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Selections.

HOW SHALL THE UNION BE RESTORED?

LETTER OF A. J. HAMILTON, OF TEXAS, TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

NEW YORK, July 28, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: The deep interest felt by me, as a Southern Union man, in the result of my mission to Washington for the maintenance of the National authority in all the States, by the complete and permanent suppression of the rebellion against the Union and the Constitution will, I trust, excuse the freedom of this letter addressed at request for your patient consideration of what I write.

I am sure that your desire to have the great issues involved in the present struggle properly and forever settled is not less than that of the patriots who in your name wish has common roots in our common aspirations for the honor, prosperity, and unity of the Republic; that which you cherish derives peculiar strength from the great responsibilities of the chief magistracy, and that which animates every pulsation of my heart derives a strength not less peculiar from the fact that the rebellion which imperils our country desolates my once happy home—deprives of liberty and life thousands of the dearest ties of my kindred, my friends and my neighbors.

But it will avail little to procure a temporary adjustment; and I am prompted to address you now because I observe in some quarters indications of a disposition to accept, if not to invite, a peace which would inevitably lead to new convulsions more disastrous than the present.

By some persons of considerable political prominence, and by some leading presses, a systematic effort appears to be put forth to reconcile the public mind to the idea that the future policy of the government may be formed on the basis of a compromise with the cause of the existing rebellion, which will admit of the establishment of slavery in the States where it has been abolished by your proclamation of January last.

To pave the way, apparently, for such a compromise, Northern sympathizers with rebellion, and some, too, who cannot justly be so designated, constantly endeavor to impress on the public mind the notion that our National and State Constitutions were made for the white race alone; and that therefore other races can have no rights under them.

[We omit Mr. Hamilton's argument on this latter point, because it is already familiar to our readers. We omit also his earnest and timely protest against the schemes of colonization which are now being urged upon the country.]

What shall be said of the final proposition—"Full pardon to the rebels, and the abrogation of your proclamation of emancipation?" There is nothing of opposition to free government, or of wrong to humanity and civilization, that is not embraced in this proposition. It justifies the rebellion in its acts and purposes; it asks, in effect, that the government shall become the accuser of those who have labored most zealously to suppress and prevent it. It asks the government to do more—to descend to a depth of infamy beyond that ever reached by any other—to admit in the face of Christendom, that the proclamation of freedom was issued as a deliberate movement only to dupe for the time being the anti-slavery sentiment of the world, and especially to deceive the negro, to the end that he might be induced to engage in the military service of the government to force the rebel master to receive him back, and to acknowledge that he holds him under the Constitution of the United States.

In this connection, it is well to remember that this *anti-slavery sentiment* is the fixed condition of the public mind of the civilized world. And to this sentiment, more than to all other causes, do we owe the fact that *non-intervention* by foreign governments in the great struggle now pending here has so far been maintained.

At the period when the governing classes of some of the governments of the Old World, sympathizing with the aristocratic principle of slavery, and deeply interested in the preservation of the privileges of class, were just ready to proclaim intervention in American affairs, the proclamation of freedom to the slaves, issued by you as President of the United States and in solemn form, and the concurrent assertion of the rebels in the South, of their determination to maintain slavery as the corner-stone of their new government, so awakened that deep sentiment of hostility to slavery in the masses of the people of those governments, and so attracted their active sympathies to this government as to effectually forestall intervention.

And to this sentiment, thus aroused and stimulated by your grand proclamation, and now outspoken in England, do we owe it to-day to be thankful that we see the Emancipation party holding—*and holding firmly*, under the able guidance of John Bright—the balance of power in that government.

In France, too, even Imperial power has not, so far, openly opposed the general sympathy on the side of freedom. If we are destined to encounter foreign enemies in this struggle, it will be most likely where by a vacillating policy in support of the proclamation, or its abandonment, we have forfeited the confidence, the respect, and moral aid of the friends of freedom throughout the world. With the sympathies of Christendom with us, intervention is but a possibility—against us, it is a certainty.

The effect which a disavowal and retraction of the proclamation would have upon the public mind of other nations is evident. It would at once paralyze the efforts of those who have hitherto stayed the action of their governments in proposed interference in our affairs.

It would weaken, if not destroy, the liberal party of France and England—it would surely convert them from friends to enemies of this government, and thus break down the most powerful barrier to intervention and foreign war. Thus self-interest and national safety should alone suffice to prevent such madness.

But there is an argument higher than these which appeals to every true Christian heart—an argument used by yourself in the terms of the proclamation.

"*Upon this act—sincerely believed* (so runs the instrument) *to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity—I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.*"

Thus did the chief of a Christian people before mankind, and in sight of God, proclaim freedom to the slave, and by his official signature to the great act commit himself to its wisdom, its justice and its constitutionality, and to the efficiency of its provisions.

That act was in pursuance of an act of Congress authorizing it. The power in the Congress to declare war carries with it the power to provide the means and prescribe the necessary measures to make the war effective. It was in the exercise of this power that Congress acted. The war-making power, which is also the law-making power of the government, and is the President, the Commander-in-Chief of its armies. Do this thing, and it was done. It is unprofitable to attempt to prove to those who are unwilling to believe, that the act was simply an act of war. The majority of the people of the United States and of the civilized world do believe it and so sanction it.

If your proclamation was not then a mere assumption of power, but a valid act, done in the exercise of constitutional discretion, what power in their discretion and unwise to the President, in either case, should power cease with the act. When the proclamation was issued, it became the *law* of freedom to the slaves therein embraced—a law which I repeat is irrevocable by any power in the government. Laws which are general in their character and create no vested right in the citizen, may be changed or repealed—but those which create personal rights and vest them in the citizen are protected from infraction by constitutional guarantees. A legislative grant to land cannot be revoked at the pleasure of the power making the grant. The enfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of people by the government—the solemn act which raises them from slavery to freedom—is surely not less sacred and inviolable. There is no power in this government to make slaves of freemen, white or black. While the civilized world has hailed the act with joy, it would shudder at an effort to recall it or impair its vital force. The policy of such a course would be ruin to the peace and welfare of the country as the act would be atrocious in principle.

Those who propose it surely cannot yet comprehend the real design of the rebellion, and the change which it has produced in the relations of the different sections of the South. Secession was "slavery as it was," to use a cant phrase of the day, is not a possible thing. It it means a restoration with slavery, then it will not be a Union of peace, prosperity and happiness, but a Union of discord, hatred and violence in the South which will sink it in barbarism. Can we hope for peace between the sections now at war, with slavery still existing? But if it were possible, how can it be expected that the rebels and loyal men of the South can live in peace in the future, the cause of the trouble—*slavery*—still in existence, the rebel masters more intolerant, jealous and proud than ever before, with arrogance increased by the success which they have thus achieved over the people and government of the United States and the moral and political opinions of the civilized world? I know well that there are those who have suffered, when I speak of those who are mentioned in the consideration of these questions. Nevertheless, I insist most respectfully, but earnestly, that they *are* worthy of consideration because of their devotion to liberty and their government, because of their sacrifices and sufferings, and because they constitute the only future strength of the government in the South. They are to-day the *majority* of the South, whatever may be said or thought to the contrary. Your proclamation is certain, in the future, to give them a strength not less peculiar than the great body of the citizens of the South will gratefully return to the Union of their fathers, while it will more fully develop the undying hatred to free government of less than 200,000 slaveholders.

We need not further shut our eyes to the nature and disposition of the antagonistic forces now in conflict in this war. Men need not wonder at the contempt and hatred in some quarters indicated by the pro-slavery spirit that plotted the rebellion. This conspiracy is now known to have embraced various objects in its scope. The determination to hold in bondage four million of colored people with their issue, and the same with both races in future, was the main object of the conspiracy. This determination formed the basis of all other measures, whether of intrigue, war or diplomacy. It entered into every plan and calculation of the rebel leaders. The attempt to destroy the national unity grew out of the conspiracy against the colored man, and became necessary to accomplish the scheme of his perpetual bondage. There was an obstacle in the way. Four million of men were to be retained in the South. How could it be otherwise than that this population should, at no distant day, stand upon its rights and dictate that policy which should secure their freedom? It was the fear of the consummation of this that led to the conspiracy against the political rights of these masses. It was a truth fully realized by the leading conspirators that slavery could not long exist against a union of the free States without a change in the South, brought by common sympathy; therefore the national unity must be destroyed. They said, "Slavery and Democracy are incompatible," and this involved the necessity of a monopoly of political power in the slaveholding States, that they might maintain in perpetuity their political property in slaves. These are the motives which led them to attempt the destruction of the government.

Shall we now be asked to yield to this active intrigue to postpone the destruction of slavery, which is the antagonist of free government? Can it be possible that any man of sense or judgment desires such postponement? I ask you to contemplate the fruits of that narrow policy which has distranchised a large portion of the white population South. I ask our countrymen to consider the educational neglect and political debasement of the South, which have changed it from an element of national strength into an agency for the attempted accomplishment of national ruin. Compare the condition of the Southern white masses in their industrial interests with that of other sections. Let the political economist tell us what it is that gives the annual *per capita* production of $166.00 to every man, woman and child in Massachusetts, while in South Carolina people labor yields a *per capita* of $36.00 only. He will trace this disparity to the direct influence of slavery. The political philosopher may carry the inquiry further, and show why it is that so much of the population of the North has become a questionable element of national strength. He will find the reason for it in a long-continued sympathy with slavery. The encouragement of the slave system of the South has so far progressed in the North as to have contaminated not only Southern but even Northern society, as to seriously imperil the security of the nation.

It might have been supposed that the teachings of events would have set right ere this. It seems, however, that the calamities of the country have had no power to instruct the political intriguers. Upon such the active treason of the South, its attempt to destroy the national unity, the plot to overthrow the government, the claims of the masses of the South for protection, and all consideration of future security, are as nothing compared with the preservation of slavery—their only principle is *slavery conservatism*, and they are the only class for conservatism in the right direction. I think we have had enough of *slavery* conservatism. If we must still be "conservatives, let us be conservatives of freedom; encourage of humanity and civilization the only class as make them patriots, and keeps them so; and radical opposers of whatever tends to destroy republican government.

Every man in the country who still clings to the idea that the great nationality under the old ensign, desires the unity of our people. Upon what basis is this unity to be brought about? Slavery has pronounced democracy to be its opponent. Will unity be brought about by upholding slavery? Can it exist at the destruction of the national life. Will the national life be prolonged and secured by cherishing its antagonist? Slavery has conspired against the political rights of the non-slaveholding masses of the South. It has in accordance with that just conservatism embraced in that clause of the Constitution which guarantees republican government to the people of all the States! It has unscrupulously aimed to destroy the government in order to establish in the South, and endeavors to make its escape from under the Constitution which interdicts it. Will the further toleration of an institution which has attempted all this produce unity? Shall the government, which has been the result of democratic spirit, the nation has been precipitated into civil war. The whole number of slaveholders has been more than equaled by the white men who have fallen in the conflict. What kind of a government does slavery conservatism propose to erect to the memory of those thus sacrificed? Slavery will leave a war debt of gigantic magnitude for free industry to pay. In what way will conservatism provide for the toil of the nation to the cause of its manifold calamities? Or, I apprehend, by pandering to slavery, and making it the basis of future intrigue and revolution.

The nation has had enough of *slavery* conservatism. It now demands not only a change, but a *radical* change. The future security of the nation depends upon the policy which shall be now adopted. Its strength results from civil liberty and free government—its only weakness has been the institution of slavery, which thwarted the development of these ideas. The great South, embracing more than 11,000,000 of human beings, all under proper guidance, an effective element of national strength, has become our enemy only—that is *slavery conservatism*. The 20,000,000 of people in the North have had the insidious, mercenary, and atrocious enemy—*slavery conservatism!* The nation at large has had one enemy—*slavery conservatism!* In this example in our country is only a repetition of what has been witnessed in all others. The process of freeing nations of the barbarisms of slavery has generally been slow, owing to the weakness of the anti-slavery forces. We have one advantage. The 20,000,000 of people devoted to free labor have it now in their power to make short work of American slavery. We shall soon know whether conservatism will make chronic the national disease, or whether a rapid and radical cure shall be effected. In the consciousness of this nation the open traitors may not prove to be its worst enemies.

The nation can no longer afford to indulge party tacticians in that line of intrigue which has heretofore proved its bane. The cause of nationality and free government is not alone in danger from domestic foes. The fall of Mexico, through the influence created by factions, should warn us. The usurper is already triumphing over the ruins of republican government in that unhappy country. No one can doubt the close sympathy existing between that usurper and the anti-democratic spirit which to-day animates and controls the rebellion. At this moment negotiations are pending, if not consummated, between the leading chiefs in Texas (the designs of secession to form the so-called Confederacy, and parties in Northern Mexico, for a union of Texas with the States of Tamaulipas, and Nuevo Leon and Coahuila for the formation of a new government for the Republic, under sanction and favor of Louis Napoleon. This will give the long-coveted opportunity to this despot to interfere in the affairs of this country with sufficient plausibility to relieve the act from the overwhelming censure of the French nation. If we are not on our force, we will at a distant day be standing upon the law of force and the preparation of the nation for warfare to save us from intervention. This is the only security we have—the energy and determination of the people of both nature and circumstance, the enemies of those who would overthrow the nationality, and capable of being made allies in the common cause of freedom and humanity throughout the world. Let the spirit, for it is a force that can be counted on in any emergency that may call it into requisition. It has one simple platform in the ideal of its future—the desire to be free, and fidelity to the power that made it free. It is this simple platform that may make the colored man an immense power on the side of nationality. It is worth more to the nation to-day, if properly treated, than all the slaveholders, coupled with the idea that those who have been the most active and vociferous in the conspiracy against the political rights of these masses, are those who have long ago emphatically pronounced their condemnation of slavery as opposed to humanity, and utterly condemned by the Gospel. If this is the case as regards slavery in the abstract, how much more is it true in reference to the system which actually existed in the Confederate States? It is but remembered that throughout those States the word of a colored person is never taken in evidence as against a white, so that any wrong done to a negro in the presence of negroes alone cannot be proved, though a thousand colored witnesses were ready to give the evidence on oath. Let it be remembered that there are stringent laws against teaching slaves to read. Let it be remembered that whatever the kindness of treatment, the slaves may occasionally receive, those slaves are part of the estate, and on the insolvency or death of the owner are liable to be sold together or separately as the horses and cattle. Let it be remembered that by law, throughout those States, a husband has no exclusive right in his wife—parents have no parental rights in their children—and a woman has no legal right to her chastity. Also, that any slave refusing obedience to any command may be flogged till he submits or dies. Only occasional abuses alone, but by the universal law of the Southern Confederacy, the existing system of slavery violates all the moral laws of Christianity. Yet there exists a class of advertisements, which, if I give publicity, not merely apologize for, but solemnly advocate the system. These are their words: "With all the facts of the system of slavery in its practical operation before us, ... we testify in the sight of God that the relation of master and slave, among us, however we may deplore abuses in this as in other relations of mankind, is not incompatible with our holy Christianity, and that the presence of African slavery in our land is an occasion of great good on their behalf before God. . . . The condition of slaves here is not wretched, as Northern fiction would have mer believe, but prosperous and happy beyond that of millions of peasants, the mistaken zeal of the Abolitionists, in attempting to regard Abolitionism as an interference with the plans of Divine Providence. It has not the signs of the Lord's blessing. It is a fanaticism which puts forth in vain the hand of the Omnipotent to shield "the devout prayer of all God's people" and the voice of an enlightened Christian sentiment the signatures is that of B. M. Palmer, D.D., New Orleans. It is to be expected that a document prepared for the Slaving England would be discussed in more moderate terms in reference to slavery than the opinions of the authors when uttered before their own countrymen. Allow me, then, to quote from a sermon delivered by this Dr. Palmer on the 29th November, 1860, in the Presbyterian Church, New Orleans. In that discourse he thus distinctly declares the duty and object of the Confederacy to be the perpetuation and extension of slavery: "The particular institution is assigned to such a people because the pledge of the Divine protection; and their fidelity to it determines the fate by which it is finally overtaken. . . . If, then, the South is such a people, what, at this crisis, is the duty of her people? I answer, that it is to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing. . . . . For us, as now situated, the duty is plain of conserving and transmitting the system of slavery, with its safeguards, as the natural development and extension. Let us, my brethren, look our duty in the face. With this institution committed to our keeping, what reply shall we make to those who say that its days are numbered? My own conviction is that we should at once lift ourselves, intelligently, to the highest moral ground, and proclaim to all the world that we hold this trust from God; and in its occupancy we are prepared to stand or fall as God may appoint. If the critical moment has arrived at which the great issue is joined, let us say that, in the sight of all perils, we will stand by our trust; and God be with the right! . . . These slaves form part of our household, even as our children; and the Bible, through a relationship recognized and sanctioned in the Scriptures of God even as the other. . . . In this great struggle we defend the cause of God and religion. Our cause and our country become identical. . . . Our present trust is to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchallenged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it. . . . Not a slave shall be emancipated when the last rampart shall it drop from our hands; and then only in surrender to the God who gave it. . . . It cannot be disguised that, almost to a man, the people at the South are prepared to stand or fall as God may appoint. A whole generation has been educated to look upon the system with abhorrence as a national blot. They hope, and look, and pray for its extinction within a reasonable time, and cannot be satisfied unless Congress at least shows the way to emancipation. We, on the contrary, as its constituted guardians, can demand nothing less than that it should be left open to expansion, subject to no limitations save those imposed by God and nature. The position of the South is at this moment sublime!" These opinions of Dr. Palmer are universally prevalent in the South, and must be regarded as representing the Church and his brethren who have signed the address to which you give currency. St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians that he did not forbid them altogether to withdraw from the fornicators, or covetous, or an extortioner of this world, for otherwise it would be impossible to live in the world; but that they were not to keep company with any man who, called a brother, was a fornicator, or covetous, or an extortioner: "with such an one not to eat." The authors of this address call themselves brethren, for they appeal "in the name of our holy Christianity, as the servants of the Most High God, solemnly invoking the blessing of Almighty God, as ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ and members of His holy Church, with our hands upon the Bible." Knowing that the existing slavery of the Southern States involves, not as an accident, but as an inherent element, "fornication, covetousness and extortion," with almost all other vices and crimes, I for one could not admit to the Lord's table, nor receive into my house, far less aid with my prayers or by giving currency to their arguments, such men as these, who, maintaining such a system, still invoke the name of Jesus and plead the authority of the Bible. The Duke of Argyll recently said that however he might disapprove of Bishop Colenso's writings, yet that were the bishop to live a thousand years and publish a new prayer every year, he would not do so much to undermine the authority of the Bible in the minds of men as claiming that authority on behalf of the existing slave system of the South. I know how much latitude is allowed to advertisers, and that editors plead to be irresponsible for opinions thus expressed; still, as you would refuse in the form of advertisement an appeal on behalf of infidelity or licentiousness, so I cannot hope that this appeal, which involves a defence of slavery, escaped your notice. At least it deserves your consideration how far the Christian public will continue to receive into their homes publications the holy influence of whose editorial pages is likely to be counteracted by the demoralizing tendency of advertising sheets. I cannot, therefore, but express my hope as a friend of your excellent periodicals, that you will not sanction the introduction of a manifesto which must injure where it does not offend the moral sentiment of all your readers. Alas for our country! alas for our Christianity, if through the controversies arising out of this great American struggle we should be led astray from the Christian standard, a system which, from our childhood, we have been taught to regard as violating the common rights of humanity, and trampling on the plainest precepts of the Gospel.

I remain, gentlemen, with sincere respect,

Surrey Chapel, August 6. NEWMAN HALL.

SLAVE-HUNTING IN MISSOURI.

From The St. Louis Democrat.

It is only necessary to examine the local columns of our city press to see in the daily accounts of difficulties growing out of attempts at kidnapping, what an impulse has latterly been given to the negro-catching business in this State. And these accounts, numerous as they are, inasmuch as these transactions are conducted quietly and politely, furnish but a very inadequate idea of the flourishing condition of this business at the present time. Numerous cases are reported to us of negro stealing, where it is impossible to give out details which would be publication. A contraband disappears. He is known to have been suddenly goblinized and carried off, but by whom and where, it is not in your power to give particular to inquire. Many of the parties thus "sequestered" are fugitive slaves, who really have no right to control their movements, or have anything to say as to what shall be done with them—some of them are certainly not free, but have been hunted up from them, which furnishes their captors the *color* of right merely for their operation; but the most of them are the former chattels of rebel masters, holding title papers to themselves from our military authorities.

It has only been quite recently that much of an effort has been made to look after this species of property. The movement now is mainly owing to two causes. The first is the so-called Emancipation Ordinance adopted by our late State Convention, which has had a tendency to give slave property a lift in the market—strange as it may appear to talk about an Emancipation Ordinance having that effect. The operation of a law, however, depends upon its provisions rather than upon its name. The Ordinance in question, by providing that the master shall have his slave in all cases, free from all molestation until all legal interference, and particularly free from the payment of all taxes, "State, County and Municipal," which is a big item now-a-days; and further, that if the negro is now thirty-three years of age, just in the prime of life and usefulness, he shall remain a slave, tax-free, for life, has caused a decided advance in the market value of slave property, and largely developed the disposition to speculate in it.

The second cause for the increase in kidnapping has been the encouragement given to it by our present military authorities—particularly in the Provost Marshal General's department, to which, perhaps, we should in justice confine the above remark, although we have reason to think in a sure enough way that what is done by the subordinate. We need not now go into a detailed statement of cases to establish what we have just alleged. The cases we have allude to are well known to our readers generally, although by no means all that exist, nor all of which we have knowledge. The principle adopted in the case of the rebel Sheeley, of Callaway County—a man who from all accounts had been active in giving aid to the rebellion, in which case certain free papers issued to his slaves by the former Provost Marshal were revoked by the present incumbent, upon the ground that they had been given "*by mistake*," when they were given in a sense which we think *strained* to favor the negro-catchers. Here were men and women, who had been set free by the military authority of the United States, and held certificates of the government for their liberty, taken back, they had never to our knowledge, committed any offence, living and moving with the consciousness of freedom, when the Provost Marshal General comes along, chalks the single word "*mistake*" upon their backs, and by the mere waving of his official wand, they are once sink down into the inferior rank of chattels.

The case of Mary Logan, the slave of Prince L. Hudgins, who was expelled from the State Convention for disloyalty, a body of which Col. Brodhead was a member, and in whose action in the case of Hudgins he probably participated, is still stronger. Here the woman had received her free papers from Provost Marshal Farrar, which were not revoked, and yet, according to the affidavit of young Hudgins, whose veracity we know of no reason to question, she was spirited away, sold, and is now in actual slavery—all with the knowledge and consent of Col. Brodhead.

When such things occur, is it any wonder that those human bloodhounds, the negro-catchers, should be found in full cry in pursuit of their game?

GOOD ADVICE.

From The Tribune.

The Merchants' Executive Committee for the relief of the colored sufferers by the recent riots in our city have now concluded their labors, and have generously assumed by them, have issued a brief and pertinent address to the blacks of our city. In this address, they are urged to send their children steadily to school—to buy no more of Ben. Wood's lottery and policy tickets—and to keep clear of intoxicating drinks—all as right can be. And, though advice-giving is apt to be regarded as intrusive, we do not think it can be in this case. To give a hungry man a tract instead of a loaf of bread, is mockery; but give him a good dinner first, and you may *then* properly ask him to read your tract and hope that he will read it attentively.

But the Committee said also thus:

"You are further advised to resume the occupation or calling you had previous to the late riot; confident as we are that the public authorities are both able and willing to protect you in the enjoyment of your right to labor.

"J. D. MCKENZIE, Chairman.

"EDWARD CROMWELL, GEO. C. COLLINS,

"J. G. RUNYON, R. B. WEBBER,

"JONATHAN STURGES, Treas., J. B. COLGATE,

"Executive Committee of Merchants appointed for the Relief of the Colored People."

THE WHITE SLAVES OF THE SOUTH.

[William Fitz Camp of the Mississippi Engineers and Mechanics' Regiment now with Gen. Rosecrans, at Elk River Bridge, Tenn., writes on the 6th inst., to *The Grand Rapids Eagle* as follows of the beauties of slavery:]

It has been decided to have a regiment of negro troops attached to this regiment for doing the more common kinds of railroad and other work.

The negro enlistment has been commenced, and day before yesterday 500 were regularly mustered into the United States service, and were examined and passed nearly 100 more that are physically emaciated to become soldiers, and get on our blue coats in place of their miserable, filthy rags.

These men you might think were genuine blacks, but I could not see it when I had them naked. When one sees standing before him a man of mature years, who possesses not the slightest trace of negro blood in a single feature or complexion, and hair straighter than you can generally find in the pure Anglo-Saxon race, and he tells you that his father is Col. Higgins, now of the rebel army; that he sold him to Mr. Mason, near Decatur, Alabama, when fourteen years old, I think it enough to demonstrate that was the ruling passion in the South that made them "desire to be let depart from us in peace." Such men, I think, are those desirous of being the makers of their own fortunes, and they can be many enough to make a war to maintain the possession of the same.

This is not an isolated case. Two others, this same day, presented themselves for examination, and the same rigid examination by all present could not detect the slightest trace of negro blood; and yet one had been a slave 36 years, and the other 42 years, and that, too, in the land of American freedom (down in Southern chivalry).

I have met a lot of Morganites, as well as in Alabama, have I seen, not men, but women, whom no one would ever suspect of having a vestige of African blood in their veins, that were the slaves of these same people, with their mothers and their rights as well as property, after they have made it.

We have all heard enough about the "nigger," but of over 600 specimens of them that I have just examined in a perfect state of nudity, I cannot help but make a comparison in my mind, and ask

I found the backs of about one in five showed the marks of him that ruleth; and in one case he had left over 1,000 *rude* marks, of from six to eight inches in length, and in other places, where the marks were such that you could not cover the scars of with one, and often two fingers. I don't see how any person can be expected to keep still and say he believes in letting every people, of every State, have sole sway of governing their own domestic affairs, when he has just ceased looking at these *marked* effects of it. I think some of our domestic affairs at home would not come in clear a record as theirs do, if we were to indeed "do unto others as we would have others do unto us" in our domestics. I should expect to hear of more than a few family (quarrels) domestications. It is said to be no hard task to do a thing when you get used to it; but if you will allow me to express my private opinion, I would prefer beginning where they left off.

These are no imaginary pictures of what we find down here in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, and I think it not in every other State having the same laws. I never was an Abolitionist, but I am not in favor of white slaves in any other country, and that where we call our nation a white one.

THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY IN WESTERN MISSOURI.

From The St. Louis Democrat.

GEN. BEN. LOAN, whose head fell under the Gamble guillotine, has been severely denounced by the Conservative-Copperhead press of this city, and all over the State, for the course he pursued towards rebels in Western Missouri. The chief object of Loan's policy was one calculated to be felt. It taught that no man could be a rebel with impunity. The effect was not so pleasant for rebels, doubtless, but to those who were not rebels it was a great consolation. Something like peace began to be restored in the district where Loan's administration prevailed. Bushwacking was of rare occurrence, and Union men began to breath a little easier in safety.

But the means by which this result was attained touched the tender hearts of our Missouri Conservatives. Their "brethren," the rebels, who, after all, had only temporarily gone astray, and would be fully and fondly received back into the Union fold, were being handled entirely too roughly to suit the delicate nerves of the Gamblestes, and the upshot of the matter was, that Loan was removed—as was said—because of the unnecessary severity of some of his orders.

Well, we now see the fruits of this policy. Gen. Ewing was put in command of a large portion of the district formerly under Loan. His advent was hailed with many trumpets by the Conservative press. Taking advantage of some remarks made by the General upon his appointment to the command by giving them an interpretation which we are satisfied he never meant, and which he has since denied to have, they proclaimed that the reign of brute force in Western Missouri was virtually ended. An administration of reason was about to be inaugurated. The rebels were to be treated as they deserved to be put down with speeches, arguments, persuasions, instead of guns and bayonets. Sugar pills were to be administered to rebels instead of bullets. The lamb was to reign where the lion had ruled.

These anticipations, we believe, were made without a particle of authority by our Conservative neighbors, but it would seem that the bushwhackers believed their statements to be true, and proceeded to work out their conclusions. Their depredations were in a short time multiplied a dozen fold. The reign of the lamb was soon found to be a reign of terror for Union men. In this there was nothing surprising that we can see. If the bushwhackers read *The Republican*, and we have no doubt they did, it would be perfectly natural that they should consider themselves licensed to ply their vocation" once more. Had they not, by the help of Gov. Gamble, the Missouri *Republican* and others of the same school, been brought under *Conservative* rule, and don't they understand the true meaning of conservatism in war times as well as any body?

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that Gen. Ewing has been forced by the condition of things brought about by the bushwhackers and Conservatives conjointly, to announce a policy of greater severity than was ever pursued by his predecessor. His last orders throw Loan's completely into the shade. Not that we believe they are a particle too severe; for past events have proved conclusively that in a disturbed and mixed community like that in Western Missouri, mercy to rebels with arms in their hands is cruelty to Union men. Gen. Ewing has simply provided for meeting the emergencies of the case. The *regimen* he prescribes is exactly demanded for the public good. The opposite policy has been on trial since Loan's removal. Conservatism, as a military system, has failed. Hence, when the throwing of grass at the rebels has been found unavailing, a resort to stones very sensibly follows.

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As to the judgment to be pronounced upon the guilty actors in the drama of blood at Lawrence, but one opinion can be entertained. Punishment, the most sweeping and immediate, should be meted out. The forms of civil law in such a case are dilatory and insufficient. No mistake upon the side of sever

THE PRO-SLAVERY RELIGION OF THE SOUTH.

To the Editors of "Good Words," "The Evangelical Magazine," and other religious periodicals which have admitted into their columns an advertisement from the Clergy of the Confederate States.

GENTLEMEN: As the subject to which I would respectfully direct your attention has been made as public as the wide circulation of your periodicals admits of possible, allow me, through a public medium, to express a hope that it was without your knowledge that your publishers allowed the appeal of the slave-sanctioning clergy of America to be stitched up in the cover of magazines devoted to truth, philanthropy and religion. I do not suppose, I think, differ from the arguments of that address in relation to the justice or policy of the war, for this is a subject on which Christians may excusably take opposite views. Nor shall I refer to the question of Emancipation, for which I thank God, but which the authors of that address "calmly denounce as worthy of universal reprobation." But that to which I would draw your attention is the deliberate sanction to slavery as it exists in the Southern States contained in that advertisement. Whatever may be our opinions on the war, the Churches of Great Britain long ago emphatically pronounced their condemnation of slavery as opposed to humanity, and utterly condemned by the Gospel. If this is the case as regards slavery in the abstract, how much more is it true in reference to the system which actually existed in the Confederate States? It is but remembered that throughout those States the word of a colored person is never taken in evidence as against a white, so that any wrong done to a negro in the presence of negroes alone cannot be proved, though a thousand colored witnesses were ready to give the evidence on oath. Let it be remembered that there are stringent laws against teaching slaves to read. Let it be remembered that whatever the kindness of treatment, the slaves may occasionally receive, those slaves are part of the estate, and on the insolvency or death of the owner are liable to be sold together or separately as the horses and cattle. Let it be remembered that by law, throughout those States, a husband has no exclusive right in his wife—parents have no parental rights in their children—and a woman has no legal right to her chastity. Also, that any slave refusing obedience to any command may be flogged till he submits or dies. Only occasional abuses alone, but by the universal law of the Southern Confederacy, the existing system of slavery violates all the moral laws of Christianity. Yet there exists a class of advertisements, which, if I give publicity, not merely apologize for, but solemnly advocate the system. These are their words: "With all the facts of the system of slavery in its practical operation before us, ... we testify in the sight of God that the relation of master and slave, among us, however we may deplore abuses in this as in other relations of mankind, is not incompatible with our holy Christianity, and that the presence of African slavery in our land is an occasion of great good on their behalf before God. . . . The condition of slaves here is not wretched, as Northern fiction would have mer believe, but prosperous and happy beyond that of millions of peasants, the mistaken zeal of the Abolitionists, in attempting to regard Abolitionism as an interference with the plans of Divine Providence. It has not the signs of the Lord's blessing. It is a fanaticism which puts forth in vain the hand of the Omnipotent to shield "the devout prayer of all God's people" and the voice of an enlightened Christian sentiment the signatures is that of B. M. Palmer, D.D., New Orleans. It is to be expected that a document prepared for the Slaving England would be discussed in more moderate terms in reference to slavery than the opinions of the authors when uttered before their own countrymen. Allow me, then, to quote from a sermon delivered by this Dr. Palmer on the 29th November, 1860, in the Presbyterian Church, New Orleans. In that discourse he thus distinctly declares the duty and object of the Confederacy to be the perpetuation and extension of slavery: "The particular institution is assigned to such a people because the pledge of the Divine protection; and their fidelity to it determines the fate by which it is finally overtaken. . . . If, then, the South is such a people, what, at this crisis, is the duty of her people? I answer, that it is to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing. . . . . For us, as now situated, the duty is plain of conserving and transmitting the system of slavery, with its safeguards, as the natural development and extension. Let us, my brethren, look our duty in the face. With this institution committed to our keeping, what reply shall we make to those who say that its days are numbered? My own conviction is that we should at once lift ourselves, intelligently, to the highest moral ground, and proclaim to all the world that we hold this trust from God; and in its occupancy we are prepared to stand or fall as God may appoint. If the critical moment has arrived at which the great issue is joined, let us say that, in the sight of all perils, we will stand by our trust; and God be with the right! . . . These slaves form part of our household, even as our children; and the Bible, through a relationship recognized and sanctioned in the Scriptures of God even as the other. . . . In this great struggle we defend the cause of God and religion. Our cause and our country become identical. . . . Our present trust is to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchallenged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it. . . . Not a slave shall be emancipated when the last rampart shall it drop from our hands; and then only in surrender to the God who gave it. . . . It cannot be disguised that, almost to a man, the people at the South are prepared to stand or fall as God may appoint. A whole generation has been educated to look upon the system with abhorrence as a national blot. They hope, and look, and pray for its extinction within a reasonable time, and cannot be satisfied unless Congress at least shows the way to emancipation. We, on the contrary, as its constituted guardians, can demand nothing less than that it should be left open to expansion, subject to no limitations save those imposed by God and nature. The position of the South is at this moment sublime!" These opinions of Dr. Palmer are universally prevalent in the South, and must be regarded as representing the Church and his brethren who have signed the address to which you give currency. St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians that he did not forbid them altogether to withdraw from the fornicators, or covetous, or an extortioner of this world, for otherwise it would be impossible to live in the world; but that they were not to keep company with any man who, called a brother, was a fornicator, or covetous, or an extortioner: "with such an one not to eat." The authors of this address call themselves brethren, for they appeal "in the name of our holy Christianity, as the servants of the Most High God, solemnly invoking the blessing of Almighty God, as ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ and members of His holy Church, with our hands upon the Bible." Knowing that the existing slavery of the Southern States involves, not as an accident, but as an inherent element, "fornication, covetousness and extortion," with almost all other vices and crimes, I for one could not admit to the Lord's table, nor receive into my house, far less aid with my prayers or by giving currency to their arguments, such men as these, who, maintaining such a system, still invoke the name of Jesus and plead the authority of the Bible. The Duke of Argyll recently said that however he might disapprove of Bishop Colenso's writings, yet that were the bishop to live a thousand years and publish a new prayer every year, he would not do so much to undermine the authority of the Bible in the minds of men as claiming that authority on behalf of the existing slave system of the South. I know how much latitude is allowed to advertisers, and that editors plead to be irresponsible for opinions thus expressed; still, as you would refuse in the form of advertisement an appeal on behalf of infidelity or licentiousness, so I cannot hope that this appeal, which involves a defence of slavery, escaped your notice. At least it deserves your consideration how far the Christian public will continue to receive into their homes publications the holy influence of whose

"To the Colored People of New York.

"From the general distribution of money to all among you who suffered by the late wicked riot, we trust you are convinced that you have a very great number of friends among the white people, who feel deeply your wrongs, sufferings and persecution. We know that to many of you these wrongs can never be made up. We cannot restore the dead to life, nor those who have lost their senses from terror. But we can assure you of our wish to do all we can for you. And while so doing we think you will listen to a few words of advice from us, as we do believe that in so doing you will receive great benefit, and be better prepared than ever before to make yourselves useful to one another, and more highly respected by all classes of your fellow-citizens.

"There are two matters in which colored people have hurt themselves very much, and no these we wish to call your attention; and to urge you to determine to change your habits and to try to do better.

"1st. Although there are many good schoolhouses, well furnished with teachers, books, and all needful necessary, yet we are sorry to know that many seats are every day empty, and too many of them who do go, let little things keep them back from school, so that they do not get ahead as fast as they might do. Let us assure you that nothing will so raise up the colored people as a good education. A well educated man or woman is twice as able to help himself and defend his rights as an ignorant man. You are bound your children to school, and see that they keep them steadily there.

"2d. Among the things which have done more harm to the colored people than anything else and which keep them poor, there is nothing that does so much as buying policies. Hundreds suffer from want of daily bread because they have spent the last cent to get a policy. Now let us tell you that you are

ity can be made. But the crime of the eight hundred assessins whom Quantrell led to the slaughter does not, alas! exhaust the solemn question of responsibility. Whose mismanagement was it which, in a district where every rebel army is subdued, and which is filled with loyal troops permitted eight hundred men to gather, arm, march and return without a State where only loyal men are supposed to live, attack, capture, rob and burn a Union city, murder its inhabitants and escape, is the inquiry which lies itself into the mind of every reader. That inquiry—and no one regrets more than ourselves to have it to say—should not stop with the massacre at Lawrence.

That it will be impossible for reflecting, well-informed men to look upon it otherwise than as a mere incident—a result of causes which have long been in operation—an illustration merely of a system of misrule, to which this Department has been subjected for months past. Rumors of danger ahead have been gathering and festering beneath the surface, until they have at last broken out in the bloody calamity which has startled the whole country. The Lawrence tragedy is the legitimate fruit of the policy which has been inaugurated in the Department of the Missouri, at the instigation of men more criminal than the department commander, if less responsible, and should surprise no one. The same character of event has been long liable to happen at other points, and may yet be repeated, for there is no one at all familiar with the present condition of things in this State but who will admit that Missouri is charged and surcharged with dangerous elements, and those near the scene of the disaster incline to cast the culpability upon the District and Department Commanders, but back of the question of their guilt or innocence comes up the administration of affairs in responsible for their appointment? Who caused the removal of the former Department Commander, whose administration had been a marked success, and whom the President in the very act, not withstanding dorsed as "honest, competent and patriotic," and as "having no wrong, either of omission or commission"? Who imposed upon the department an officer whose first administration of affairs in the department was a failure, and who was appointed and continued in his present position against the earnest protests of the best and soundest Union men in Missouri and Kansas, and in spite of the repeated remonstrances, appeals, and in some cases their predictions of the very results which have followed? The question of responsibility goes deep, but it should be probed to the bottom.

IMPORTANT FROM THE SOUTH.

JEFF. DAVIS SAID TO HAVE CALLED FOR 500,000 BLACK TROOPS.

FORTRESS MONROE, Saturday, Aug. 29.

THE steamer C. W. Thomas has arrived from Newbern. . . . . Rebel papers received at Morehead City say that *Jeff. Davis has issued a proclamation calling upon the Governors of the Confederate States, to call out 500.000 black troops, who are to receive their freedom and fifty acres of land at the end of the war.*

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30. 1863.

Although your paper has recently alluded to the arming of the slaves in the South, it may be remembered by some seen anywhere an account of the manner in which this question happened to be introduced into the politics of the Government. Any question of the importance it cannot fail to assume in the eyes of European cabinets. I will therefore add to the information you have already given to the public by communicating to you the contents of a letter written in Richmond a week ago on that subject. This letter came from a source which I have the best reason to believe to be well informed on these matters, and is entitled, in my humble opinion, to the confidence of the people.

Converting blacks into soldiers for the defence of the national territory is not a new idea with the Confederate government. As early as 1861, when the Union forces under McClellan were scattered along the extensive line of the Chickahominy swamps, many of the most prominent and wealthiest planters, frightened by the danger of the fall of Richmond, which they then considered as the inevitable event, proposed to arm and to lead their slaves, and to bring them to the rescue of the threatened capital. But public opinion having not yet been prepared by repeated reverses and losses in men to overcome one of its strongest prejudices, nor to contemplate without a shudder of contempt and indignation the possibility of seeing one day a free man fight side by side with a slave, the proposition was looked upon as dangerous and visionary, and was so treated by the great majority of the people. Still it was remembered at the time that the members of the Cabinet would have willingly accepted the proffered aid had it not been for the sake of their popularity. Jeff. Davis, who, since the beginning of this war, had been pressed by European Cabinets to adopt some reformatory measure in reference to slavery, said, on the occasion, that it would be desirable to see the tide of public prejudice recede from its course, and black regiments formed for the defence of cities and strongholds. It was obvious that the fear of arming the slaves and that they were deterred from doing so only by the fear of hurting too violently existing prejudices, and thus weakening their own power.

The series of victories won by Gen. Lee inflated the pride and vanity of the Southerners to such an extent that, for a moment, they believed themselves to be indebted for their success to the holiness of the institution of slavery as well as to the superior valor of their men. The victory of Gettyburg and the conquest of the fortress of the Mississippi by the Union armies caused this stupendous edifice of pride and error to crumble down, and demonstrated to them the emptiness and folly of their presumptuous pride. They then turned their eyes toward their four million of blacks, and asked themselves how it was that the government had not yet enrolled itself of the resources offered by this large recruiting field, and why an army of blacks was not raised for them. I may say, however, that those who wished at first to use the blacks as soldiers generally think that services in that capacity were entitled to a reward; they would have held them in slavery all the while. It was, I understand, the sentiment of the army which modified the views of the planters in that respect. The army refused to fight unless the slaves be made free before enrolling them, and received equal advantages with those enjoyed by the whites.

Before this question was ripe enough to be brought before the rebel government, Beauregard, supported in this by the opinion of the Governor of South Carolina, had been asking for authority to arm a few negro regiments for the defence of Charleston, and Gov. Governor of Alabama, seeing the necessity of providing for the defence of Mobile, had addressed the same request to Richmond, and recommended in a public proclamation the arming of negroes in his own State.

These unexpected demands coincided too well with the secret sentiments of the Cabinet not to be used by it as a strong ground of a policy. Then, while Beauregard's claim might be considered as justifying the arming of negroes under the plea of military necessity, the proclamation of Gov. Gorter of Alabama, and the endorsement of the Governor of South Carolina, more important still, unreservedly placed at the disposal of the government the services of ten thousand men, and paved the way for a powerful military organization all over the extent of the Confederacy. Jeff. Davis was not allowed not to avail himself of these fortunate circumstances.

By his order, every Governor in the rebel States was consulted concerning the propriety of arming slaves for the war, and the Governors of Richmond confer with the President on that subject. This invitation was, it seems, immediately complied with, and after fifteen days of close conference between the governors of the States and the members of the Cabinet, it was decided that the salvation of the country required the arming of the slaves, and that a call of 500,000 blacks, one from every eight inhabitants, should take place forthwith.

Outside of military and political considerations, the importance of which cannot be fully estimated now, one of the motives which urged the adoption of this measure is, I understand, the effect it is likely to have upon European Powers. While the discussion on the measure was going on, a member of the Cabinet renoved all the objections raised by stating that the enlistment of the blacks in the Confederate ranks, and the gift of their freedom and a portion of land as their reward for their services, would cause the great majority of the European people adverse to slavery to become friends of the Southern Confederacy and advocates of the Southern Confederacy upon higher political and moral ground. It was these remarks, I am told, which decided all opposition, and led to the unanimous adoption of the measure.

The proceedings I have just recited have been kept secret, and will not be divulged until Jeff. Davis's proclamation submitting the whole matter to the people is issued.

REMARKS BY THE TRIBUNE.

It has long been our firm conviction that Mr. Jeff. Davis and his confederates were destined to live in history as the greatest practical Abolitionists that the world has ever known. We do not underrate the services of Messrs. Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison and others, to the cause of Emancipation; they have been faithful to their light, and have done a good work, though we cannot humor their disposition to claim as their thunder everything that has been done for the slave during the last quarter of a century. Mr. Gerrit Smith, too, has done his part manfully; so have Giddings, Lovejoy, Jay, Sumner, and others, done theirs. But the Calhoun Nullifiers, who of Yancey, Lloyd, Barksdale, etc. have long been the chief opply secided from the Union. Theodore Winthrop at Great Bethel was shot by a slave, armed for the fray by the master, and mad. dened by the rebel falsehood that the Yankees were coming to steal all the slaves and sell them in Cuba. In fact, the rebels intended and fully expected from the outset to make all possible use of slaves: it was their *sole* use of them that they objected to. And their savage acts and orders directing that blacks captured while in arms be shot, demonstrate that their war was all based on the assumption that those negroes were *their slaves*, who had "revolted" and were in "insurrection" against their lawful rulers and masters. And that, it seems, is a crime which these gentry regard with peculiar horror.

But the Confederates, it seems, have decided to make the plunge. After breaking up the Democratic party as not sufficiently pro-slavery, and then essaying desperately to break up the Union on the same pretext, they have at last turned a short cover and resolved to arm and feed all their able bodied slaves! Hitherto, their arming has been fitful, local, sporadic; henceforth, they arm systematically and universally. Hitherto they have always hitherto boasted of the devotion of the negroes to their masters and their horror of Yankees and Abolitionists, they now betray their perfect consciousness of the falsity of these pretences, by declaring that every slave they arm shall have his freedom.

It will be idle to seek to conceal, even from the most stolid, that this is in effect an edict of Universal Emancipation. One Hundred Thousand men—much less Two, Three, Five Hundred Thousand—cannot be kept down if they arm leaving their wives and children in bondage. "It is the first step that costs," and that decides all that follow. A government that recruits and maintains an army from among the slaves can expect to its sway must be practically anti-slavery, no matter what might be its choice. The rebellion, calling the slaves to arms, has set the ball rolling for the sacrifice slavery. "Paint an inch thick, to this complexion must he come at last."

We have never yet declared slavery dead in this country. We have more commonly apprehended that it would yet afflict and distract us for a quarter of a century. But it has thoroughly been resolved to arm their slaves, the end must be very near.

But can any negro army be raised that will afford any substantial aid to the rebellion?

We think not. We think it is. There is not a negro in America so stupid as not to know that the rebellion was concocted and has been maintained in the interest of slavery. It had no object, no meaning, apart from this. It denounced our President's two proclamations of Freedom as hideous, execrable, fiendish. It called upon the world to execrate them with unmeasured abhorrence. The world regarded, but didn't abhor. In fact, while the rebels have had strong friends, active champions, unscrupulous advocates throughout the civilized world, they have all been exceeding chary of responding to its demonstrations in behalf of slavery. Bondage was the strength of the Confederacy in Dixie and among our Northern Copperheads, but its weakness everywhere else.

This eleventh-hour dodge will only hasten the catastrophe it is designed to prevent. The slaveholders will no more be coerced into subserviency to treason by the mad-dog cry of Abolition. The Poor Whites, who have been fighting against "negro equality," will see that their castle is tumbling about their ears. Everybody has now a good excuse for turning his back on the discomfited, bankrupt, hopeless rebellion. In a few weeks its power will have departed, and its memory be left to rot. Amen!

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT COMPROMISE—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1863.

THE MYSTERY OF UNGODLINESS.

IF the Mystery of Godliness is great, greater yet is the Mystery of Ungodliness. That is to say, in certain of its phases. Some kinds of wickedness are perfectly explicable by the laws of human nature. All such as find their satisfactions in sensual delights, in the gratification of appetites, or passions, or lusts, they spring from certain well-known passions of the human heart. Something, at least, appears to be gained from their commission. The pleasure found in the exercise of tyranny, oppression and cruelty by the guilty party can be comprehended, because we know how strong is the love of power in the natural man. The satisfaction to be derived from the accumulation of wealth and in its expenditure is intelligible by all of us, because the love of property is implanted in all our natures. In all these cases and their like there is a *quid pro quo*—something acquired or something enjoyed, as a set-off for the penalties incurred by the violation of divine laws. But the disinterested love of a wickedness like slavery, sympathy with its perpetrators from spontaneous impulse, hatred of the victims of the villany, on purely abstract principles, a desire to see them bound down in their torments with adamantine chains, and thrust back into them should they have escaped from them, and this though they have done their ill-wishers no harm, nor their tormentors done them any good, all this is indeed a Mystery of Ungodliness hard to be explained. And yet how often do we meet with it, not ashamed of itself and hiding its head, but uplifting it and boasting itself of its disgrace as if it were its glory! And this not only in the back slums of cities, in the haunts of vice, crime, poverty and ignorance, but in the high places of society, as they claim to be, among the educated, the externally refined and elegant, and especially among those who stand apart from the rest of the world as holier than they, and who profess to be, in a peculiar manner, the accepted and favorite servants of the common Father of Mankind and the chosen disciples of Jesus Christ.

English Snobbishness is an elevated and exemplary virtue compared with this vice. There is something in the distinctions of society there which one can conceive of taking hold of the imagination. Hereditary honors of that description have, in many cases, an historical interest, and in all are associated with chivalrous ideas of deference to merit, his father's or his own, which has been recognized as deserving of permanent marks of distinction by the sovereign of the State. It is not necessarily meanness that feels a reverence for rank, and that takes a pleasure in yielding to it all it can claim. The English aristocracy is at least supposed to be founded on public opinion, and as it is so conceived as to be continually issuing from the commonalty and returning to it, its honors are not placed so hopelessly above the reach of every subject that it is politically impossible that he, or some of his descendants, should attain the honors of the peerage. There is no such explanation of the volunteered subserviency, the eager baseness, which inspires the proslavery Snob of the Northern States. He loves and reverces the filthiest and most cruel of tyrannies for its own sake, and from his mean hatred of the objects of the same. There is nothing in the buying and selling of men and women that is more chilling to the character than the trading in heaves or swine, nor does the overworking and whipping to death a human being elevate human nature more than that of an ox or a horse. And yet men and women who would turn up their noses at one engaged in a petty trade, or would be shocked at a case of cruelty to a beast, feel honored by the acquaintance of one trafficking in their fellow-creatures or inflicting "moderate correction" (which is no murder) upon them, mourn over their loss and maintain their right to be rehabilitated in all their privileges of the auction-block, the scourge and the branding-iron.

This fanaticism of meanness, this snobbishness run mad, is partly to be explained by the political influences which was given to slavery by the Constitution, and partly to the insolence and power of self-assertion which are the natural fruits of absolute power over human beings. The first is sufficient to account for the prostration of the old Whig and Democratic parties, as such, at the feet of the men who were hurled the revolutionary scale of public elections. And it is omen for the industrious malignity of the Copperheads in their endeavors to help the rebels all they can without hurting themselves. By the Union as it was they mean that Union with the slaveholders which consisted in helping these last to govern the country, while they were rewarded with the Collectorships and Post-offices of the Northern States. By the Constitution as it is they mean a fundamental law, unchangeable and unrepealable, by which slavery is to be forever maintained as the regulating element of the politics that gives them power and pelf. The villanies of these men are explicable enough by this solution of selfishness. But there is a large class of persons who have no particular political aspirations and are entirely free from any necessity or wish for provision under government, who are as loyal to slavery, as eager for the preservation of the rights of slaveholders, as the most hungry office-seeker of them all. The passionate obsequiousness of this description of men and women must arise from the natural constitution of their minds. There are persons who must have objects to look up to as something higher than themselves—who must have idols, even if they have to make them up with their own hands or their own imaginations. Having no superiors in rank recognized as such by law, they are driven to invent them, or to accept such as see fit to assume the character impudently and to maintain it noisily. These persons are the ready and willing tools of the more intelligent and self-seeking politicians. They are supplied by them with false assertions and sophistical arguments to use within their sphere of influence. They are not so detestable as their wire-pullers; but, though more despicable, not much less mischievous. They have not the skill to contrive the firebrands, arrows and death of their abler conditors, but they are no less diligent in scattering them abroad.

These are times that try men's souls quite as much as those of the Revolution of '76. And it depends upon how men's souls come out of the furnace whether we are to be a great, united and free people, or not. The intelligent miscreants whose heart's desire it is to deliver up the North, bound hand and foot, with its own consent, to its old masters, assisted by the weak and paltry drivellers who think it a fine thing to help them do it, are now fairly arrayed against the men who believe it to see genuine liberty universally established, with equal laws, justly administered, which shall secure the safety and rights of every honest man and good citizen everywhere. This state of things, we know by the experience of seventy years, cannot coexist with slavery. Whether slavery be a good and pleasant estate for the slaves or not, it has grown to be one entirely intolerable for the white man and utterly inconsistent with his rights. Just in the proportion and degree that slavery is suffered to exist after the year, will be the proportion and degree of Civil Liberty possible in the land. The two opposite principles of light and darkness, of Freedom and Slavery, have now joined battle, in the free States, as a part, and the most important part, of the rebellion. That the rebellion of the slaveholders, South, will be in due time suppressed, is now as certain as any future event can be. The earnest attention of every lover of his country and of Civil Liberty must now be bent upon defeating the treasonable plots of the allies of the rebels within our own borders to turn their discomfiture into a substantial victory, making the lack of the Republic worse than the first. We think that the public mind is growing more and more intelligent as to the one thing needful to be done, and that the full carrying out of the proclamation of Emancipation will not only be sustained by the Nation, but insisted upon. But this is not to be taken for granted, and our efforts relaxed as no longer necessary. Slavery has received a death-blow by this word, undoubtedly, but it is yet to be seen how long it can linger and how much more mischief it can do before it finally dies. It is a monster of great tenacity of life, and its friends are not yet willing to see themselves in the high places of the North. The critical part of the fight with it will come after it has been disabled on its own ground and demands not merely life, but dominion over us, as a vital duty on our part, on our own ground. Should this demand be complied with—and we wish we could say that it is impossible to be done—the Mystery of Ungodliness will be more profound than ever and more puzzling to posterity to explain than it has ever yet been. And no wonder, for never before did a nation expend hundreds of thousands of lives and thousands of millions of dollars to compel its abdicated tyrants to rule over it against their will!

PHILADELPHIA MATTERS.

MR. ROBERT PURVIS, of Byberry, has accepted an invitation from Major Geo. L. Stearns to be one of the party which goes with him to aid in the work of organizing black troops. Mr. Purvis, we presume, is now *en route* to Chattanooga. Major Stearns is fortunate in having secured such a companion. A similar invitation, we learn, had been extended to Mr. J. M. McKim, but duties of a like character at home and other causes obliged that gentleman to decline.

Advices from Philadelphia speak of the increasing popularity of the negro-enlistment movement, and of the steady progress of that enterprise in Pennsylvania.

The Second regiment at *Camp William Penn* (being the "6th Regiment U. S. Colored Troops") is steadily filling up, and an uncommonly fine-looking and well-behaving body of men it is said to be.

A flag-presentation took place at the camp last Monday, which attracted a large crowd of spectators. The flag was a gift from ladies of color of Philadelphia, and was painted by Mr. David Bowser of that city, a colored man of fine skill in that line of art. It was presented to the regiment through Col. Wagner, the officer commanding, by Robert Purvis, who made it the occasion of a brief but eloquent speech. Col. Wagner replied happily in a strain that showed him to have been much touched by Mr. Purvis's remarks.

Speeches were also made by Mr. John Bowers and Col. Maurice.

Nothing has been heard from the First Regiment—Colonel Tilghman—since its departure, except the fact of its safe arrival at Morris Island, the present seat of war in South Carolina.

WHY SEYMOUR DOES NOT RESIST THE DRAFT.—Abbe McMasters, a Democratic politician of this city, and in possession, no doubt, of the secrets of the leaders of the party, lately made a speech at Dubuque, Iowa, in in which he said, as reported in *The Daily Times* of that city:

"He had been frequently asked, since he came here, why Seymour had not opposed the draft? He would say that *the Governor had done all it was prudent to do.* In a short time there would be a convention held, which would adopt resolutions opposed to the war and against forcing people to fight. If a man wanted to fight let him join the army, but no man should be forced to enter the service of the Republican party. Gentlemen. Gov. Seymour will act up to these resolutions.

"It is not safe, said the speaker, to oppose the draft now. New York is full of Federal bayonets. We had a riot, but the tax-payers, *many of whom are Democrats, will have to pay for the destruction of property, and it will come hard on them.* As a question of brute force it is not politic to make war on the government now. *We tried it once, and it did not pay!*"

This frank confession that the mob which lately ravaged this city burning buildings, plundering houses and stores and robbing and murdering defenceless citizens, was instigated by the Democratic party, certainly lays the merit of frankness. "We tried it once," says Mr. McMasters, "and it did not pay." The Democrats of Iowa must be unreasonable indeed if they were not satisfied with this apology for Gov. Seymour.

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF KANSAS are to hold a delegated Convention at Leavenworth, on the 13th, 14th and 15th of October next, for the purpose of taking into consideration their political, educational, moral and social disabilities, and adopting measures to secure for themselves all the rights enjoyed by white citizens. The movement is creditable to their intelligence, and every true friend of liberty must wish them success. We should not wonder if Kansas were found taking the lead of other States in expunging from her Constitution and laws all distinctions of color or race.

A CHAPTER FROM THE CHRONICLES OF SALEM, N. J.

1. And it came to pass in the year of Christ, 1863, in the second month, the fifth day of the month, that sweet singers of the tribe of Asa, known also as Hutchinson, came into the city of Salem, to make glad the hearts of the inhabitants thereof with their very pleasant songs.

2. And a large and great gathering of people assembled in the hall which is called Rumsey's, on the street commonly named Fenwick, and there gathered together to delight themselves in the voice of melody.

3. And the said tribe of Asa, father, mother, daughter, and two little sons, appeared before the people of the city of Salem, and poured forth music so sweet as charmed the hearers thereof: and Asa, the father, likewise made melody on a pleasant instrument which mingled with his voice and theirs.

4. And Rosetta, daughter of Frederick the orator, likewise came to hear the Hutchinsons, and a few others with her. Now Rosetta and her companions had more darker than the rest of the people who had assembled together: save this there was no cause of offence found in them.

5. But when the eyes of the people of Salem rested on Rosetta and her companions, they were filled with rage, and they said, Shall we suffer these dark-skinned people to come and sit down here in this building with us, who are white altogether? (How-beit they continued to listen to the minstrels: for their voices made melody so musical, as is rarely heard in this city.)

6. But the next day some of them said one to another, Behold, now this tribe of Asa did surely know that these dark skinned people were coming into the midst of us this evening: and yet they did not interfere, neither prevent this great wrong and scandal: and who are they, that thus they should do dishonor unto the city of Salem?

7. Let it be, therefore, that when the tribe of Asa come hack this way, we pelt them with rotten eggs, and in divers other ways insult them; that so they may sorely repent the evil which they and these dark-skinned people have committed against the peace and dignity of the people of Salem.

8. (For the tribe of Asa had purposed and promised to return from Bridgeton, whither they were going, by the way of Salem, and give the inhabitants thereof some more of their pleasant songs.)

9. And it was so, that the ire of the people of Salem was so mightily kindled, and waxed so hot, that it was not safe for Asa the sweet singer, nor his wife, nor their little ones, to show themselves again in Salem, though its name be by interpretation, *city of Peace.*

10. So letters were sent after them, saying, Ye had better not come any more into our borders: for our people mutter curses against you, and vow vengeance upon you, inasmuch as ye connived at this scandalous thing, whereas ye ought to have known better.

11. So the tribe of Asa, the sweet singer, came no more to Salem, but returned to their own country another way.

12. And all the rest of the acts of the city of Salem, how they turn out of office them that are worthy to hear rule, and put in high places those that love strong drink, and slavery, and that give bribes—are they not written in the history of this city for two years past?

13. Nevertheless there he, even in Salem, a remnant who are grieved because of these things, and whose souls mourn in secret over the abominations in their fair city.

Salem, N. J., Feb. 10, 1863. AUTOS.

MRS. GAGE TO THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

AT a Sunday meeting on the 7th of June, following the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends at Longwood meeting-house, Chester Co., Pa., Oliver Johnson proposed to the friends that they should sustain a teacher for the freedmen on Paris Island, S. C. The proposition was received, and, I think, put before the meeting in the form of a resolution and adopted. It was then proposed that a contribution should be taken at the time, which was done, and one hundred and twenty dollars collected and handed to Isaac Mendenhall, who paid the same over to me, for the use of Mary E. Gage, who had then been teaching three months.

At the same meeting, Amos Gilbert presented a silver watch to me for Mary E. Gage. The watch was afterwards purchased by friends and returned to Mr. Gilbert, and nine dollars paid me as the value of the same, by Theodore D. Weld, to be added to the one hundred and twenty already spoken of.

On my return to New York, I expended the money thus given over into my hands in the purchase of flour, molasses, sugar, soap and starch for the people's use. The goods were shipped at once to Paris Island, but on the way two barrels of flour were lost. (This loss we shall sustain.) All the other articles were received in good condition, and have been sold at a small profit, and Mary E. Gage has received the $129 00 in cash to ward her yearly salary. The surplus or profit forms a little fund for disbursing now to give a bit of soap to the widow, a little flour to the poor, or a pint of molasses or a pound of sugar to the old or crippled. Thus the money has been made to do a double duty.

Most of the schools of the Port Royal mission were closed on the 1st of July, and the lady teachers, with few exceptions, went North to recruit. The weather was hot, and the mosquitoes, sand-flies and fleas unbearable in the country places. It seemed a cruelty, as well as waste of time, to call our children together under such circumstances. Many of the children were sick, and their long walks—most of them over a mile and a half, some two miles—brought on fevers and other complaints.

The school was accordingly dismissed, and the teacher, earnestly solicited to do so, went at once to Morris Island, to devote her time and energy among the sick and wounded soldiers, where she remained in active duty for four weeks.

On her return to Paris Island a new work opened before her. Sickness was prevailing—a virulent species of chicken pox, by some called small pox, intermittent fevers, diarrhoea, etc.—no physician upon the Island, and only three white people, to watch, counsel or assist, in accumulating demands. I could not leave my place, where I was called for every hour in the day to answer to demands, and she became at once the doctor. With a book upon the Family Practice of Homeopathy, and a well-filled box of pills; she began her rounds, doing as well as she could, depending more upon the enforcement of sanitary measures, such as bathing, diet, cleansing, purifying, etc., than upon infinitesimal doses; though we are glad to perceive that our medicines seem in most cases to have the desired effect. Sickness, if not abating, is moderated. Thus have six weeks been spent, in duties more constant, wearisome and disagreeable by far than those of school teaching, and, as we believe, far more useful to the people. To ride to the five plantations of the island requires a journey of eighteen miles, which is sometimes done in one day, stopping at many houses, leaving medicines and giving instructions. As has been stated, three white people now reside on the whole force of the island. Nothing is more needed than some person to fill exactly the place now being filled by my daughter. Our experience as nurses and physicians has revealed to us the necessity of some one to visit the houses of these people once or twice a week, to look into their habits, watch their ways, and teach them by precept and example to keep themselves neat and cleanly, to patch and mend, to economise, and make the most of time, pointing out abuses and demanding correction in the spirit of love and kindness.

This work Mary E. Gage is willing to do, and asks of the friends who have so kindly pledged themselves to sustain her it they are willing she should transfer her teaching from the children to the parents—from the school-room to the homes. Will the friends who gather at Longwood and elsewhere give response through THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD if there be any objection to this arrangement. If none is made, then we shall decide that silence gives consent, and proceed accordingly.

In the meantime, let no one suppose me idle or recreant to duty. No two women can do all that needs to be done; and with all efforts that we can make, more, much more, still remains to do.

Friends will remember, too, that we have not the influence of example upon this island as elsewhere, no white females being near, and the people, for the most part, are unused to the manners and customs of white people; hence our undertaking is more difficult and difficult from its isolation. This will readily be believed when I tell you that I have seen but three white women since I left New York four weeks ago, and two of those in one day, and but once. Not a white woman's foot has been upon the island, except my own and my daughter's, that we know of, for two months, and with one exception for three.

I have made this particular explanation of affairs, that those who are most interested may give us advice and counsel.

P. S.—Since writing the above, a week since, sickness seems abating. The weather, though still very hot, is dry and relieved by sea breezes.

Remarks by the Editor.

We think we can assure Mrs. Gage that not one of the contributors to the fund for the support of her daughter will make the least objection to the change in her occupation above described—a change which, it seems, is made necessary by the peculiar condition and wants of those among whom she is laboring. When engaged in instructing mothers and daughters in the duties of housekeeping, she is not less a *teacher* than when she was conducting children into the mysteries of reading and spelling.

Mrs. Gage's recollection as to the action of the friends at Longwood is at fault in two particulars. It was not on Sunday, when the Yearly Meeting had adjourned, but on Saturday, when it was in session, that the principal contribution was taken up to aid in the support of a teacher at Paris Island. The subject was also brought to the notice of the audience gathered on Sunday, when further contributions were made. The Yearly Meeting did not pass a resolution making itself responsible for the full support of Mrs. Gage's daughter. One of the Clerks did indeed remark, on the occasion referred to, that he thought those present, with the aid of others in that region, were abundantly able to sustain the work, and that he hoped they would do so; but no resolution concerning such a pledge was either passed or offered. The Yearly Meeting simply voted to make a contribution on the spot, and to appoint a Committee to solicit further subscriptions among those who were not present. The Committee consists of the following persons: Alice Eliza Hambleton, Esther Rakestraw, Ellen H. Jackson, Susan P. Chambers, Hannah J. Dixon, Elizabeth Jackson, Eliza Agnes Bechtel Wilson, Mary P. Jacobs, Sophia Moore, and Mercy Lloyd. Perhaps these friends have already discharged the duty they so kindly undertook to perform; but if not, they no doubt will do so ere long. We hope they may succeed in collecting even more than the sum which will be required for Miss Gage's support.

PERSONAL.

"Warrington" writes to the Springfield *Republican* that the sale of Phillips's speeches is likely to go up to 10,000.

Mrs. Caroline Augusta Street, widow of the late Admiral Foot, died at the residence of her father, Augustus R. Street, Esq., in New Haven, on the 26th ult.

John Morrissey, the pugilist, having been drafted in Erie Co., offered $5,000 for a substitute, requiring him to be five feet eleven inches high and to weigh 183 lbs. A man named George F. Eberley, of exactly the height and weight, and "sound as a hound's tooth," has accepted the offer.

President Lincoln has forwarded to the wife of the late Brig.-Gen. George C. Strong, who recently lost his life in one of the charges on Fort Wagner, on Morris Island, a Major-General's commission, to date from the day of the battle. This will enable Mrs. Strong to the pension payable to the widow of an officer of the rank named.

Says the New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard:* "Rev. Wm. J. Potter, of the Unitarian Church in this city, was accepted as a recruit, and declined to furnish a substitute or pay the commutation. We understand that Mr. Potter is going to Washington on the invitation of the Secretary of War, who, we have no doubt, will assign him such a position as his talents and devotion to the cause merit."

Parson Brownlow gives notice of his intention to revive his paper just as soon as possible after the Union forces take Knoxville. In a letter to the Philadelphia *Press* he says: "I shall come down upon rebeldom after a style that will interest all loyal men North and South. I already have my prospectus written, and in a few weeks I shall have it in the leading Northern papers. The title of the paper will be "Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator."

John Brodhead, the man who, in 1860, wrote to Jeff. Davis expressing a desire to be appointed minister to Nicaragua, that he might "help open that country to civilization and niggers," and telling him at the same time that he was "tired of being a white slave at the North, and longed for a home at the sunny South," has been nominated for City Treasurer by the Copperhead Democracy of Philadelphia! The man is worthy of the party. Need we say more?

Death is making havoc among the concoctors of the rebellion. A few days ago we recorded the decease of Wm. L. Yancey; we now record that of John B. Floyd, who, as Secretary of War, under Buchanan, did so much to promote the designs of the rebel conspirators. He it was who, in 1850, was selected by the proslavery party of this city to speak on the steps of the Exchange (now the Custom House) in reply to the speech of Gen. Banks, and who fortified himself for the task, while speaking, by frequent potations of brandy from a bottle in the hands of Capt. Ryanders or some other faithful political friend!

Our readers have not forgotten the address of Brig.-Gen. Saxton to the Colored Soldiers and Freedmen in the Department of the South, proposing that they should erect a monument to the memory of Col. Shaw, as a fitting testimonial of their appreciation of his character and services. We now give the generous response of Brig.-Gen. Gillmore to that letter:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
MORRIS ISLAND, S. C., Aug. 10, 1863.

GENERAL: I have seen in the papers your address "To the Colored Soldiers and Freedmen of this Department," on the occasion of the death of Colonel Robert G. Shaw, 54th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.

I deem such a tribute of gratitude to the worth and gallantry of that estimable officer and gentleman, and to the cause he died for, to be a noble one; and I, for one, sincerely keep it good, but a brave man; brave, indeed, to a fault, and I know he was brave.

Should an opportunity offer, I desire you to convey to the friends of the deceased, and to your subordinates in this department, the assurance of my hearty appreciation of his transcendant patriotism and valor.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
Q. A. GILLMORE,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

Brig.-Gen. R. SAXTON, Military Governor, commanding at Beaufort, S. C.

GARIBALDI TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—The following letter, signed by the leading Italian Liberals, the renowned Garibaldi at their head, has been sent to President Lincoln. It speaks the mind of every Democrat in Europe, and may well put to shame those in this country who steal the name of Democracy as a cover for the most arrogant and vulgar despotism that exists on the face of the whole earth:

CAPRERA, Aug. 6, 1863.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Emancipator of the Slaves in the American Republic.*

If in the midst of your Titanic battles, our voice can yet reach you, let us, O Lincoln, free sons of Columbus, send you a word of good wishes and of admiration for the grand work that you have begun.

Heir of the aspirations of Christ and of John Brown, you will pass to posterity with the name of Liberator; more enviable than any crown or any human treasure.

An entire race of men, bowed by selfish egotism under the yoke of slavery, is, at the price of the noblest blood of America, restored by you to the dignity of man, to civilization, and to love.

America, mistress of liberty to our fathers, opens again the solemn epoch of human progress, and while astonished the world by her gigantic daring, she makes us sorrowfully think how little Europe, which also fights so great a battle for liberty, finds neither mind nor heart to equal her's. While the revelers in despotism raise their proclamation rejoicing over the fall of a free people, let free men religiously keep sacred the day of the fall of slavery. There are mysterious parallels in history—the robbery of Mexico, and the Lincoln proclamation. Prosperity to you, Abraham Lincoln, pilot of Liberty; hail to all you who for two years have fought and died around her regenerating banner! Weal to you, redeemed sons of Ham—the free men of Italy kiss the glorious marks of your chains.

New Publications.

BEYOND THE LINES: or, a Yankee Prisoner Loose in Dixie. By Capt. John James Geer, late of Gen. Blenker's Staff. With an Introduction, by Rev. Alexander Clarke, Ph.D., Philadelphia: J. W. Daughaday. 1863.

The author of this volume was, for ten years, before the commencement of the present war, a popular and successful minister of the Methodist Protestant Church, laboring in and around Cincinnati, and highly esteemed by a wide circle of friends. When the rebellion broke out he was pastor of the George street Church in Cincinnati, but at once began recruiting for the Army of Freedom, and afterwards received the appointment of Assistant-Adjutant-General on the Staff of Gen. Blenker. Until this time, according to the testimony of his friend, Rev. Alexander Clarke, he had been unwilling to interfere with the "peculiar institution" of the South; but the moment the stars and stripes were insulted by the Slave Power, he resolved to hate and hurt the accursed thing henceforward, until the last vestige of it should be obliterated from American soil. Two days before the battle of Shiloh, being sent out as one of a scouting party, he was taken prisoner, and in this volume he tells the story of his six months' captivity. It is a lucid and interesting narrative. He was tried for his life, on the most frivolous charges, before several prominent rebel generals, including Bragg and Beauregard; he was chained with negro chains and cast into military prisons and common jails; he lived for three weeks in pestilential swamps while attempting to escape, was hunted with bloodhounds, befriended by slaves, and finally recaptured.

His experiences among the people of the South, his white and black, give us a clear view of the interior workings of slavery. The slaves everywhere showed themselves friendly to the Yankee prisoners. They were sure that the success of the Yankees would end their bondage. Speaking of his imprisonment at Columbus, Mississippi, Mr. Geer says:

The negroes, whose business it was to bring our victuals, and keep the prison in some order, were very curious and inquisitive in their looks, and often in their words. They wondered why so many white men were confined and guarded. I was much interested in one of the negro waiters, who came daily to our cell; one about twelve and the other about fifteen years of age. Said George, the younger:

"Massa, when you gwine to take Memphis?"

"Why? George!" said one of our party.

"Kase my mother's dar, and she'll be free when de Linkum soldiers gib Memphis."

"George," said I, "what do you know about freedom?"

"Why, Lor' massa, I know'd if you'd whip 'em up dar, dey colored folks 'ud all be free, an' dat's why makes dem rebels fight like de dchel. God bless you, massa, I knows why. When de war broke out, I was mighty afeard dey would take me to Cuba, an' I got a take dis here nigger off, or else de Yankees will take him. I hoped and prayed dat de Yankees would gib me. God bless you massa, I knows why."

From this time I began to be more than ever interested in the negroes. I discovered a latent talent in the despised race. I began to investigate this new phase of inquiry. The older one of these boys became myself had afterward many a friendly interview. He told me that he had been reared in New Orleans. His father was a French gentleman, who came daily to his parent victim by saying that her offspring should be sent North to freedom. But when hostilities began, he entered the army of Louisiana, and was a witness of his crimes. This outraged woman was afterwards hired to a planter, to work in a cotton-field, while her son was sent to Columbus, as a hotel waiter. Such, thought he, was one of the barbarities of this horrid system of enslavement.

Mr. Geer became deeply interested in a slave named Tom:

He seemed keenly alive to his condition. He told me in a conversation that "the colored people were as heathens—they knew nothing. I was talking," he added, "with massa and missus dis mornin', and missus asked me if I had been a-preachin' to de niggers."

"'Ah,' says I, 'missus, I don' don't like 'em at all. Dey won't have nothin' to say to a nigger.' Den missus said, sez she,

"'Tom, you don't you know dese Yankees are comin down har to confiscate all you culled people?' Now she think I don' don't know what 'confiscate' means, spec' she think I thought it was to *kill*. God bless you massa, I knows it is to *free de darkies*, and den dis poor nigger have loss and carriage, if I don' can work and pay for dem. Dat's what I tell de ole lady, an' missus, I stood and shake all over. I tells 'em dat I is so 'feared dat dey would come dat I don't know what for to do. God bless you, don't you think dey was foolenough to think I sez afeared? Ha! ha! ha!"

How Tom rendered him service on another occasion he thus relates:

One evening I noticed an unusual excitement among the white people. To ascertain its cause I again had recourse to Tom. He

track, and but for the friendly counsel and aid of slaves they could have been promptly captured. They battled their pursuers, however, for three weeks, during which time their sufferings from hunger, anxiety, fatigue, and loss of sleep were fearful. They hid in swamps and lived in boats and swamps four or five days, when, hungry, footsore and almost in despair, they were hunting to find a plantation where there were no slaves:

Suddenly, I heard the barking of a dog not far distant. We paused and listened. It was our bloodhound. Collins gave a little deep cry. From long habit the terrific cold-blooded terror of Shiloh did not, at first, catch us. Now we knew that help was near. We quickened our pace. In a minute more we came in sight of a cabin, negro men. A few steps further, and we came in sight of a cotton-field, which we appreciated. We waded in the water of a small brook that flowed by the cabin. With great caution, we neared the field, in which there were twenty-five negroes at work picking cotton. Most of the men looked old and feeble. Only two were young men, one quite young, and worn, and old, gray-haired man nearing the fence, sheered at a furrow, and when he paused a moment to wipe his plough, leaning on the handles, his face exposed as a fine, which instantly drew his attention. As I caught his eye, I beheld an intelligence and a sympathy that thrilled me with trembling step and fearless-field.

"Well, uncle," said I. "I am travelling through your country, and I am very ragged, as you see. I don't wish to call on white folks in this condition, and I am very hungry. Could you give me something to eat?"

"Oh, my masse! God bless you! all you want; but no hark! go back!" he continued, waving his hand, as if to hurry me back to our hiding place; "go back, masse; dey's mean pore white folks hereabout. Dey do you see dat ole cabin up dar, in dat field? To-night, just at leven o'clock, come to dat cabin, massa, and I'll gin you de supper you want. Now go back, massa!"

"Uncle, you won't bring anybody with you, will you?"

"Why, God bless you, masse; *I knows you! I knows you!*"

"Now, Uncle, what do you know about me?"

"Why, you are Captain Frank Wilkes! I knew you from Marion prison, massa. *I knows you!* Dose eyes! dis hand! depends on yer? No, no, massa! But go back! go back, till leven o'clock! mine, now, massa!" and he started after his plough, for by this time the slaver hands were approaching. I went back, and reported the prospects to my comrade. We concealed ourselves in the thicket near the cabin to watch the negro. At last at dusk, the slaves unhitched their mules, finished up their rows, and started for their cabins, singing:

"We'll soon be done wagging with the crosses,
We'll soon be done wagging with the crosses,
We'll soon be done wagging with the crosses,
And we'll be done wagging with the angels,
And den wing with the angels,
In the New Jerusalem!"

It was wonderfully sweet music, but really the most thrilling I had ever heard, as it rose through the still evening air in rich, mellow accord from the voices of the whole company. It was more sweet than the music of horns for supper and rest. I thought how little the people in the North knew about these *crosses!* and I silently but fervently prayed for the day to hasten when all these poor souls might find the liberty for which they sang and suffered.

The hours passed slowly away, but at length the appointed time arrived. Cautiously we left our retreat, and advanced with the utmost caution, until we came within thirty yards of the cabin, when we lay down in the grass to wait for the negro, lest arrangements might occur. For a few minutes we were kept in suspense, not feeling fully satisfied whether friend or foe might advance to meet us. Soon, however, the door of the cabin opened, and the negro trysting-place. He was evidently alone. He walked round and round the cabin, looking and waiting for us, and on each side of the cabin, and in the rear, waiting. When we had assured ourselves that no one was with him, and that he was true, we arose from our concealment, and met him at the cabin. He was rejoiced to see our confidence in him, and he was as thankful to give, as we were to receive, the rich repast he had prepared for us. Our supper consisted of corn-bread, smoked bacon and buttermilk—we had not tasted bread or a bottle of sweetened water. What a feast! Never did I partake of food with such a relish. We received it as a direct gift from God. We talked with the negro of our adventures, and he listened with the intensity of a child. Being assured by our old friend that we were perfectly safe, we tarried after supper over an hour, conversing on the state of our country, and receiving advice on the manner of proceeding on our journey. As the venerable man talked to us, telling us how to escape to our homes and friends, sharing his sympathies and his means to help our destitute wanderers, my old prejudices of caste were entirely obliterated. Beneath that dark brow was the mind of a man, and within that dark form a heart as true as the Pole Star. I could have embraced him as my father.

"Now, massa," said he, as we were about to separate until all true friends shall meet in heaven, "now, do jis as I tells you, and you'll git away. You keep de pine-edge straight on through massa's plantation for five miles. Dis pine-edge will lead de to de foot three hundred mile to de coast by de Ocmulgee river. The Ocmulgee flows into de Altamaha, and dat river leads de out of de Altamaha, and you'll find lots of de Yankees dar."

The old man understood the times. His knowledge of the war, and of its progress and movements, was thorough and accurate, although he was careful and somewhat reticent, even in his communications to us. In order to test his professed knowledge of us, and to ascertain if he was a spy in the pay of our foes, we plied him with various questions.

"Well, uncle," said we, "I suppose you know we are running from the conscript?"

"No, sah, I knows you is the Yankees what broke out o' jail at Macon, dat's what I knows."

"Do you right, uncle. Now what do you know about this war?"

"I doesn't know much about it, sah; only I knows dey say, if de Yankees whips, de darkies all be free, but if dey gets whipped, dey kin be slaves for de boot three hundred mile to de coast by de Ocmulgee river. The Ocmulgee flows into de Altamaha, and dat river leads

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

LOVE'S REACH.

When first the bloom of spring-time opens
You as a shamefaced maiden appear,
When they were kept in chilly nooks blooms,
As friends we planned to play some book,
And one, I blushing, took, for one—
How could I blush and break up the game!

When first the fluttering birds are
You spake and said our loves are one,
Some words, I need not repeat them here—
But know you remember, and blush
We loitered through an hour or so
You did not do so my memory.

When shone the stars on golden evening,
You spake and said that you loved me,
And though I said no word in answer,
I saw no doubting in your eyes—
And when you left me in the calm
You did not ask if I would say.

You asked no plighted troth that day,
You asked not what my heart would say,
Then, though we were so live apart,
Unspoken trust filled all your heart—
Then why to-day its absence, pray?
Am I less fond and faithful now?

LISA.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.*

BY HORACE GREELEY.

Great orators have been rare in all ages; Great Britain has now but Gladstone; in France, Berryer, growing old, is being quietly replaced by Jules Favre; this country, in the course of a hundred years, has known—how many? James Otis; Patrick Henry; Henry Clay; Sergeant S. Prentiss; Wendell Phillips—have there been any others? Daniel Webster's was one of the largest, brightest minds he spoke forcibly, because he thought deeply, saw clearly, and reasoned cogently; but I was never thrilled by the magic of his voice, and would nearly as soon read one of his great speeches as hear it make it. John C. Calhoun was a subtle brain: he was rather a metaphysician than an orator; he argued tersely, compactly; if you granted his premises, he would almost compel you to adopt his conclusion; but Clay's charm was in his personality, his utterance, he wielded audiences and molded senates, but did not, even in life, greatly influence those who never met and did not personally hear him, while his speeches are scarcely read at all since his death. He dealt so entirely with interests, with measures, with details and adjustments, that few even of his happiest efforts bear separation from their immediately impulses and occasions; he spoke warmly and nobly in behalf of South American independence, of the development and diversification of American industry, and of the guaranteed rights of the semi-civilized Indians; but he very rarely dwelt deliberately on any to the primary rocks and insisted on solving the problem of the hour by the application of universal principles, of eternal truth. Hence the rapid decline of his reputation as a speaker—while his brilliant cotemporaries, Webster and Calhoun, continue to be read and admired. Prentiss spent his maturity mainly at the bar in a comparatively rude section, and was excluded by his absence from office from all but a mere glimpse of public life; but the testimony of those who often heard him places him very high on the roll of American orators, and leaves little room for doubt that, with the opportunity of either of the great triumvirate, he would have achieved a wide and enduring renown.

Wendell Phillips has been for a little more than a quarter of a century known as a public speaker. American oratory is so generally bombastic and convulsive—so disfigured by contortions and volcanic fervor of manner for which the matter ejected affords no adequate excuse—that he has done us good service in the eyes of his fellow-citizens by giving a striking example of eloquence without rant, earnestness devoid of vehemence, and fervor without ostentation. While the self-proclaimed antagonists of "fanticism" have habitually indulged in a style of public discussion which inevitably suggested the vulgarisms "spread-eagle" and "splurge," this arch "fanatic" has persisted in talking to audiences as quietly, naturally, equably, as though he were conversing with a few chosen friends at his own dinner-table, and were commending the most obvious truths, instead of the monstrous and startlingly novel assumption that a man who requires and receives another's labor ought to pay him a stipulated price for it, and that no man should be the absolute owner of another's wife and children. "Silver-tongued" as he has been justly characterized, we think the first impression of almost every hearer has been that his oratory is a far easier and simpler achievement than he has been led to suppose it. His words are so happily chosen and enunciated that they hardly seem to have been chosen at all.

But Mr. Phillips is far more than a great orator. He is the eminent apostle of a great reformation. In the fullness of his youthful manhood, with a prosperous and fashionable career opening brightly before him, he deliberately put aside ambition and devoted his whole energies to the uplifting of the most despised and abused class of his countrymen from the mire and clay in which they had trodden, and into which millions of reckless feet were fiercely trampling them deeper and deeper. He was a popular member of a proud and powerful party which stood ready to honor and elevate him; he was the ornament of a social circle more attractive, refined, and exclusive than that of any other American city; the bar, the forum, the senate, proffered him eminence and wealth; he spurned them all, and gave all he had and all he could to the cause of the loathed and powerless slave. He cast away popularity without affecting to undervalue it, he excluded himself from the hope of political advancement as utterly as though he had pronounced for life to Dahomey, without a thought or a hope that the sacrifices he made for a detested race and a hopeless cause could be recompensed this side of the Resurrection of the dead. Surely such a self-consecration, such a man, whatever his speculative errors, must be appreciated and honored by every true and loyal heart.

The distinguishing characteristic of the school of Abolitionists which recognized William Lloyd Garrison as its head, and in which Mr. Phillips insists on taking a subordinate position, is thoroughness. The absolute right of the slave to his freedom forthwith is not merely the first article of its creed—it colors and controls all the rest. It is accepted that the Bible authorizes slavery? Then so much the worse for the Bible! Does the Church impede the instant advance of the car of Emancipation? Then run the car over the Church! Does the Constitution of our country ally with slaveholding? Then shiver the Union! Does the headship and rule of the husband in the family countenance the assumed authority of the master over the slave? Then let marriage, family, and chastity, and let Woman vote, preach, plead in court, or hold office, precisely like Man! In short, whatever justifies or fortifies the enslavement of human beings is abhorrent and execrable, and must be done to the moles and the bats this instant and without ceremony! Such I understand to be the essence of Garrisonism.

This this heroic treatment has been at least effective, I do not doubt. And yet I do not realize that it has been so effective as its devotees believe and assert. Here is the radical mistake which pervades the inculcations of this school, and which discolors the fair volumes now before me. I readily admit that there was a work for this school, and that they have done it at least faithfully. But it is *not* true—it is very far otherwise—though Mr. Phillips constantly assumes its self-evident verity, that the great Anti-Slavery revolution of our age and clime owes its existence wholly or mainly to Mr. Garrison and his school. I am not here contending that they were vitally wrong in their views and methods—let those who will discuss this point—I am only asserting that, whether they were right or wrong, the revolution would have occurred without them—more slowly, less thoroughly, if you will; but it would at all events have occurred. The seizure of Texas; the war in Mexico; the quarrel over the division of the booty; the Nebraska iniquity; the Kansas struggle; the brutal maiming of Sumner; the Dred Scott decision; the Democratic quarrel in and out of Charleston, are not the sole work of Mr. Garrison and his *Liberator*, and Mr. Phillips ever estimates the importance of the part played by himself and his little band in the great drama now approaching its one thousandth act. These years from date of Pharisaism have a most Pharisaic conceit of their own work and its consequences, which misleads and unduly inflates them. They assail or else condescendingly patronize men who have been as faithful to their ideas and as useful in their sphere as themselves. This conceit often distorts and exhibits them to disadvantage. "Hitch your wagon to a star," is wholesome advice; but if you should happen to get the notion that you have hitched to a star, instead of being drawn by it, you will probably be led into mischievous phantasies and pernicious eccentricities.

But enough. Mr. Phillips's Speeches and Lectures were well worth collecting; they form a chapter of the history of our age; they seem to have been well edited, and they are very tastefully and handsomely printed. Mr. Redpath's fine reading public will develop for them a sale; we will doubtless amply recompense him. I doubt that any other living layman's collected speeches would sell so extensively as these.

—*Tribune.*

* Speeches, Lectures and Letters. By Wendell Phillips. Boston: James Redpath, 221 Washington st.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

To the Editor of the London Dial.

Sir: I beg to enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from Moscow and which gives the most recent information on the working of the Serf Emancipation Act. If you consider the communication will interest your readers perhaps you will give it a place in your columns. I am, sir, yours truly,

E. A. Sheppard, Secretary.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Office,
27 New Broad street, August 8.

(Copy.)

Moscow, July 13.

Sir: As many of your readers are interested in the great reform of serf emancipation in Russia, I write you a few lines on the subject, trusting they will encourage the efforts of those who are working in the anti-slavery cause in other parts of the world. I have seen frequently the leaders of the serf emancipation movement both in Moscow and Petersburg, as well as in the interior. I visited the estates of Prince Cherkessy, 100 miles south of Moscow, in the government of Tula, and I was delighted with all I saw and heard. It shows without any doubt that a great and pacific revolution has been accomplished in Russia, the effects of which are calculated to be of great utility to the cause of the peasantry throughout the world.

"The great principle on which emancipation is based is the old municipal system of Russia, applied to the peasantry; a modification of the old self-government. The peasants elect themselves the heads of the villages, and these correspond with the authorities.

"These heads assemble twice a month to settle disputes among peasants. The government have appointed throughout Russia 1,600 honorary magistrates to settle disputes between the peasants and proprietors. These magistrates come once a month in session to the principal towns on the decision of individual magistrates. I was present at one of them. It was a case where a steward brought a charge against the peasantry of not paying certain debts which they had contracted before emancipation. It was very interesting to watch the different parties. The independent but civil air of the peasants, who felt they were treated as men not as serfs, and on the other hand the insolent air and manner of the steward, who had the sure of gaining his case, and no doubt looked with a longing, lingering regret on the good old times when he could have sent these peasants to Siberia, and made absolute master of the life and goods of them and their families. However, he was defeated, and had to retire crestfallen. It is truly a new era for the peasants.

"Education is progressing along with social improvement. More than 8,000 schools have been opened for the peasants, and everywhere I hear of their being anxious to read, as they feel they ought to be able to read the laws which deliberately they have made. The peasant now feels he is a man, and as such ought to cultivate his intellect.

"Fierce was the opposition raised to emancipation, particularly by the smaller proprietors, who groaned at the peasant being released from serfdom. The great proprietors were much more liberal. The men who advocated emancipation had to endure much from their countrymen, and I only wish they received more sympathy from Christendom, as they are deserving of it, as is the Czar. Nothing could exceed his firmness and noble zeal in the question. He knew that by his course he ran the risk of losing his life, but this did not deter him.

"The demand for land is increasing rapidly on the part of the peasants. The enemies of emancipation said the land would go out of cultivation, as the peasantry would be too idle to work. The contrary has proved true. It is a pleasant to see the care with which the peasants cultivate their land, and the eagerness with which they invest any savings they may possess in the purchase of land. They have in this the same feeling as the old peasantry. Had the peasantry in Russia not got the land—of course paying rent for it—it would have led to a proletarian system most disastrous to the Russian peasant.

"I have heard from all classes of society here but one opinion in favor of emancipation; while even those who were opposed to it, now admit that it was inevitable, and that it was accomplished in a pacific way far exceeding their expectations.

"To entire success the working of it in Russia would take half a volume. Suffice it to say that, whether we regard the spread of schools, the improved habits of industry by the introduction of the peasant proprietor system, or the effect on the family relations of the peasants, emancipation is realizing all that its most sanguine friends anticipated. Yes, more; for when has there been found a revolution in Russia that avoided a shedding of blood? and the peasants had many deep-seated wrongs to avenge on the proprietors, but they forbore, strong in the sense of justice.

"Nor are the effects beneficial only for the peasant. It is a question if the proprietor will not in many cases gain as much and certainly morally. He will no longer be so tempted by idleness, the parent of vice. The new system will require him to look after his own affairs, instead of leaving them in the hands of a grinding steward. Instead of being a mere pleasure-hunter on the Continent, he will have to live much on his own estates, and superintend in person, which will induce good habits. Instead of being surrounded by hosts of cheaply-paid domestic serfs, ready to obey his bidding whether for moral or immoral purposes, he will have to maintain fewer servants, and to exert himself more, not living in the style of an Eastern satrap.

"Emancipation is also leading to other reforms. Law reform and the principles of constitutional government are following in its train. The great reason why the late Emperor Nicholas, though favorable to serf emancipation, would not grant it. He knew that it must necessarily break down the despotic system of which he was so great an admirer. Yet on his dying bed he admitted his not granting it as one of the great errors of his reign.

(Signed) "James Long,
(Nd Durpan)."

AN INCIDENT OF THE RIOT.

A curious incident, which escaped general attention at the time of its occurrence, happened at police headquarters. While Mr. President Acton was giving certain final orders to a squad of men who were just leaving to combat the crowd in First Avenue, on Wednesday of the riot week, a wagon containing a hogshead was driven rapidly up to the Mulberry-street door. A boy lad, who appeared much excited and almost breathless.

"What have you there, my lad?" said the President.

"Supplies for your men," was the answer.

"What are they?"

"It is an assorted lot, sir; but the people says it's contraband."

Being exceedingly busy, the President ordered the wagon to be driven round to the Mott street entrance, where an officer was sent to look after the goods. When the wagon arrived the officers were about to tip the cask out, but were prevented by the boy, who exclaimed:

"Wait a minute; bring me a hatchet." A hatchet was brought, and the little fellow set to work unheading the cask, and as he did so the officers were astonished to see two full-grown negroes snugly packed inside. Upon being assured by the lad that they were safe, they raised their heads, took a long sniff of the fresh air, and exclaimed, "Bless de Lord!"

The boy stated that the contents had caused the poor unfortunates into the rear of some houses on the west side of the town, and that they had escaped by scaling a fence and landing in a grocer's yard; that the grocer was friendly to them, but he could not place them, lest he be sacked if they were found there. He accordingly hit upon this novel plan of getting them out, and while he kept watch in front the boy concealed the negroes up. The cask was then rolled out and a hogshead of sugar placed in the wagon, and driven off to Mulberry street.

THE IRISH RIOTS IN NEW YORK.

From the Special Correspondent of The London Spectator.

New York, July 17.

The Pro-Slavery Democrats have played their last card. It is a tremendous one, and was thrown down in the nick of time. The game is not yet played out, and not yet allayed disturbances in New York were named in that composite way which includes the rise of a bill in Parliament sometimes of such portentous length, that it would be called the Bowels of Christ Irish Pro-Slavery Democratic Insurrection. For, to explain this title in reverse, those who took part in them were, without exception, of the Democratic party, favorers of the Southern rebellion, and sympathizers and Roman Catholics. To understand this you must know that there are in New York about 20,000 Irishmen, with whose votes our omnivorous naturalization laws have enabled the Democratic party to control the Union. Indeed Irish friends I yet say this; and I think that few of the readers of *The Spectator* will disagree with me, when they consider that of this number about 19,500 were a few years ago living in huts, shooting landlords, and praying the Pope in their native bogs. These people are to a man the devoted followers of Fernando Wood (who escaped the state's prison only by the effect of a starved jury) and Richmond Hill Wood, their worthy brother, who owe their political elevation entirely to the votes of these reckless and ignorant creatures. These Woods are the active movers in the pro-slavery peace movement in this quarter; and the phrase once used and scorned by men of as little political principle as themselves, though of more personal respectability. For months past they have labored without cessation to engender a sentiment of hatred among the laboring people and artisans, and particularly among the Irish. To this purpose they have chiefly used, on the one hand, a provision in the Draft law which makes it lawful for the rich to purchase exemption for personal service, and on the other the hatred of the Irishman for the negro. The Yankee does not hate the negro. He simply regards him as a lower species of man, yet whom he feels a common but bare humanity, and any mingling with whom on the footing of equality is revolting and impossible. But the Irishman hates him. Upon these two raw places the pro-slavery Democrats have laboured, and have succeeded in goading the Irishman to madness, intending to use that madness as a weapon against the Administration and the war. They have used it, though with some indecision and cowardice, to use it if it could be used at all. The victory of the army of the Potomac under Meade over Lee (which only the sagacity of Lee in knowing when he was beaten and his prudence in retreat saved from being an utter rout), the capture of Vicksburg by Grant, the certain fall of Port Hudson (which has since yielded to Banks without aid from Grant), the retreat of Bragg's demoralized army before Rosecrans, giving Chattanooga and Knoxville, the keys of the country to the National forces, and the defection of North Carolina from the "so-called Confederate States," threatened the speedy extinction not only of the rebellion, but of the Copperhead or pro-slavery Democracy. Hence this savage outburst of fire and blood; the object of which was practically to nullify a law of Congress essential to the prosecution of the war in this city and State, and to intimidate the Free States, except the Republican New England. I have observed this dreadful and disgraceful outbreak closely. On Saturday last, July 11, the Draft was proceeding in apparent quiet, and all apprehension of trouble were lulled. But on that night a house burned, apparently because she was unable to keep her tongue between her teeth, told my wife that the Irishmen were going to resist the Draft to a man, and kill the Drafting officers. Every man would die as a dog rather than go when $300 would get a rich man off; and "Fernandy Wud and Governor Saymoor" would stand by them. The same secret I have since discovered in another way, in other places. I was always by Roman Catholic girls; the Protestant house servants seemed to know nothing about it. But it was generally regarded only as mere talk, or at most as showing a disposition to make trouble at the musterings, which it would not take place for some time to come. It was unfortunate that the Draft began on Saturday; for after came idle Sunday, and then blue Monday. On Monday morning, when all commercial, professional, and manufacturing New York had been "down town" for two hours, and was well immersed in business, news came down that some men were marching through the streets to resist the Draft. I was in Forty-sixth street. The city is on a long narrow island about two miles wide; but about two miles above the junction of the rivers which wash its shores it begins to taper like a V. The point at which it is only a yard or a foot wide, is Fourteenth street, the most fashionable quarter of the town, and that they had escaped by scaling a fence and landing in a grocer's yard; that the grocer was friendly to them, but he could not place them lest he be sacked if they were found there. He accordingly hit upon this novel plan of getting them out, and while he kept watch in front the boy concealed the negroes up. The cask was then rolled out and a hogshead of sugar placed in the wagon, and driven off to Mulberry street.

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* Speeches, Lectures and Letters. By Wendell Phillips. Boston: James Redpath, 221 Washington st.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

DEDICATED TO UNION MEN.

Wake up! the blot! Wipe out the spot!
Jehovah's sword is flaming high!
Wipe out the blot! Cut out the rot
In its own wound it will die!

It is the scorpion girt by fire,
Self-kindled are the flames that spread;
In its own fire let it expire,
Its own sting rankling in its head!

Wipe out the spot! Wipe out the blot!
The pestilential, horrid thing!
For him no hope, no mercy, no
Who'd back to life the monster bring.

On to the long predestined end—
The march of time is moving now!
A sweeper that no event converge
To rend the veil from Freedom's brow.

Wipe out the spot! Wipe out the blot!
The only stain on our banner shows;
O! who dare not bewailed the lot
That heaped on us the bondman's throes!

We stand for all our country's laws;
But we shall have none in the chain,
Who backward draws from Freedom's cause
Let him not rank with men again!

The worm that eats the root is found
The surgeon's knife is at the core;
Shall health abound? The tree grow sound?
Or, cancerous, fester as before?

Wake up! our and ours the tale
To sound to ages yet to come,
Shall fiends prevail? Shall Heaven fail?
The answer lies in our hands alone!

The cancer dries the vital flow
While one polluting root remains;
And every slaveholding sinner
Can spread, where Slavery clogs the veins.

Behold the curse! Its despiate hands
Are shaking now the sacred base,
Where Freedom's altar stands with beaded hands
And sinews strained to save her race.

Let no man fear! Our Eagle yet
Will cleave its way through the wind,
The fire, its star be set—
His flight shall leave that night behind!

Still brighter smiles shall dress the soil
Where sugar, rice and cotton grow,
And freeman's toil shall know no foil,
Though black or white his color show.

Wipe out the blot! Wipe out the spot!
Jehovah's sword is flaming high!
Wipe out the blot! Cut out the rot!
Its own wound it will die!

New York, August 22, 1863.

B. T. J.

—*Evening Post.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

AFTER A SHOWER.

BY GEORGE W. SUNDAY.

The tender grass and the down-trodden weeds
Disengage their green arms with delight,
And anxious plants broke the shell of their seeds
To drink in the rain in the light.

And many lifted their heads from the softened sod,
And breathed their sweet breath on the air,
And the balm of the blossoms ascended to God
Like the wish of a child at prayer.

Up soared the ambassador lark with a hymn
In his heart to the King of the sky,
Up over the cloud and the rainbow's rim,
To God's open window on high.

CUSTOMS IN DAHOMEY.

The London *News* gives the following facts, gathered from the dispatches of Commodore Wilmot on the his recent official visit to Dahomey:—The king is a very handsome man, upwards of six feet high, broad shouldered, and a pleasant countenance when he likes. His eyes are bloodshot, which may arise from want of rest or other causes. He is a great smoker, but does not drink much in the bottle. His rum is much lighter than most of his people, resembling the copper color of the American Indians. He is very active and fond of dancing and singing, which he practises in public, during the "customs." He is much addicted to the fair sex, of whom he possesses as many as he likes. He is about forty-three years old. The Commodore, who was accompanied by Capt. Luce and Dr. Lamont, of the Brisk, were in Abomey upwards of five weeks, and daily witnessed scenes of a very extraordinary character, such as the dancing of the amazons, their warlike songs, the dancing and songs of the children, the distribution of presents to the princes, chiefs, captains and head men of the troops, the "passing" of the king's drummers, of the captains of the amazons, of the king's jesters and a variety of other people which appear.