

TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for THE LIBERATOR, if payment is made in advance.

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof. I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY UNDER THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

WHO DID IT?

The abolition agitation lasted thirty years, and succeeded in making thousands of people in the North and in the South hate each other. A great many foolish and wicked things were done on both sides, but on our side the John Brown raid was the climax of the experience. It painted the recklessness and devilishness of abolitionism in their true colors, and made men everywhere shudder for the safety of the government.

SUMNER'S RESOLUTIONS.

It is not excusable, that just at the time when our armies are advancing into the Southern States, these resolutions should have been put into their hands such a fire-brand as Sumner's subjugating resolutions? Is it possible that this monomaniac can entertain the thought of holding in such a dependent state five or six millions of the white race? His resolutions go just to this point, if they go to any point. Such a fanatical mess of stuff never insulted the intelligence of the country.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF JEFF. DAVIS.

From the Richmond Examiner Extra, Feb. 22. FELLOW CITIZENS.—On this, the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American Independence, and beneath the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues and those of his compatriots, we have assembled to inaugurate the permanent government of the Confederate States. Through this instrumentality, under the favor of Divine Providence, we hope to perpetuate the principles of our Revolutionary fathers. The day, the memory and the purpose seem fitly associated.

It was, perhaps, in the ordination of Providence, that we were to be taught the value of our liberties by the price which we pay for them. The recollections of this great contest, with all its common traditions of glory, of sacrifice and of blood, will be our honored inheritance, and enduring affection amongst the people; propelling unity in policy, fraternity in sentiment, and joint effort in war.

SELECTIONS.

SICKNESS IN THE ARMY—SAVING THE UNION.

Ticknor & Fields, Boston, have just published a highly important and profoundly suggestive pamphlet, entitled "A Letter to Mrs. How and other Loyal Women, touching the Matter of Contributions for the Army, and other Matters connected with the War, by S. G. Howe." The following extracts from it deserve to be thoughtfully pondered. After referring to the proverbially slow action of the Medical Bureau in reporting the actual sickness and mortality in the army, Dr. Howe says:—

But the picture has its lights as well as its shadows. This great strife has awakened in the people the highest emotions and qualities of the human soul. It is cultivating feelings of patriotism, virtue and courage. Instances of self-sacrifice and of generous devotion to the noble cause for which we are contending, are rife throughout the land. Never has a people evinced a more determined spirit than that now animating men, women and children, in every part of our country. Upon the first call, the men fly to arms; and wives and mothers send their husbands and sons to battle, without a murmur or regret.

It is a satisfaction that we have maintained the war by our unaided exertions. We have neither asked nor received assistance from any quarter. Yet the interest involved is not wholly our own. The world at large is concerned in opening our markets to its commerce. When the independence of the Confederate States is recognized by the nations of the earth, and we are free to follow our interests and inclinations by cultivating foreign trade, the Southern States will offer to manufacturing nations the most favorable markets which ever invited their commerce.

Our men, alas! have no such ideas. The Union is to most of them an abstraction, and not an inspiring watchword. The sad truth should be known—that our army has no conscious noble purpose; and our soldiers generally have not much stomach for fight.

Our men in the field do not lack food, or clothing, or money, but they do lack noble watchwords and inspiring ideas, such as are worth fighting and dying for. The Southern soldier has what at least serves him as such; for he believes that he fights in defence of country, home, and rights; and he strikes vehemently, and with a will.

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ORATION OF HON. GEORGE BANOROFF.

Washington's Birth-Day (Feb. 22) was commemorated in the city of New York by a public meeting of the city authorities at the Cooper Institute. The great building was densely crowded long before the meeting was organized. After the reading of Washington's Farewell Address by George H. Moore, Esq., an able and eloquent oration was delivered by Hon. George Banoroff. Below are some extracts from it.

THE CAUSES AND PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

The Hon. Arthur Kinnaird and Mrs. Kinnaird invited a number of gentlemen and ministers of various denominations to their residence, 2 Fall Mall, East, on Friday evening, to meet the Venerable Bishop of Ohio, who was asked to give information on the present war in the United States. Additional interest attached to the occasion from the presence of Mr. Thurlow Weed, a leading American politician of the Republican school, to which Mr. Lincoln belongs, and of Mr. Bancroft Davis, a nephew of Bancroft the eminent American historian.

THE LIBERATOR

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1862. LETTERS TO GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. LETTER III. MY DEAR FRIEND AND CO-ADJUTOR: There are some of our Anti-Slavery friends in England, who are not disposed to give any countenance to the rebels, or to wish them any success; nevertheless, they have no cheering word for the North, and evince no sympathy with the Government. They are neither on one side nor on the other; they cannot perceive that the struggle has any particular connection with the cause of negro emancipation in special, or of human liberty in general. Hence, they marvel at the deep interest taken in it by the American Abolitionists, and have sorrowfully come to the conclusion that, in sustaining the Government, we have abandoned our high vantage ground, lowered our moral standard, and allowed ourselves to be carried headlong by a strong tide of popular feeling.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Boston, March 4, 1862. COL. JAMES MCKAYE: DEAR SIR, I feel honored by the invitation which has been extended to me, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, to be present at a public meeting to be held at the Cooper Institute, in New York, on Thursday evening next. Other engagements will prevent my attendance, except in spirit. Most heartily do I subscribe to the statement in your call, that the "hostile and traitorous power, calling itself 'The Confederate States,' instead of achieving the destruction of the nation, has thereby only destroyed slavery; and that it is now the sacred duty of the National Government, as the only means of securing permanent peace, national unity and well-being, to provide against its restoration." Whoever else may have the folly or hardness to do so, the Southern traitors themselves will not deny the validity of this statement. In raising the standard of rebellion, they voluntarily and defiantly assumed all the responsibilities of their perfidious act, and declared themselves ready and eager to meet all its consequences, whether extending to the confiscation of their property, the emancipation of their slaves, the outlawry of their persons, or the forfeiture of their lives. Whatever claims they once had upon the Constitution, as loyal citizens of the United States, ceased the first moment they declared themselves out of the Union, set up their hostile confederacy, and made war upon the Government. The punishment of treason is death. Death is the extinction of all constitutional rights. In such a case, the power of the Government, in the exercise of its legitimate functions, is absolute; and, surely, it is not for those who have haltered around their necks to call it in question. It is now the glorious prerogative of the Government to "create a soul under the ribs of death," by proclaiming liberty to every bondman at the South, and by establishing upon her soil "democratic institutions founded on the principles of the Declaration of Independence."

A LOYAL NEGRO WHIPPED TO DEATH.

The following letter is taken from the New York Times. It bears every mark of authenticity, and should be published in every newspaper throughout the country and the civilized world. "The atrocious cruelties of the slaveholders in the rebel States should be held up to the reprobation of mankind. Will the Northern States have any fellowship with such a tyrant? The natural fruits of such a policy are cruelty and murder! Will England, that boasts of its Emancipation Act, have any alliance with men-stealers and man-stealers, who shed innocent blood? Let the universal voice of free people, everywhere, say, 'O my soul, shine honor, be not thou unclean!' And what shall we say of those who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and who have permitted to wear a sword, or be decorated with a sash, should not Government cashier each officer so offending?"

IMPORTANT PUBLIC MEETING.

Last evening, a public meeting of citizens of New York was to have been held, and undoubtedly was held, in the Cooper Institute, in response to the following inspiring invitation: "All citizens of New York who rejoice in the downfall of treason, and are in favor of sustaining the national Government in the most energetic exercise of all the rights and powers of war, in the protection of its purpose to destroy the cause of such treason, and to recover the territory heretofore occupied by certain States, recently overturned and wholly subverted, as members of the Federal Union, by a hostile and traitorous power, calling itself 'The Confederate States'; and all who concur in the conviction that such traitorous power, instead of achieving the destruction of the nation, has thereby only destroyed slavery, and that it is now the sacred duty of the National Government, as the only means of securing permanent peace, national unity and well-being, to provide against its restoration, and to establish in said territories democratic institutions, founded upon the principles of the Great Declaration, 'that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' are requested to meet at the Cooper Institute, on the 6th day of March inst., at 8 o'clock, P. M., to express to the President and Congress their views as to the measures proper to be adopted in the existing emergency." Appended to this Call are the names of the following gentlemen, acting as a committee of arrangements: Wm. Curtis Noyes, James McKaye, Charles G. Child, Park Goodwin, Robert L. Dwyer, J. W. Edmonds, William Gould, Edgar Ketchum, Rev. S. R. Davis, Charles L. Brace, Dexter Fairbank, Rev. E. Thomson, Rev. Mansfield French, Wm. Morgan, Rev. J. B. W. Stoen, Andrew Bowler, Cephas Brainard, Dr. R. T. Hallock, John T. Wilson, Sigismund Lazar, James Freeland, Richard Warren, Charles Butler, Horace Greeley, Peter Cooper, Rev. John Duer, Edward Gilbert, Rev. J. E. Ambrose, Charles T. Rodgers, Samuel White, George Bancroft, H. A. Hart, M. D., Ernest D. Culver, Rev. Nathan Brown, Adon Smith, Wm. J. Russell, Rev. John Duer, Thomas L. Thornell, Theodore Tilton, Oliver Johnson, Samuel E. Lyon, James Wiggins, Alexander Wilder.

THE PEOPLE.

It may not be inappropriate for one, who has made such common and perhaps indiscriminate use of the term people, to attempt an explanation of the idea intended to be conveyed by it. This was suggested by listening to an able and eloquent lecture upon that subject by Rev. E. H. Chapin, of New York. The term people, he said, represented nothing tangible or definite; sometimes the synonym of the greatest crimes as well as of the highest virtues. Thence it followed that the popular phrase, *Populi Rex Dei*, was far too sweeping to convey a literal truth. In attempting to define my own opinion of its real and most comprehensive meaning, although perfectly clear in my own mind, as a tangible truth it was capable neither of analysis nor any definite signification. Not long since, when speaking upon this subject, a gentleman observed—"It was the people who crucified our Savior: how do you reconcile that?" No, said I, it was not the people, it was the rabble; there was no such element as the people in those days. It was an unpremeditated, perhaps a thoughtless answer, but it was an apt and aptly defined what I understand by the term as I use it. It is the calm, rational sense of the individual as distinguished from the excited passions and undisciplined prejudices that prevail in times of unwarmed oppression or misguided zeal; the enlightened conscience rather than the bigotry and superstition flowing from ignorance and religious fanaticism. In accordance with this theory, there has been very little opportunity for the normal development of this element in the great drama of the world's history. Yet, as there is nothing new under the sun, there have been epochs in all ages when this latent, reserved power has sent forth a clear and distinct utterance in the midst of the greatest political convulsions, at which thrones have trembled, and kings have been compelled to listen to the eternal principles of human rights. As in the most depraved and degraded individual, we sometimes see occasional gleams of inspiration and contrition worthy of a noble nature, so in this vague, fickle stratum of society, possessing neither form nor substance, but universally recognized by the appellation of the masses, signifying numbers, or the common people, denoting position, we have known instances when, in the midst of the greatest darkness and corruption, the hidden springs of human nature have sent up their glowing fountains of sensibilities and emotions that ally it to the divine, though obstructed in their flow by the grossest enormities that can result from the ungovernable passions consequent on ignorance and oppression.

When, some fifteen years after, George Thompson was silenced within the walls of Faneuil Hall by the same interest summoning to its aid the renegades of all ranks, the heart of the Commonwealth enthusiastically welcomed him to her midst. In the ever-memorable winter of 1861, when the stillness of a New England Sabbath was invaded by the reappearance of the same element under the imposing pomp of a majority at its head, with the concealed purpose of assassinating Wendell Phillips if it had dared, the clock was already sounding the hour when the devil had gone the length of his chain, and the eye of the people's uprising to settle scores with the aristocracy in broadcloth and its ever concomitant ally, the rabble of the streets. It was neither the rashness of John Brown on the one side, nor the utter corruption of the North on the other, which began and carried out the plot that involved the sacrifice of himself and his no less noble coadjutors. It was the organic sin baptized into our national existence at its birth which had bound us in chains of adamant to the scavengers of the South, and resistance would have been, then, as now, the prelude to a civil war, as his resistance to its fundamental laws was the precursor of his own martyrdom. He carried with him the sympathy of the people, and to-day witnesses his glorious resurrection, shaking the four corners of the earth. Whatever may be the conditions of this Union as a consequence of the victories now perchance on our banners, in view of which every Abolitionist must needs tremble at the well-grounded fear that the end of the war may not witness the end of slavery; it is upon the leaders the fearful responsibility must rest. Should emancipation be declared to-day, even, it is at their door lies the immense loss of life and treasure, to have prevented which required no violation of the provisions of the Constitution. Of course, we Abolitionists know how the whole war might have been avoided; but in judging for the people, we must assume their standpoint. Were it not for confounding the distinctions of vice and virtue, it might be said that the North had more than conscientiously observed of the constitutional rights of the South, and, consequently, it was too much to expect that she should strike out of existence at the first blow what she had been so carefully guarding. Justice and expediency, however, demanded it.

Perhaps it is owing to my intensely conservative temperament that makes me confess to some degree of respect for John Bull. It is not strange to me that England should become warped and prejudiced towards us in view of our whole existence as a nation, and the absurd position we must now present to the eyes of a stranger. Suppose the principality of Wales should set itself up as an independent oligarchy, presuming to dictate terms to the rest of Great Britain, to which no resistance should be made, would we have any respect for the English Government? Should one of its members of Parliament strike down the Earl of Shaftesbury, or John Bright, for words spoken in debate upon the floor of the House of Commons, and no reparation be demanded, or apology offered, should we not say that it had lost all self-respect, or else it had not strength to defend itself? We stand in that light to-day. Although the stride from James Buchanan to Abraham Lincoln was as great as could reasonably be expected, and we understand how, in the chain of events, all these contradictions and absurdities occur, others may not be able to do it.—I mean the mass of the English people. As a government, we stand precisely to-day where we did in the palmiest days of Pierce and Buchanan. The positive vice of the South has arrayed against it the negative virtue of the North. That is all that can be said in defence of general principles, and that is as far as an aristocratic government will dare to go in search of morality. Reverse the picture. Suppose the question of universal suffrage was the exciting theme of the British public, and that the nobility, fearing the waning of power from their own hands, had risen in rebellion against the Queen and the constitutional party, because a new ministry had been appointed more favorable to the interests of the people. She and her cabinet, desiring to gain the favor of the nobles, ignore all mention of the real question at issue, and will not even permit Ireland to help put down the rebellion. Very likely, America would affect not to know what they were fighting for, and would be waiting to see on which side the almighty dollar is most likely to chink, before sympathizing with either side. Let me not be misunderstood as defending England. I do not think any of us are capable of impartial judgment on either side, but let America think to shield herself from the world's scorn till she has brought forth fruits meet for repentance.

mental and spiritual faculties. Proceeding thus, with due regard to their circumstances and capacities, not ignoring their present infirmities, and honestly striving to remove their disabilities, we must do our best to prepare them or their posterity to enter into all the privileges and blessings of an advanced civilization. We may hope and aspire to do for these step-children of nature all that their masters have failed to do, but we must certainly begin by doing what their masters did not and could not omit. Whatever uncertainty may rest upon the future of these negroes, the duty of the present hour is plain. So far as is required, we must first make provision for their immediate bodily wants, and provide over their labor, regarding it, however, as a condition indispensable to their civilization that they should, as soon as possible, be made to take care of themselves; we must also enforce order and justice; we must begin at once the work of intellectual and religious instruction. Our second duty is to explore and survey the field before us. We are to study a momentous question, involving, sooner or later, the rights and happiness of millions. Providence has accorded to us the most favorable opportunities; it has, as it were, given out to us the problem under the easiest conditions. We have at Port Royal a few thousands of blacks (probably very good specimens of the kind) on their own ground, engaged in their customary employments, with their usual means of living, in a society by themselves, unmolested by the prejudice, jealousy, and conflicting interests of a surrounding white population, and under the protection of the sovereign power. As a matter of pure curiosity, the problem how a happy community may be made out of these unfortunate beings is intensely interesting; as imposed upon us by common humanity, and by our connection with a Government that has protected slavery, it is a problem we cannot decline to take up without confessing ourselves either hard of heart, or mere sentimentalists and hypocrites. Finally, as opening possibly a way to solve the most difficult problem submitted to our people, this inquiry is unspeakably exciting and important. For the purposes above hinted at, an association has been formed in Boston, under the name of THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION, which proposes, under the patronage and as an auxiliary of the Government, to undertake the care and education of the negroes now in the custody and protection of the United States. It is hoped that by means of this association, an interest will be awakened in the whole subject of our duties towards the African race in America. It is hoped that the operations of the Society will be so conducted as not to be embarrassed by political differences, and that in the prosecution of its objects, a sterling philanthropy, a warm zeal for the rights of one party, and a deep conviction of the duty of the other, will not be disjointed from patience and moderation, justice and wisdom.

Wheeler E. S. Philbrick, Geo. H. Blake, Dr. A. J. Mackay, Isaac W. Cole, Jas. H. Palmer, David Mack, J. M. F. Howard, Dr. J. A. Waldock, Leonard Weston, Wm. E. Peck, Frederick A. Estis, Wm. S. Clark, James L. De Croix, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hale, Mrs. Helen H. Winar.

DEATH OF GEN. LANDER. We are pained to learn that Brigadier-General Lander departed this life at 10 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 29, 1862. The deceased was a man of high character. As an explorer on the Pacific coast, his fame rivaled that of the renowned Fremont, and his services to the Government in that capacity have received the warmest praises and the well-earned reward of a grateful people. His military career since the breaking out of the rebellion has stamped his name with enduring fame. Under the gallant McClellan, he distinguished himself in the early campaign in Western Virginia. Subsequently, he was placed in command of a large number of Potomac, and met with a painful wound in a skirmish with the rebels, which incapacitated him for duty for several weeks. On resuming his command, he at once signalled himself by one of the most dash- ing exploits of the campaign, which cleared his path of Northern Virginia, entirely of the rebel forces, and led to the capture of a large number of commissioned officers in the enemy's service. For this daring and important act, he received the signal approval of the War Department, expressed in a order with great liberality in every portion of the loyal States. It is to be regretted that he never lost a battle or a skirmish.—Boston Herald.

As in the most depraved and degraded individual, we sometimes see occasional gleams of inspiration and contrition worthy of a noble nature, so in this vague, fickle stratum of society, possessing neither form nor substance, but universally recognized by the appellation of the masses, signifying numbers, or the common people, denoting position, we have known instances when, in the midst of the greatest darkness and corruption, the hidden springs of human nature have sent up their glowing fountains of sensibilities and emotions that ally it to the divine, though obstructed in their flow by the grossest enormities that can result from the ungovernable passions consequent on ignorance and oppression. Blackstone has laid it down as a law of human nature which governs society, that justice is so closely interwoven with the happiness of every individual, that self-interest requires obedience to its laws. Then it follows, as the highest happiness can be attained only in the most perfect freedom, the independence of the masses is the first thing to be gained. Thus all history is another imperfect attempt at this, and one principle after another has been wrested from unwilling monarchs, not by methods we could endorse, but by such means as the circumstances and intelligence of the times afforded. The executions of Charles I., of Louis XVI. and his Queen, though unwarranted by every principle of even legal justice, were the outburst of the people's indignation for the recovery of their God-given rights, which had been ruthlessly trampled down by the tyrants of the preceding reigns; and as soon as the rigors of the sceptre were sufficiently relaxed to give breath to the stifled impulses, pent up like the raging fire of a volcano, the reaction was terrific. In proportion to the diffusion of knowledge and the predominance of ideas over brute force, we find this element assuming a more definite and exalted character. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is to our own country we must look for the highest proof of this assertion; for nowhere else have the people been allowed such free development, or to take such an active part in political affairs. Though at this juncture, presenting the most anomalous aspect to the eyes of foreign nations, and involving ourselves in such a strange commingling of opposite interests as scarcely to know where we stand, the free school system has been working its beneficent results among us, and the spirit of freedom, surrounded by the most adverse circumstances, has been gradually diffusing its leaven of righteousness, which is yet to exalt us as a nation unparalleled in history when the days of our purification are ended. Beginning, then, at the formation of this government, it was clearly the voice of the people that slavery should not be recognized; since only two of the thirteen colonies stood out against the original draft of the Constitution. It is true that the intelligent, honest convictions of the majority yielded to the sordid passions of the minority, following the short-sighted policy which is the bane of all nations—the sacrifice of a principle for the attainment of a present end. It is true that the Constitution once adopted, the people pledged themselves to do, by entering into that compact. It is true that they have allowed the petty allyship of the South to transcend the limits of that document, and bind themselves in a thralldom, the like of which existed not on the continent of Europe, where a people boasting of self-government submitted to wrongs and indignities a king never dreamed of imposing. It is not the first time the base passions of a partisan faction have gained unlimited control by working on the fears of the majority. Then, again, the people were being constantly duped and betrayed by their representative leaders, who have a fearful responsibility to bear in this matter. Mr. Foster says it is a misapplication of terms to profess the government with the administration, since the former represents the people directly in Congress assembled. In one sense it does, and in another it does not. There is a difference between the inorganic mass, which is properly speaking, the constructive element, and the organizing force of the legislative department. It is said that when organization begins, freedom parts with a portion of itself. When a man accepts an office under the Government, he pledges himself to observe all its requirements, and is no longer the independent unit, free to act on his own individual convictions. If his sentiments change on any question therein concerned, he must resign his office before he can consistently bear his expression. The same is true of the Church. The ministry and representative members are the expositors of the creed and tenets of their respective organizations, to which the great body of the members yield their indiscriminate assent, regardless and many of them ignorant of the true position in which they are thus placed, relative to the vital questions of the age.

Henry I. Bowditch, 112 Boylston St., Boston. Samuel Cabot, Jr., 11 Park Square, Boston. Francis J. Child, Cambridge. Anna Loring, 32 Dorne street, Boston. Ellen Jackson, 2 Hamilton Place, Boston. THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION was founded the 7th of February, 1862, and was organized by the choice of the following officers:— President—His Excellency John A. Andrew, Governor of the Commonwealth. Vice Presidents—Rev. Jacob M. Manning, Rev. Edward E. Hale, Rev. F. D. Huntington, D.D., Rev. T. B. Thayer, Rev. J. W. Parker, D.D., Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Hon. Jacob Sleeper, Dr. Robert W. Hooper. Treasurer—Mr. William Endicott, Jr. Secretary—Mr. Edward Atkinson. Committee on Teachers—Mr. George B. Emerson, Dr. LeBaron Russell, Mr. Loring Lathrop, Rev. Charles F. Barnard, Mrs. Anna Lowell, Miss Hannah Stevenson. Committee on Clothing—Mrs. Samuel Cabot, Jr., Mr. George Atkinson, Mr. Edward Jackson, Mrs. J. A. Lane, Mrs. William B. Rogers. Committee on Finance—Mr. Edward Atkinson, Mr. Martin Brimmer, Mr. William Endicott, Jr., Mr. James T. Fisher, Mr. William L. Bowditch. Committee on Correspondence—Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, Prof. Francis J. Child, Dr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., Miss Ellen Jackson, Miss Ann Loring. The sole condition of membership of the Educational Commission is the contribution of Five Dollars to the funds. All contributions of money for the objects of the Commission should be sent to the Treasurer, William Endicott, Jr., Esq., care of C. F. Hovey & Co., Summer Street, Boston. Donations of Clothing may be sent to the Educational Commission's Committee on Clothing, care of Wellington, Gross & Co., 103 Devonshire Street, Boston. Letters relative to the subject of Clothing for the Negroes may be directed to George Atkinson, Suffolk Bank Building, State Street, Boston. Letters relating to Teachers should be addressed to George B. Emerson, Esq., Pemberton Square, Boston. Letters on the general subject of the Objects and Operations of the Commission, or upon the Formation of Local Associations of the same kind, may be addressed to Henry I. Bowditch, 112 Boylston Street, Boston. NORTHERN MISSIONARIES FOR SOUTH CAROLINA. The steamer Atlantic sailed from New York for Port Royal Monday afternoon, with a large cargo of army stores, and about sixty persons who accompany Mr. Edward L. Pierce, the government agent in charge of the plantations and contrabands at Port Royal. The New York Post furnishes the following particulars of the embarkation:—"These persons were all recommended by the National Freedman's Relief Association, and its auxiliary, the Education Commission at Boston. Three-fourths of the whole number are men who are to be the superintendents of the abandoned estates, and will direct the labors of negroes, who are to be employed in such agricultural pursuits as cotton-culture and raising vegetables for their own support and for the use of the army at that point. "Twelve or fifteen of the passengers are ladies, who will become teachers of an industrial school, which will be at once established at Port Royal, under the superintendence of Rev. M. French, of this city. Mrs. Senator Harlan, of Iowa, is among the ladies, who will assist in some department of the work. Rev. Dr. Fogie, of the Methodist Episcopal church of the North Carolina diocese, will be the first to go to Port Royal for the purpose of preparing for missionary efforts among the negroes. A portion of the superintendents and teachers who are employed under the regulations, so far as the government is concerned, explained in Mr. Chase's letter to the 'contrabands' agent, receive compensation from the associations in this city and Boston; but some are volunteers. Among the number are men of almost all trades, and some professions. There are several physicians, and one or two clergymen. Quite a number, especially those from Boston, have been teachers, and are liberally educated; others of them are quite familiar with agricultural operations. About three thousand dollars' worth of agricultural implements, including ploughs, hoes, and others in most common use, have been purchased by Mr. Pierce, and will be taken to Port Royal in the Atlantic. He takes also a quantity of seeds, including one barrel contributed from the Patent Office at Washington; as well as some medicines, and other necessary articles. From this city, forty barrels and boxes of clothing, seven or eight boxes of shoes, and two sewing machines, are sent for the use of the negroes from the Association in this city. The sewing machines will be used in the Industrial School. Besides these, a large number of boxes and packages of all sorts, containing contributions for the 'contrabands, and from many persons, were put on board the Atlantic. From Boston, about twenty-five boxes of clothing, with many other barrels of goods and other notions, have been forwarded. The following are the names of the teachers from Boston:— E. W. Hooper, Wm. C. Garnett, J. E. Zachas, J. F. Sison, J. W. R. Hill, D. F. Thorpe, T. Edwin Ruggles, G. B. Barnard, Richard Soley, Dr. Chas. H. Brown, Geo. E. Taylor, Daniel Hale, Samuel D. Phillips, Jos. M. Wells, Miss Clara Bows, Miss M. A.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AND THE CONTRABANDS. Secretary Chase has sent a letter to Mr. Edward L. Pierce, the Government Agent at Port Royal in charge of the 'Contrabands.' After acknowledging in terms of commendation the receipt of his Report, already published, Mr. Chase says:—"The whole authority of this Department over the subjects of your Report is derived from the 5th Section of the Act to provide for the Collection of Duties, and for other purposes, approved July 15, 1861, by which the President is authorized to permit commercial intercourse with any part of the country declared to be in a state of insurrection under such Rules and Regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, who is himself authorized to appoint the officers needed to carry into effect such Rules, and Regulations. "As incident to this authority, alone, have I any power to sanction any measures for the culture of the abandoned estates in the Port Royal or any other district. It is, indeed, in the highest degree essential to commercial intercourse with that portion of the country, that the abandoned estates be cultivated, and the laborers upon them employed. It is not, therefore, to continue your agency with a view to the general superintendence and direction of such persons as may be engaged in such cultivation and employment. "It is understood that an Association of judicious and humane citizens has been formed in Boston, which may act in concert, or be consolidated with a similar Association in New York and other cities, and that through the agency of these Associations or one of them, persons may be employed to proceed with the sanction of the Government, to take charge of the abandoned plantations under the general plan suggested by yourself, and which is fully approved by this Department. "You will, herewith, receive copies of orders addressed to the Quartermaster of New York, and General C. B. Bryant in the chair, a Committee was appointed to take such measures as may be necessary for the relief and protection of the Emancipated Negroes, now with and near the National forces in the rebel States, and to act as a National Committee to correspond and cooperate with other Committees throughout the country on the same subject. "At a meeting of the Committee, held on Friday evening, Feb. 21, Mr. Bryant in the chair, it was Resolved, That an appeal be made at once to the humane throughout the country to form Auxiliary Committees, and contribute means and efforts toward the object in view. "Therefore, the undersigned appeal to the people throughout the whole country, to form such Auxiliary Committees in all cities, villages, and towns, to cooperate with the Parent Committee. "The object in view is one of the highest interest and importance, namely, that of aiding to solve the problem, what shall we do with the negroes when emancipated. "Already thousands of slaves have been practically emancipated by the events of the war, and great additions will be made to the number as our armies continue to advance. "To teach them civilization and Christianity, to imbue their minds with the order, industry, economy, and self-reliance, to elevate them in the scale of humanity by inspiring them with self-respect, is the work that is before us. To this end we ask the cooperation of the wise and good everywhere. "There is an immediate and pressing necessity for clothing for the freedmen at Port Royal and its vicinity. The conditions for such purpose of plain substantial clothing, new or second-hand, suitable for men, women and children, are asked for without delay, to be sent directed to the Association, at No. 820 Broadway, New York. "Donations in money may be sent to Joseph B. Collins, the Treasurer, at No. 40 Wall street. New York, Feb. 22, 1862. COMMITTEE. STEPHEN H. TYNO, WM. ALLEN BUTLER, CHARLES GOULD, GEORGE C. WARD, C. C. LEAH, W. M. DAVIS, FRANCIS Y. SHAW, BENJAMIN C. WANDALL, JOHN W. EDMONDS, MANFIELD FRENCH, EDGAR KETCHUM, JOSEPH B. COLLINS. [Correspondence of the Boston Traveller.] ROANOK ISLAND, Feb. 21, 1862. The Contraband question here, as with every other division of our army, is assuming both interest and importance. A considerable number of colored persons, some free and some slave, were found here on taking possession of the island. The former had been forced here from the main land to work upon the batteries. Most, if not all of the latter were body servants of the rebel officers. But so far from having any desire to return with their masters, they were glad to embrace the opportunity to try their service, with the hope of earning their freedom. Some of these were at the battle of Ball Run; others have been attendants upon Wigfall, Beauregard, and other rebel magnates. Contrabands are also daily arriving from the main land. Yesterday, ten arrived in one squad from near Plymouth, all, I believe, belonging to Currituck, besides others of whom I have not had time to mention. In most respects their stories concur. They are all delighted at their escape from the realm of Secession, and their arrival in our lines. They say that the capture of Roanoke has smitten the whole country with a kind of wild terror. The people in many places are almost beyond the power of courage, and are endeavoring to send their slaves inland; while the slaves, aware that their day of redemption is drawing nigh, are refusing to go, and are fleeing to the woods for refuge, or deserting to us as fast as they can. Some believe that the rebels will not be able to stand between one and two hundred thousand of our men; and before the summer closes, there will doubtless be ten times that number. "What shall we do with them? Return them to their masters, who have forfeited both property and life by this wicked rebellion, or make freedmen of them? It is hoped that at this late day, there can be but one answer to this question, and this not a doubtful or hesitating answer, but a confident and ready one. We will make men of them.—If not such men as we would out of this generation, yet such as we can, as they are, make men of them, and will not have a moment's rest until they are made so. Let the Christian sentiment of the country feel itself charged with their care and instruction. Surely, no more promising field of missionary labor was ever opened. Never before, perhaps, has a whole, more unprincipled to improve. Never before, perhaps, has one responded to an effort for its good than will the colored people of the United States. "What they need most are school-books—primers, spelling-books, and easy readers. If a box of such books could be forwarded to the Marine Barracks at Massachusetts 24th, I am confident they would be used as long as his regiment may remain on the island, and then would be passed to some other hands, which will make an equally good use of them. Let who wishes something to do, heed the suggestion. A COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTH CAROLINA. Previous to the departure of Edward L. Pierce, Esq., for Port Royal, he was by Governor Andrew appointed a Commissioner for the State of South Carolina, with full authority to take depositions, acknowledge receipts, and certify to the facts in cases in which Massachusetts soldiers may be stationed in the rebel States, and is, we believe, the first instance in which such an appointment has been made for a rebellious State since the war commenced.—Boston Journal.

General Halleck's Order No. 3. There is one that in connection with General Halleck's Order No. 3, which is worthy of note. Just before daybreak on Sunday morning, when our men were lying on their arms, ready to make an assault on Fort Donelson, a slave came into the lines, and reported that the rebels were fleeing. Some of the officers suggested that he might be sent out to lure General Grant into a trap. He was accordingly threatened with summary punishment if he was reporting falsely. He replied that if it was not found to be true, they might hang him on the nearest tree. An hour later came the flag of truce, and the Generals agreed to terms. The commissioners to agree upon the terms of the truce, that the information derived from the slave was found to be valuable. It enabled General Grant to write that sentence which has been applauded throughout the country. "Unconditional surrender," and the second condition, "that the negroes be immediately advanced upon your terms." What if the negroes had made his presence with that information? Would that reply have been given? I have it from one who knows—a military gentleman who was present, who knows what was said, and whose views were expressed—that the intelligence communicated by the slave had a material bearing upon General Grant's reply. But to the sequel. Yesterday several officers came down the Cumberland. On the same boat was this negro. At a landing where the boat stopped for a few moments, some of the residents, seeing the negro, claimed him as their property. He was a good Union man. The Captain on board was inclined to give him up, fearing that he would be held responsible; but the officers on board, knowing what service he had rendered, were determined he should not be given up on such a sham claim, and informed the Captain of the situation. What if Gen. Grant had been proclaimed in Kentucky, he need not have had his apprehensions. They kept the negro safe, and he is now in Cairo. As General Halleck has recently given notice that General Order No. 3 is to be rigidly enforced, and that no property of any kind is to be done in this particular instance. What if Gen. Grant had adhered strictly to the order, and had refused the negro admission to his lines where his work and weary men were lying on their arms?—Cairo correspondent of the Boston Journal.

REBEL VANDALISM AT BOWLING GREEN. The correspondence of the Louisville papers furnish further accounts of the destruction of property of the rebel troops, on their evacuation of Bowling Green. Property of friend and foe was indiscriminately destroyed. Quigg & Co's pork house, with \$16,000 worth of hides and tallow belonging to Campbell and Smith, who were killed at the battle of Perryville, was destroyed; also the drug store of J. T. Donaldson, and the boot and shoe store, Hines's grocery store, dwelling of Mrs. C. T. Dunnavan, jewelry store of McClure & Fusetti, offices of J. H. Wilkins and Dr. W. D. Helm, livery stable, flour mills, &c. The beautiful railroad bridge was destroyed by the rebels. The iron-work of the piers, but as the iron-work did not fall, cannon were brought to bear, and thirteen rounds were fired before the demolition was completed. On Friday morning, about 4 o'clock, the planks were torn off the sides of the turnpike bridge, and tallow and oil were poured on the bridge. The bridge was burned only about three hours before the division of Gen. Mitchell came up. The railroad depot, filled with army stores, and a machine shop were burned. There was a train of cars loaded with meat, the engine to which had steam on ready to start. All the cars and the engine were burned. The hotels were sacked and fired. The rebels, after doing their worst, fled in a perfect rout before Mitchell's advancing column. The Nashville file was completely blocked by cavalry and infantry, all in admirable order, and a long line of carriages, carts, and all kinds of vehicles, and a large number of wagons, carrying their wives on foot, and carrying their children in their arms, while the whole non-belligerent portion of the flying crowd were screaming and shouting at the top of their voices in a perfect frenzy of apprehension. THE REBEL GENERALS BUCKNER AND TILGHMAN SENT TO FORT WARREN. The rebel Generals Buckner and Tilghman arrived in Boston in the train from Albany on Saturday afternoon, after a long and fatiguing journey of 6 o'clock on Monday evening. They came in charge of Col. R. G. Cuts, (a brother of Mrs. Douglas, of Gen. Halleck's staff, and a guard of seven volunteer soldiers. A crowd of some five hundred people had assembled, and they were greeted by outcries not of a complimentary nature. They were immediately driven in a hack to Union wharf, in charge of Marshal Keyes, Deputy Marshal Jones, and Capt. McKim, Assistant U. S. Quartermaster, and were conveyed by steamer May Queen to Fort Warren. Gen. Buckner is a man of about medium height, rather inclined to corpulence, and has about fifty years of age. He wears his hair cut rather short, and is partially gray. His tallman is the taller of the two, and five or six years the junior of his companion. He is of spare habit. They were both in military uniform. ST. LOUIS, March 4. The following is a telegram from Gen. Halleck to Gen. McClellan:—"MAJOR GEN. MCCLELLAN—Sir: The cavalry from Paducah marched into Columbus yesterday at 5 P. M., driving before them the enemy's rear guard. The flag of the Union is flying over the boasted Gibraltar of the West. Finding himself completely turned on his heels, the enemy fled in a perfect rout. Large quantities of artillery and stores were captured. (Signed) H. W. HALLECK." CHICAGO, March 4. A special despatch, dated Columbus via Cairo, says—"The evacuation of Columbus was commenced on Thursday, the last of the rebels not leaving until yesterday afternoon. The burning commenced on Friday, and was continued until Sunday. Many thousands of barracks and other quarters are still on fire. The fortifications were molested. Every thing that could not be carried off was fired, or thrown into the river. A large number of cannon were thrown into the river." STORM IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS. The hills of Berkshire, famous for the coldest weather and most severe storms of any portion of New England, were probably never visited by a more trying and gale than that which has just subsided, after a fearful rage of more than thirty hours. The storm without precedent in the memory of the "oldest inhabitant," and the veteran railroaders all along the route between Boston and Albany speak of it as by far the most severe in all respects of anything they can remember. And it is all the more wonderful, too, from the fact that the weather for many seasons should have so rapidly succeeded a warm rain of several hours' duration. Monday morning, and until three o'clock in the afternoon, it rained torrents, and the storm was very much abated by a heavy snow storm, but two hours later, it was changed to a heavy snow storm, the thermometer fell to ten degrees below zero, and the wind blew a perfect gale, prostrating fences, chimneys, and uprooting quite a number of dwellings, barns, &c. The railroads were also rendered impassable from the accumulated snow upon the tracks, which was suddenly turned to ice after a thaw of a few miles in length, with huge snow drifts several feet in depth. The Western Railroad (Boston and Albany) was blocked during the entire day of Tuesday, and the evening train from Albany, Bostonward, remained for twenty-four hours embosomed in a drift at the Stone House, about a mile east of Hinsdale station. The evening train from this city to Albany was also detained by snow and ice, a few miles east of Pittsfield, from 8 o'clock Monday evening, till 7 o'clock Tuesday evening. Monday morning's mail from Boston did not arrive in Albany until Tuesday at 4 A. M., and the mail from the West did not get here till Monday afternoon, did not arrive until Tuesday. At Hinsdale, the summit of the mountain, the storm was most severe, and many of the passengers and men employed on the train came near perishing while waiting three-fourths of a mile from the depot. A Brighton cattle driver from the West had his hands and arms frozen nearly to the elbows, and will probably lose them; the conductor of the train also had his hands badly frozen while going back to stop an approaching train; and others, more fortunately, escaped with their hands and feet. A student from Harvard came very near freezing to death, but was fortunately rescued just as he was taking farewell sleep upon the drifting snow. When aroused, he was unable to walk, and desired that his mother, in Western New York, should be informed of his sad fate, and be left some news of him. He was taken to the station, where he soon revived. About fifty passengers spent the entire night upon the train, where they were with difficulty kept comfortable and from freezing. Among the number were a couple from Western New York on their way to Boston, who had to be held in matrimony during the storm and rain. They are probably now in the same predicament. It is to be hoped that by this time their conjugal intentions have been consummated. The weekly exports of stocks from the West to the East, by the Erie Canal, were suspended on Monday night and Tuesday, and this week the entire lot were exposed to the severe storm. Many of the sheep and hogs are reported to have been frozen to death, and also a number of the cattle. Their arrival at the depot was delayed on the 27th of the month. The trains over the Housatonic railroad, between Pittsfield and Bridgeport, were delayed by the storm. The amount of snow upon the ground throughout the western portion of the State is immense, and is in places five to eight feet deep. With a sudden thaw there will be a great freshet, and there are apprehensions of considerable damage to property.

RECEIPTS INTO THE TREASURY, FROM FEB. 1, TO MARCH 1, 1862. J. M. W. Verrieston—donation— \$5.00 Dr. Josiah Kimball—do— 10.00 N. T. Allen—do— 1.00 " " to redeem pledge, Jan., 1861, 2.00 W. P. Garrison, ditto, pledge Jan., 1862, 1.00 Collections by E. H. Heywood: At Milford, 7.00 East Cambridge, 5.00 Collections by A. M. Powell, 30.95 EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer. PLEDGES TO THE SOCIETY, 10.00 R. H. Ober, 10.00 "THE GOLDEN HOUR," AND "THE BLACK MAN'S FUTURE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES." M. D. CORWAT, of Cincinnati, will lecture on the former subject, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS on the last, in this State, wherever wanted, during the next two weeks. Arrangements for their lectures may be made on application to JAMES M. STONE, 22 Bromfield street, March 4. "OLD COLONY"—PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture in Plymouth, Sunday afternoon and eve, March 9. N. Bridgewater, Wednesday eve, " 12. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT HYAN-TIS.—There will be an Anti-Slavery Convention at Hyannis, on Saturday and Sunday, the 15th and 16th of March. Capes Cod, hitherto, has never heard arguments, or even appeals, to crowd its largest halls, where the cause of Humanity and the Slave was to be the theme. PARKER PILLSBURY and E. H. HEYWOOD will be present. EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.—The closing lecture will be given at Tremont Temple, on Wednesday evening, March 12, by WENDELL PHILLIPS. A ticket, admitting a gentleman and lady, 25 cents. "IT WILL NEVER DO TO TURN THEM ALL LOOSE." MEROY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 635 Washington street, 3d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M. THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM, No. 28. THE WAR: A SLAVE UNION OR A FREE? I. The Speech of Hon. Martin P. Cowart, delivered in the House of Representatives, and revised by the author, is published in THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM, No. 28. This is one of the ablest, the most original, and the most comprehensive speeches yet made in Congress on the present crisis. It is far above the range of ordinary politicians, and has seldom, for depth of thought, largeness and justness of view, been equaled by any speech I have seen from any member of either House of Congress.—Dr. O. A. Brownson. Three different men.—WM. LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts; GARRETT DAVIS, of Kentucky; ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, of Georgia—are represented in the Pulpit and Rostrum, Nos. 25 and 27, (double number, two in one, price 20 cents), as follows:—The Abolitionist, and their Relations to the War. A Lecture by William Lloyd Garrison, delivered at the Cooper Institute, New York, January 14, 1862. The War not for Constitution or Emancipation: A Speech by Hon. Garrett Davis, delivered in the U. S. Senate, January 23, 1862. African Slavery, the Corner-Stone of the Southern Confederacy: A Speech by Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy, in which the speaker holds that "African slavery, as it exists among us, is the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization," and "our new Government (the Southern Confederacy) is a philosophy, the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth." The Pulpit and Rostrum, No. 26, contains the celebrated address of Wendell Phillips, in support of the Declaration of Independence, in the House of Representatives, and an unequalled style of Mr. Phillips, and has called forth many commendatory notices. The Pulpit and Rostrum, No. 24, has the very able and eloquent argument of the Hon. Henry Winter Davis, on the Southern Revolution, and the Constitutional Powers of the Republic. It contains the most complete and the clearest and most exhaustive addresses yet elicited by the present state of our country. It has received the most flattering testimonials from the highest sources. The Pulpit and Rostrum gives full Photographic Reports (revised by the Editors) of the Speeches and Discourses of our most eminent public speakers. This constitutes a series most valuable for perusal or reference. Price 10 cents a number, or \$1 a year (for 12 numbers.) E. D. 135 Grand St., New York.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC BY THE COMMITTEE ON CORRESPONDENCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION.

The condition of the negroes who, in one way or another, have passed from the control of masters engaged in rebellion against the Government, and are now under the protection of the United States, collected in large bodies near several of the principal military centers, demands prompt and serious attention. It is well known that the public authorities, soon after the capture of Port Royal, humanely deputed an Agent to look after the interests of the thousands of slaves who, by the flight of their former proprietors, were left at large in that neighborhood. The wants and dangers of these negroes, which are not essentially different from those of the fugitive and deserted slaves congregated at Fortress Monroe, have been brought before us in a letter from the Government Agent, which was printed in the Boston newspapers, and has been widely circulated. Abandoned to themselves, they are now suffering from the lack of the clothing hitherto provided by their masters. The majority, scattered over a considerable space, and beyond the supervision of our military officers, are under no law or government, and will be likely to abuse their new-found liberty to their own hurt; while those who live in the neighborhood of our camps will inevitably be corrupted by contact with our soldiers. Without some help, direction and restraint, these unhappy creatures, the victims of a situation for which nearly every citizen of the United States is in some measure accountable, may soon sink into a deeper misery than even they have known, and become not only vicious, but ungovernable and very dangerous. The people of the North owe at least this much to the subject-people of the South—their condition shall not be the worse for our invasion. The care and control formerly exercised by masters, (and sometimes conscientiously and benevolently exercised,) we must, therefore, assume—not simply as a charity, but as a matter of the plainest obligation. And if we would not fall below those of whose disregard of human rights many of us are accustomed to speak in strong terms; if we would not stand convicted before them and before God of that spurious philanthropy of which we have been accused, we must see to it that these slaves gain something by exchanging servitude for liberty. We must actually receive these black men into the great human family, to which we allow they belong; we must teach them how to live in that freedom which, up to this time, we have not been willing to concede, or if willing to concede, not able to secure them. Their right to property, both in their persons and in the products of their labor, and also the rights of family, may be considered as already recognized. We are now called upon to provide for their education, and that in the widest sense; not such an education as makes them safe and profitable servants, but such as is required by other moral beings living in human society; an education which shall make them industrious, thrifty, self-supporting; orderly, temperate, self-respecting; which shall excite the unquenched thirst for improvement, and unfold their now almost undeveloped

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Poetry.

From the Hastings, (Mich.) Republican Banner. CAUSE OF THE WAR.

BY H. WOODWORTH. Hear ye the booming of the cannon, As its thunder shakes the ground! Hear ye the bursting of the bombells, Scattering wounds and death around! Hear ye the whistling of the bullet, By the deadly rifle thrown, As in its flight of swift destruction It mangles flesh and crushes bone? Hear ye the trampling of the war-horse, As he rushes to the fight! See ye the gleaming of the sabre, Flashing like a beam of light! See ye the thousands upon thousands, Marching in dread array? See ye the thick and sulphurous war-cloud, Dimming the blessed light of day? Hear ye the cries and moans of anguish, Echoing o'er our startled land? Parents, children, widows, orphans, Heave the sigh, and wring the hand! What is the cause of this uprising? What is the cause of all this strife— Of these tears, and groans, and wallings, And this waste of human life? Far away in the sunny South-land Proud and haughty men are found, Living on their vast plantations, With a servile race around; And they work their will upon them Without hindrance, let, or fear: "Might makes right," is the rule of action They would establish, even here! When law-making for the nation, They did, as a thing of course, Into the halls of legislation Bring their greed of brutal force. Bludgeons, bowie-knives and pistols Were the arguments they used With those who, to bow subservient Unto their heathen, refused; And to cap this horrid climax, They in their hearts of hearts had sworn They would rule, or the country should be Into bleeding fragments torn; And when they felt the power departing From their seat, relaxing grasp, Closed their fingers on the sword-hilt, With relentless, vengeful clasp! As they have urged the war upon us, They the issue must abide, Even to the forfeit of their "chattels," And the humbling of their pride. Martin, Jan. 26, 1862.

The Liberator.

The Justice of God in our National Calamities. REMARKS OF PARKER PILLSBURY, In the Convention at Albany, N. Y., Feb. 7th and 8th. Reported by HENRY M. PARKBURST.

This meeting, I think, is the most important this body ever held. I do not know that another like it will ever be held. Probably not. Before another winter comes round, events will doubtless have transpired essentially changing the character of this anniversary. I think the last Fourth of July was the last we shall ever celebrate in that form; and I hope this is the last meeting of this kind we shall hold. But in order that it may be the last, one or two things must transpire: either the subjugation of the North to the Slave Power, which is not impossible; or else the recognition of the rights of all men, of so sublime a character that there shall be no need, certainly, of calling meetings for the purpose of abolishing slavery. I do not wish to see this government prolonged another day in its present form. On the contrary, I have been for twenty years attempting to overthrow the present dynasty. I do not quite agree with some of my friends, that a change has taken place which releases me from my former course of action. If I do not misjudge the Constitution, whatever may have been its real character, it was never so much an engine of cruelty and of crime as it is at the present hour. It seems to me the present Administration is, on the one hand, the weakest, and on the other the wickedest, we have ever had. Mr. Buchanan's administration is under infinite obligations to it for causing its wickedness and imbecility so far into the shade. I agree with all my friends in one particular, however we may differ in others: that the Government has the constitutional power to perform an act of humanity and justice which would release us from all further necessity for this kind of anniversary. But having the power, and it may not be too much to say the undisputed power, it seems to me that it becomes ever more wicked than the South, in failing to do it. Slavery is the sin and crime of the country. The present war is a just and most fearful retribution for that crime. The North is not willing yet to repent of its sin, or to admit that this war is a retribution. And when you ask the North to let the people go, it answers, ancient in the language, quite in the spirit of the ancient tyrant, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice, and let the people go?" I have no hope of any salvation to the North until it is first convicted of its own guilt in its terrible complicity with the great sin and crime of slavery. I am far from being satisfied that the South is the more guilty party of the two. All the superiority that is claimed, on the part of the North, operates, in my judgments, just so far against the North in the scale of moral responsibility. Have we the power? Then why, in God's name, is not slavery swept away? Have we more light and knowledge, then why do we not act up to that light and knowledge, and repent; and arrest to that daring crime ever committed under the bright sun of heaven? Have we the majority, the wealth, the cultivation, everything that pertains to national greatness? Then is our guilt exactly proportioned to our superiority. I can attribute, therefore, only to Pharosimism or perverseness the longer continuance of slavery. It seems to me that one Edward Everett, one Southside Adams, one Dr. Lord, outweighs in guilt and moral responsibility a thousand ordinary slave-owners in the Carolinas or in Louisiana. Yet all that I can see in the North is the spirit of Pharosimism, saying to the South, "I am holier than thou."

Slavery is said to be the cause of the war. What is the cause of slavery? I remember my first lesson in theological investigation was to prove the existence of a God; and I found the argument summed up in this: that everything must have a cause. That cause is God. Here is the universe; it must have a cause. But I told the Professor I was not satisfied with the argument, for it seemed to me an infidel would ask me if God could any more exist without a cause than a universe, and I should not know how to answer him. He drew his face down, and replied, "Ah, but God is an uncaused being." I said that another man might say, "Ah, but the universe is an uncaused universe." So slavery must have had a cause as well as the war. I look for that cause not in the South alone, but in the more highly cultivated North; and the North I hold responsible accordingly.

I cannot join in the congratulations I so often hear as to the hopefulness of the signs of the times. I do not want to be hopeful. I am not rejoiced at tidings of victory to the Northern army. I would rather see defeat. Not that I want to see our troops massacred, or to see them imprisoned; nay, Heaven and humanity forbid! but upon the same ground that a physician, wisely administering medicine, accepts the agonies and contortions of his patient, which are always produced by administering heroic treatment.

I rejoice in defeat and disaster rather than in victory, because I do not believe the North is in any condition to improve any great success which may attend its arms. I think the Abolitionists fall sufficiently to recognize one great fact; and that is, the persistent, determined, heaven-provoking impetuosity of the North. The hatred of the colored race, the hatred of the Abolitionists, the willingness to continue the slave system, the intense desire to get back to our prosperous peddling with Great Britain and other nations, and with one another; all these are to my mind indications that we are in no condition to hear of success; that the God who judges righteously must hold us responsible for the cries and groans of the slave to-day, even beyond the immediate perpetrators of the crime of slavery upon the soil of the South. Whatever man may decree, the God of justice reigns and will reign, and we cannot compromise away any of the penalties due to violated law.

Holding these opinions, I do not desire success to the Northern army. I do not wish to see Abraham Lincoln triumph over the South in the way he has himself marked out. Mr. Seward assures us, and it is "published by authority," that "the condition of no human being is to be changed, whether the revolution succeeds, or whether it fails." I say, then, let us have war; let us have all its disasters and all its defeats, if the condition of the slave is not to be changed. If that is treason, I must let the Government make the most of it, and send me to Fort Warren; and if they do not treat me worse than they treat the traitors, spies and rebels there, and are as prompt to release me upon the application of my friends, my condition will not be very greatly to be deplored. (Laughter.)

It is said by some philosophers to be more natural to laugh than to weep. Certainly, it is more pleasant. But it is of no use to overlook the true condition of the country; and let us not undertake, in the old Hebrew language, to "heal the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly." God is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. In the history of the Jews at the time of their captivity, I find a marvellous analogy to the history of our country to-day. I find a Seward and a Lincoln; boasting churches and false prophets; and Garrisons, too, and Cheevers, among the historic men of that day. The popular men of that period are pretty much mixed up with the mould and waste of the past, and there is little of them left. But there were prophets who were true to their time, whose writings have come down to us; and I take my stand by the side of those old Hebrews, Isaiah and Jeremiah, and I would call for justice, as Isaiah complained that none did then call for justice.

Jeff. Davis is not to-day the foe most to be feared. It is the Jehovah of Hosts against whom this Government is contending, and it is determined to carry on the battle against that terrible foe! If Gen. Fremont will not act with it, Gen. Fremont must be disgraced and removed; while the basest, most truculent spirits of slavery are exalted to posts of honor and power. Our work as Abolitionists is plain work. I do not see that it is changed. It is not numbers that we want in order to succeed. Christianity was never more triumphant than when it was incorporated in one person, and He nailed to the cross. The virtue of the victim set the cross on fire, and it became a beacon-light to illumine the generations. And if the Anti-Slavery cause to-day were incorporated in the person of John Brown, his glorious triumph would be no less assured. I hope we shall not mistake our calling. Government is mistaken, but we should not be. Congress is evidently blind as moles and bats, but we should not be. The Church and the ministry of our land are as blind as the Government, but we should not be; else, if the blind undertake to lead the blind, of course we shall fall into the ditch together. Until this Government makes atonement for the injustice done the slave and his race, the injustice done to Fremont, the injustice done to the Anti-Slavery cause, I shall hold it the enemy of liberty, and of course the enemy of God. For one, I am not disposed to be identified with it. Rather let me die the death of the righteous.

I said the Church is as blind as the rest. The pulpit to-day knows nothing of the demands of the law of God. George B. Cheever seems almost alone to remain. At any rate, I know of no other pulpit-occupant worthy to stand by his side. Somebody asked me the other day, "Won't they soon be arraigning Dr. Cheever before the Conventions?" I said, perhaps they might; but it seemed to me quite time that the Conventions were arraigned before Dr. Cheever. We have all sinned, North and South. The Church might have known it, must have known it; but the Church does not call the Government to repentance. It has been giving the country a religion of so monstrous a character, that to-day it is in the field butchering the same brethren with whom it was last year in Christian fellowship and communion. It is all the same to the Northern pulpit and the Northern Church, whether they break the sacramental roll with their Southern brethren, or dash out their brains with the butt end of their muskets. The Church and the clergy pray for good luck on both occasions alike, and in both armies alike.

Last year, we were endeavoring to sever the connection between the North and South. Last January, upon the first Sunday of the year, the whole Church of the land met, as it was wont, at the sacramental table, in full fellowship, North and South, claiming kindred under one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. The Abolitionists protested against it, demanding of the North that it separate itself from the cup of devils; that it come out from such a synagogue of Satan, and wash its garments clean of the blood of the slave. The North would not hearken. The North despised us and our warning, trampled upon our testimony, and rushed to the sacramental feast; the South joining in the solemn sacramental supper. But God saw it; heard our testimony, too, I trust. And he said, or seemed to say, "Yet a little while longer, and I will arise, and make bare my own arm." In six months, or a little more, from that day, on a summer Sunday, in the following July, the Almighty did arise in the majesty of his might, and seizing the Church of the North as in his right hand, and the Church of the South in his left hand, at Manassas Junction he dashed them together, and gave them their last sacrament in each other's blood.

And yet, to-day, the Church of the North does not seem to know that in that hour she was abandoned of God. But we know it. If we know the works and ways of God, we know that a Church, any Church, that can thus eat the communion bread upon one Sabbath, and go to butchering each other with bayonets and bombshells on the next, must be an abomination in His sight. Yet that is the Church of this land; and the Government of the country is what might be expected from such a religion. The law and the government of God are set as naught, nay, defied.

It seems to me that it is for us most emphatically, in this hour, to distinguish between him who knows and endeavors to keep the law of God, and him who sets it at defiance. I come here for the purpose of vindicating what seem to me to be the doctrines of the Most High. I have no faith, no hope, in any victory, in any success, until the North is first made conscious of its sin. When it is, repentance, reforms, atonement, justice done, will be the first fruits of that knowledge. When that comes, when we shall learn to recognize the difference between human constitutions and unions and the demands of God's law, then there will be hope. Until that time, I look for nothing. I can hope for nothing, but defeat. It is certainly better that the penalty due to crime be executed, no matter what becomes of the criminal; better for him—better for all. Bitter, fearful, dreadful as the consequences of sin may be, it is better that those consequences be visited upon us, and that the North, the State and the Church, should come into the knowledge and acknowledgment of those high and holy doctrines and demands. Then, and not before, shall I feel that the time has come for us to take or to preach hope and encouragement.

I wish to correct the misapprehension of the clerical gentleman who followed me. [Alluding to a review of a previous speech.] He said I had assailed the Church of Christ. His Church of Christ, it may be. I do not know that it is his prerogative to decide for me what constitutes the Church of Christ. I see certain men eating the communion bread and drinking the sacramental wine. Six months afterwards, I see those same men, with rifle, cannon and columbiad, endeavoring to destroy as many of each other as they possibly can. If that is the Church of Christ, then I plead guilty to the charge of my friend. I spoke of Dr. Cheever as a worthy preacher of the gospel of truth. I did not say how many more were worthy; but I only knew Dr. Cheever. Outside of the popular Church, I know several others; my friend, Beriah Green, before me, for one; and I could name a few in my native State, Massachusetts, that what is regarded as the American Church and the American pulpit is to-day in deadly hostility, North against South. We, the Abolitionists, never asked the Church of the North to mob or harm the Church of the South. The Abolitionists never mobbed anybody, or contemned the mobbing of anybody. I never heard of such a thing as a mobocratic Abolitionist. We simply asked her to come out from a fellowship and sacramental communion with the traffickers in slaves, in the bodies and souls of men; with brethren who bought and sold the image of God in the market, whose sacramental vessels were bought with the blood of the slave-mother's child, and filled with wine purchased with the proceeds of her unpaid toll. The Northern Church would not heed us. She reviled and persecuted us. She hated us. She did not even seek to reclaim and save us, as she did ordinary sinners, but branded us as outcasts from the grace of God. The Church of the South she held as bone of her bone, flesh of her flesh, spirit of her spirit. We asked the North to separate from her. She would not do it. By-and-bye, God himself seemed to take the matter into his own hands. He said, I have sent you my servants, the prophets, and ye would not hear them. Behold, I work a work among you, at the very name of which the ears that hear shall tingle. And, as I said, the Church of the North is lifted and dashed against the Church of the South, and they are bathing their deadly bayonets in each other's blood. To call that the Church of Christ is a scandal to that sacred name. It is a blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. The man, to me, is a monster who can do it, in the light of the present hour. Is that a Church of Christ that has defied the demands of God for thirty years, until He has made it its own executioner? He himself has scattered it; scattered it, so to speak, in ghastly corpses on the ground; and the verdict of the moral universe on them is, and shall be forever: "Death by the visitation of God!"

It is time for us to speak the truth. I think, with our excellent friend President Green, it is for us not to take counsel of flesh and blood. These are holy, sublime, righteous principles; let them be affirmed. Why is it that such multitudes are down in the mist, the murky darkness to which Mr. Prynne referred? Why, but for the reason that hypocritical priests and despotic politicians have had the training of them from generation to generation! The multitude sit in the region and shadow of death! Why is it thus? I turn again to my old oracles, the prophets, and the answer is the same: "Like people, like priest." "I bade thee feed my people with the bread of knowledge, and behold ye have filled them with lies and deceit!" I tell you, Mr. Chairman, when the Church and the ministry understand the Bible as well as babes and sucklings understand it, until poisoned with their teachings, the world will be the better for it.

A year ago, I endeavored to warn the people against what we now see. The Republican party was then flushed with victory, and still more with prospective emoluments, and place, and prerogative, when its candidate should occupy the chair of the Chief Magistrate of the nation. I told them that their victory was not yet complete. They had, indeed, elected their Presidential candidates; but their ballots were only a paper currency, and before the Administration could proceed, or be recognized over the country, that paper currency must be redeemed by a specie payment of solid leaden and iron bullets. They laughed at such warnings, and mobbed me all winter for uttering them. From Boston to the Mississippi river, I passed through one succession of mob violence. The only two instances that came to my knowledge, through that long and dreary winter, of the protection of Anti-Slavery meetings from mobs, were by the aid of a Democratic Mayor of this city at our last annual meeting, and of a Democratic magistrate in the State of Iowa. From the beginning of the winter campaign until the inauguration of President Lincoln, (if that event can in any sort of propriety be said to have yet transpired), was a succession of mobs of Republican manufacture or of Republican maintenance. Mob law reigned until Abraham Lincoln was compelled to flee upon the underground railroad from Harrisburg to Washington, to escape its violence; and the mob has ruled him and his administration from that hour to this. Jeff. Davis has more power, to-day, in New York and New England, than Abraham Lincoln and all his Cabinet, and all his army. He has more power by far than he could have had, if he had been regularly elected and regularly installed in the Presidential chair. He has but to speak, and it is done. He has but to command, and the very army stands fast. They tell of the clay mud of the Virginia roads. I tell you that a deeper and more impenetrable mud than that prevents the advance of our armies upon the seceded banditti of the South.

You have convicted I know not how many men of being spies and traitors. You have even had Mason and Slidell in custody. You have convicted seventeen men, in this State, of the most high-handed piracy. Yet those men are just as safe from harm, in the bosom of Abraham Lincoln's administration, as if they were safe smuggled in the bosom of the patriarch Abraham in the Kingdom of heaven. You dare not hurt a hair of their heads. At this very moment you have 700,000 men in arms; and yet the South laughs at your pretensions. Her ragged ruffians are, perhaps, scarcely one to your five; and yet, in the hands of Jeff. Davis, they are, to this hour, impotent to control the destinies of this nation. John Brown and his twenty white men, and two or three black men, at Harper's Ferry, were more a terror to all the South, than Gen. McClellan and his myriads of men. (Applause.) And why? Because the South knew full well that he had a purpose—an almighty, a divine purpose—and your government has not; that, though Abraham Lincoln is nominally President of the United States, she herself holds the sceptre of almost supreme dominion. What gave John Brown such omnipotence, and such omnipresence, too, all through the South? Simply this, that every tyrant had a John Brown in his own bosom, against whom he could not fight. It is conscience that makes cowards of us all. We are arrayed against the Almighty, and therefore it is that we cannot prevail.

One of the resolutions of Mr. Garrison affirms that the government has now the constitutional power to do a righteous action. Some of our friends believed that it had the power before. Gerrit Smith has always believed that the government had the power to abolish slavery under the Constitution. I have not so believed. But now the government has undeniably the power; and it lacks the other more important thing—the disposition. We are a nation of atheists, governed by a President and Cabinet of downright practical atheists. The National Assembly of France, in the days of Robespierre, it is said, voted God from his throne. But we have done worse than they; and they enshrined Reason as God instead, at any rate, and in obedience to it, began their new government by striking every fetter from every slave throughout the French dominions. The Abolitionists of this country have been branded for the last thirty years as atheists; but I fear we are the only men who believe in the Divine existence or the Divine government.

As to the President and his Cabinet, to-day, at the head of this nation, defying the God of heaven! Moses [turning to Mr. Garrison] demands that he let the people go; and in the true spirit of his illustrious predecessor of four thousand years ago, the President answers, Who is the Lord, that I should obey Him?

We were told, yesterday, that the mass of the people could not comprehend our friend, President Green, when he was simply carrying principles and laws which everybody recognizes in material things up into the region of conscience and the higher law. Men are loyal to the laws of the material universe as soon and as far as they know them. The agriculturist, the mechanic, the engineer, the navigator, every one who employs the great forces of nature, respects the laws and keeps them. Whoever shall keep the whole law of the steam-engine, and yet offend in one point, soon finds that he is guilty of all, in the explosion that scatters his engine and the fragments of his own mutilated body in every direction. Our friend Green was endeavoring to lead men up into the region of conscience and the moral laws of the universe; and was insisting upon the same loyalty and obedience there. The great difficulty with our Government officers is, that they are unwilling to believe in a God whose laws are the same, whether they pertain to a grain of shifting sand on a distant shore, or the whirling of the celestial orbs in infinite space, or throbbing in the breasts of cherubim and seraphim before the eternal throne. If we could but know and feel that the law of God is one and the same, whether it pertains to matter or to mind, to the material world or the region of universal conscience and moral being, that wisdom, that grace controlling our actions would be our present and everlasting salvation.

But the people perish for lack of knowledge. Forty thousand pulpits have not yet taught them the first lessons in the government of God. We prefer to be wrestling with the dragon of secession in the South. John Brown, like a mighty angel, came down from heaven, and if the powers would have permitted, would have bound that dragon for a thousand millennial years and forever! You seized that first, grandest hero of the nineteenth century, and hung him upon a cross; the sublimest as well as saddest spectacle since the scene upon Calvary, that velled the very heavens in sackcloth and darkness. John Brown taught us the way; but the people would not learn. He came, the very God made flesh, and pointed the road, but the people and the Government would not walk therein. He was, almost literally, the way and the truth, and he would have been the life, but the nation was not worthy. I sometimes think that, on that fearful morning, the 21 of December, 1859, as he bowed his head and gave up the ghost, that the feathering angel wrote in the ledgers of heaven, of this nation:—"It is finished." From that hour to this, disaster and distress have followed us, and we are widely, madly pursuing the same career which has destroyed so many nations in the past. I almost hear, to-day, coming up from the abyss of the dark eternities below, the voices of Nineveh and Babylon, of all those long-ince buried empires, fallen beneath their own crimes, cruelties and oppressions, screaming in our ears the lamentation of the Hebrew minstrel, "Oh Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou, too, fallen, and become like unto us!"

Mr. Garrison says, "The war is upon us; and it is because there is a God." When he made that remark, I thought that should be my text, if I should speak to-night. The Abolitionists have always believed it. Other people in the country have not been so ready to believe. They have professed belief, but they have not really believed. There is always, in every country—and in all past time I think it is true—a class of men, greater or smaller in number, as the case may happen to be, who believe interiorly, with the whole heart and soul, in the Divine existence and government. They preach in accordance with that belief. They act in accordance with that belief. They endeavor to illustrate that important article of their faith, in all they say and do. Thirty years ago, the Anti-Slavery enterprise demanded the liberation of the slaves, in the name of humanity, and in accordance with the law of the ever-living God. That was the whole gospel of Anti-Slavery, and until this hour it has been the whole gospel of Anti-Slavery. Men have not believed that there was a God who hearkened to the cry of the oppressed. Now He is vindicating His own character and government; visiting our nation with the severest judgments, and endeavoring by this, His last manifestation, the very last with which He ever addresses or approaches any people, to rescue and save this guilty nation from deserved destruction. The remaining work of the Abolitionists is to assert that great truth. We have no other truth to proclaim. Argument has ceased with us. God is here now in righteous judgments; and it is for us to declare this, and to vindicate them. If the people will hearken, well; if not, then the consequences must inevitably be visited upon themselves.

Yesterday, President Green, in some remarks, vindicated the demands of the higher law in the highest and divinest sense of those demands. I was glad of his, to me, most instructive, say, more, most sublime utterance of the sublimest truths in the whole gospel of God. The trouble with the North is, that it does not recognize the hand of God in this visitation. You want to hear of glorious victories; crushing out the rebellion; the stars and stripes; rebel Southerners seized, imprisoned, and hung; or whatever you think they deserve. The South deserves all this. But does the South deserve it at our hands? Who are we of the North, that we should attempt to execute the judgments of the Most High on our Southern fellow-sinners? Might we not say to do, in the language of one of England's proudest poets?—

"Let not this weak, ungodly hand  
Presume thy bolts to throw,  
And deal damnation round the land  
On each I judge thy foe."

Once there was a man travelling up and down, preaching righteousness to the people. He was in the midst of men who fancied they were righteous while they despised others; and they brought into his presence a sinner, taken in a crime, and informed him what their law demanded,—namely, that such sinner should be stoned. His ruling was, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." What did he mean by that? Simply this, I suppose: If you judge others, and visit judgments upon others, be sure you do it with clean hands.

Now, this war is upon us. It is upon us because there is a God, as Mr. Garrison well said. But if we properly and duly consider this one fact, that slavery is the cause of the war, we shall see that there is also a cause of slavery. And what is that cause? Who instituted it, and planted it in the Constitution of the country? Who has protected it by solemn guaranties, from that hour to the present? Who has enacted and executed Fugitive Slave laws, from 1793 down to 1850? Who has repealed the Missouri Compromise in behalf of slavery? Who has purchased Louisiana and Florida, and conquered Texas at its bidding? Who has elected the Presidents? Who has appointed the Judges of the Supreme Court? Who has executed the Fugitive Slave law for the last ten months? Who has interpreted the Bible? Who has found justification for slave-breeds and slave-traders, in both the Old Testament and the New; in patriarchal example, in prophetic approval, in divine sanction still, by the alliance of Christ; and, as a climax of the argument, the sending back by the apostle Paul of a fugitive slave to his master! Who has done all this?—because, it seems to me, the answer to those questions is the answer to the other question, Who are the cause of slavery? So that, when I examine the subject in the light of the highest truth I can discover or comprehend, I have to go back to the North, and lay the guilt of this monstrous system at the door of the Northern people, Northern Churches, and Northern pulpits. Verily, ye are the men.

Suppose there were fifty persons somewhere in your vicinity, instituting and carrying on, from year to year, a system of high-handed robbery and burglary; carrying on their plundering operations in every part

of New York and New England, extending their depredations to Canada and the West, or whatever plunder might be found. And suppose, some morning, twenty-five of them should awake, and find that the other twenty-five, in the course of the night, had stolen their horses, saddles, bridles, powder, pistols, and all the furniture of the whole establishment, and had made off to parts unknown. Suppose that they should say, "We must get hold of the finest horses we can steal from the nearest stables, and ride at the top of their speed, until we overtake those brethren of ours, and we must, if possible, win them back, and if not, drive them back into the confederation." They go out and overtake them, and say, "Come back, come back; we always thought that there was honor among thieves; if nowhere else." You have stolen the property and made off with it, and set up on your own account. Were we not doing a prosperous and glorious business? Were we not making ourselves rich and powerful? And with our money have we not always been benevolent and philanthropic? Nay, more, were we not spreading the gospel, converting the heathen, and rapidly millennializing the world? Were we not endowing orphan and insane asylums, founding theological seminaries, building churches and hospitals for the poor, and filling the whole world with the grandeur and glory of our achievements? And here you have upset it all, by stealing our horses, and bridles, and saddles, and powder, and pistols, and gone off and set up on your own account. Did not our fathers set us up in business? Did not they steal 500,000 horses to begin with? Have not we multiplied seven or eight fold in capital? Were we not paying enormous dividends upon our stock in trade? And now, like fools, and knaves, and villains, almost, you have broken everything all up! Here are, all flat, and nothing can be done. The hopes of the world, the millennial prospects and desires and anticipations of the whole Church of Christendom are blasted and disappointed. Repent of your folly, and canter back in the quickest possible time; and let us join hands again, and proceed as before with our business."

Some of you took up to me as though you understood my illustration. I think myself it goes pretty nearly on all fours, and I will not carry it any further. This is, to be sure, a somewhat lively view of what, after all, I regard as the most sublime spectacle of iniquity the history of mankind ever exhibited. We framed our Government in injustice. We built up our temple on crime and cruelty. Perhaps our fathers thought they were doing well. There is this defence, at least, to be made for them. They had just escaped from the power of the British Government, and almost all Europe was combined against them to crush the uprising spirit of freedom in the western hemisphere. "To make a Union, even though slavery were an element, seemed to them necessary, at least for a time; though expecting that all the States would ultimately, as your State of New York and some others have done, at the earliest possible period, sweep that system of abominations away forever. That is their best defence; and perhaps it is defence enough; for I do not believe that New York or New England had any members in the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, who loved slavery for its own sake, or who intended that slavery should be perpetual in the country. No, my friends, let us take a brighter and better view of the subject, and believe that in their distress, in their extremity, they built up the best government they could. But let us remember that they laid their foundations upon the hearts, and the hopes, the bodies and the spirits of immortal beings.

Missionaries come homes and tell us of a heathen pagoda in the East, of seventy proud columns, every column resting upon a human skull, the skull of a victim offered at its base when the fabric was reared. Our fathers laid their foundations, not upon seventy but upon half a million crushed immortal spirits, and half a million bodies framed by the hand of God. There was the terrible injustice and oppression. And all the time, we are assured that our Government was based upon compromises. Compromise is a beautiful word in the right place. I have seen it when it looked well, even in the newspaper. But when applied to American politics, I see no beauty or comeliness in it. Compromise is good in its place. I saw a gardener pulling up beautiful flowers, and throwing them away. I asked him why he did so. "Why," said he, "they are weeds." "But," said I, "those are beautiful flowers." "Yes," said he, "but everything is a weed, out of its place." Compromise out of its place is always a weed, may be poisonous, deadly, to whatever government it may chance to belong.

Two men may try to adjust a dispute by compromise, in settling the boundaries of their land. One may say to the other, "Set this stake here, and that one there, and we shall have a better line of division; it will make your wood-lot better there, and it will bring water into my pasture here, and we shall both be benefited; and that will adjust our trouble." "Very well," says the other; "I am glad you thought of it; for it will benefit us and our children after us." Thus they compromise the matter, and settle it. But suppose the second man says, "No; I have another compromise to propose. There is a poor fellow with land next to ours, and if we take off a strip of that and annex it, it will give you water in your pasture, and give me a good wood-lot. So let us stretch our boundary line two rods over into his land. He is a poor fellow and has no friends, no money, no nothing, and cannot help himself; everybody hates him; and we shall both be benefited by that, and get just what we both need." What kind of a compromise is that? Is there any beauty or comeliness in the word there? Is it not rather a blasphemy against the holy spirit of truth and justice, thus to trample upon the rights of the helpless poor?

Now, what did your fathers do? They seized half a million immortal beings, poor, friendless, hated, despised, down-trodden, and they compromised them and their children after them forever, not for their benefit, but for the benefit of the nation that thus despised and oppressed them. There is where our difficulty is. O there is a God in heaven, who remembers who can never forget, the cries of the suffering, friendless poor! There is our grand difficulty at this hour, and I know no hope for us while we are thus fighting, not against Jeff. Davis, but against the God of heaven and earth. How can we prosper? I do not care if you multiply your soldiers tenfold more, and take half your ministers and make chaplains of them to pray in concert for victory; it will avail nothing. There is but one triumph; and that is the triumph of justice—the triumph of truth.

What was one of the divinest and yet saddest lamentations of the ancient Hebrew poet? If I were a minister, I think I would take those words for my text for a whole summerful of Sundays.—"None calleth for justice." Sometimes I have a good mind to go back into the pulpit, just to let the people know that one truth, that there is a God who loves justice; for the pulpits seem to know nothing of Him. Why is it that the people, to-day, grope in darkness, seeing no light? Why is it that we are, to-day, held in the iron grasp, so to speak, of the Slave Power at the South? Our friend, Mr. Garrison, asked us, "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? No; you have tried it. But if you hold on to your line of connection, the Leviathan will draw you in, instead, and drown you forever." (Applause.)

My only ground of discouragement is, not that the people are not all right at heart; because I do not believe in the doctrine of total depravity. I know the pulpits have preached it a good while, judging mankind, I suppose, by themselves. But I do not believe in that doctrine. All I want is to get at the young, unsophisticated mind and soul of the people, and pour into that soul the divine truths of the eternal God; and I will be accountable for any slavery that will survive after that. It is because none calleth for justice that we are to-day struggling with a power too mean and despicable for our steel; too dastardly a foe for us to fight, only that we also are in the same condemnation and degradation.

What is the South? I do not believe in the mighty armies of Beaugard, with which the newspapers terrify the old ladies in pantaloons, up and down New England and New York. How was it that Manassas Heights were taken? We were told that a mighty army invested that field; but by some strange circumstance, when we managed to pluck up courage enough to march there, behold there was no army, and had not been for twenty-four hours, nor a single gun, except those made of logs of wood painted to resemble cannon. Half the armies of the South are myths. Give me one John Brown, with ten thousand such men as he led to Harper's Ferry, and I will plant the stars and stripes in every city in all the South. (Applause.) It is all a lie—this talk about the power and pluck of the South. I do not believe in it. Our difficulty is that we dare not take the South at her word. While she strikes for slavery, we dare not parry her thrust, and strike for freedom. When we do that, there is no doubt upon which side victory will smile. How is it now? We have been told how many men the South had, what immense armies, arsenals, what military resources, what prowess, what courage, and all that. We have something. We are told that we have 700,000 men in arms, or in preparation for war. We voted \$500,000,000 last July in Congress, and have expended most of it. Our national debt at the end of January was \$400,000,000. Our army is in the field. Thirty or forty thousand of them have been slain in battle, or died by disease or accident. The months have passed away; and what is the result? That, with all our men and money, the States of Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky, though more than half loyal, as we are told, to the national flag—that those three States are not yet conquered. Has it ever occurred to you to ask the reason why? I have no difficulty in finding the answer; and it seems to me to be this: that we are not striking at the foe. We are rather defending the foe. John C. Fremont sought to strike the foe; but John C. Fremont is no longer a command. John Brown taught us the way; but we crucified John Brown, as the old Hebrew nation, eighteen hundred years ago, crucified their leader and Legi. We are here, to-day, shivering, shaking before that man, miserable foe, when, had but the courage to strike its vital, vulnerable point, victory would inevitably be ours.

You remember the old fable of the ancient Greeks. When he was born, it was told to his mother that if she would baptize him immediately in the Styx, he would become invulnerable. So they hurried him away and bathed him in the Styx; but the nurse held him by the heel, and that was not wet with the water. He grew up the mightiest warrior in Greece; but in an evil hour, an arrow was aimed at the vulnerable spot, that unbaptized heel, and Achilles fell to rise no more. The South has a vulnerable spot; but we have an archer who dares to aim his arrow there. And we are conquered; we are baffled, and balked of victory. Richmond sleeps quietly to-day with an army of importance to protect it. But Abraham Lincoln, I am afraid, has bad dreams; and I am told that William H. Seward has sometimes very bad dreams, with 200,000 armed men waiting at his call.

Mr. Chairman, we forget that there is a God; that there is such a thing as justice towards the slave. Instead of washing our hands of the iniquity, instead of proclaiming liberty to the captive, we are troubling before the tyrant. You have plenty of brave men. There is no lack there. There is no want of patriotism upon the part of the people. Our only want is the man for the hour. We need but a Garibaldi, a Mazzini, a Kosuth, and victory would soon press upon our banners. But, alas! we have none. Is as much as there is a God, inasmuch as righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne, who is it that our forty thousand pulpits have not furnished the men to warn the people, in the name of the God of justice, of the calamity that has now come upon us? There seems now to be no special difference between the Church and the pulpit. The Church for twenty years has disregarded the claims of God.

And the religion of the country, like the Government, is founded in compromise. Eternal, immutable principle has no place in it. Slavery not only interprets the Constitution, but it explains and expounds the Bible. What the law makes property is property in Church as well as State. The law of God, the demands of nature, the claims of justice are all set at its behest. So it is ruled in the State, taught in the School, and held in the Church. The Church puts a "Dr. Southside Adams," to teach us that "with the Constitution is in force, all appeal to any higher law is fanaticism." The School and the Church put a Daniel Webster, who, in his memorable sermon of March speech, which spoke the Fugitive Slave Law into life and being, said with sneer and scorn and scorn, "It is of no use for us to retract the laws of God." As if we were and destruction were not the inevitable doom of any people who dare enact any other than the laws of God! At the door of our forty thousand pulpits the responsibility of all this blindness and infidelity must be laid. The priests have not taught the people knowledge.

And the religion inculcated at home we send abroad. The Foreign Missionary Board has so far millennialized the Cherokee and Choctaw Indian tribes, that it has now transferred them to the East. Mission Society, to be aided as they need it, like the feeble Churches of Ohio and other parts of the great West. They were pronounced Christian, as nations, and so not included longer in the field of foreign or heathen operation. And the American Board triumphantly handed them up into Christendom as among the first trophies of its faithfulness and success. The Indian had learned what he knew not before, that he could hold property in his fellow-man. And this very day I read in the newspaper how many thousands of warriors those very tribes are furnishing the Southern army, to carry on a fratricidal, parhical war in support of slavery's bloody throne! returning with spear and scalping knife to butcher the very saints, society and Church, from whence came their civilization, their baptisms, and their sacraments!

Such is our religion at home. So is it also "made easy for the heathen."

Under such delusions the North lives, moves and fights to-day. It hates the slave; it hates all his men for their color and condition; it hates no less his friends who have, for more than thirty years, been contending earnestly for their equal rights under the laws, human and divine. Can we prosper? Never, while God holds his throne and power. To-day His arm is made bare for justice. To-day the judgment is set for this nation, and the books are opened. The South deserves a whelming destruction, but not from us. For wrongs done to humanity, to the slave in his generations, the North is no less guilty than the South—and the North is not yet repenting; is not convicted of its sin. To shoot down its Southern fellow-sinners is no atonement to the slave or to his race. Let him that is without sin fire the first cannon; it is a judgment that should strip our officers of their uniforms, and clothe them in the sackcloth of repentance. It should send our Government, army and people, Church, pulpit and all, down into the dust of humiliation, penitence and prayer.

Once a divine man went in to dine at a lordly table. And in recognition of the high quality of his guest, the proprietor stood up and said, "Behold the half of my goods I give to feed the poor, and if I have taken anything from any man unjustly, I restore him thereof." Immediately, from sanctified lips, came the heavenly applause. "This day is salvation come to this house."

And all the gospel was there. Let us learn to do justice, and to restore, at least, so far as we may, our property, if no more, as justice, not as a "military necessity," to those who have robbed and peeled so long. Never, never before, while God and Nature live and reign, can we expect or hope for success and salvation.