

UNION AND PEACE.

The South are for Peace. Offer them Peace on this

basis, (the Union and Constitution,) and they will take

it—yes, take it with joy, and return to their allegiance.—

JAMES GUTHRIE.

There are reports that Georgia is tendering alle-

giance to the Union, and it is certain that in North

Carolina there is a strong undercurrent of Union

feeling. James Guthrie is not a man of the impul-

sive class, or of the shallow set of the Abolition

brood, but is one of the comprehensive order of

minds, grasping a subject in its entirety, having a

statesman's vision and a patriot's instinct; and while

he tramples with elephantine tread on the central-

ized and despotic principles of the Abolitionists,

now, alas, headed by Mr. Lincoln, he gives the coun-

try the great assurance that it is practicable to reach

PEACE under the CONSTITUTION! He says there

can be peace with a recognition of the ancient

rights of each State. Behind this assurance is char-

acter; a man of sterling integrity, public and private;

an honest man whose word is as good as his

bond. Can this nation afford not to heed the con-

clusions such patriots reach?

His conclusion is that the Union can be restored!

A love of this—the Union of co-equal States—

under a Constitution formed for common purposes—

still abides in all the States, still lives in the States that

are in rebellion in a minority who are not and never

have been in rebellion; and have not and cannot be

put in rebellion by the whole of the Secession or

Ordinance, so called. They are loyal Unionists. They

are better loyalists than the tribe of Northern Gar-

risson Abolitionists, for they are for the Constitution

—for the local government in its legitimate local

sphere, and for the entire maintenance of the su-

preme law in its legitimate national sphere. This is

genuine LOYALTY. This is a support of the laws

and the Government of this land. Those who, North

or South, violate the national sphere, are in seces-

sion; and those who support the local and general

WHAT THE SOLDIERS THINK.

ON THE WELDON RAILROAD, Va.,

Sept. 24, 1864.

The questions are every day asked:—How will

the soldiers vote? "Are they not anxious for

peace?" Do they not recognize in McClellan,

their favorite general, the means of bringing the

war to a speedy close; and therefore will they not

give him their unanimous support? "I wish I was

able to answer satisfactorily all these questions, and

express faithfully the deep interest felt in the army

in the present political campaign. In the first place,

the soldiers who served under McClellan, and used

to be so clamorous for his reappointment to the

army of the Potomac, have long ere this ceased to

call for "Little Mac." Though perhaps the present

army is not so expressive in its love for Grant, yet

no general was ever honored by a command which

felt such perfect confidence in their leader's power

and ability as is our brave Lieut-General to-day. In

the commencement of the Summer's campaign, the

"boys" were doubtful. So many had tried and

failed that they looked again for the same result.

But we had not been beyond the Rapidan two

weeks before all were convinced that the right man

had been found at last; and every move since then

has made them stronger and more confident in this

belief. McClellan's name will never be forgotten, it

is true, but the superiority of Gen. Grant and his

generals will always be recognized.

The soldiers have no fault to find with the present

administration. Abraham Lincoln has always been

the soldiers' true friend. Their welfare and

interests have always been his first thoughts. He is

no respecter of rank. I have seen him extend his

hand to greet the private soldier as cordially and

heartily as he would if the man's shoulders had been

honored by "stars" or "bars." They are his boys!

—and no father could be more tender or loving.

When on duty in Washington, we had an opportu-

nity to notice much of his private life. Several

times a day he would pass from the White House to

the War Department. A private walk through the

yard of the Presidential Mansion connects the two

and a sentinel was then posted at the gate and door

of the Department. The President as he walked

along, looking upon the pavement, was always in

deep study, pondering, perhaps, over some scheme

or plan; and frequently meeting some high civil or

military officer of the Government, he would pass

him unnoticed, or looking up, pay him hardly a

nod or look of recognition; but when he came to

the sentinels, dressed in Uncle Sam's blue, he would

lift his hat and smile—at only a kind-hearted man

can smile—in answer to their salute. In his mind

the soldiers, who had answered his call for aid to

sustain the Government, were his most worthy of

notice. How many little acts of kindness to disabled

soldiers or to their families are recorded of him!

We will not repeat them now. There is not a sol-

dier in the field who has it in his heart to find one

word of fault with one who has on so many occa-

sions proved himself their generous benefactor.

As "peace on any terms!" Does any one

think for a moment that the soldiers, who have been

the real sufferers, whose blood has been freely shed

on the numerous hard fought fields, which will ever

be conspicuous in history, whose hundreds of cov-

ereds have fallen and are now sleeping beneath the

soil of the ill-fated confederacy, are so blind, so lost

to every feeling of pride and patriotism, that they

are willing to give up, to declare the war a failure,

and sue for a disgraceful peace, just at the moment

when they have their enemy at an advantage,

and the long looked for reward is just before them,

because they are tired of the war and fear to pro-

WHO BEGAN THE WAR?

The eloquent German orator, Frederick Has-

sareck, answers this question as follows, in a late

speech delivered at Cincinnati, Ohio:

In the Convention which framed our present Con-

stitution, Slavery demanded guarantees. She de-

manded the extension of the African slave trade to

a certain time, a provision for the surrender of fugi-

tive slaves, and an unjust advantage with regard to

representation. She got just what she had asked

for, and had her own way again. Was she satisfied?

She demanded a Fugitive Slave Law under the

Constitution; it was given her.

She demanded more slave States; they were ad-

mitted. She forced in Missouri as a slave State, un-

der a solemn promise to leave certain other Territory

forever free, and had her own way. But was she

satisfied? She threatened to nullify the laws of Congress,

and was not compelled to obey them. She threat-

ened, and the North yielded and compromised. But

was she satisfied? She wanted a war with Mexico, and a war was de-

clared. She wanted more Territory, and she got it.

She asked for Cuba, and the Government in her

service opened negotiations for its acquisition.

Her politicians wanted to rule, and rule they did.

They petitioned to control the Government, and they

controlled it.

The South wanted a more effective Fugitive Slave

Law, and she got it at the price of violating the

fundamental rights of habeas corpus and trial by

jury. She got it, and those who now declaim that

our constitutional rights are assailed, defended it to

the bitter end. But was Slavery satisfied?

She asked for a breach of plighted faith by a re-

peal of the Missouri Compromise, and she got it.

But was she satisfied? She demanded the right to control the national

mails, and to violate the secrecy of private corre-

spondence. It was conceded to her. But was she

satisfied? She threatened when her demands were not

immediately complied with. Her threats were re-

spected, but when did she declare herself satisfied?

She wanted to be nationalized by a decision of the

Supreme Court of the United States, and that de-

cision was given. She claimed the right of extend-

ing herself into the new Territories. This was de-

clared against her by the election of 1860; but,

nevertheless, new Territories were organized with-

out a provision in their organic acts prohibiting Sla-

very, and the Fugitive Slave Law was faithfully

carried out by a Republican Administration. But

was the South satisfied?

Endless were the declarations of the North, that

Slavery should not be interfered with in the States

where it existed. These assurances were solemnly

reiterated in the Inaugural of President Lincoln.

But was the South satisfied?

federate rag and scuttle the Union ship, while we, robbed of our compasses and stripped of our national consistency, are to be landed upon some bleak dogma of egotistical State Rights and universal anarchy!

Call Abraham Lincoln a joker! Why, the Chicago party are trying to make this war the ghastliest joke of the continent or the century. Have we gone to school to a million of bayonets, and learned nothing? Have we marched a million of men a thousand miles to stand still? Are we spending four millions a day merely to buy back the old and staid old every day? To buy another Brooks' murderous cane; another Buchanan's Lecompton crime, greater than all the Lincolnian Lecompton constitutions? The Crittenden Amendment was very well to prevent war; but we are to be fought four years, despoiled of our means, called foreigners, hunted on every sea and shore, and bury five hundred thousand brothers, to give them all they asked in the past, and no security for all they demand, on that very account, in the future? They will say: "We plunged you into a debt, we helped you to inaugurate a rebellion. While your armies have advanced, your principles have retreated; and, so long as your victories only mean concessions to us, war has no crisis stand and peace no shame in Dixie." Will the red crisis stand this will greenbacks support it? Every fifty twenty bond is a stamp speech for Lincoln; every dollar greenback a campaign tract distributed among a warned and consuming community, cautioning them how they trifle with the dead and the debt of his war.

I am, very respectfully, yours, DAVID S. CODDINGTON. Messrs. W. A. DARLING, Sec., Committee.

THE ORY OF "PEACE-PEACE, WHEN THERE IS NO PEACE."

The last New York Independent contains a stirring discourse by Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, preached in Brooklyn on the recent Thanksgiving.

We have room only for a brief division of this sermon, having referred particularly to our existing struggle with the demons of the South:

III. And now let me say a few words about our own war. We are tired of hearing it called gigantic; that word has been used so much. And yet the fact remains of a great war; the greatest, perhaps, in history. I need not tell you how great it is: great in the length and breadth of its theatre; great in its hosts of armed men upon the land; great in its fleets upon the sea; great in its cost of treasure; great in its cost of blood. So great is it, that had its dimensions been foreseen, the heart of the nation would have failed it. So great is it, that the hearts of many men have failed them as it is. So great is it, that only the most heroic and the most self-sacrificing issues at stake in it will suffice to bear its weight.

Cries of peace are on the wind. We heard them at the start. We have heard them all along. We hear them now louder than ever. But cries of peace from whom, and to whom? Some are the prayers of all the saints ascending since the war began, that God will be pleased, in his own good time, to send us peace by righteousness, that so it may be a lasting peace. But no cry is heard as yet from the rebels in arms, who might have peace tomorrow by simply throwing down their weapons and striking their flag. No cry as yet from our own brave boys, their blue-jackets fragrant with the smell of victories. No cry from the bloody graves of fallen heroes, who would as gladly fight and die again for the old flag. No cry even from widows and orphans, who have lost all they had to lose, and now only pray it may not have been in vain. No where any cry do we hear but from the lips of rebels not in arms, or who if not rebels, are the dupes and tools of rebels, doing the work of rebels, and doing it better now and here than they ever did follow their own flag. No cry from the line, these are men who now cry for peace at any price, peace on the instant by the grounding of our arms, when they know, some of them, better even than we, for they have learned it from Richmond, that the rebellion is on the verge of grounding its arms.

Peace, they cry, as over a drawn battle, when they know the battle is nearly finished in victory. Peace, they cry, when they know that peace now, without another blow, would be substantially the triumph of our foes. Some of these men who cry for peace are the best and the noblest of our kind. These are men who now cry for peace at any price, peace on the instant by the grounding of our arms, when they know, some of them, better even than we, for they have learned it from Richmond, that the rebellion is on the verge of grounding its arms.

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or armistice. This is the question offered us. Let us accept it, and hold it apostles to it, and hold the nation to it. If Ajax fails of victory for want of light, he is no fault of ours.

Armistice is the watchword. But what is armistice? Not peace; only hostility suspended in order to peace, they tell us. He not deceived, my countrymen! Peace will never come in this way. The rebellion is still in arms, engineered and dominated by able and desperate men, who have sworn, with an oath as stern as that of the famous Delenda est Carthago, that the old Union shall never be re-established. This explains the recent remark of Mr. Davis, that they are not fighting for slavery, and care very little about it. He did not mean that they are sick of the insurrection, and ready to give it up. He only meant, although of course too shrewd to own it, that with their independence established, and an open sea between themselves and the dusky Continent, they will know how to make good the losses of the war. They are anxiously ready to open an independent Confederacy, and if, with their armies so well in hand, they can hold the Southern masses to that programme to-day, with their armies refreshed and resupplied, they will be able to hold these same masses to that programme to-morrow. The armistice will end, as it began, in an unequalled and stubborn demand for independence. They say they want nothing else, and will think of nothing else. If their demand be refused—as refused it must be, for I have read in a recent document that "the Union must be preserved at all hazards"—then it will be war again, only worse, and less likely by a thousand fold to end propitiously than now. If the demand be conceded, there may, indeed, be peace for a time, but war again after a season, and war forever, till either our descendants learn the wisdom now offered to us, or the continent is black with ruins. What man in his senses can imagine, for a moment, the possibility of permanent amity, or any thing like it, between two governments as would take the place of the one government now battling for its life? What man wishes to plant, or spin, or weave, or study, would be willing to stand amidst such uncertainties as would then be chronic? What mother would be willing to nurse her babe amidst such alarms as would be nearly constant? Or is it supposed that there is still at the South a latent majority in favor of the old Union, who need only to be reconciled, who ask for a suspension of hostilities only that they may rid themselves of their present rulers, and resume their place under the old flag? If there be any such latent majority, from what I know of human nature, I do not believe, for one, that they will either respect or like us any less for having cut the rebellion root and branch; a rebellion, with respect to which the chief question is and ever will be, whether its rank is highest among the great historic blunders or among the great historic crimes.

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THE LAURELS OF MCCLELLAN.

1st. McClellan planned and ordered the advance upon Ball's Bluff, and was the cause of that slaughter.

2d. McClellan wasted a month in besieging Yorktown, defended by a garrison of only 8,000 men, while he had 155,000.

3d. McClellan suffered his army to be surprised, with heavy loss, at Fair Oaks.

4th. McClellan, by neglecting to fortify his flanks and rear, allowed his whole position before Richmond to be taken in reverse, and ordered a disastrous retreat before a single corps of the enemy.

5th. McClellan ordered a retreat from Malvern Hill without cause or justification, after our men had achieved a glorious victory there.

6th. McClellan, by that retreat, prevented Pope from coming to his aid by the way of Lynchburg, and thus precipitated upon Pope's small force the whole of Lee's army.

7th. McClellan neglected for three weeks to obey an order to move his army northward to effect a junction with Pope, and that time Lee used to move his own army against Pope.

8th. McClellan withheld reinforcements and supplies from Pope, which would have enabled the latter to beat back Lee successfully.

9th. McClellan opposed all the military and naval expeditions against the rebel seaboard, which he knew were essential to render the blockade perfect.

10th. McClellan opposed the division of the Army of the Potomac into corps, and only did divide it when peremptorily ordered to do so by Secretary Stanton, although he must have known that no division of that size could be managed without such division.

11th. McClellan neglected or refused to take the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac, and commence a campaign, until compelled to do so by the orders of the President and War Department.

12th. McClellan suffered the Potomac to be blocked by the enemy for months, when he could have prevented it.

13th. McClellan did not participate in the battles fought by his army, but was in every case distant from the battle, leaving his subordinates to manage for themselves.

14th. McClellan delayed his part of the operations in West Virginia until the enemy, whose retreat from Rich Mountain he was to stop, had been beaten by Rosecrans, and escaped.

15th. McClellan magnified the Quaker guns and scattered pickets of the rebels at Munson's Hill into a formidable fortification, defended by a strong garrison, and began a careful campaign against it until an adventurous Union man went up to the place, and discovered the cheat.

16th. McClellan suffered himself to be deluded in like manner at Manassas, and was undecisive in precisely the same way.

17th. McClellan never seemed to have any accurate knowledge of the rebel forces, as he regularly magnified their strength on the authority of pretentious spies.

18th. McClellan allowed Buell to keep an army of 120,000 men idle, at bay before a rebel force less than 50,000, while Halleck's forces under Grant were doing the very work confided to Buell.

19th. McClellan kept the whole immense Army of the Potomac lying idle, through a long winter, without ordering the construction of winter quarters to shelter the men from the inclement weather; the only apparent reason for this course being a desire to conceal his intention not to move the army.

20th. McClellan sacrificed 12,000 men at Harper's Ferry by withholding Franklin's corps either from succoring them, or reinforcing Burnside at Antietam.

21st. McClellan caused the slaughter of the Corn Exchange regiment by the foolish crossing at Shepherdstown, Maryland, in precisely the same manner as at Ball's Bluff.

22d. McClellan refused to move his army against Lee after Antietam, on various pretexts that it could not be moved, although being superseded by Pope the latter moved the army with the greatest celerity.

USING THE SLAVES.

After all the invectives heaped on the administration, and all the bitter complaints put forth by peace men and copperheads at the North; after the government has been assailed time and again for taking the negroes and making them soldiers of them, and a constitutional whine has been made up from every copperhead kennel in the land to the throne of rebellion, because the barriers to the onward march of freedom have been overturned; and on all this, the rebels begin to think of employing negroes to aid in destroying the government, by raising a black army of 250,000. What will Jeff's Northern allies say to this? Will they drag out their old hobby-horse, and ride against him in this new arena? Far from it. They care not what the South may do to destroy the Union, but can see no step taken for its preservation. We must believe the rebels could not take a step which would redound more to their benefit than to free, arm and drill negroes for their armies. Had they done so at the start, Europe would, with one accord, have applauded the act. We should learn even from our enemies. We have increased our army two hundred thousand by negro troops. How they will fight, let Fort Wagner and Olustee answer. We should free still more—free them all. When that prop falls from under the Confederacy, its doom is sealed.—Haverhill Gazette.

The Louisville Journal says McClellan has fallen under the political ban of Abolitionists. He may under a ban, but certainly never will under a banner.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1864.

SPECIAL THANKS. We are greatly indebted, and much relieved, by the quick and ample response of such of our subscribers as were able to return to us their copies of the Liberator of the 9th ultimo—our edition of that number having mysteriously fallen short a hundred copies. Such kind and considerate compliance with our request is truly gratifying, and calls for our special thanks, which we offer to each and all who have taken upon them this trouble. No more need be returned.

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.

The second lecture of the course now in progress under the auspices of the Parker Fraternity was given on Tuesday evening last, by Rev. O. B. Frothingham of New York. His subject was "The Conservative Tendencies of the War."

Americans, he said, have been called a nation of radicals, but they might as truly be called a nation of conservatives. Conservatism is a fact of human nature, and human nature has in it a large element of lethargy, of staying as it is. In the progress of things, Providence necessarily gives frequent disturbances to this element, and then the nation complains, and worries, and wishes Providence would let it alone. It curses the critic, and persecutes the reformer, and hangs its redeemer on a gallows.

On the other hand, the radical also is a conservative, planting himself on the side of the law of nature. He would avoid change by establishing the unchangeable.

Our United States democrats are precisely the persons who do not believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Jefferson Davis is now the chief representative of conservatism in America. He goes for slavery, for the owning of labor by capital, for the complete suppression of democratic institutions.

Who are the supporters of Jefferson Davis? The ruffians, the outlaws, first of all. The common breakers of law. Just such persons as, here in Boston, turned out to enforce the return of Anthony Burns to slavery. It would not do, they thought, to have these abolitionists breaking up the foundations of society!

What explains the cordial feeling here evinced between absolutists and anarchists? Perhaps the sympathy which exists between one class of destructives, of plunderers, and another. Mitchell the anarchist, in becoming a slaveholder, did not desert his party; he only rose one step in the same scale.

Mankind respect conservatism; but the conservative form is antagonistic to the conservative principle, and hence seeming anomalies and inconsistencies appear.

War, in one view of it, is only destructive. But war is also conservative, and represents a vital principle. Our war was begun by destructives, who, failing of success, now find it more to their advantage to assume the position of conservatives. For as the war means safety, reform, peace. Peace was formerly spelt with five letters—p-e-a-c-e; now it is spelt with three letters—w-a-r. All disorderly persons denounce the war; all those praise it who understand by democracy a man's doing as he ought.

Jefferson Davis has been pronounced by Gen. McClellan "a perfect gentleman." Referring to the qualities properly comprised in this epithet, the lecturer drew a vivid contrast between these two "gentlemen" on one side, and Abraham Lincoln and General Sherman on the other, vindicating the assertion of the two latter that peace must come by the submission of the destructive principle to the conservative principle.

The war has forwarded yet other conservative tendencies. Through it a common humanity is confessed and a common burden borne. A spurious democracy was perfecting the system of caste, a separation of man from man. The war has produced the Sanitary Commission, Soldiers' Fairs, the free-will offerings of men or the battle-field and women for the hospital. The war has made self-sacrifice a custom of our people.

Still another conservative influence has been advanced by the war. Slavery was our great evil. The white man had set his heel on the black man's neck, and the struggles of the latter shook the continent. The former wars in Mexico, in Kansas, in Congress, had sprung from the oppression of the black man. The present war has established cordial relations between the best class of white Americans and the most oppressed and injured descendants of Africa.

Mr. Frothingham here gave some exceedingly interesting statistics of the aid afforded to Southern freedmen by an Association for their benefit in New York, of which he is Corresponding Secretary. They teach the common arts of civilized life and the rudiments of education to the lowest and rudest population of the South. Even the old negro-prisons, in some cases, are used as school-houses. In such manners as these the new Redeemer of the African race is born.

Already some far-seeing Eastern agents (five Parsee merchants resident in London) have sent liberal gifts in aid of this enterprise, the education and elevation of the Southern freedmen.

The black man himself in our country now reveals the active agency of a vast conservative force. Under this head, the lecturer presented instructive details of the industrial activities of the ex-slaves—the profits some of them have already made on their newly acquired land—their fling of pre-emption claims for more lands—their building of houses for themselves, all the time providing suitably for the maintenance of their families, &c., &c.

Industry, economy, thrift, providence—if these are conservative, the freedmen are conservatives. Certainly, the love of education which they manifest looks like the best kind of conservatism.

The just and manly demand, quietly persisted in until yielded, of payment of the full wages of soldiership, and the continued refusal to take less than their due, is in the highest degree creditable to the black regiments of Massachusetts. It was a demand, not of equal pay merely for the soldier's sake, but of a recognition of manhood for the man's sake.

Industry, ambition, aspiration towards proprietorship and citizenship, self-respect, honor, heroism—if we contrast these conspicuously manifested characteristics of the freedmen with the contented ignorance and brutality of the "mean whites" of the South, it will appear that ebony holds the image of God after the soft Virginia pine has lost it.

When Sherman, returning to Georgia, was asked how many negroes came with his army, he answered, ten miles of them. They had been stripped of everything, but, as soon as the power of locomotion was given them, they sought freedom and civilization, and pressed towards the farm, the school-room, and the artisan's work-shop.

The sword does not understand its work, but it means Union and Peace, and universal Liberty, protected by law.

The Music Hall was well filled, and the just sentiments and keen criticisms of the lecturer called forth frequent applause.

The President of the Fraternity announced that Miss Anna E. Dickinson, of Philadelphia, would give the lecture next Tuesday evening, and that her subject would be "Chicago, the last ditch." To hear her an overflowing house may be expected.—C. X. W.

A MOST VALUABLE AND TIMELY HISTORICAL WORK. We call the special attention of all the friends of freedom to the new work just published by Walker, Wise & Co. of this city; (see their advertisement in another column) entitled "History of the Anti-Slavery Measures of the 27th and 28th Congresses," by Hon. Henry Wilson. It has been prepared with great labor, accuracy and impartiality, and deserves a wide sale and a careful perusal.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XVIII.

New York, Oct. 6, 1864.

To the Editor of the Liberator: The official attitude of this city is akin to that desired by Mayor Wood three years ago—annexation to the Confederacy. For Mayor Gunther, who believes in peace and McClellan, will not illuminate the public buildings in honor of those successes which have made Chicago stock a laughing-stock. Nor will he, from a proper sympathy for those who are in a like case with himself, recommend a spontaneous illumination by the citizens as large, lest tallow should suddenly become a test of loyalty. Brilliant as is this strategy, it fails to repress that more trustworthy badge of patriotism, a sunny countenance, which is habitually worn in these days only by such as read peace in the capture of Richmond instead of the surrender of Washington. No veto from the City Hall is potent enough to extinguish the light of the general rejoicing, nor, of a truth, should tax-payers grumble at being saved a very proper yet quite unnecessary outlay. Let every man who would have contributed one candle now, devote two to the celebration of that day (not distant, happily) which will free the nation from slavery and war, and our democratic system from those infamous demagogues whose public life, like the hero's in the fable, expires with the smouldering brand of the rebellion.

That which every sensible man foresaw from the beginning—that the people of the North, comprehending the issue upon which the war has been waged, and being anxious to decide upon it, would not suffer themselves to be distracted or weakened by a multiplicity of parties—has been exemplified unmistakably since I last wrote to you. And not only have Fremont and Cochrane vacated the field in favor of Mr. Lincoln, but the perfect indifference of most loyal men, but the latter is stamping for Mr. Lincoln as vigorously as if the Cleveland nomination had not implied implacable opposition to the President. Senator Wade and Winter Davis appear in the campaign with the late Postmaster-General as co-workers, though assuredly little love is lost between them and him. Mr. Blair stands better with the community than he did before his removal. He courted or met his fate man-fashion, and personal resentment, if he entertained any, has given way to his solicitude not to thwart the triumph of the cause of human freedom. His speech at the Cooper Institute on the evening of the 27th ultimo was not, rhetorically considered, effective, but it was proof of his unequivocal commitment to the Baltimore programme and its candidates; and, for aught I can see, if Mr. Carpenter were to paint his Cabinet picture again, he might withdraw Mr. Blair from the background, unless the historical accuracy of that famous representation would be impaired thereby.

The present canvass, like others which have preceded it, is productive of some curious revelations. Such are those made by Judge Kelley, of Philadelphia, denied by Gen. Nagle, and fastened upon him so that they will stick, by that able representative of the Key-stone State: to the effect that the Peninsular campaign was not devised by McClellan, but by two Congressmen in his behalf, and forced upon the Administration by a fraud. Such, also, is the statement of Mr. Blair in the speech alluded to: that "the President held Gen. McClellan to be patriotic, and had concerted with Gen. Grant to bring him again into the field as his adjunct, if he turned his back on the proposals of the peace-juncto at Chicago." The public will be grateful to the Junco at least for recasting them from so grave a peril. Revelations of the spirit which animates the self-styled Peace party, though not needed, have been liberally afforded. The bloody menaces of banners, newspapers and orators are daily executed, and are thoroughly sincere. No large assembly or procession of Union men can take place in this city, or your own, or in Philadelphia, without some more or less formidable assault from the supporters of McClellan. Smaller, more partake of the vicious example, and a kind of Border-ruffianism is in training for the day when the polls, if preserved from molestation, will bestow a second incumbency on President Lincoln. The last hope of the rebel leaders is in their Democratic allies at the North; their last hope, in turn, is in carrying the fall elections; and this cannot be accomplished except by violence or illegal balloting. No one doubts that the desperation of the Copperheads is equal to any endeavor for victory, and it behooves the country to be prepared for a second attack upon the right of the majority to rule.

A friend was reminding me, a few days ago, of that feature in our political gatherings which was introduced by the Republican party within easy memory—the presence of women. How this came about is known to those who remember the epoch when women first sat on public platforms with men, at lectures and other sorts of entertainment, and that earlier epoch when the anti-slavery body was divided never to reunite, because a woman was appointed upon a committee with those of the opposite sex. This is but one of the many valuable legacies of the anti-slavery agitation to the present generation; and the admission of woman into politics simply as a spectator has added immense moral force to the party which opened its doors to her. The Evening Post has recently been urging the women of the country to vote for President as they can—by exhortations, arguments, appeals to those who exercise suffrage. I am led to reflect that mere political sagacity would dictate to a liberal party, which claims (and I think justly) to possess the sympathy of its countrywomen, the extension of the elective franchise to them. But I am not aware that experience has shown much difference in the reception of women's rights petitions by Republican and Democratic legislatures; at all events, party lines cease to appear as rigidly upon this as upon other questions. In rejecting the aid of that humanity which we commonly attribute to the female sex, we imitate our treatment of the negro in relation to our polity. We need, never more than now,—for regenerating the South, a population which shall be loyal to the core and democratic in the blood; the freedmen will be all that, and we have not yet allowed them a ballot. So in the present emergency, when we are grappling with a monstrous iniquity, and in every effort at purification hereafter, we require all of justice, truth, clemency, that we can muster; yet woman is, and seems likely to remain, a stranger to our ranks. We are fighting to assert the dignity and the freedom of labor, yet to one half of our citizens the principle is an abstraction. Mr. Sabine, in his "American Loyalties," proves conclusively that the fundamental cause of the first Revolution was the restriction of labor in the colonies. We, indeed, pass no laws debarring women from any occupation which is not prejudicial to society, but we do quite as effectually shut them out from a vast number of vocations which they are entirely competent to pursue. Representation would serve them as a representative form of government did our fathers: it would regulate their taxation, and would secure them all the privileges which are associated with that burden. Suppose the Constitution to be remodelled on the return of peace: will sex as well as color be obliterated from that instrument? or must each State be won by a slow process, till a new amendment becomes necessary? It is well to remember that the future is now, and that, for States as for individuals, to postpone till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day, is poor economy and worse morality.

M. DE PAYS.

Our attentive New York correspondent sent this letter with his usual punctuality, in ample season for the Liberator of last week, for which it was designed; but it somehow got mistaid, and was forgotten. Nothing of its interest, however, will be affected by the delay, though we regret to have broken the continuity of the series.—Ed. Lib.

DEATH OF CAPT. DANIEL FOSTER.

Among the killed at the recent battle at Chapin's Bluff was Capt. (formerly Chaplain) Daniel Foster, of this State. He was a most radical abolitionist, and a truly brave and devoted man. We are unable to give any particulars.

UNIVERSALISTS ON THE WAR.

At the National Convention of the Universalists, held in Concord, N. H., Rev. Mr. Goodrich, of Pawtucket, R. I., in behalf of a committee, presented a series of resolutions on the state of the country. They were unanimously adopted, and are as follows:

Resolved, That the fearful war which our nation has been scourged for years still continues, and makes additional demands on our courage, energy, patience and faith; therefore,

Resolved, That we recognize in it the punishment of our people for their persistent arrogance and oppression. We cannot therefore, hope for the return of peace through efforts to rivet anew the chains of the bondman, or to perpetuate the former glaring inconsistencies between our professions of love for liberty and the support of slavery.

Resolved, That while we deplore the bloodshed, and earnestly pray for a speedy termination of the war, we yet deem a cessation of hostilities which leaves unsettled whether treason is to be rebuked or petted and fondled, a delusion and a snare. If followed by attempts to bribe traitors to return to a nominal allegiance by the promise of surrendering to their vengeance, we cannot but regard such a course as one now bravely battling in our armies for Union and order, it would show such dastardly perfidy in our government as would call down on our nation the stern displeasure of a righteous God, and condemnation from all good men. Such attempts would sound the knell of our Union, the shipwreck of our country.

Resolved, That while we gratefully accord the need of praise to Grant, Sherman, and their brave associates on the land, and to Farragut, Stringham, Porter, and other noble commanders on the sea, for their valor and ability, we desire to place on record our admiration and gratitude to the common soldiers and sailors, who, with little hope of distinction and fame, have cheerfully periled their lives for country and humanity. While so many are found ready to serve, as well as to be served, to follow as well as to lead, we will not desert, of the acquiescence of our country.

Resolved, That while we recollect that it was not alone by the sword of Joshua, but also by the uplifted arm of Moses, that Israel prevailed over Amalek of old, we still recognize the power of earnest, trustful prayer. Most reverently, therefore, will we continue to supplicate the Lord of Sabaoth, that justice and equity may be done in our land, that starchy and misrule may be checked; that righteousness may triumph, and peace speedily return; and that the Lord God may lift his face upon us and bless us.

S. W. GERMAN CONFERENCE OF THE M. E. CHURCH.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

Your committee beg leave to submit the following report:

If any period, the present moment is the time when every man, and especially every Christian and patriot, should take a decided stand-point in regard to the condition of our afflicted country; and it behooves, therefore, the Southern German Conference of the M. E. Church to state their opinions, and to declare their purpose as a body, while assembled for their first session in a city and State which just now seem to be more afflicted by the horrors and hardships of war than at any period before. And while we hear the tread of military boots marching and preparing for the defence of the homes and colonies of slaves, who are filling the country with bloodshed and murder, we declare hereby the following resolutions as the sentiments of this body, wishing not only to express them in words, but intending, as far as our calling as messengers of Christ allows it, to carry them out in deed and action:

Resolved, 1. That the awful war now raging in our country is not a justifiable revolution against unlawful oppression, but an inexcusable rebellion against the best government on earth; caused by a set of unprincipled and heartless traitors, who have seized the cause of liberty and humanity everywhere.

2. That it is our firm conviction, that in this struggle there can be no neutral ground for any one; but that, in the language of a distinguished statesman, there are but two parties, patriots and traitors; and that, therefore, we hold it necessary to declare our purpose for every religious man to decide on which of the two sides it is his duty to stand in the present struggle.

3. That as a body of Christian ministers, we desire peace as much as any person in the country; but we reject any but an honorable peace, attained not by dishonour, or the preservation and strengthening of the institution of slavery, but by the thorough suppression of the rebellion by the victorious arms of our brave soldiers; or the laying down of arms by every rebel in the land, and the acknowledgment of the authority of the constitutional Government, and the lawfully elected President of the United States.

4. That to attain this end, viz.: the preservation of the Union, and the abolishing of the system of slavery as the cause of the war, we consider all sacrifices proper that may be necessary for the overthrow of the rebellion, holding neither property nor life too dear for this purpose.

5. That we ask our membership, and all persons within our influence, to sustain the Government and to cast their votes, either by enlisting, or where that is not possible, by supporting the Government, as well as by contributing cordially and liberally to the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, destined to relieve the sufferings and wants of our sick and wounded soldiers on the battle-field, or in the hospital, and to the support of our esteemed brother, R. Bruch, so nobly laboring for the best interests of the German soldiers in our armies.

6. That we ask such of our members as are entitled to vote, not to allow themselves to be misled by deceitful statements of mere partisans or rebel sympathizers, but to cast their votes at the approaching State and National elections for the support of the M. E. Union and the cause of liberty throughout the land.

7. That we send a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, assuring him of our prayers for his own personal preservation, as well as of our counsels, his Generals and our brave soldiers, to vote for President as they can—by exhortations, arguments, appeals to those who exercise suffrage. I am led to reflect that mere political sagacity would dictate to a liberal party, which claims (and I think justly) to possess the sympathy of its countrywomen, the extension of the elective franchise to them. But I am not aware that experience has shown much difference in the reception of women's rights petitions by Republican and Democratic legislatures; at all events, party lines cease to appear as rigidly upon this as upon other questions. In rejecting the aid of that humanity which we commonly attribute to the female sex, we imitate our treatment of the negro in relation to our polity. We need, never more than now,—for regenerating the South, a population which shall be loyal to the core and democratic in the blood; the freedmen will be all that, and we have not yet allowed them a ballot. So in the present emergency, when we are grappling with a monstrous iniquity, and in every effort at purification hereafter, we require all of justice, truth, clemency, that we can muster; yet woman is, and seems likely to remain, a stranger to our ranks. We are fighting to assert the dignity and the freedom of labor, yet to one half of our citizens the principle is an abstraction. Mr. Sabine, in his "American Loyalties," proves conclusively that the fundamental cause of the first Revolution was the restriction of labor in the colonies. We, indeed, pass no laws debarring women from any occupation which is not prejudicial to society, but we do quite as effectually shut them out from a vast number of vocations which they are entirely competent to pursue. Representation would serve them as a representative form of government did our fathers: it would regulate their taxation, and would secure them all the privileges which are associated with that burden. Suppose the Constitution to be remodelled on the return of peace: will sex as well as color be obliterated from that instrument? or must each State be won by a slow process, till a new amendment becomes necessary? It is well to remember that the future is now, and that, for States as for individuals, to postpone till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day, is poor economy and worse morality.

K. KOCH, Chairman.

GEORGE ANDRE, Secretary.

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 1, 1864.

HARPER'S MONTHLY, for November, appears with its uniform punctuality, presenting the following table of contents:—

1. A Tour through Arizona. By J. Ross Browne. [Illustrations.] 2. At Home. 3. A Cruise on the Sassafras. [Illustrations.] 3. On the Way to the Diamond Mines. 4. My Soldier. 5. Exploring the Magalloway. 6. The Real Cost. 7. The Decline of Tragedy. 8. Lost. 9. An Unfortunate Prince. 10. My Refugees. 11. The Crow-Child. 12. Woman's Profession Dishonored. 13. Cousin Alice's Grave. 14. My Silver Spoon. 15. Ups and Downs. 16. Autumn Time. 17. Among the Sheaves. 18. Our Mutual Friend, by Charles Dickens. 19. Monthly Record of Current Events. 20. Literary Notices. 21. Editor's Easy Chair and Drawer. 22. Angels of the Household. [Illustrated.] Fashions for November.

A. Williams & Co., 100 Washington Street, Boston.

SANITARY FAIR OF COLO

A COPPERHEAD VICTORY.

The evening before the assembling of the colored Convention in this city...

These results, particularly the one on Mr. Garnet Monday evening, produced considerable excitement among the delegates...

DEMOCRATS, READ THIS.

The Charleston Courier—always one of the most dignified and deservedly influential journals of the South—says:

All of us perceive the intimate connection existing between the acts of the Confederacy and the success of the Union...

Congressman B. H. Hill, of Georgia, has made a speech in which he dropped the following words of comfort for doubting and desponding rebels:

Go to General Lee's army, and you will find it still going bravely. Every brigade in it thinks it is on a whip-grant. Why, then, indulge in despondency? It can do no good.

McClellan's supporters in Maryland. The Cecil (Md.) Whig says that every rebel in Cecil county means to vote for General McClellan.

The Copperheads papers are always prating of the "hivings," but their candidate still persists in holding the position of one of Lincoln's hirelings.

The Richmond Dispatch of the 23d says of Lincoln's victory: "This battle will secure the freedom of Lincoln, of which, indeed, there was no doubt before."

Abolitionists. The Boston Post the other day complained that Gen. Grant had become "abolitionist" in his politics.

The cause of freedom in Church and State moves gloriously on. It is now a question of time only that the passage of the new rule on Slavery will precipitate a large secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

ATLANTA. [From the Mobile Register, Sept. 6.] This Georgia city is in the hands of the enemy...

ETHEREGEE A REBEL. The following gem occurs in the late Philadelphia speech of Mr. Etherege...

THE FINANCIAL SUCCESS OF THE GOVERNMENT. The Washington correspondent of the New York Times gives the following cheering views of the facts of the financial position:

The new six per cent gold interest-bearing loan, amounting to forty million of dollars, just offered by Secretary Fessenden, is attracting considerable attention...

ATTEMPT TO DESTROY EIGHT HUNDRED SOLDIERS. The Paris (Illinois) Blade says that on Wednesday night last, the timbers of a bridge on the Terre Haute...

Last June an attempt was made in the night to burn the bridge over the river connecting Augusta with Hamburg...

Terrible Railroad Accident. On Saturday last, a terrible accident occurred to an extra train on the Shore Line between New Haven and New London...

The Freedmen in Virginia and North Carolina. Col. Kinsman, General Superintendent of the colored men in Gen. Butler's department, reports that 112 abandoned farms have been taken for the benefit of the freed negroes...

A Colored Patriot. Mr. W. Page, a gentleman well known to a number of our readers, enlisted in the United States Army last week...

Death of Major Gen. D. B. Birney. Gen. Birney, who of late had been so brilliantly distinguished as commander of the 18th corps, and who had been a most meritorious officer...

Rebel Treatment of Colored Soldiers. New York, Oct. 16. Gen. Butler becoming convinced that one negro soldier was put at work in rebel entrenchments...

The following extract (says the Philadelphia Press) is from a letter just received in this city from one of the most prominent men—once a large slaveholder—in the interior of Missouri.

A Brave Officer Gone. The painful intelligence reached Boston on Monday that Col. George D. Wells, of the Massachusetts 34th regiment, had been killed in battle.

The Missing Steamer Ronoke. It is now considered pretty certain that the steamer Ronoke has been captured by the rebels in some manner as the Chesapeake was taken.

The Family of Old John Brown Escorted by Soldiers across the Plains to California. The Camp Douglas (U. T.) Union Yettide of 17th August gives the following interesting item:

Effect of the "New Rule" in Baltimore. A correspondent from Baltimore communicates to the Liberator the following:

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OBITUARY.

Died, at his residence in Warren, (Ohio), on the 15th of March, 1864, after a severe illness of several weeks' duration, Levi SULLIVAN, Esq., aged 58 years, 8 months and 12 days.

Mr. Sullivan was born in Vernon, Trumbull county, Ohio, on the 12th day of July, 1805, and at his death was nearly fifty-nine years of age.

His father, Deacon Samuel Sullivan, immigrated from Massachusetts but a short time before the birth of the subject of this notice, and settled in Vernon, where he lived during his residence in Ohio.

The subject of this notice was the third son in a family of six, all of whom, save two, have passed on. The survivors are, Hon. Milton Sullivan, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio, a resident of Warren; and Allen C. Sullivan, a resident of Iowa.

Among the brothers were Flavel Sullivan, Esq., a very promising and rising lawyer, who died young; and Calvin G. Sullivan, Esq., also a lawyer, who died in Warren about twelve years ago.

The Sullivan family has been one of marked character. Deacon Samuel Sullivan was a descendant of the Puritan stock of New England, and had much of the austerity of that character.

Levi Sullivan was born at a time when life was a severe struggle among the early settlers; and being one of the oldest children, was required to assist in the labor of clearing off the heavy timber from the land, and thus reduce the wild, inhospitable region to a condition suited to become the habitations of men.

He turned his attention to the law in middle life. He was frequently called upon to assist his neighbors in their difficulties before magistrates' courts. After a time, and in the year 1840, he was admitted to practice in all the courts of the State.

Mr. Sullivan was one of the earliest Anti-Slavery men of the county. In 1832 he became a convert to the then Anti-Slavery sentiments of Garrison as proclaimed in his Liberator, and from that time forward to his death he has been a consistent Anti-Slavery man.

He was ready to speak a true and strong word to advance Anti-Slavery sentiments among the people. In 1833 he furnished most of the means to support his brother Milton in a lecturing tour in the Reserve, to disseminate Anti-Slavery ideas.

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Mr. Conway, Superintendent of Free Labor in Louisiana, reports that the number of Freedmen's Schools had increased from eight at the beginning of the present year to sixty...

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