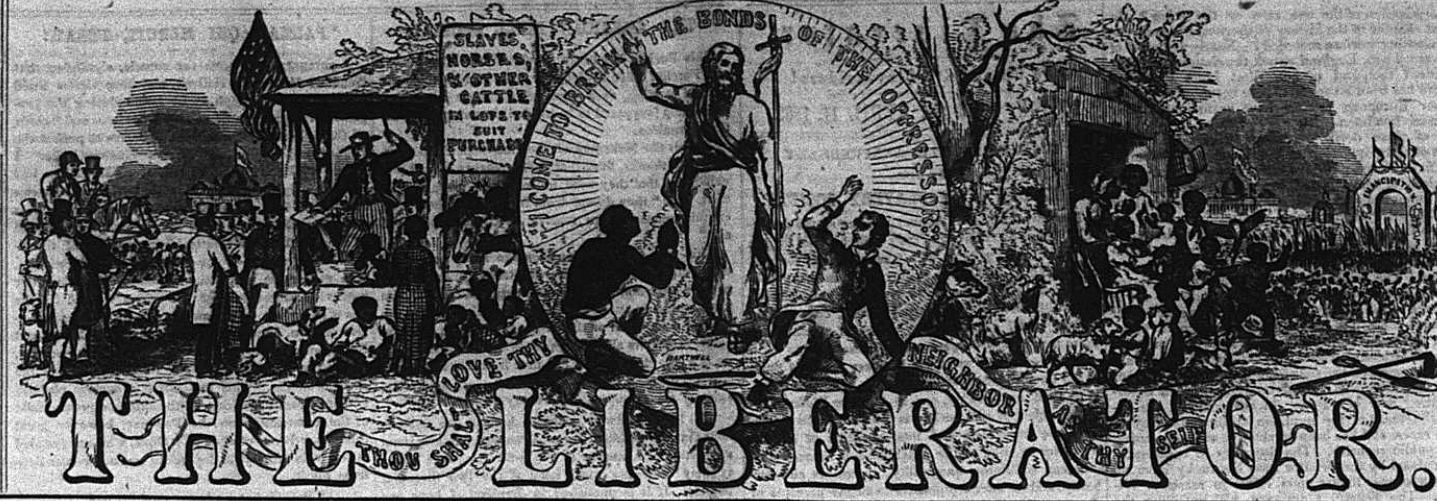


TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment is made in advance.

All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

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.



Refuge of Oppression.

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Personal denunciation is the most unpleasant part of a journalist's duty; but such is the infamous career of many men that the newspaper press would be conspiring against the public virtue and safety, if it did not incessantly pursue them, and exercise all its energies to commensurate with the perpetual odium of the nation.

There is no man in this country who deserves a more severe application of this rule than Wendell Phillips. He has scholarship and eloquence. But in what honorable direction has he employed his faculties for the last nineteen years? In the honorable field of his profession? In the composition of useful works? In instructing the people in their obligations to the country of their birth?

Such a man ought not to be allowed to stir up dissension and sedition at such a time as this. And if the Government at Washington that has filled Fort Lafayette and Fort Warren with accession traitors, suffers such a man to talk treason in Washington, it loses the glory that crowns the administration of justice when its impartiality commands the homage of an enlightened people.

HOW TO PREVENT MOBS.

Wendell Phillips was mobbed at Cincinnati, as we mentioned last week. It was wrong, mean, and unpardonable. Mobs are often the arguments of cowards, sometimes of intolerance, frequently of impatience, rarely the result of calm deliberation, very rarely the expression of justice. Every man ought to set his face against them in public and in private, and speak and act against them, and by the stern power of an enlightened public sentiment discountenance them, whatever may be the provocation. It is better to suffer wrong than to do wrong. It is better to let wrong go unpunished than to usurp unlawful power, and use it in the name of justice.

Selections.

WIPED OUT THE NATION'S SHAME.

A Speech for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Delivered in the United States Senate on Tuesday, March 25, 1862.

BY HENRY WILSON OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. PRESIDENT: The first Congress under the Constitution of the United States was summoned to the consideration of questions of transcendent importance, which excited the profound interest of the nation, and of the statesmen of that age. Hildreth, in his history of the United States, tells us that "of all the questions discussed at this session, none produced more excitement than that relating to the close of it, respecting the permanent seat of the Federal Government."

The House bill, locating the capital on the Susquehanna, amended by the Senate so as to fix the seat of Government in a district ten miles square adjoining Philadelphia, failed through the growing opposition and manifest dissatisfaction of the men of the South. Thus the Congress of 1789 was stirred to its profoundest depths by the absorbing question whether the national capital should be located on the banks of the Delaware, the Susquehanna, or the Potomac.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips, last evening deemed it expedient to tone down and sugar-coat his treasonable lecture on the War. With this slight difference, the discourse was substantially the same as THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE'S report of a delivered in Washington. The labors of the framers of the Constitution were scoffed at and derided, and he frankly admitted that he had been a zealous Disunionist for sixteen years, and until, through the working of the present war, he discovered glimmerings of universal and immediate emancipation, and of the blissful era of practical amalgamation.

While we would accord to Wendell Phillips, as we would accord to every citizen, the full measure of his constitutional rights, we are at a loss to conceive how certain high functionaries of the Government can reconcile it with their sense of propriety to bestow on this rabid and abusive radical the public marks of distinguished consideration with which they have honored him.

Selections.

WIPED OUT THE NATION'S SHAME.

A Speech for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Delivered in the United States Senate on Tuesday, March 25, 1862.

BY HENRY WILSON OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. PRESIDENT: The first Congress under the Constitution of the United States was summoned to the consideration of questions of transcendent importance, which excited the profound interest of the nation, and of the statesmen of that age. Hildreth, in his history of the United States, tells us that "of all the questions discussed at this session, none produced more excitement than that relating to the close of it, respecting the permanent seat of the Federal Government."

The House bill, locating the capital on the Susquehanna, amended by the Senate so as to fix the seat of Government in a district ten miles square adjoining Philadelphia, failed through the growing opposition and manifest dissatisfaction of the men of the South. Thus the Congress of 1789 was stirred to its profoundest depths by the absorbing question whether the national capital should be located on the banks of the Delaware, the Susquehanna, or the Potomac.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips, last evening deemed it expedient to tone down and sugar-coat his treasonable lecture on the War. With this slight difference, the discourse was substantially the same as THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE'S report of a delivered in Washington. The labors of the framers of the Constitution were scoffed at and derided, and he frankly admitted that he had been a zealous Disunionist for sixteen years, and until, through the working of the present war, he discovered glimmerings of universal and immediate emancipation, and of the blissful era of practical amalgamation.

While we would accord to Wendell Phillips, as we would accord to every citizen, the full measure of his constitutional rights, we are at a loss to conceive how certain high functionaries of the Government can reconcile it with their sense of propriety to bestow on this rabid and abusive radical the public marks of distinguished consideration with which they have honored him.

Selections.

WIPED OUT THE NATION'S SHAME.

A Speech for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Delivered in the United States Senate on Tuesday, March 25, 1862.

BY HENRY WILSON OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. PRESIDENT: The first Congress under the Constitution of the United States was summoned to the consideration of questions of transcendent importance, which excited the profound interest of the nation, and of the statesmen of that age. Hildreth, in his history of the United States, tells us that "of all the questions discussed at this session, none produced more excitement than that relating to the close of it, respecting the permanent seat of the Federal Government."

The House bill, locating the capital on the Susquehanna, amended by the Senate so as to fix the seat of Government in a district ten miles square adjoining Philadelphia, failed through the growing opposition and manifest dissatisfaction of the men of the South. Thus the Congress of 1789 was stirred to its profoundest depths by the absorbing question whether the national capital should be located on the banks of the Delaware, the Susquehanna, or the Potomac.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips, last evening deemed it expedient to tone down and sugar-coat his treasonable lecture on the War. With this slight difference, the discourse was substantially the same as THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE'S report of a delivered in Washington. The labors of the framers of the Constitution were scoffed at and derided, and he frankly admitted that he had been a zealous Disunionist for sixteen years, and until, through the working of the present war, he discovered glimmerings of universal and immediate emancipation, and of the blissful era of practical amalgamation.

While we would accord to Wendell Phillips, as we would accord to every citizen, the full measure of his constitutional rights, we are at a loss to conceive how certain high functionaries of the Government can reconcile it with their sense of propriety to bestow on this rabid and abusive radical the public marks of distinguished consideration with which they have honored him.

Selections.

WIPED OUT THE NATION'S SHAME.

A Speech for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Delivered in the United States Senate on Tuesday, March 25, 1862.

BY HENRY WILSON OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. PRESIDENT: The first Congress under the Constitution of the United States was summoned to the consideration of questions of transcendent importance, which excited the profound interest of the nation, and of the statesmen of that age. Hildreth, in his history of the United States, tells us that "of all the questions discussed at this session, none produced more excitement than that relating to the close of it, respecting the permanent seat of the Federal Government."

The House bill, locating the capital on the Susquehanna, amended by the Senate so as to fix the seat of Government in a district ten miles square adjoining Philadelphia, failed through the growing opposition and manifest dissatisfaction of the men of the South. Thus the Congress of 1789 was stirred to its profoundest depths by the absorbing question whether the national capital should be located on the banks of the Delaware, the Susquehanna, or the Potomac.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips, last evening deemed it expedient to tone down and sugar-coat his treasonable lecture on the War. With this slight difference, the discourse was substantially the same as THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE'S report of a delivered in Washington. The labors of the framers of the Constitution were scoffed at and derided, and he frankly admitted that he had been a zealous Disunionist for sixteen years, and until, through the working of the present war, he discovered glimmerings of universal and immediate emancipation, and of the blissful era of practical amalgamation.

While we would accord to Wendell Phillips, as we would accord to every citizen, the full measure of his constitutional rights, we are at a loss to conceive how certain high functionaries of the Government can reconcile it with their sense of propriety to bestow on this rabid and abusive radical the public marks of distinguished consideration with which they have honored him.

Selections.

WIPED OUT THE NATION'S SHAME.

A Speech for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Delivered in the United States Senate on Tuesday, March 25, 1862.

BY HENRY WILSON OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. PRESIDENT: The first Congress under the Constitution of the United States was summoned to the consideration of questions of transcendent importance, which excited the profound interest of the nation, and of the statesmen of that age. Hildreth, in his history of the United States, tells us that "of all the questions discussed at this session, none produced more excitement than that relating to the close of it, respecting the permanent seat of the Federal Government."

The House bill, locating the capital on the Susquehanna, amended by the Senate so as to fix the seat of Government in a district ten miles square adjoining Philadelphia, failed through the growing opposition and manifest dissatisfaction of the men of the South. Thus the Congress of 1789 was stirred to its profoundest depths by the absorbing question whether the national capital should be located on the banks of the Delaware, the Susquehanna, or the Potomac.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips, last evening deemed it expedient to tone down and sugar-coat his treasonable lecture on the War. With this slight difference, the discourse was substantially the same as THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE'S report of a delivered in Washington. The labors of the framers of the Constitution were scoffed at and derided, and he frankly admitted that he had been a zealous Disunionist for sixteen years, and until, through the working of the present war, he discovered glimmerings of universal and immediate emancipation, and of the blissful era of practical amalgamation.

While we would accord to Wendell Phillips, as we would accord to every citizen, the full measure of his constitutional rights, we are at a loss to conceive how certain high functionaries of the Government can reconcile it with their sense of propriety to bestow on this rabid and abusive radical the public marks of distinguished consideration with which they have honored him.

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 AMONG 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. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Government and its institutions. To-day the free colored men of the District of Columbia possess hundreds of thousands of dollars of property...

extermination of the one race or the other? In what chapter of the history of the world is such exterminating warfare recorded? Nearly a quarter of a century ago, England struck the chains from eight hundred thousand of her West India bondmen...

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN OHIOAGO. For the week past, the columns of the Secession Times have been filled with stern and violent attacks upon the lectures of Mr. Phillips at Bryan Hall, announced by the Young Men's Association...

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. This act of national justice and self-respect was among the earliest that the Abolitionists pressed upon the attention of Congress; and for a long series of years, through their untiring efforts, multitudes of petitions, very numerous signed, were annually sent to that body from all parts of the Free States...

Government and its institutions. To-day the free colored men of the District of Columbia possess hundreds of thousands of dollars of property, the fruits of years of honest toil—they have twelve churches, costing some \$75,000, and eight schools for the instruction of their children...

extermination of the one race or the other? In what chapter of the history of the world is such exterminating warfare recorded? Nearly a quarter of a century ago, England struck the chains from eight hundred thousand of her West India bondmen...

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN OHIOAGO. For the week past, the columns of the Secession Times have been filled with stern and violent attacks upon the lectures of Mr. Phillips at Bryan Hall, announced by the Young Men's Association...

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. This act of national justice and self-respect was among the earliest that the Abolitionists pressed upon the attention of Congress; and for a long series of years, through their untiring efforts, multitudes of petitions, very numerous signed, were annually sent to that body from all parts of the Free States...

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1862.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. Cheever's), in the city of New York, on Tuesday, May 6, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half past 7 o'clock. The names of speakers for these meetings will be seasonably announced.

In regard to the struggle now going on between the Government and the Rebel States, this Society is unequivocally with the Government, because it has done no wrong to those States, nor furnished any justification for such a treasonable procedure on their part. Yet the Society sees in this awful conflict the fulfillment of the prophetic declaration—"Ye have not claimed liberty every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine;"—and it trusts, in the spirit of sincere repentance and deep humiliation, acknowledging the righteous retribution which has come upon them, that the people will imperatively demand of the Government, (now that it has the constitutional right under the war power), that it forthwith decree the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, so that peace may be restored on an enduring basis, and the unity of the nation preserved through universal justice.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President. WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Secretaries.

THE NEW YORK (CITY) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its anniversary in the Cooper Institute on WEDNESDAY evening, May 7th.

By her strong will shall be at last the home of broadly-based and virtuous liberty.

THE MISSION SCHOOL AT CHATHAM, O. W. TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR. Sir,—Whatever may have been said in public or otherwise, in opposition to this school, has as yet failed to prove that it is not doing a great work for the colored people in this vicinity. Heretofore, the atmosphere has been freighted with sordid opinions about this school, which were conceived in the evil passion of persons who have never visited it, nor even given themselves the trouble of knowing its true status. We are no prone in becoming the converts of a prevailing sentiment, without setting ourselves aright upon its veracity.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

This Society has lately received from the British and Foreign Bible Society the offer of two thousand pounds sterling, as a mark of Christian sympathy, and a help (supposed to be needed) in our present national troubles.

The Managers of the American Bible Society certainly belong to the class who are hoping for a reconstruction of our political system without interference with slavery. Nine of their Vice Presidents, and one hundred and fifty-eight of their Life Directors, are from slave States. Are the Managers fearful of hurting the feelings and alienating the minds of these worthy gentlemen, by taking money from the nation which declines to recognize the Southern Confederacy? Do they estimate the continued good-will of the slaveholders as worth more to them in the nation than ten thousand dollars at present? The secret letter may perhaps throw light upon these matters.

Abolitionists know very well the consistently pro-slavery attitude which the Managers of the American Bible Society have always preserved, ever since they refused, in 1834, and again refused, in 1855, to accept the offer of \$5000 from the American Anti-Slavery Society, on condition of their distributing Bibles to slaves as well as to others.

On turning to the last Annual Report of the American Bible Society, I find that the person Walker here referred to is a Life Member of the Society, and President of the Auxiliary Bible Society established in Beaufort District.

THE PHILLIPS RIOT AT CINCINNATI. Mr. Phillips writes from Milwaukee to a friend in Boston as follows:—

THE RIGHT WAY, THE SAFE WAY. BY MRS. L. MARIA CHILD. Perhaps no other work is in all respects so well adapted to convince and satisfy the honest inquirer, dispel the fears of the apprehensive, and root out prejudice and error in all minds, as this of Mrs. Child's; of which a new edition has just been published, and may be had as above.

"PALMAM QUI MERUIT, FERAT"

A paragraph has gone the rounds, signifying that General McClellan, Halleck, and Don Carlos Buell conversed by telegraph many hours during the progress of the great battle at Fort Donelson, and "made all the orders and dispositions of forces to perfect the victory and pursue the broken columns," &c. I should rejoice at the news that Gen. McClellan had done any fighting, were it with telegraph batteries only. But I cannot, as so many seem to, see this as a consolation. I must first be informed by some of the swift and indefatigable trumpeters of the illustrious conqueror—some of that corps of Mamelukes, who assume to regulate, without or against law, our most vital concerns—how the wires, worked by the trio of Generals, were connected with the headquarters of Gen. Grant or the battle-fields of Donelson? No telegraph, except those belonging to the enemy, reached within eighty or one hundred miles of the scene of action. This was rather a serious obstacle to Gen. Grant's profiting by the skill and promptitude of the commander on the Potomac, however great those may be, or of the other Dons, who are paraded in this vain attempt to depreciate real and confer fictitious merit.

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN WISCONSIN. MADISON, Wis., April 1, 1862. It has occurred to me that it might be interesting to you and your readers to know what kind of a reception we gave to your friend and coadjutor, Wendell Phillips, here in the capital of Wisconsin. Thinking that I am probably as near a "Garrisonian," by faith and practice, as any in the place, and probably the only one in the regular receipt of the Liberator, I have taken up the pen to write you about it. It was Mr. Phillips's first appearance here, I think, and curiosity was more than usually on tiptoe to see and hear the renowned orator who has been doing so much for a number of years past to "turn the world upside down." The existing war and the present condition of the country helped to give interest to the occasion.

Yesterday, I had a long interview with an old man, a deacon in the Episcopal church, (colored), who, when I read several portions of Scripture directly anti-slavery, seemed perfectly astonished. Said he: "And that is de law of de Lord? Dem parts we never hear read to us." This deacon's children were taken from him by his master when the army came here.

THE PHILLIPS RIOT AT CINCINNATI. Mr. Phillips writes from Milwaukee to a friend in Boston as follows:—

THE RIGHT WAY, THE SAFE WAY. BY MRS. L. MARIA CHILD. Perhaps no other work is in all respects so well adapted to convince and satisfy the honest inquirer, dispel the fears of the apprehensive, and root out prejudice and error in all minds, as this of Mrs. Child's; of which a new edition has just been published, and may be had as above.

THE RIGHT WAY, THE SAFE WAY. BY MRS. L. MARIA CHILD. Perhaps no other work is in all respects so well adapted to convince and satisfy the honest inquirer, dispel the fears of the apprehensive, and root out prejudice and error in all minds, as this of Mrs. Child's; of which a new edition has just been published, and may be had as above.

METAYERS.

Conscientious men, in pursuit of moral reform, may reasonably differ in their methods of reaching the same result. A great problem in civilization is now to be solved; a great event in history is in progress in this country; and the question is how to solve the problem correctly, and establish the event with the highest regard to the instincts and best interests of humanity. Slavery is to be abolished, but how, is not determined. It is being abolished, and the question we have to consider is, whether our intellectual leading is good. Are we shaping the event in the best practical manner for the elevation of the slave, and the greatest good of society in the shortest time? "Haste makes waste," is a venerable proverb, and the way to reach the top of the mountain in the shortest time, or indeed to reach it at all, is by winding up the side in gradual approaches.

Now, your contributor, C. K. W., is for a sudden dash straight up from the bottom to the top, if I comprehend his strictures in your issue of 21st ult., upon my plan of advancing the slave to the Metayer. He does not seem to consider that the mountain itself is not raised in that way; it does not rise perpendicular from the edge of the ocean, but slopes upward to its grand elevation, and its solitary communion with the stars, by steeply—hills succeeding plains and valleys, to the summit. Public opinion must precede law, or law is of no avail, and custom makes a stronger bond than a written instrument. It appears to me to be the extraordinary merit of the Metayer system, that it is not the creature of law, and that it is free from the quibbling and cunning and special pleading of litigation, the meaning of which men of cultivated intellect cannot readily understand, and the result of which they can easily anticipate. Sheriff Baldwin, who is well remembered by the citizens of Boston of middle age or over, is said to have remarked, that if any man should make a demand upon him for \$500, he would endeavor to ascertain the justice of the claim, and if it were unjust, he would, if possible, convince the claimant of the fact; but if he could not, or could not otherwise afford a lawsuit, he would take out his pocket-book and pay the money as the shortest and cheapest way of getting rid of the extortion and its legal consequences. If I entertain any well-grounded opinion, the result of experience, reading and reflection, it is that law should never sanction debt, and that the demand for high morals will always be indifferently supplied so long as the public depends for the fulfillment of promises upon legal obligations. Rogues should be treated with rogues' law, and suffer disgrace accordingly. Swindling should not be accommodated, as a matter of dollars and cents, to be made right by the decision of a legal tribunal, and inevitable insolvency is common in this country without fault of the debtor.

The Metayer tenure, as it is represented by the best authorities, is maintained solely by moral obligations of the strongest character. It would seem to furnish no employment for lawyers, and to be admirably calculated for the freedmen of the plantation, who for a long period will generally neither read nor write, nor be able to comprehend the various stipulations of differing and unequal special contracts. I quoted Stamond, in relation to the Metayer system, as follows:—

"The differences in one such contract and another are inconsiderable; usage governs alike all the engagements, and supplies the stipulations that have not been expressly made, and the landlord who attempts to depart from usage, who exacted more than his neighbor, who took for the basis of his agreement anything but the equal division of the crops, would render himself so odious, he would be so sure of not obtaining a metayer who was an honest man, that the contract of all the metayers may be considered as identical."—And Chateauxvieux says:—

"They consider the farm as a patrimony, and never think of renewing the lease, but go on from generation to generation on the same terms, without writings or registers." The moral law binding these contracts seems to be the enactment, so to speak, of the metayers themselves, and to be maintained by them quite as much and as carefully as by the landlords. I do not see the force of C. K. W.'s objection to the metayer tenure, that it lacks the security of a special contract to protect the laborer against the proprietor, because it has the much stronger security, as it appears to me, of public sanction and unwavering custom. He objects, also, that it differs from freedom. I do not see this; and when I speak of turning the slaves adrift in freedom, without any organization of capital, or of labor to provide them with wages, I did not imply that the organization of the metayer system is anything less than freedom. That the metayer is not altogether as independent as the peasant proprietor is simply because he is not a proprietor—because he lacks the necessary capital. There is nothing in my view of the Metayer system to prevent the acquisition of capital, and the advancement of the metayer to the proprietor in due time. Our friend clearly draws upon his imagination in supposing that I "represent the negro as one absolutely needing a master, because incapable of taking care of himself." I have no doubt of his capacity to do this, and to acquire capital with the experience and opportunity of the metayer culture, much sooner and better than by the system of day labor to which he would otherwise be consigned. I quote from John Stuart Mill:—

"The metayer has less motive to exertion than the peasant proprietor, since only half the fruits of his industry, instead of the whole, are his own. But he has a much stronger motive than a day laborer, who has no other interest in his tenure, to be dismissed. If the metayer cannot be turned out except for some violation of his contract, he has a stronger motive to exertion than any tenant-farmer who has not a lease. The metayer is at least his landlord's partner, and a half sharer in their joint gains. Where, too, the permanence of his tenure is guaranteed by custom, he acquires local attachments, and much of the feelings of a proprietor. \* \* \* But if we suppose him converted into a mere tenant, displaceable at the landlord's will, and liable to have his rent raised by competition to any amount which any unfortunate being in search of subsistence would be willing to offer, he would lose all the features in his condition which preserve him from being deteriorated; he would be cast down from his present position of a kind of half proprietor of the land, and would sink into a cottier tenant."

I submit, therefore, that if slaves in this country, or serfs in Russia, are to be suddenly turned adrift in freedom, the Metayer organization of capital and labor would place them in a position greatly in advance of any they could find as a class seeking employment at day labor, liable to be left in idleness when work is not particularly needed, and subject to the caprice of employers at all times. As to renting land without capital, that would be impossible as a system; or with such small holdings as could be cultivated in that way, their condition would be no better than that of the Irish cottiers, which is about the most miserable existence known to civilization, excepting, perhaps, that of the prowlars in the sewers of London and Paris. On the score of absolute physical suffering, probably, on the average, worse, and a lower state of existence, than that of slaves.

Freedom with no organization of capital or labor for their aid and advancement to the possession of property and intelligence.

LETTER FROM REV. DANIEL POSTER.

NEMAHA CO. JAIL, SENeca, Kansas, March 25, 1862. DEAR GARRISON: I wish to say a few words to the readers of the Liberator...

There are differences of opinion in regard to Gen. McClellan's recent address to his troops; but on the whole, it has experienced from the press and people a negative reception.

BULL RUN AND MANASSAS. Prof. Mattison, for the benefit of the Sunday-School connected with the congregation of which he is pastor, gave a lecture Wednesday evening in his church in Forty-first street, near the Sixth avenue...

THIRTY-ONE QUAKER GANONS AT CENTREVILLE. To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune: Sir, As there seems to be a doubt in the minds of some of your readers as to the existence of Quaker guns at Centreville...

How GENERAL McCOOK CONCLUDES THE REBELS. The Nashville Patriot states that a considerable number of fugitive slaves are following the army on its march southward through Tennessee...

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. The U. S. Senate has passed the bill providing for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia by the decisive vote of 29 Yeas to 14 Nays...

FEDERAL PRISONERS OF WAR. The fact that none of our brave men have returned home from Southern prisons since Gen. Burnside gave up twenty-five hundred accessories in arms, taken at Roanoke Island...

DEATH OF A WELL-KNOWN PUBLISHER. We regret to report the death of Mr. Abel Tompkins, a prominent Boston bookseller and publisher, especially of Universalist works...

THE RHODE ISLAND ELECTION. The Rhode Island election, which took place on the 2d, ended in the choice of Gov. Sprague and the other State officers, without opposition.

CAPTURE OF ISLAND NO. 10. Sinking of her Gunboats and Transports—Three Rebel Generals and Six Thousand Prisoners Taken—One Hundred Siege Guns, and Immense Quantities of Small Arms Captured.

CHICAGO, April 8. Dispatches from New Madrid say that the gunboats Pittsburg and Carondelet yesterday shelled and silenced the batteries on the opposite shore, when Gen. Pope ordered the troops to cross...

ST. LOUIS, April 8. Gen. Pope has captured three generals, 6,000 prisoners, 100 siege guns, several field guns, and a large quantity of small arms, tents, wagons, horses and provisions...

TERRIBLE BATTLE AT PITTSBURG, TENN. Besieged Attacks the Federal Troops, but is Defeated—Drives Back—Immense Loss on Both Sides—A Complete Victory.

CHICAGO, April 8. Information was received here to-night, that on the 6th inst. the rebel force under General Beauregard attacked our forces under General Grant. The battle lasted all day.

NEW YORK, April 9. A special dispatch to the Herald dated Newburg, via Fort Henry, April 9th, 3:20 A. M., says one of the greatest and bloodiest battles of modern days has just closed, resulting in the complete rout of the enemy...

ATTEMPT TO TALK AND FEATHER A CLERGYMAN. An attempt was made in Georgetown, D. C., Wednesday night, to tar and feather a clergyman who had been announced to lecture before a society of negroes...

REBEL GENERALS FROM MASSACHUSETTS. The Salem Gazette says Massachusetts has furnished four generals for the rebel army, namely: Wm. H. Chase, Whiting, Albert G. Blanchard, Daniel Ruggles, and Mansfield Lovell...

DEATH OF A WELL-KNOWN PUBLISHER. We regret to report the death of Mr. Abel Tompkins, a prominent Boston bookseller and publisher, especially of Universalist works...

THE RHODE ISLAND ELECTION. The Rhode Island election, which took place on the 2d, ended in the choice of Gov. Sprague and the other State officers, without opposition.

STAMPEDE OF MR. MASON'S SLAVES. The slaves of James M. Mason, a recent inmate of Fort Warren, now in England, have decamped from Winchester in a body, and made their way to Philadelphia...

THE WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN says, 97 "contrabands" arrived at Philadelphia on Friday, having been sent there from General Banks' command. They had been employed by the Government on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

AMONG THE FAITHFULS. A correspondent of the New York World, writing from Nashville, Tenn., says: "Nashville is still down with the sulks. Groups of the disconsolate stand on the corners of the streets and about the hotels, refusing to be comforted...

ON SATURDAY, two persons in Washington attempted to arrest as a slave a servant of an officer in the 7th New York Cavalry, a free man from the West Indies. Detected in the act, they came near being lynched by a mob...

A FEW DAYS since the pickets along the Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay were drawn in by Gen. Hooker. The rebel sympathizers in Lower Maryland took this as an intimation that the U. S. forces were about to leave...

LETTERS say the roads to Washington are black with contrabands. They are coming not in squads, but in battalions. A vessel arrived at Newburyport on Friday last, from Philadelphia, with a black captain and crew...

ON MONDAY last, the Catholic priest and the Episcopal minister of the city were notified that unless they desist from praying for Jeff. Davis and the Southern Confederacy, they should be sent to Fort Lafayette.

THE COMMON COUNCIL of Nashville, by a vote of 10 to 1, has refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government.

IN BALTIMORE a few days since, a little fellow white at play in the street was approached by a gang of boys, whose ages ranged from 12 to 16 years, and asked if he was a Union boy...

THE CITIZENS of Cincinnati cannot brook the outrage perpetrated upon the good name of their city by the attempt of the Opera House, on the occasion of the appearance of Wendell Phillips...

MR. LINCOLN and the SLAVES. Wendell Phillips represents President Lincoln as saying that "the negro who has once touched the hem of the Government's garment shall never again be a slave."

REBELS IN MEMORIAM. Died, suddenly, at Petersburg, N. H., on Thursday morning, March 27, CATHERINE PERMAN, formerly of Boston, aged 84 years and 8 months.

REMOVAL—DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN. MARGARET B. BROWN, M. D., and Wm. STRIMONSON BROWN, M. D., have removed to No. 35, Chauncy Street, Boston, where they may be consulted on the above diseases.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 605 Washington Street, 2d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Plymouth, Sunday, April 13, Gloucester, " " 20, Milford, " " 27.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS. Miss ANNA E. DICKINSON of Philadelphia, who has commenced a brief course of Anti-Slavery lecturing in New England, will speak in the city of Providence, on Sunday next, 13th inst., morning and evening.

PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture at Reading, Mass., in the Lyceum Hall, on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock.

Woman's Rights under the Law. THREE LECTURES, DELIVERED IN BOSTON, JANUARY, 1861, BY MRS. C. H. DALL.

OBITUARY. It pains us to hear of the death of ELIZABETH HAZLITT, only son of Thomas and Alice Eliza Hazlitt, of Upper Oxford, Chester Co., Pa.

THE PATHOLOGY OF THE REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS. BY RUSSELL T. TRALL, M. D.

SEXUAL ORGANISM, AND ITS HEALTHFUL MANAGEMENT. BY J. C. JACKSON, M. D.

NOTICE—Members of the American, Pennsylvania, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, contributing annually to the funds of either of these Societies, can receive a copy of the last very valuable report of the American Society, entitled The Anti-Slavery History of the Johns Brown Year...

REMOVAL—DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN. MARGARET B. BROWN, M. D., and Wm. STRIMONSON BROWN, M. D., have removed to No. 35, Chauncy Street, Boston, where they may be consulted on the above diseases.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 605 Washington Street, 2d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Plymouth, Sunday, April 13, Gloucester, " " 20, Milford, " " 27.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS. Miss ANNA E. DICKINSON of Philadelphia, who has commenced a brief course of Anti-Slavery lecturing in New England, will speak in the city of Providence, on Sunday next, 13th inst., morning and evening.

PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture at Reading, Mass., in the Lyceum Hall, on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock.

Woman's Rights under the Law. THREE LECTURES, DELIVERED IN BOSTON, JANUARY, 1861, BY MRS. C. H. DALL.

OBITUARY. It pains us to hear of the death of ELIZABETH HAZLITT, only son of Thomas and Alice Eliza Hazlitt, of Upper Oxford, Chester Co., Pa.

THE PATHOLOGY OF THE REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS. BY RUSSELL T. TRALL, M. D.

SEXUAL ORGANISM, AND ITS HEALTHFUL MANAGEMENT. BY J. C. JACKSON, M. D.

NOTICE—Members of the American, Pennsylvania, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, contributing annually to the funds of either of these Societies, can receive a copy of the last very valuable report of the American Society, entitled The Anti-Slavery History of the Johns Brown Year...

REMOVAL—DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN. MARGARET B. BROWN, M. D., and Wm. STRIMONSON BROWN, M. D., have removed to No. 35, Chauncy Street, Boston, where they may be consulted on the above diseases.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 605 Washington Street, 2d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Plymouth, Sunday, April 13, Gloucester, " " 20, Milford, " " 27.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS. Miss ANNA E. DICKINSON of Philadelphia, who has commenced a brief course of Anti-Slavery lecturing in New England, will speak in the city of Providence, on Sunday next, 13th inst., morning and evening.

PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture at Reading, Mass., in the Lyceum Hall, on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock.

Woman's Rights under the Law. THREE LECTURES, DELIVERED IN BOSTON, JANUARY, 1861, BY MRS. C. H. DALL.

OBITUARY. It pains us to hear of the death of ELIZABETH HAZLITT, only son of Thomas and Alice Eliza Hazlitt, of Upper Oxford, Chester Co., Pa.

THE PATHOLOGY OF THE REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS. BY RUSSELL T. TRALL, M. D.

SEXUAL ORGANISM, AND ITS HEALTHFUL MANAGEMENT. BY J. C. JACKSON, M. D.

Poetry.

A VISION OF SOLETTRE. I had a dream; yet was not all a dream. I saw the earth untrilled; for men were few,

THE PARABLE OF JONAH. There is much of thrilling interest in the life of Jonah. There are few passages of history that touch the experiences of living men at so many points as his.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR BARNSTABLE COUNTY. This body met, pursuant to notice, in Masonic Hall, Hyannis, on Saturday, March 15, 1862, at 2 o'clock.

TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. PEAK. The Colored Teacher to the Contrabands, whose saintly life and holy death were described in a recent number of the Liberator.

HYMN. Lord, fill our nation with Thy light. To blind eyes reveal Thy light: Let fall on ears that will not hear,

DUTY. Whenever a duty waits for thee, With sober judgment view it first, And never idly wish it done;

The Liberator.

guilty the North has been— even more guilty than the South— and can it now hope for salvation by abolishing slavery under the war power? And is not this the utmost virtue that it proposes to practice?

convention met on Sunday morning, as per adjournment— Alvan Howes in the chair. Mr. Heywood led off in a speech of much force and eloquence.

CHAMPOING AND HAIR DYEING, WITHOUT SMUTTING. MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER. WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street,

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM. No. 28. THE WAR: A SLAVE UNION OR A FREE? The Speech of Hon. MARTIN F. CONWAY, delivered in the House of Representatives, and published in the Liberator and Rostrum.

DEATH OF A NOBLE WOMAN. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

The Liberator.

guilty the North has been— even more guilty than the South— and can it now hope for salvation by abolishing slavery under the war power? And is not this the utmost virtue that it proposes to practice?

convention met on Sunday morning, as per adjournment— Alvan Howes in the chair. Mr. Heywood led off in a speech of much force and eloquence.

CHAMPOING AND HAIR DYEING, WITHOUT SMUTTING. MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER. WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street,

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM. No. 28. THE WAR: A SLAVE UNION OR A FREE? The Speech of Hon. MARTIN F. CONWAY, delivered in the House of Representatives, and published in the Liberator and Rostrum.

DEATH OF A NOBLE WOMAN. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

The Liberator.

guilty the North has been— even more guilty than the South— and can it now hope for salvation by abolishing slavery under the war power? And is not this the utmost virtue that it proposes to practice?

convention met on Sunday morning, as per adjournment— Alvan Howes in the chair. Mr. Heywood led off in a speech of much force and eloquence.

CHAMPOING AND HAIR DYEING, WITHOUT SMUTTING. MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER. WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street,

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM. No. 28. THE WAR: A SLAVE UNION OR A FREE? The Speech of Hon. MARTIN F. CONWAY, delivered in the House of Representatives, and published in the Liberator and Rostrum.

DEATH OF A NOBLE WOMAN. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

The Liberator.

guilty the North has been— even more guilty than the South— and can it now hope for salvation by abolishing slavery under the war power? And is not this the utmost virtue that it proposes to practice?

convention met on Sunday morning, as per adjournment— Alvan Howes in the chair. Mr. Heywood led off in a speech of much force and eloquence.

CHAMPOING AND HAIR DYEING, WITHOUT SMUTTING. MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER. WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street,

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM. No. 28. THE WAR: A SLAVE UNION OR A FREE? The Speech of Hon. MARTIN F. CONWAY, delivered in the House of Representatives, and published in the Liberator and Rostrum.

DEATH OF A NOBLE WOMAN. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

The Liberator.

guilty the North has been— even more guilty than the South— and can it now hope for salvation by abolishing slavery under the war power? And is not this the utmost virtue that it proposes to practice?

convention met on Sunday morning, as per adjournment— Alvan Howes in the chair. Mr. Heywood led off in a speech of much force and eloquence.

CHAMPOING AND HAIR DYEING, WITHOUT SMUTTING. MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER. WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street,

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM. No. 28. THE WAR: A SLAVE UNION OR A FREE? The Speech of Hon. MARTIN F. CONWAY, delivered in the House of Representatives, and published in the Liberator and Rostrum.

DEATH OF A NOBLE WOMAN. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,

THE LIBERATOR. Some of the readers of the Liberator may remember an item which appeared in your columns, extracted from the Boston Traveller, in which your correspondent gave some account of little "Daisy," a child whose father was formerly a slave,