finding their way within the national lines *are never to be retaken slaved.*" The italics are mine. I put with it the following paragraph from a Memphis letter:

"A merchant who happened to be in the Provost-Marshal's office yesterday, heard a conversation between him and a slave-owner, which was very far from a good purpose to communicate. The slaveholder had lost some slaves and came to know whether, if they should come to Memphis, he would be permitted to recover them. The Marshal's reply was substantially this: That they did not allow runaway negroes to come into their lines under any circumstances, and that they had no power to interfere outside their lines. The slaveholder went away satisfied that his negroes were in no danger."

Will the President compel his officer, the Provost-Marshal, to reconsider his position? I presume not. Mr. Sumner has diligently sent the sentiments of this country to Gen. Halleck's conduct towards "contraband's," but has any one ever heard of Presidential interference with Halleck? AVON.

PERSONAL.

Hon. Benjamin F. Whidden, recently appointed Consul-General to Hayti, is a native of Lancaster, N. H., and a lawyer by profession. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1840, and is now about 45 years of age.

Hon. E. D. Culver of this city has been appointed U. S. Minister to Venezuela. An effort is being made to transfer him to Hayti, and send Mr. Whidden to Venezuela in his stead.

FEARS OF INSURRECTION.—A letter from Memphis to *The Tribune*, under date of June 14, says: "There is much alarm among the whites of Crittenden County, Arkansas, opposite this city, in consequence of the discovery of a design on the part of several hundred of the negroes of that County to simultaneously run away and present themselves to the Union commander for protection. There are about four thousand negroes in the County, and only a few hundred whites, some of whom are coming here, not deeming it safe to remain among the negroes."

ANTI-TOBACCO JOURNAL—a quarterly periodical, by George Trask, Fitchburg, Mass. The number before us contains a great variety of articles, under the following titles: Reasons for Publishing this Journal; Memorials of my War on Tobacco; Our Conductor from Fitchburg to Boston, with a Rose between his lips; The Wife's Appeal to her Husband; Annual Report of the American Anti-Tobacco Society; The Indian's Revenge; Tobacco Raised in Massachusetts in 1861; Tracts for the Army and Navy. The price of this periodical is $1 a year.

DEATH OF MR. BUCKLE,—Henry Thomas Buckle, author of the famous "History of Civilization," died at Damascus on the 29th of May. He has fallen in the prime of life, at the age of forty, leaving his great work unfinished, as Macaulay left his History.

OBITUARY.

DIED, of typhoid fever, on the 7th of Fourth month, 1862, LETITIA H. GANBY, at the residence of her parents, Joshua and Esther Canby, near Mount Pleasant, Henry Co., Iowa.

Our beloved friend, who has just passed the portals of the life beyond, was in her 24th year. She was a young woman of rare endowments. A lover of the beautiful in nature, gifted with fine talents, combined with large moral sentiments, she entertained enlarged and liberal views. She was especially interested in the enfranchisement of the oppressed slaves in our land. She was a light in the family band, and beloved by a circle of acquaintances who will mourn her early exit. She was a member of Prairie Grove Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. On the occasion of her interment on the 9th inst., a large and impressive religious meeting was held.

Spirit, thy labor is o'er;
Thy work of probation is done;
Thy foot, now free from the mire of the outrodden shore,
And the life of immortals begun." J. A. D.

Proceedings of Congress.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

THE Senate, on the 11th, postponed (yeas 24, nays 11) the bill amending the Fugitive Slave law, to take up the Pacific Railroad bill.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On the 12th, Mr. Wilson introduced in the Senate a bill, supplemental to the act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and designed to remedy some defects therein.

THE PACIFIC TRADE TREATY.

In the Senate on the 13th, Mr. Sumner (Rep.) of Mass., from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported a bill to carry into effect the treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade. The bill provides for the appointment of United States officers at mixed courts at New York, Sierra Leone and Cape of Good Hope, each of the three Judges to receive $2,500 per annum; also, for the arbitrator at New York to receive $1,000 per annum and the others $2,000 each; also, for the clerk of the Court at New York to receive the fees pertaining to the office.

A SUSPECTED MEMBER.

In the House on the 11th, on motion of Mr. Bingham of Ohio, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, Information has been received by the government, that Hon. Benjamin Wood, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York, and a member of this House, has been engaged in communicating or attempting to communicate important intelligence to the Confederate rebels in arms against the government of the United States, be it therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary inquire into the alleged conduct of the said Benjamin Wood in the premises, and to that end the said Committee be authorized to send for persons and papers, and examine witnesses under oath, and report to the House.

OATH TO GRAND AND PETIT JURORS.

In the House on the 13th, the Senate bill prescribing an additional oath to be taken by grand and petit jurors serving in the United States Courts, to the effect that they have been true and faithful to the Constitution, have not taken up arms or counselled or advised any person to take up arms, or rendered any assistance, aid or comfort to any State or States in revolt against the government, etc., was passed.

THE NORTH CAROLINA REPRESENTATIVE.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Dawes, from the Committee on Elections, made an adverse report on the petition of Charles Henry Foster, asking admission to a seat as Representative from the IId District of North Carolina.

REBEL PRISONERS.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Wilson (Rep., Iowa) caused to be read an extract from a letter in the New York *Tribune*, dated Port Royal, stating that the rebel prisoners are better treated than our own soldiers, and detailing instances of cruel neglect, etc., and offered a resolution to inquire into the facts, and also to furnish the name of the General commanding the troops there. Adopted.

GUARDING THE PROPERTY OF REBELS.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Potter (Rep., Wisconsin) offered a resolution requesting the Secretary of War to inform the House by whose orders the house of a rebel leader at White House Point is guarded and protected by United States soldiers, and withheld from hospital purposes.

Mr. Dunn (Rep., Ind.) stated, of his own knowledge, that the house in question was quite small. It is the place where Washington first met his wife, where he courted and married her. The property is now owned, he (Dunn) believed, by a grandson of Mrs. Washington, the son of Gen. Lee. Out of a delicate regard for the memory of Washington, which he (Dunn) was sure the country would appreciate, Gen. McClellan placed a guard around the house to protect it and the yard from injury.

Mr. Potter inquired—Do you not know a guard was placed there at the request of Mrs. Lee for its protection?

Mr. Dunn replied that he did not. It was a very inviting place for the General's headquarters, but he would not use it, and had his tents pitched out in the plowed ground, and in the hot sun. He did not oppose the resolution, but thought proper to make this statement.

Mr. Potter said there was an excellent spring on the premises, which was refused to our soldiers, who had to drink the water of the Pamunkey River. The proceedings in this matter were a mere continuation of a conciliatory policy now prevailing. Rebels, including slaves, who were responsible for the death wounds inflicted upon our soldiers. It was a burning disgrace to government, and the House should take action upon the subject.

Mr. Sedgwick (Rep., N. Y.) had visited the place. The house was built within the last ten or fifteen years—a great many years since Washington was gathered to his fathers. The land is high and admirably adapted to hospital purposes. There are seven outbuildings in good condition, and he has been informed by several persons not connected with the service that the houses were capa ble of accommodating 450 to 500 men. He believed if Washington were alive he would not be influenced by any such sentimentality as that they should not be used for sick and wounded soldiers of the Union, for the establishment of which Washington suffered and contributed so much. On the Secretary of War telegraphing that the houses should be used for hospitals, some one of McClellan's army—he hoped it was not McClellan himself—replied that those who urged the request were enemies of the war and of the country.

Mr. Dawes (Rep., Mass.) testified as to the facts stated by Mr. Sedgwick. He was there himself, and, together with a colleague, was prevented from passing over the grounds in order to reach the steamboat. He was confronted by a bayonet, and informed that there were positive orders to prevent any body from trespassing on the premises. He was also told that a captain was the day before put under arrest for allowing persons to cross the grounds.

The resolution passed.

CHARGE AGAINST GEN. BANKS.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Voorhees (Rep., Ind.) offered as a preamble a statement from the New Albany *Ledger*, in which it is said that during the recent retreat Gen. Banks furnished government transportation for negroes, thus caring for them to the exclusion and neglect of our wounded soldiers, who had to walk. Appended to this was a resolution instructing the Committee on the Conduct of the War to inquire into and report the facts.

Mr. Richardson (Dem., Ill.) said he had heard the same charge made by soldiers.

The resolution was adopted.

An unsuccessful motion was made to lay the preamble on the table, the consideration of which went over.

The Tribune's correspondent says: "Mr. Voorhees's resolution is believed to be founded upon an utter falsehood, and was voted for by many who wished to see it exposed."

EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES.

In the Senate on the 16th, the Naval Appropriation bill was taken up, the question being on the Senate concurring in the amendment offered by Mr. Wilson (Mass.), that persons held to service or labor, called slaves, shall be employed in the Navy-yards, dockyards, etc., which was rejected by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Foot, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, King, Lane (Ind.), Lane (Kansas), Morrill, Pomeroy, Sumner, Trumbull, Wilkinson, Wilson (Mass.), Wright—17.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Browning, Chandler, Davis, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foster, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Latham, McDougall, Powell, Sainsbury, Stark, Ten Eyck, Willey, Wilson (Mo.)—18.

FREEDOM IN THE TERRITORIES.

Our readers will find in another column the admirable act which has passed both Houses of Congress, forbidding slavery in all the territories of the Union.

THE EMANCIPATION BILL.

The bill emancipating the slaves of traitors has passed the House. See another column.

NOTICE.—Members of the American, Pennsylvania, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, contributing annually to the funds of some one of these Societies, are entitled, by the Rules of the Society, to receive a copy of the Anti-Slavery Year, by sending a request to the office of the Anti-Slavery Bugle, Salem, Ohio, and enclosing stamps sufficient to prepay the postage, viz., fourteen cents.

Chronicles of the War.

Battle on the Shenandoah.

All evidence tends to prove that the repulse of Jackson by Gen. Fremont, on Sunday, the 8th inst., was a very severe one. Jackson left his dead and a great part of his wounded on the field in his retreat on the succeeding day from battle. Not less than five hundred dead were found, and two of their guns were left behind, which were taken possession of by our forces. Jackson's grapes, hid in wagon trains across the river at Port Republic on Friday, and returned, and gave battle six miles north of there, on the Harrisonburg pike, on Sunday, as before reported. When Jackson retreated our forces pursued, but before the enemy could be overtaken, he crossed the river, burning the bridge that carried him over. A portion of Shields's Division, under Col. Carroll, pursued on the opposite side of the river on Sunday, but, instead of burning the bridge, planted the artillery so as to compel Jackson's forces, then supposed to be Carroll, having only a portion of his troops at hand, was repulsed, the enemy took possession of the bridge, and escaped. The Union loss was sufficiently heavy, amounting to nearly five hundred killed and wounded, exclusive of Shields. Stahl's Brigade lost four hundred and five privates *and twenty-two officers*, killed, wounded and missing. The rebel loss in killed alone was six hundred.

It is now believed that after this fight Jackson took the road towards Staunton, on the other side of the Blue Ridge, with a view to reaching Gordonsville, at which point there is railroad communication with Richmond.

The Advance on Richmond.

Richmond is still in rebel possession, and the interest anxiety is felt for the result of the battle which is every day expected to occur. On Saturday night, telegrams announced extensive movements on the part of the enemy in force, the meaning of which was kept in mystery. Large bodies of men had been moved down from the neighborhood of Mechanicsville Bridge and Richmond, and preparations, it was thought, indicated in the vicinity of the late battle-field. Our pickets, on Friday, were driven in from Old Church by a large force of rebel cavalry, and on the same day the rebels made a demonstration on the right flank of our army at Tunstall's Station, apparently with the intention of interrupting our railroad communication. They were forced to retreat, without effecting their object. The two armies are face to face in such close proximity that it seems impossible long to avoid a collision.

It appears that after driving a force of our cavalry from Old Church, as already mentioned, the rebels proceeded to Garlick's Landing, on the Pamunkey River, where they captured a small party of Union men, subsequently went to Tunstall's Station, four miles from White House, with a view to burning the railroad bridge. They did not succeed in this, however, and soon after retreated across the Chickahominy, between Bottom's Bridge and the James River. An attempt was made at pursuit, but too late.

A letter from Fort Monroe, Indian was received in Philadelphia, on Saturday, by a gentleman high in authority, in it the rebel loss at Fair Oaks was stated to be ten thousand. Through reliable sources of information, Gen. McClellan had learned that the wounded in Richmond now number seven thousand. Almost every house has its quota.

From South Carolina.

We have further rebel reports of the preliminary operations of our forces on Saturday last. Advices from Augusta, Ga., dated the 12th, informs us that a sharp engagement took place on James Island, on Tuesday afternoon, which lasted nearly two hours. The action being on an attack on our forces, to prevent them from occupying a certain piece of woods. The rebels put down their loss at from fifty to sixty men, principally Georgians, among whom the Colonel of the Forty-sixth Georgia Regiment, mortally wounded.

The correspondence of the journals from Port Royal gives important details of the operations preceding the late battle, some of which we have had previous previous accounts through rebel channels. Our movements in the direction of Charleston are gradual, but sure, and in all the skirmishes which have taken place, we have been successful in, our forces have gained decided advantages. One of our correspondents expresses the belief that the capture of Charleston is only a matter of history. Though there is no doubt that the capture will be effected only after hard fighting.

The correspondent of *The Tribune* says: The educational and industrial Free Labor experiment in this city are just now at a stand. Mr. Ed. L. Pierce, the special agent of the Treasury Department, returns to the North, and the Military Governor appointed for South Carolina having been unceremoniously ousted to Harper's Ferry, will cause, for a while, at least, a stagnation of the plantation system, improvised and successfully carried on by Mr. Pierce and his military adjutors. There is no doubt of the wisdom of the appointment of such a man for the direction of this business, into whose composition the gentleman and the humanitarian enter more than the business man. The problem has been fully demonstrated, that free labor can produce a cotton crop, and that the African is human. Mr. Pierce's success is not unusual, but well done. He now retires; and although not a soldier by nature, he has yet proved himself both humane and civil. Gen. Saxton is suddenly deflected to Harper's Ferry. We look for some Martial Law, with ample powers, with more systematic arrangements, with as much of the Christian as soldier, carry on the grand work so auspiciously begun.

Such a man is Hunter. And it seems the more appropriate that all such interests should be unconditionally placed in his hands, inasmuch as he is already in field military operations. The Government will leave all these plantations lie; and further, that the whole subject of planting has been surrendered by the Treasury to the War Department.

From the Capture of Ingmiter, Texas.

We learn from the Houston (Texas) *Telegraph* of the 23d ult. the important fact that, on the 17th inst., the United States Frigate Santee appeared off Galvaston and demanded the surrender of the city, the alternative being a bombardment by combined land and naval forces being at hand to ensure success. The foreign Consuls communicated with the commander of the Santee, with a view to having an opportunity to remove the women and the foreign residents might take refuge, but the commander, while deploring the misery likely to result from a bombardment, would give no assurance of security. There is little attempt made at the city surrendered without waiting to be bombarded.

From New Orleans.

The New Orleans papers of May 29, have been received by way of Vicksburg and Memphis. They state that Mr. Thomas Flournoy, was arrested on a high political charge, and that he was to be sent North. Col. N. A. M. Dudley, of the Thirtieth Massachusetts regiment, has been appointed Assistant Military Commandant of the city. Last Sunday, the churches of religious services he had in the different churches of the city as in times of profound peace, and no prayer for the destruction of the United States Government. The "rebels" will be tolerated. Gen. Butler had had an interview with the officers of the Southern Bank, and, after a full hearing, the bank was ordered to pay all its deposits. Report is the opinion of Judge Peck, in relating to the provisions of General Order No. 30. The belle which were taken from the churches by the order of Beauregard had been shipped to New York in the ship North America, by order of Gen. Butler. *Delta* wants them united in one casting, and placed on the roof of Faneuil Hall. Gen. Butler gives notice that the Federal government will be paid in specie for consumption, in small quanties, pork, beef, hams and bacon, at seven cents, and ten cents for flour.

The N. O. *Picayune Sun*, of Saturday, has this paragraph: "The utterly false report of the Dutch Consul at New Orleans, that the money taken from his custody by order of Maj-Gen. Butler ($800,000) was not his property but belonged to New Orleans, and the Mint, but Mexican dollars really belonging to Hope & Co., of Amsterdam, has been fairly exposed by microscopic examination of the rebel gold, which shows no dereceath the impression of the Mexican dies, which is evidence that it was originally United States coin. It was restamped (in New Orleans) in order to prevent detection in passing off the stolen money, under Uncle Sam's clutches. The O, the distinctive mark of the United States dollar coinage by the New Orleans Mint, still remains visible with the microscope upon each of the aforesaid $800,000."

From the Southwest.

We record another battle and another victory for Gen. Mitchel, on the authority of a dispatch from Cairo to the President of the Chicago Sanitary Association. The affair is said to have taken place at Chattanooga, to have lasted through two days, and to have resulted in the complete rout of the rebel forces.

Gen. Halleck's Report to the Secretary of War, dated the 12th inst., which represents Beauregard to have been at some point on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, with the remnant of his army, on Saturday last. Beauregard, it appears, had fortified his camp, greatly disorganized, and that mutinous and deserting regiments have been disarmed, and large numbers shot. Gen. Halleck offers the information destruction of valuable stores and other property as a proof that the rebel retreat has been a hurried one. The whole country south of Corinth has been stripped of food, and many of the inhabitants are in a destitute condition.

Advices from Memphis to the 12th inst. state that some of our gunboats and rams were about starting on an expedition down the Yazoo River, into Arkansas. A report was current that the rebel ram Arkansas, had left Vicksburg, but it was not generally credited.

The accounts from Memphis are very encouraging. Quiet prevails, and the provost-marshal's office continues to be paid to the national rule—a pretty good indication that the inhabitants are rather pleased at the change in affairs. Business is beginning to come forward quite freely, and already, on the 10th inst., twenty-five hundred ship six thousand bales had been cleared. Two more rebel steamers have been captured in the vicinity.

Important reports relative to the rebel army lately at Corinth reach us by way of Memphis. A gentleman lately arrived from Grenada, Miss., states that Gen. Hindman, after the evacuation, went to Arkansas with the troops of that State. Gen. Pope had reached Okolona in pursuit of the main body of the rebels, which was still retreating.

A dispatch from Gen. Morgan to Gov. Johnson, dated at Lampkin, at the foot of Cumberland Mountain, says, that our scouts saw strong indications that the rebels were evacuating their fortifications at Cumberland Gap. The movement had been tried at various points, and it is believed that the rebels designed retreating, as usual, under a cloud of smoke.

The gun flotilla, the new arm (or beak) of the navy, which rendered such great service in the decisive action near Memphis, consists of eight craft. They are mostly steamers razed and altered by covering their upper works with impenetrable blockades, each being about eight inches thick. The prows are iron plated and quite sharp. They have powerful engines, and, in the action, their crews, of course, were when they struck the rebel vessels. Instead of heavy guns, they carried numbers of sharpshooters, whose firing among the rebel gunners was very effective. The prows of the rebel vessels were sunk outright by the shock of the rams.

Reinforcements have been sent to Gen. Dumont, in command at Cairo, to defend the Illinois Central, which it is supposed the rebels are making against that city.

A battle took place in the Indian Territory on the 4th inst., in which the rebel forces were defeated, with the loss of their camp equipage, etc., together with a large number of beef cattle, mules and horses.

Gen. Curtis reports the capture of Lieut. Col. Morgan, of guerrilla notoriety, had been captured by Gen. Pope. The divisions of Gens. Sherman and Hurlbut left Corinth on the 11th, for Memphis, under orders to repair immediately to the Mississippi River.

Negroes and Rebels in Loudoun County.

The Secretary of War having received complaints that the jail of Loudoun County, Va., was being used for the detention of the slaves of rebels, and that the Rebels of Loudoun County were cooperating with the authorities of the Confederate States, the matter was referred to Gen. Wadsworth as Commander of the Department. Col. Swain, of Gooch's cavalry, was ordered with a detachment of his command to go to Leesburg. After a week's absence the command returned last evening. Colonel Swain had a general jail delivery of the negroes confined on rebel account, straightened up things generally, and brought Chief Justice Ass Rogers and Rev. R. H. Nourse as prisoners, they refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and being proved to be active in the rebel cause, the reverend gentleman acting as a kind of rebel post-bag. Leesburg proves to be a hotbed of secession—the ladies of the place crossing the streets to avoid meeting the officers of the cavalry troop, the children singing "Dixie" in front of the quarters, and most of the stores were closed during the stay of the troops.

Rebel Threats of Assassination.

$10,000 FOR THE HEAD OF BUTLER.

To the Editor of The Mississippian:

As the modern Nero, the brutal, beastly and sanguinary savage, Gen. B. F. Butler, has, by virtue of his office, hung, on the 22d, shot, on the 23d, and on the 15th of May, violated the principles of warfare, and, as he proposes to outrage the chastity of the women of the South, who, by the misfortunes of war, fall into his hands, it is our plain duty to rid our country, and the world of the horrid, hideous monster, by any means that can be commanded. When a man turns to be an enemy to the human race, he forfeits the right to a habitation upon the face of the world, and he who relieves the world of such an unnatural creature is entitled to a monument in the memory of mankind.

Let there be raised a purse of $10,000 and offered for the head of this man Butler, or to any one who will take his life by any means whatsoever. If the person who kills him should be caught by the Yankees, let the money go to his heirs, or to whoever he may designate. I would suggest that this money be made up in sums of not less than $100. BRUTUS.

NO QUARTER TO PICATURE BUTLER.

From The Charleston Mercury.

Let this be the watch word of every Southern man. The debased wretch and inhuman tyrant who has published his proclamation consigning to the horrid embraces of his bestial soldiery the mothers and daughters of a Southern city, which for the love of his mercy, deserves not to be treated according to the laws of honorable warfare. If he is caught, hang him! If he attempts to surrender, let no quarter be given upon the field of battle, let poison or the knife do its secret but deadly work. He has forfeited his life, in any manner in which it can be taken, to every man, woman and child in the Confederacy.

As God is our judge, says *The Mississippian*, we believe that the day of retribution is coming for the monster and the government which sustains him in his crimes.

ASSASSINATION OF THE INFAMOUS BUTLER.

From The Mississippian.

For a day or two past we have "heard upon the breeze" a report that the monster who has so outraged the social sentiments of our world, by his proclamations and orders, has been sent "where the wicked cease from troubling." We fear the report has no foundation in fact. Perhaps the wish was father to the thought.

It would be retributive justice, not revenge, which would consign him to the gulf of black despair—"deep as hell unfathomed with a bottom." The man without heart might, without irreverence, ejaculate the prayer, "Cancel his bond of life, great God, I pray, that I may be the man to cancel it!"

What a happy day it will be for the South when, like Miriam, we can celebrate the deliverance of our country from the cruel oppression of a race, of whose moral sentiments and feelings the bloody slaughter of female chastity and purity is a fit type and representation. When that day arrives the only drop of bitterness in our cup of joy will be the fact that the reflection that we speak a common language and spring from a common lineage.

From The New Orleans Delta.

NEW ORLEANS, Monday, May 19, 1862.

Major-Gen. Butler, New Orleans:

* * *

I am the wife of a foreign subject, who has sworn that if, during the continuance of your command of the Yankee troops in this city, I am insulted or annoyed in the manner by one of your order, he will have your life—may be not for a day, a week, a month or a year after the indignity has been offered, and perhaps not here, but none the less surely will his vengeance follow you wherever you may go. Neither the war of the Colonies for independence, nor the war of 1812 with Great Britain, furnishes a parallel to your brutality, because it is not that city contains not a single native-born Southerner or naturalized foreigner who has the least spark of manhood left, your career would soon be cut short; but amongst the unnaturalized foreigners there is spirit enough to resent your attempt to interfere with their rights. All true and brave men, whose duty it is, are off fighting for Southern independence.

Your acts, and that of the majority of your officers, during the time you have been here, show that neither you nor they are worthy of the countenance of any gentleman, or the society of any lady. Neither will shall, notwithstanding your order, make no effort to restrain the involuntary loathing and contempt I feel towards the Union City. I am glad to go miles out of my way to avoid seeing any of you.

As for you, individually, had you come amongst us as a friend, instead of an enemy, it would not have mattered much to me, for I am ashamed to see that apparent in your face to have deceived any one of ordinary discrimination. You would pass well for an offshoot of that aquinting arch-fiend, James Gordon Bennett.

Should you be curious to know my name (and I would not have addressed you anonymously, but for you at present are unknown to me, and I am not a poor helpless woman of free speech) you will learn it from my husband immediately after our city is rid of the hated presence of your troops, which I fear will not be soon enough to prevent my husband from the complete establishment of the Southern Confederacy, but which God grant may be soon.

My husband wishes me to add that he would call on you now and deliver this warning, along with a proper chastisement for your unwarranted insult to the ladies of New Orleans, could he receive the word of a man of honor that you would not kick or cuff him.

I shall teach my children to link your name with everything cowardly and base.

With great abhorrence, I subscribe myself,

A MISSISSIPPIAN.

The Neglect of our Wounded.

Short work (says the Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*) was made with Surgeon D. L. Hays, of the Pennsylvania, when he refused to care for 300 wounded soldiers from Gen. Shields's division, who were in his charge, in the cars over Saturday night, while he himself went to bed at Willard's. He admitted that he had written to the Secretary of War this morning, but pleaded that he had vainly sought to find any official in Washington to tell him what disposition of his charge he was expected to make. He was heard him through, said, in a tone calculated to impress his hearer: "That a man who could be guilty of such inhumanity was a disgrace to the army and the world, and he would be forthwith dismissed from the service, and advised him to leave the room and the department instantly." Had he not done so his movements would have been accelerated by the order. The Secretary had served him right. The friends of Dr. Hays claim that he was no more to blame than the officer who had charge of the train, which, on the train was to arrive, were not present to direct him what to do with the soldiers. But the truth is that the telegram to this effect, if sent, failed to arrive, in consequence of the storm, and neither the Surgeon-General nor any of his subordinates here was apprised of the arrival of the soldiers, nor can any defence relieve Dr. Hays from the charge of having left them without a comfortable bed, while leaving the soldiers boxed up in the cars without food or attendance. The Surgeon-General, in a letter to the Secretary of War, has asked to make an example of this man as a warning to others. The whole of the facts of this disgraceful transaction will be brought out in the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, to whom a resolution submitted to them by the House, on motion of Mr. Shellabarger, to-day. The following is the order dismissing Dr. Hays:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, June 16, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 65.—Surgeon David L. Hays, 19th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, having been ordered to conduct to this city a large detachment of sick and wounded from Winchester, and neglected them after [illegible] al, the President directs that for this gross dereliction of duty he be dismissed from the service, and he is hereby accordingly dismissed.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

Official: E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

The Protection of the Rebel Leo's Property.

The President has ordered the White House on the Pamunkey, with its grounds, belonging to Col. Lee, of the Rebel Army, which have been hitherto scrupulously guarded from intrusion, to be used for hospital purposes. The order was issued by Gen. President of the New York Medical Society, with J. Burns, and Lemuel Weslmore of the New England Soldiers' Relief Association, who left the Peninsula yesterday, to confer with the President and Secretary of War and represented to them the gross injustice which was being done. They said that Lee's property was in the rebellion, and in the spring upon Col. Lee's plantation, in which, with the rest of the property, was tabooed to our sick and wounded soldiers. The report is that it came out in the course of conversation that one of the reasons given for the course pursued was, that it was in compliance with a promise, made years ago, to Col. Lee by Gen. McClellan, that if they should ever be called in war the property of each should be respected by the other.

The President was convinced by the statements of Dr Green, and declared that Gen. McClellan's promise did not bind him (the President) and that he would break it. He therefore sanctioned an order signed by Secretary Stanton, directing the guards to be removed from the White House, and the premises to be put at the disposal of the surgeons. Mr. Burns was deputed to take the order to the Peninsula. All the correspondence between the War Department and Gen. McClellan with relation to this subject will soon be made public, thanks to Mr. Potter of Wisconsin, whose resolution of inquiry was adopted by the House, and to Messrs. Dawes and Sedgwick, who corroborated his by relating what they had seen on the Peninsula.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

Summary.

GOV. STANLY AND THE ARMY.—The correspondent of *The Independent* at Newbern, N. C., says: "There is much talk among some in the army who does not denounce Gov. Stanly's course in the premises, and break it.

REBEL MOTTOES.—One of the rebel flags captured by Gen. Curtis's troops near Grand Glaize in Arkansas, bore the following mottoes:

"Run, nigger, run! or Lincoln will catch you."
"War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt."
"Death to traitors!"

TILMAN, the negro who rescued the schooner Emma S. Waring from the rebels by killing a portion of the prize crew, received $6,000 as his share of the salvage, and mysteriously left the city. He was detained by U. S. Marshal Murray for a long time, and was finally paying in the $6,000 in gold, and, on the payment of which, William Curtis Noyes, Esq., counsel for Tilman, sent the Marshal a check of $15.

Somebody asked Gen. Gass the other day in Detroit "What is your opinion of the Union vote in Ohio?" "Anything." "May we abolish slavery?" "Abolish anything on the surface of the earth to save the nation." Gen. Gorman, by the way, was interrupted by the Democrats in Detroit on Tuesday last, while attending a funeral. Fears were at first entertained for his recovery, but he was much better at last accounts.

EFFECT OF GEN. HUNTER'S PROCLAMATION.—A keen observer, who lately returned from Port Royal, says, that Gen. Hunter's proclamation of the 9th inst. produced the greatest excitement among the rebels of South Carolina and Georgia, who knew well what its consequences would be. But when the proclamation reached Washington, it met with cold, loud, tonic is way to the cradle of rebellion, the slaveholders, who had given it their support of the rebels, and should in every instance be confounded with the rebels.

SHOOTING SLAVES.—Three runaway slaves of a party of seven were shot at Bladensburg on Monday; one of them, a boy, was mortally wounded. Twenty-five were captured, but as they were without arms were overpowered. It is said that the Maryland slaveholders do not like the idea of being deprived of their property without a fight, and they do more palmy periods, but they still pay enough to induce the vigilant watching of all the roads by well occupy the time of our soldiers. Boston Journal.

EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND.—A few days since the Executive Committee of the "Union Party," of Baltimore, waited on Gen. Dix, Gen. Schenck, Governor Bradford and Blair. The Convention which these gentlemen represent recently passed resolutions unanimously endorsing the President's policy, and recommending the Union ticket, recently warmly received by him. The President and Secretaries approved highly of the bold stand taken by the convention, which must eventuate in making Maryland a free State.

Hon. Edward Stanly, the new Military Governor of North Carolina, who was recently ousted from his office, is exciting so much interest, was the prime mover of the attack on Rev. Thomas Starr King, in California, two years ago. He was the author of the resolutions of a church of July oration before an Union Sunday-school celebration of an anniversary of the Fourth of July, which, in spite of its patriotic tone, was so much offended that on that occasion was so marked, that Mr. Stanly and his Southern associates have never since publicly ventured to show their ugly faces in San Francisco.

RIP VAN WINKLE OUTDONE.—Amos Kendall, a politician of the last age, is writing articles in *The National Intelligencer*, addressed to the President, to show that the holding of slaves in perpetuity would be not death. His arguments are the same as the defenders of this infamous system of slavery have used for years past, and, as we must have been written, we think, early in the present century. Where has the pious Amos been in the interval? Asleep, like Rip Van Winkle, or has he lain quiet over his second childhood? But his example only confirms the truth of the couplet, that

"Age unnerves chase on wisdom past,
And totter on in blunders to the last."

—*Evening Post.*

CAPT. JOHN BROWN, JR.—We learn by the Leavenworth correspondence, that Capt. Brown, who has spent the entire winter, with intense suffering from rheumatism, has been compelled to resign his command, and will return home as soon as he can. The Leavenworth Conservative says: "His took leave of his company a day or two since, and the manner in which he was cheered, and the reluctance of their esteem, with a beautiful sword and revolver, through Lieutenant, now Capt. Hoyt, who made appropriate remarks, to which Capt. Brown, in a few words, replied, could only reply with tears, which met a like emotional response with the men of his company."—*Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel.*

SWARMS OF CONTRABANDS.—The Chambersburg (Pa.) *Times* says: "During the last few days the roads leading from the Potomac to this place have been literally swarming with contrabands' making their way North. Numbers of them, too, have passed through on the railroad. They are of all shades, from the grey-haired slave, who has spent his days in fancy, from the shoony-hued to the light olive complexion—and of all conditions and ages. Many, many of them quick and knowing, others dull, lazy, and stupid. Some of them have passed through, but many are still scattered among the negroes of the town—some of the houses being crowded almost to suffocation."

THE EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT.—The resolutions adopted by the Union Convention, recently, in favor of the President's plan of emancipation are taking a deep hold of the popular heart. There are a few leading Democrats who have hitherto been the strongest friends of slavery, who have not yet accepted the alternative tendered by the President. They are afraid to do right, but the tide will sweep them on in spite of themselves. When the emancipation cause is suffering from already is the great of a fearless, unselfish, patriotic, and noble, be long before one will be established, and then good bye to the "old fogies" who would not muster the courage to print a Conservative resolution except as an advertisement.—*Balt. Cor. Evening Post.*

The Cincinnati *Times* had a correspondent who witnessed the gunboat and ram fight opposite Memphis and thus describes the scene of the battle:

"The negroes have been largely represented on the levee and bluff to-day. They seem to enjoy the change in the tide of affairs, and are

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

MAY, 1862.

THE Spring has come, the April gone, and nearer draws the May.

The Spring-time children violets bring from valleys far away.
I sit alone, and think of one whom I no more may see;
Last May, those hands, so icy now, were filled with flowers for me.

Take back thy violets, Spring! and all the flowers that blow! *

Upon our country's bloody fields let Blood-roots only grow;
Or "Pitched Caps," with crimson stains; let the Maple tree
Shed ruddy drops upon the graves where sleep the brave and free.

Where sleep the brave and free? No stone is at the head,
I know not where he lies, my young, my noble dead!
I must not weep, I must not grieve; bravely he fought and fell;
And other mothers' sons were there—he sleeps with them as well.

They say, "So gloriously he died, his name will written be
With the martyrs, with the heroes, who have died for liberty."
Woe unto me! I am not strong, he was my only one;
What is glory to the mother, when it kills her only son?

O blow, sweet wind of May! blow soft above that unknown grave;
And gently fall, ye cooling rains! where the prairie grass may wave;
Where the prairie flowers may bloom, and the birds flit to and fro;
The winds may come, the stars may pass, but I may never go.

T. E. D.

REMARKABLE PROPHECY.

CONCERNING THE PENDING REBELLION AND CIVIL WAR.

BY THE SPIRIT OF GEN. JACKSON.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: The following communication, purporting to come from the spirit of Andrew Jackson, is so startling, the events therein predicted were so unexpected at the time it was given, and the same having met with so striking a fulfillment, so far as developments have already progressed, I solicit its publication in your widely-circulated journal. That it may the better be appreciated as a veritable spiritual announcement, I will preface it with a relation of the circumstances, and some of the singular test facts that accompanied it.

On the evening of January 24, 1861—sixteen months ago—Mr. George Sanderson, a highly intellectual, wealthy and intelligent citizen of Scranton, Pa., called at my home (No. 26 West Fifteenth street, New York), and said he would like to witness some spiritual manifestations, such as I had described to him as witnessed by me. I accordingly invited him to go with me to a medium, to which he consented, and we proceeded to the rooms of the late Dr. G. A. Redman, No. 5 Varick place.

On our way thither, I proposed to Mr. S. that I would introduce him merely as "a friend," and leave it to his spirit-friends to disclose his name if they chose to do so. Accordingly, his name was not mentioned by me, and was not known to the medium, Dr. Redman having, till then, never seen Mr. S.

We were invited to take seats at a table about three and a half feet square, and we occupied three sides of it—no other person than Dr. Redman, Mr. Sanderson and myself being in the room.

Mr. S., being sceptical as to the possibility of spirits communicating with men, had provided himself with ink and in view he wrote the earthly names, ages, occupations, diseases, and places of residence of perhaps a score of his relatives and friends who had passed into the spirit world, on small slips of paper, at the same time holding a book between his hand and the medium, so that he could not see what was written. Each of the slips thus written on by him was rolled up in the form of a pellet. While Mr. S. was writing, Dr. R. said to me, "Why don't you write something?" I answered that during that sitting I wished my friend to have the full attention of the spirits. He replied that it would make no difference as to that, but that the more pellets there were written, the more satisfactory the tests would be. Accordingly I wrote on nine slips of paper, and rolled them up in bullet form, and put them with those written and rolled up by Mr. S., who took them all in his hands, and mixed them together so that no one could know which paper either of us had written upon, nor what was written upon it, and they were all together placed on the table before us, numbered thirty.

Taking each of the paper bullets separately in his hand, Dr. Redman requested that if the spirit bearing the name written on that paper was present, he should signify the same by raps. Affirmative responses to several of these questions being received, Dr. R. put the several papers thus designated, by themselves upon the table. Mr. Sanderson being about to open one of the papers thus designated, Dr. R. requested him to wait a moment, when instantly his hand spasmodically seized a pencil, wrote on a sheet of paper lying before Mr. S., very rapidly upside down, so that Mr. S. could read it without turning the paper, a communication which seemed to be in a writing of a different character from his, and signed it "Emily E. Sanderson." Mr. S. then unrolled the paper bullet which he had been stopped from unrolling before, and found it to be one on which he had written the name of "Emily E. Sanderson." Other spirits whose names were written on the paper bullets gave similar tests to Mr. S., and in the communications which ensued upon the announcement of their names, they gave many incidental and unmistakable proofs of their identity.

During the time this conference between Mr. S. and his spirit-friends was going on, spirits were communicating with me in like manner. Prominent among these was one who purported to be my sister Charlotte, and I was writing, and she was receiving her answers, relating to her spiritual state and progress, my hand was often thrust aside by the medium before the question that was upon the mind was half written, and pertinent and full replies were written under the partially written questions. The same thing occurred to Mr. Sanderson:

While these questions and answers were going on, one of the spirit answers was suddenly interrupted, when but a few words had been written on a slip of paper, "*Old Hickory (so called) sits on the sofa.*" Immediately the character and tone of the manifestations changed, and in a bold and vigorous hand was written the following:

GEN. JACKSON ON THE WAR.

Like a sickened snail has our Executive sat upon his bench, till the waters of revolution and treasonable hatred have nearly inundated our country; and now what is to be done? Nothing, nothing, by the high heavens, but the iron mouth and the needle points to drive it back.

As God lives the very nation will be dyed in blood ere its next harvest.

Question.—When will blood begin to flow?

Answer.—I fear before the advent of the next Administration. They are mad; they can't wait; O for fifty thousand bayonets!

Question.—Will the South attempt to take the Capital?

Answer.—Not by an organized force. Lincoln will be peaceably inaugurated at Washington. Yes, and general confusion.

Question.—How long will the war continue, and what will be the result?

Answer.—Fourteen months; a wiping out of the slave system.

Question.—Do you see anything for me to do or say in this crisis?

Answer.—Only all you can to prop up and strengthen these sentiments:

1st. God and our duty.
2d. Our Union and its Constitution.
3d. Liberty.

'Tis all sad, sad, sad, but we must not weep, but be up and doing.

Question.—Do you think Lincoln will be sufficient for the crisis?

Answer.—I know no man more capable; would to God he were there now. Firm, yet just; patriotic, yet moderate; firm, yet yielding. My motto at this time is, Arm yourselves as men and God the strength to apply the matchless power for the noble whole. ANDREW JACKSON.

The remarkable correspondence of these prophecies with the events of the rebellion as thus far developed, may excite the suspicion among those who are not personally acquainted with me that this statement may have been recently got up to meet the facts that have already transpired. To meet any such occurrence of the evening, and referred to a fashionable party, Mr. Sanderson, who was present on the occasion, and who, if appealed to, will doubtless be willing to give his corroborative testimony as to the occurrences here related, and the date (Jan. 24, 1861) on which they took place. I had doubtless be willing, that soon after this conference with the spirits, I submitted a copy of the communication from Gen. Jackson, with the questions and answers included in the interview, to one of the editors of the New York *Herald*, with a request for a publication of the same in that journal, after bringing the nature of the subject fully to his attention, so that he must yet remember it; but though I was somewhat encouraged by him to expect a publication of the article, it never, to my knowledge, appeared in that paper. Moreover, shortly after the interview referred to, I showed the original manuscript of the communication from Gen. Jackson, and related the facts it contains, to many friends in private, and also read the same to a conference of Spiritualists held in Clinton Hall, Astor Place, this city, when it was reported in the proceedings of the meeting, and published in *The Banner of Light* (Boston) under date of Aug. 31, 1861.

The announcements made by the spirit of Gen. Jackson in a great degree influenced me to confer with many people as to what action should be taken in case of overt acts of rebellion, that the laws could be put in force to hold meetings at my house, as early as the 21st of March, 1861, and which were continued afterward, and resulted in the great Union meeting held in Union square on the 20th of April, 1861.

The Union and spirits have made many prophecies, and communicated many important facts relating to the war, and have otherwise exerted an important influence upon the pending struggle. Of these spirit disclosures and interpositions, I am desirous to make a collection, and those who know of any well-authenticated facts of this class, will confer a special favor by transmitting them, by mail, to my address, CHAS. PARTRIDGE, N. Y.

THE FREEDMEN OF NORTH CAROLINA.

STATEMENTS OF MR. VINCENT COLYER.

[Mr. Vincent Colyer, agent of the New York Young Men's Christian Association among the contrabands of North Carolina, lately returned to this city, to give an account of his labors and of the act of Gov. Stanly in closing his schools. He has addressed two public meetings, one in George's Chapel (Dr. Tyng's), the other in the Cooper Institute. We copy from the daily journals a sketch of his remarks.]

MR. COLYER said he assumed, with the consent of Gen. Burnside, the education of the negroes, who received with joy the announcement of his plan. Six hundred were present on the evening when he began his work, and they were of all ages, from old men and women to little children. For three weeks he taught this school in one building, old and young together, and the number of pupils increased daily. He was compelled to divide his pupils into classes, with reference to their qualifications. Thirty teachers from the regiments, principally from the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts, served as assistants. More than one hundred of the negroes were acquainted with some of the rudiments of learning, showing that, in spite of the law and the assumed opposition of the people, they had been taught by stealth and at risk. Mr. Colyer explained his method of teaching, and testified to the remarkable aptness the blacks exhibited, and their commendable progress.

The closing of the schools in obedience to an intimation received by Mr. Colyer from Gov. Stanly, and the manner in which it was accomplished, have already been made public.

The facts respecting the rendition of fugitive slaves, under the order of Stanly, and the terrible excitement among the thousand contrabands under his charge as Superintendent of the Poor, were vividly narrated by the speaker. He hoped he should never pass through such an experience again. The contrabands came to him in a Federal lines under the understanding that they should not be returned to their masters; they had brought information upon which the safety of Gen. Burnside's entire division depended; the men had worked on fortifications for days, and our pickets had been fired upon; women had made cartridges for our batteries, and the announcement that the government to which they had in many ways proved their loyalty would no longer protect them produced a consternation Mr. Colyer could not attempt to describe. They ceased their labors; many of them gathered the inevitable hundles the blacks always seem to have at hand, and which contained all their property, and prepared to take their departure. At the next roll-call they were missing, and from that time their numbers grew constantly less.

Mr. Colyer referred to several interviews he had with Gen. Stanly, and expressed his deep regret with which that gallant officer regarded the aspect of affairs. The statement of the General's final position on the question of rendition, namely, that the act of Congress that no officer of the army should assist in returning a slave to his master, must be law, was received by the audience with enthusiastic cheers. Gen. Burnside admitted, however, that Gov. Stanly had sufficient power to order his whole division wheresoever he pleased.

The speaker then gave an interesting account of the services which have been rendered to the Union cause in North Carolina by the negroes; of the journeys, from three to five hundred miles, they had made to the Federal lines, to give information of the rebel expeditions against the rebels which were made out under their active guidance. He also made a full report of what he had done in North Carolina; and the account contained many interesting statements we have not space to refer to. In addition to the five thousand contrabands who have been provided for by the government, he had relieved more than four hundred white families, loyal as he believed, some of whom, but for the rebellion, would have had large amounts of available property. They would, however, obtain sufficient food for their daily wants. Before the arrival of the new Military Governor, there was no organized rebellion against the rights of contrabands, and a hearty willingness to perform any service that might be required, this feeling sometimes finding expression in loud shoutings of "the year of jubilee is come." Imagine a group of these joyful, happy people, suddenly informed that they have been taken back to the doom of slavery! But this proceeding of returning loyal persons had not only its effect on their 5,000 comrades, but it was felt as an outrage by many northern people, whose curses deep and loud through the Massachusetts, the New York, the Pennsylvania, and all the other regiments. But it was certain that this new line of policy in the way of compromise and conciliation with the cause of rebellion—slavery—met with no sympathy or naught (cheers). It had been said in a city newspaper, that Gov. Stanly did not order the closing of the schools. But when Mr. Colyer was told by his Excellency that there was one thing he must make objection to, namely: the keeping up of the negro schools; that there was a law of North Carolina making the keeping open of such schools an offense, and that if he were called upon to decide in the matter, he would have to decide against them, he was surely was sufficient intimation to a law-abiding man, what his course should be.

The Governor also argued the case on its merits, *that it would be wrong for a black man not to know how to read; and that when the education of a negro made his master it would only go all the harder with him.* To show that Gen. Burnside appreciated the services of loyal blacks, Mr. Colyer stated that at the time he left New Bern there were five or six hundred in the woods, sent out by the General's orders, two of whom, if they accomplished the work they were given, would receive four thousand dollars each and their freedom, and two others would receive two thousand dollars each and their freedom, if they succeeded in what they were sending out black scouts continually, who brought in the most minute and valuable information in regard to the enemy. When Mr. Colyer conversed with Gen. Burnside about the fate of returning slaves who had fled to them for protection, the latter said he believed, as much as he believed anything in his life, that this war would forever put an end to slavery in the South. Referring to an interview with President Lincoln, Mr. Colyer said the President seemed like that *no fugitive slave who came within the lines of the United States army should ever be returned to his master* (great cheering).

The speaker then spoke of his having been referred to by Mr. Colyer, and it being known that he was present, there were loud cries of "Sam," "Sam," "Let us see Sam," whereupon that colored gentleman, who said "he didn't like to make himself too public unless he was called upon," gave an account of his guiding troops under the sanction of Gen. Burnside.

In his closing remarks Dr. Tyng stated that Mr. Colyer would return to Newbern, and would reopen the schools, with the full approval of government.

LAWYER-CONSCIENCES.

Boston Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

TRUMAN, the conscience-stricken lawyer, has stated that, under the circumstances present, but I suppose the conscientious scruples of the legal mind will be satisfied with any efficient bill. It is painful to see an old lawyer, perhaps a judge, brought up in the most demoralizing of professions, and having sounded all the depths and shoals of casuistry and quibbling and special pleading, rising up in Congress, with his handkerchief in hand and tears and rhetoric ready to burst forth, and flourishing a conscience long as his longest brief, thick as his thickest file, and capacious as his biggest green bag. Theodore Parker preached a sermon on the function of Conscience, but he forgot to gotten about it; but I do not think he explained the remarkable phenomenon that the conscience of an eminent lawyer seldom displays itself except when discussing the constitutionality of slavery, or some opportunity for conscience to work in other directions? I should think a man would have a slight scruple against allowing the flower of New England youth to wither and die on the unhealthy rice fields of the South when as good men, though of the darker complexion, are willing to undergo the same perils and are much better fitted to endure them. A conscientious qualm against spending a million of dollars a day in an impossible attempt to restore the Union with slavery, running the imminent risk of foreign intervention by every day's neglect to use the means which God and nature have put into our hands, would be quite pertinent and useful just now, if it could find a harbor in the breasts of some of our legislators. There is not a State south of Delaware, where our soldiers have not been conquered by their and their officers under the direction of the government, have not violated, and rightfully violated, every constitutional guaranty. And the Constitution of the United States has been mutilated and tattered by the President as everybody admits. Magna Charta is treated as a dead letter ever since April, 1861. But the moment Congress and the President are asked to stretch their powers—"to do a great right, do a little wrong, and cure this great evil of the war," they begin to shrug their shoulders, and whisper with white lips, "The Constitution! Would you have us violate the Constitution?" Even such men as Pomeroy, who, one would suppose, had lived long enough in Kansas to get rid of all constitutional scruples, even if a term in the Massachusetts Legislature under the coalition regime had not divested him of such impediments, is unable to vote for a tax on slaves because he has seen some constitutional objection. Nothing is entitled to greater respect than genuine constitutional scruples, but they are scarce as diamonds. Most of those, so called, are as bogus as Attleboro jewelry.

OLD FOLKS.

An, don't be sorrowful, darling,
And don't be sorrowful, pray:
Taking the year together, my dear,
There isn't more cloud than day.

'Tis rainy weather, my darling,
Time's waves, they heavily run,
But taking the year together, my dear,
There isn't more cloud than sun!

We are old folks now, my darling,
Our heads they are growing gray,
But taking the year together, my dear,
You will always find the May.

We have had our May, my darling,
And our roses long ago,
And the flowers that bloom in winter, my dear,
For the silent night and the snow!

And God is God, my darling,
Of night as well as of day,
And we feel and know that we can go
Wherever He leads the way.

Ay, God of the night, my darling—
Of the night and the storm—
The gate that from life leads out, good wife,
Is the gate that leads to Him.

FIRST REGIMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Correspondence of The New York Tribune.

PORT ROYAL, June 5, 1862.

THIS new organization of colored loyal men, has awakened great interest among the soldiers and civilians. That loyal men of this class could be found, few, if any, doubted. Whether they would bear arms was not so manifest. The hour had arrived when it seemed important and opportune to try the experiment. Providence furnished the man of heart and moral courage to test the matter fairly. It was due to the nation, as well as to these people themselves, that the trial should be a fair one. Men who had experienced and worthy soldiers, as well as friends at heart of the colored man, were selected to officer them. The first step was taken wisely. Gen. Hunter called at Hilton Head a meeting of the laboring men. The object was explained by Abram, an able man, a preacher, and was explained by Mr. Lee, their superintendent. Upon making the call for volunteers very few responded. The next day Abram remarked that they had a "dry meetin." Mr. Lee said he was disappointed, for he thought they wanted to fight for their liberties. One of them answered, "That is comin' to the pint, sir. Our peoples want to know, if they fight for de Union, if de get dar liberty, or de slaves. If day be free, dey will fight fur it." Another meeting was called, and when assured from Gen. Hunter that they should have free papers made out at once, such was their readiness and enthusiasm, that two hundred and forty names were quickly obtained. The incorporation seemed sweeter and dearer than everything else.

On the 6th of May, Gen. Hunter issued an order, through Gen. Stevens, requiring all the able-bodied men between the ages of 15 and 45 on Port Royal, Ladies' and St. Helena Islands to report themselves at Beaufort early the next day. Gen. Stevens promptly executed the order. The short time allowed made it necessary, in many cases, to notify the men in the night, and the women and their families by surprise. The cotton planting had just been finished, and the superintendents found it no small trial to part with their men. In a few instances the soldiers very cruelly excited the fears of the women, by assuming an air of mystery, and telling them of the old story of being sold to Cuba, or something worse. Their ignorance of the nature or full intent of the call made it peculiarly trying to the men; still they parted from their families and homes, with scarcely an exception, quite bravely and becomingly, and, under the guidance of their faithful superintendent, set out, on foot or in boats according to their localities, for Beaufort. They were taken by steamers to Hilton Head and encamped on a beautiful and healthy location on the bank of Broad River, two miles back of Hilton Head. After a careful examination, all whose ages, bodily infirmities, or other disqualifications were thought to be doubtful, dismissed. Not a few, to our certain knowledge, felt, as did our cook, who was sent back on account of age and sickness. "And how do you feel, Peter," said we to him on his return, "about being sent away?" "I feel so bad I don't know what to do more so bad; but, tank de Lord, I lef two sons in de army." Mike, our "coachman," is one of the volunteers. He was with the rebels, fought, as well as they made him, against us at Bull Run and at Hilton Head, where, upon the surrender of the rebels, he deserted. He is proud of the "Yankee ball" he now carries in his leg, which he received at Bull Run, where, though he fought for the rebels, he prayed for the "Union troops." Mike is a corporal, and if scars and honest emblems are to preferment, I see no reason why he should not aspire to a generalship.

The men were now plainly told why they had been called together, and were instructed as to the duties and hardships of a soldier's life, and the interests of freedom, and then informed that they would remain or return to their families on the plantations, as they chose. Nearly every one promptly decided to stay for freedom and the Union they could fight, they thought, with a good heart for the Union and slavery, and that of themselves and families, they saw no motive to war. In this they were as sensible as white men. Their first lessons were taken under serious disadvantages. They had no shoes or hats and ragged clothes, were mostly barefoot, and without arms or music. In spite of all their embarrassments, they did well. The officers all testify to their good order, obedience (a virtue brutally taught by slavery), and readiness to learn their first lessons. Sons. It is now three weeks since they went into camp, and only one has been put in the guard-house, and one punished otherwise for a trivial offence. Yet they number nearly six hundred. It would seem to be it said, that there is no profanity among them, no vulgar songs, and no drunkenness. On addressing them, a few days since, all were asked to raise the right hand, who decidedly preferred to prove that they could make good soldiers, and fight for freedom. It was then requested that all who wished they had four hands, would now raise both. Nearly all raised both, some leaping up, while one sang out, "I wish I had ten hands."

They manifest strong love for their families, and know full well how distressing to them their hasty departure was. Still, neither by the past, nor by the want of comfortable clothes, or of guns, are all discouraged. Some are employed in small squads by visit their families, collect any moneys due for their labor, and do what they can to make their homes comfortable. In nearly every instance, they have returned at the time set.

Gen. Hunter is dealing wisely and kindly with these men. Some indignant, others alarmed, are saying, "What! make these black men equal with white ones! make us fight side by side with them!" The wisdom that has marked every step of this movement thus far may be relied upon for the future. The loyal men will not be ordered out, scarce and much needed as reënforcements are; nor will these raw recruits be immediately required to face the cannon's mouth. And yet if it shall become as evident to the rebels that I am as a loyal man, and that this colored man and his friends that he has arisen for those who "had no helper," who can doubt that, at the very sight of one thousand well-armed negroes, their former slaves, with the intuition common to people of guilt, would so terrify our common enemies that their backs would fall them, so that "one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight"?

Some have expressed fears that insurrections will be raised in the farming force, and threatens the lives of some of the cotton expected from the present planting. Superintendents were very laudably stimulating the people to vigorous labors for large yields, and some, not sufficiently attached to the movement, have, people, however, on many plant understand that liberty has its p s and slavery its sacrifices, and that now more work, take care of themselves, their families, and the plantations, show to suffer loss, and their ability to go elves, and thereby establish their claims t They see this as good degree, and their being improved, their industry stimulated, affairs improved.

The following is a list of the o the last Regiment South Carolina Volunteers:

Captains, Charles Trowbridge, John oddard, James H. Harold, William B. Churchill, Erastus H. Cass of New York, William J. Rhett, Robert G. Weller, Joshua Hamilton, William James, and Joseph T. Brown of Penn; Major Lieutenants, Samuel Brown, Hugh Wilson, Thomas Alexander Hensley, George W. Drew, Thomas L. Middleton of Penn, Robert M. Gadsden, William H. Dunton, Benjamin Blake, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charles Fox, Lieutenants, John W. Ripley, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charles Fox, Lieutenants, John W. Ripley, Edward L. Parker, Edward Hallowell, James Jackson, Jr., Edward Randolph, John O. Kerr of Penn, Reg. Quartermaster, Thomas Wentworth of New York.

Not long since we were told by a Southern dignitary that we should soon hear the roll of the slaves called in the shadow of Bunker Hill. Now slaves are freemen, and their master-roll is called on South-ern plantations, where they are labouring now to protect the liberty of their masters and their countrymen.

As an index to the spirit of some of these men, we give the answer of one who was asked what he would do if our forces were to retire and their old masters be allowed to return with the chances of slavery for him. Straightening up, the fire flashing in his eyes, he said with emphasis, "I would cut my way into freedom or a grave." MANSFIELD.

THE CONTRABAND QUESTION.

LETTER FROM A CHAPLAIN IN GENERAL McCLELLAN'S ARMY.

From The Evening Post.

THE following are interesting extracts of a letter from the chaplain of one of the New Jersey regiments (Gen. Franklin's division) in our army before Richmond:

"MACON'S FARM ON THE CHICKAHOMINY RIVER, VIRGINIA, May 26, 1862.

"It is a question in my mind whether any one deserving the name of man could know what I know of slavery from personal observation, and not be heartily indignant. There is scarcely a precept in the Ten Commandments which slavery does not violate or tempt men to violate. Brought up in the hot bed of *conservatism* at New Brunswick and Princeton, I can only say Amen when Wesley denounces it as 'the sum of all villanies.' I reëcho your hope that this war is God's appointed means for the removal of this disgrace and crime, no less than curse.

CHARACTER OF THE NEGROES.

"As a somewhat close observer of slaves during the last few months, I make bold to suggest that the horrors of their emancipation are in a great measure imaginary. The slaves are not altogether uneducated. Though access to the schools has been forbidden them, though the desire and attempt to learn has been promptly and severely punished, still numerous stripes and immediate sale from home and friends, yet such has been their thirst for knowledge that a considerable number have learned to read without their masters knowledge.

"Another fact is worthy of notice. The precepts and promises of the Gospel, though only heard at intervals, and probably in most cases from preachers quite illiterate, have yet sunk into their simple minds, and produced with surprising power.

"A writer in *The Evening Post* some time since observed that 'the black race was naturally humble and forgiving.' Notwithstanding all their provocations in the wantonly-cruel and long-continued barbarities, in the sullen and impotent threats of these same vain-glorious and boasting lords, in the angry and threatening expressions of our soldiers, exasperated by the brutal murder of their comrades who fell victims to the treachery in the face of all this, I have seldom or never heard a desire for revenge expressed by any negro. There is a universal desire for freedom expressed by these down-trodden victims of oppression, but it is a desire for their own deliverance, not for the destruction of their tyrants.

THE NEGROES NOT IMPROVIDENT.

"Again, let me assure you that they are not entirely improvident, or utterly incapable to provide for their own wants.' While we lay near Alexandria, and since that time, on our marches through Virginia, wherever we have passed negroes who were practically free have come to us offering their compensation for their labor, there we have found them industrious and provident. Where they are slaves and treated as such, they are otherwise, but only while their thraldom lasts. Idleness is a slave may be almost a virtue, when it is a crime against the unnatural, the impious degradation of God's children.

"Most of these thriftless blacks feel, doubtless, as a negro shrewdly remarked to me a few days since. He was speaking of the insufficient food, one pound of meal and one salt herring, instead of bacon per week, doled out to him by his master.

"'At last,' said he, 'I thought the best way was to work as he fed. He gave me short feed, and I gave him short work.'

THEIR ENDURANCE OF COLD.

"Neither are they unable to stand the rigors of a Northern climate. Half clothed, living in miserable hovels insufficiently warmed, with no earthly object or hope in their existence, they have stood the cold (greater than you may suppose) of winters in this latitude. Instances have been known to form here several feet thick. One negro, to escape the brutal cruelty of his master, took to the woods, and preferred to face the rigors of the winter rather than enjoy the *comforts* of his home under the 'patriarchal institution.' The man told this to me.

"Clothed properly, clothed as they could and would clothe themselves with their own earnings, they could live comfortably at the North. But they are not wanted there; and they do not want to remove from Southern soil. They feel as attached to their homes and family. One lately replied to my inquiry, 'Do you wish to be free?' 'Yes; but I cannot leave mother. She is sixty or seventy years old, and, considering her age, harder drury with work than I am.'

THEIR LOCAL ATTACHMENTS.

"This attachment to home has diminished the number of fugitives northward; and it renders the colonization scheme in a measure abortive. It makes any scheme of forced migration a cruel addition to the outrageous injustice which the blacks in this country has so long already suffered at the hands of the whites. Nor can they be spared. The laborers of a community are its most valuable, most indispensable class. Without them, land must be tilled, houses must be shod; mills must be set, other mechanical trades must be carried on. Blacks have heretofore done most of this work, and must continue to do it till their place is supplied by other workingmen. They have shown a desire to be hard-driven drudges; they will do it cheerfully and well as compensated freemen.

"Further to the south, the nature of the climate requires them to be the laborers. Why should the cotton culture be transferred to Africa, unless to rid our country of black men? Why should we relinquish the benefits of that culture? It may be said that four million of blacks cannot live as freemen in a country where slavery has prevailed. Intermarriage and amalgamation of races are intimated to be sufficient reasons for preventing millions of men from receiving their 'unalienable rights.' But the fact is patent to every observer, that amalgamation is much more frequent where the blacks are enslaved, and much more at the South than at the North.

EMANCIPATION.

"In the Providence of God this question of emancipation has been thrust upon us by the madness of the slaveholders themselves. It was generally conceded that the Constitution protected slavery where it existed. But the rebels have thrown aside the Constitution and abjured its protection. It is now evident that slavery is the cause and support of rebellion. Its extinction is now not only a duty, but a necessity, in order to the permanent pacification of our beloved country. Why should we fear this? A heathen could say, and a heathen audience could applaud the saying, 'Let justice be done though the heavens fall.'"

THE RESTORATION OF JOHN BUNYAN'S TOMBSTONE.

ON Wednesday afternoon the ceremony of publicly uncovering the monumental tombstone which has been placed over the grave of John Bunyan in the "Pilgrim's Progress" in Bunhill-fields burial ground, City Road, was performed in the presence of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Messrs. E. Baines, M.P., Frank Crossley, M.P., J. Stansfield, M.P., Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., Rowy, Mr. Magnus, Mackenzie, Dr. Tidman, Dr. Greig (President of the Presbyterian College), A. H. Haldane, Esq., and a large assemblage of spectators. The designer and sculptor, Mr. E. C. Lawson, has produced a very creditable work, considering the fact that it is a copy of a copy, and the character of the work required. A carved effigy of John Bunyan in a recumbent posture, with a Bible in his right hand, is on the upper stone, a rich moulding surmounting the panels, on which is in bas relievo on the North side the figure representing Christian laden, leaving the City of Destruction; and on the South side a figure of Christian arriving at the Cross, and the burden falling from his shoulders. The inscriptions are as follows:

"JOHN BUNYAN,
Author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,'
Obt. 31st August, 1688.
Æt. 60.

Restored by public subscription under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, May, 1862.
John first, Hon. Sec."

The ceremony commenced by the Rev. Mr. Garbett offering up prayer, and the memorial was then uncovered, and as the rain was fast falling the company adjourned to the Wesleyan Chapel: Lord Shaftesbury took the chair.

Mr. Hirst, the Hon. Secretary to the memorial fund, read the Report, which stated that the sum raised during the last twenty years two attempts had been made to raise a national monument, yet, though a portion of the funds had been appropriated, as they had seen it was not intended to supersede the original idea of a metropolitan monument in one of the public thoroughfares, but it was hoped that leading public thoroughfares, but it was hoped that the original plan would be eventually carried out in its integrity.

The meeting was addressed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. E. Baines, M.P., Mr. Samuel Morley, the Rev. Mr. Spurgeon, the Hon. A. Kinnaird, the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, of St. James's, Islington, and others.

A SOLDIER'S LETTER, AND A WOMAN'S ANSWER.

HOSPITAL, April —.

I warrs with a great deal of pain, dear girl,
I've not been well since I left you last night—
And my brain is still so much in a whirl,
That I can tell you but little to-night.
I'm wounded!—but I trust—it is not very bad,
Or at least it might be worse; so I said,
When I thought of you, I'm sorry that I'm glad
To know that I'm only wounded—not dead."

I've lost my left arm—there! now you know all!
A Minié ball shattered it, and I fell;
The last that I heard was scarcely remind
Until—the rest is too painful to tell.
I've had throughout the most excellent care,
And am doing nicely, the surgeon says;
So well, indeed, that the prospect is fair
For a homeward trip before many days.

You've nothing more to do, Mary, I to say,
And I'd say it if it cost me my life;
I've thought of it well—there's no other way—
You'll not blame me, I know, for my wife!
You'll think me foolish at first; then you'll think
Of the loses, armless cost-sleeve at my side;
And your proud and sensitive heart will shrink
From the thought of being a cripple's bride.

'Tis a bitter struggle to give you up,
For I've loved you more than never of late;
But down to its dregs I've drained the cup,
And I'm calm, though my heart is desolate.
I'm coming home, and you must be my nurse;
My darling, this once, one boon I implore—
Let us still be friends—for that will be sweet,
Since now, alas! we can be nothing more.

SWEET HOME, April —.

My Robert, how brave and noble you are!
Too brave and too noble, I know, for me;
But you've too little faith in me by far
If you believe I ever could be free.
I'm not released from my promise—no, no!
"Was never so sacred to me before;
If you could believe I ever could go
And watch by your side, you'd doubt me no more.

I read your name in the terrible list,
But the tears froze back that sprang to my eye;
And a fearful pain, that could not resist,
Crushed my heart till I only longed to die.
The blessed tears, by-and-by, came again,
And I felt, as you in your letter said,
A feeling of gladness, 'mid all my pain,
That Robert was only wounded—not dead.

Oh, darling! to think you have suffered so,
And I all these long, weary miles away;
You've needed me very often, I know,
While I could not be with you, love, to pay
But hardest of all is the bitter thought
That you have been suffering so much for me;
For Robert! your wounds, dearest, have brought
A strange mixture of joy and misery.

But you're coming home to my arms and heart;
You're coming to be my tender nurse;
But I'm only so when we are apart,
And now—I shall only be proud of you!
Dearest, I'm thankful for this, and rest,
And I wait the moment of blissful calm,
When I shall be held to a Soldier's breast
By a Patriot-Hero's true strong arm!

Blackstone, Mass., April, 1862. —*Harper's Weekly.*

THE CAUSE OF EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

ST. LOUIS, June 9, 1862.

THE friends and advocates of human slavery will derive great encouragement from recent events in this State. The State Convention, with its proslavery issue, and which, we fear, will be ahead, has voted in favor of allowing traitors to vote the same as loyal citizens for officers under a Constitution they have been trying for a year back to subvert. This is not all. The same Convention, by the decisive vote of 52 to 12, declared against the rights in some respects indecently, laid on the table a mild emancipation scheme brought forward by Judge Breckinridge of St. Louis. The proposition was purposely drawn so as to be and insinuating enough. It simply proposed that the people should vote in 1864 upon the question of emancipation with compensation to the owners, to go into operation in the year 1890. If it had decreed immediate emancipation with the right on the part of the slaves to sue for wages under their masters, the proposition could hardly have been received more discourteously. Lieut.-Gov. W. P. Hall of St. Joseph immediately moved to lay the ordinance on the table, and the motion was carried. A motion to allow United States Senator Henderson to make a brief speech. The screws were applied, and 52 members voted virtually to perpetuate slavery in Missouri for ever. Among the nays, however, will be found many of the best names in the State. Gov. Stewart, United States District-Attorney Broadhead, and others of less prominence.

It was fitting that the same day which bound the shackles of human slaves tighter than ever should witness the truckling of a portion of the Convention to rebel votes and secession influences. The Convention refused, by a vote of 44 to 24 to disfranchise traitors. Among the 24 will be found the names of those who have been active in stealing the Republican population. The eight delegates who voted to disfranchise rebels, but not to agitate "the nigger question," are the two Halls of Buchanan and Randolph (the one Lieutenant-Governor and the other Member of Congress), Messrs. Bowlin, Wren, Hendrick, Marvin, McCormack, and Johnson. Three delegates—Messrs. Jackson, Pomeroy, and Scott—voted to disfranchise, but against laying Judge Breckinridge's Emancipation ordinance on the table. The secret motive behind the ordinary action may be ascribed to political ambition. Many of the delegates are new men, who never have been in political circles before, and were chosen to a Union Convention for that very reason; but having sipped some of the sweets of office they have begun to look naturally to propitiating the predominant pro-slavery sentiment of their county. To show how opposition to emancipation and friendship for rebels go hand in hand, it is necessary only to refer to the debates of the Convention, wherein it was stated as a strong reason against disfranchisement of rebels—that if all the secessionists were excluded from the polls, the emancipationists who remained true and loyal would control the State. Is it not proud ad mission for the cause! It is equivalent to saying that a majority of the true Union men in Missouri are in favor of emancipation. But, as usual, in the discussion of the question of slavery proves stronger than love of the Union, and Missouri will risk the election of a loyal citizen favoring emancipation, the Convention declared that rebels who had served in Price's army, and fought their best against the Union and State government, may go to the polls and vote as usual.

However disheartening these events might be under ordinary circumstances, the hope of effecting a change of public sentiment animates the Union men of this State, and we are striking at the root of the evil by declaring war against slavery, and acting on manfully. The support of the Hon. John B. Henderson, United States Senator, is worth a dozen votes in the Convention, and although the beginning is small, still the point of the wedge is sure, and our friends will continue to drive it till slavery is split. A hopeful sign is the publication of a letter in favor of Emancipation by the Hon Robert Wells, United States District Judge for Western Missouri. Judge Wells is a Virginian, and has presided in the United States Court for this State for several years. He has owned and lived among slaves all his life, and is able to speak from personal experience. He says that now is the time to strike at the root of the evil, and wishes the slaveholding aristocracy who inaugurated this wicked rebellion humbled forever. Judge Wells cannot be stigmatized as a fanatic, or "dirty Abolitionist." His influence among Missourians is great, and his letter will accomplish beneficial results.

From The Evening Post.

The Missouri State Convention, now in session at Jefferson City, has refused to act on an emancipation bill which was submitted to it. A good deal of disappointment has been felt at the East, where better things were expected of the people of Missouri. It must not be forgotten, however, that this Convention is a body chosen in the spring of 1861, before the rebellion broke out, and is not, therefore, by any means fresh from the people.

There is everywhere reason to believe that if the present Convention had been dismissed and a new one elected after the President's offer of government aid for State emancipation had been adopted by Congress, the result would have been very different. Many of the prominent citizens of the State, even of slave-holders, have come out promiently in favor of emancipation, and are working vigorously in all parts for freedom. They do this because they feel that the State can never pay its debts and will inevitably fall bankrupt, unless it can speedy become a sharer in that prosperity which liberty has brought upon Illinois, which has ten thousand square miles less of territory, half a million more population, and whose lands are valued at more than twice the value per acre or of free towns, twenty years younger, ten thousand square miles smaller, yet rich a land valuation nearly equal in amount to the total land valuation of Missouri.

One thing has been gained in Missouri as well as in Maryland, and that is free speech. The question of emancipation is discussed everywhere in those States—by the enemies of the measure as zealously as by its friends; and this is all that we need. Where free speech and a free press we need no despair of weeding out the monstrous evil.

SIGNORA JESSIE WHITE MARIO'S LECTURES ON GARIBALDI AND ITALY.—We have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the fact that Signora Mario is announced to deliver her lecture on Garibaldi and Italy, on Friday, May 20 and 27—the first of these evenings the chair will be taken by the new member for Leicester, P. A. Taylor, Esq., M.P.; and on the second by