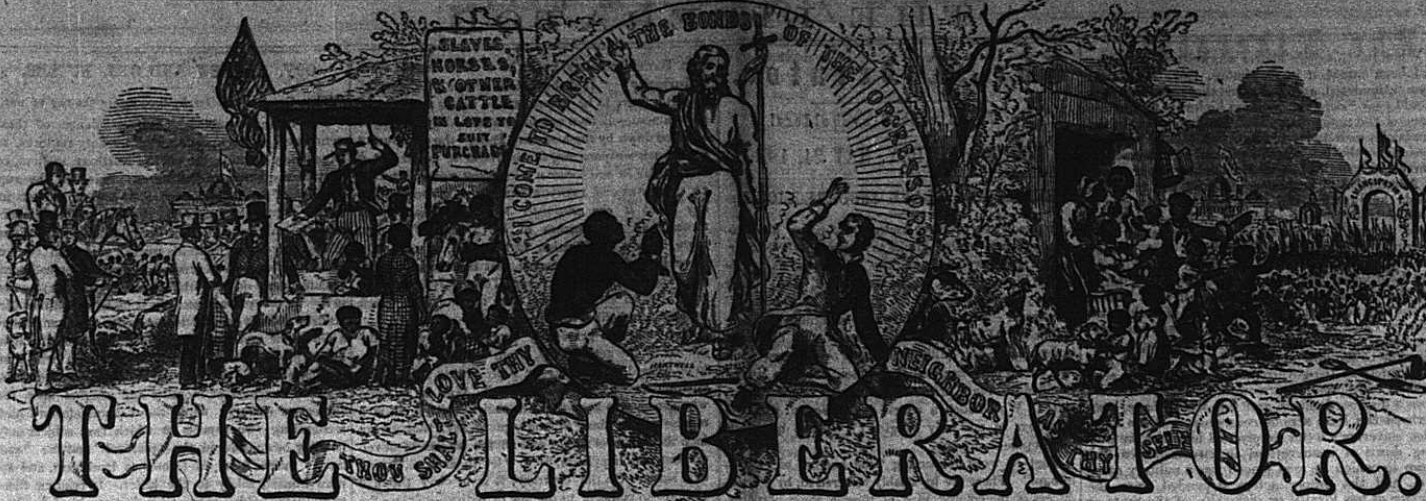


TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance.

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

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WESSELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

Refuge of Oppression.

NORTHERN EDITORS AND PRAACHERS.

A reason sometimes assigned for the apparent demoralization of the Northern people to bring upon the whole country all the horrors of civil war, by an armed invasion of the Southern States, is that it is necessary to prove to the South that the men of the North are brave men. But, in truth, no such necessity exists; for, that the men of the North are, in general, brave men, we, of the Southern States, believe almost as devoutly as we believe that Bennett, of the New York Herald, philosopher Greeley, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, General James Watson Webb, and the drunken beast now stabled in the President's mansion at Washington, are unmitigated and unimpeachable cowards.

GOV. ANDREW AND GEN. B. F. BUTLER.

We wish to call the attention of every reader of the Herald to-day, to the correspondence between the Governor of Massachusetts and B. F. Butler, Massachusetts highest military representative in the war—between the commander-in-chief at home, and the active commander in Maryland—in relation to the suppression of negro insurrections. We have not space to say what we wish to on this topic; but Gen. Butler's answer is to our mind, and its force and spirit, we call attention to his action—and to the return of fugitive slaves by Lieut. Slemmer at Fort Pickens, by the commander at Fort Monroe, and by Gov. Sprague—a few days since, as highly commendable. We don't know how it affects others, but we regard with utter abhorrence and loathing the man who, at such a time as this, would incite insurrection or employ negroes to war upon the South; such a man, if he had the power, would reduce one-half of this country to a literal hell, and feel no compunctions of conscience thereat.

GEN. BUTLER'S LETTER.

This letter of Gen. Butler, in reply to Gov. Andrew's criticism on his offer to aid the civil authorities of Maryland in quelling a threatened slave insurrection, is admirable in tone and of great logical force. The military commander of the department of Annapolis might also properly have reminded the Governor, that he and his command are a part of the United States, called out by the President of the United States to quell insurrection, and that, as such, the United States marshal in Maryland could have demanded their assistance in recovering fugitive slaves. Gen. Butler and his troops, in this view, are no longer subject to the Executive of Massachusetts, as a magistrate or military chief. They are in the service of the Federal Government, and must, if they regard their oath of allegiance, aid in the enforcement of the laws of that Government.

CIVILIZED SAVAGES.

The Northern people have gone mad—staring, raving mad. As to New York city, it is nothing better than a vast mad-house. In no other way can their extraordinary and unparalleled circumstances be explained, in no other way can the supremacy gained by their brutal and bloody instincts over their boasted enlightenment and civilization be accounted for, or even estimated.

THE MEMPHIS BULLETIN.

The Memphis Bulletin proposes to steal everything that is owned by non-residents. It will be safe to quote its own words; let our readers think we have misapprehended them. It says:— "There is enough real and personal estate in this city, owned by non-residents, to sell at auction, to equip for service the five thousand volunteers now under arms in this city. We remember that the stock of our Gas Company is held by Cincinnatians. We do not forget that the stock of our banks is owned in part in Cincinnati, and the residue in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. There is not less than twenty millions of railroad, bank, and other stocks held by Northern men in this State. Tennessee has issued eighteen millions of bonds; these are all 'down East,' except, perhaps, one or two millions. This city has outstanding one and a half million of bonds, many of them in Cincinnati, the balance in the North. This city has issued notes payable in five years, all held, or very nearly all, in the East. Adjacent counties have done the same thing to build railroads. Then the people of this city own, perhaps, half a million in Cincinnati. The whole amount makes up an incalculable sum, of which, in point of fact, the North has been enabled to rob the South by a tariff system, operating so unjustly upon it that it has had only paid to the Federal Government the taxes that should have been imposed upon

Selections.

SOUTHERN PRIVATEERS AND THE SLAVES IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The New York Courier and Enquirer, in an editorial, apparently from Gen. Webb's own hand, discourses as follows:—"Most assuredly these madmen are calling down upon themselves a fearful retribution. We are no Abolitionists, as the columns of the Courier and Enquirer, for the whole period of its existence, now thirty-four years, will abundantly demonstrate. And for the whole of that period, except the first six months of its infancy, it has been under our exclusive editorial charge.

NO RIGHT TO SECEDE.

Our review of Mr. Bassett's Plea, thus far, has been chiefly occupied with the principles involved in these. Only incidentally and hitherto have we alluded to the facts. It is time, now, to make a formal statement of them as compared with the assumptions of the Plea.

THE CAUSE—THE ONLY CAUSE.

Now that our country is all convulsed, and the grim visage of war is seen in town and city, threatening the slaughter of thousands of our countrymen, and wasting hundreds of millions of money, it becomes all to search into the cause of this outbreak. What has brought the two sections into battle array with each other? Who are the guilty authors of this bloody mischief? On whom will the guilt rest in the great day of final judgment? These are solemn questions; and as honest men and as Christians, we should answer them to our consciences and to God, truthfully, whether we or others are implicated.

DOWN WITH THE REBELLION!

So say the millions of the North—and so say we. But what is the rebellion that needs to be put down? Why, the rebellion of the Confederate States—you will answer.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

The New York Examiner (Baptist) mentions a letter from the owner of between two and three hundred slaves—a man who is not able to accept the modern doctrine as to slavery.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"What order of men under the most absolute monarchies, or the most aristocracies of republics, has ever lavished with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of the House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. There is no model in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it, no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE LIBERATOR

THE LIBERATOR

Our review of Mr. Bassett's Plea, thus far, has been chiefly occupied with the principles involved in these. Only incidentally and hitherto have we alluded to the facts. It is time, now, to make a formal statement of them as compared with the assumptions of the Plea.

THE CAUSE—THE ONLY CAUSE.

Now that our country is all convulsed, and the grim visage of war is seen in town and city, threatening the slaughter of thousands of our countrymen, and wasting hundreds of millions of money, it becomes all to search into the cause of this outbreak. What has brought the two sections into battle array with each other? Who are the guilty authors of this bloody mischief? On whom will the guilt rest in the great day of final judgment? These are solemn questions; and as honest men and as Christians, we should answer them to our consciences and to God, truthfully, whether we or others are implicated.

DOWN WITH THE REBELLION!

So say the millions of the North—and so say we. But what is the rebellion that needs to be put down? Why, the rebellion of the Confederate States—you will answer.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

The New York Examiner (Baptist) mentions a letter from the owner of between two and three hundred slaves—a man who is not able to accept the modern doctrine as to slavery.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"What order of men under the most absolute monarchies, or the most aristocracies of republics, has ever lavished with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of the House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. There is no model in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it, no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE LIBERATOR

THE LIBERATOR

Our review of Mr. Bassett's Plea, thus far, has been chiefly occupied with the principles involved in these. Only incidentally and hitherto have we alluded to the facts. It is time, now, to make a formal statement of them as compared with the assumptions of the Plea.

THE CAUSE—THE ONLY CAUSE.

Now that our country is all convulsed, and the grim visage of war is seen in town and city, threatening the slaughter of thousands of our countrymen, and wasting hundreds of millions of money, it becomes all to search into the cause of this outbreak. What has brought the two sections into battle array with each other? Who are the guilty authors of this bloody mischief? On whom will the guilt rest in the great day of final judgment? These are solemn questions; and as honest men and as Christians, we should answer them to our consciences and to God, truthfully, whether we or others are implicated.

DOWN WITH THE REBELLION!

So say the millions of the North—and so say we. But what is the rebellion that needs to be put down? Why, the rebellion of the Confederate States—you will answer.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

The New York Examiner (Baptist) mentions a letter from the owner of between two and three hundred slaves—a man who is not able to accept the modern doctrine as to slavery.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"What order of men under the most absolute monarchies, or the most aristocracies of republics, has ever lavished with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of the House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. There is no model in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it, no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE LIBERATOR

THE LIBERATOR

Our review of Mr. Bassett's Plea, thus far, has been chiefly occupied with the principles involved in these. Only incidentally and hitherto have we alluded to the facts. It is time, now, to make a formal statement of them as compared with the assumptions of the Plea.

THE CAUSE—THE ONLY CAUSE.

Now that our country is all convulsed, and the grim visage of war is seen in town and city, threatening the slaughter of thousands of our countrymen, and wasting hundreds of millions of money, it becomes all to search into the cause of this outbreak. What has brought the two sections into battle array with each other? Who are the guilty authors of this bloody mischief? On whom will the guilt rest in the great day of final judgment? These are solemn questions; and as honest men and as Christians, we should answer them to our consciences and to God, truthfully, whether we or others are implicated.

DOWN WITH THE REBELLION!

So say the millions of the North—and so say we. But what is the rebellion that needs to be put down? Why, the rebellion of the Confederate States—you will answer.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

The New York Examiner (Baptist) mentions a letter from the owner of between two and three hundred slaves—a man who is not able to accept the modern doctrine as to slavery.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"What order of men under the most absolute monarchies, or the most aristocracies of republics, has ever lavished with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of the House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. There is no model in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it, no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE LIBERATOR

THE LIBERATOR

Our review of Mr. Bassett's Plea, thus far, has been chiefly occupied with the principles involved in these. Only incidentally and hitherto have we alluded to the facts. It is time, now, to make a formal statement of them as compared with the assumptions of the Plea.

THE CAUSE—THE ONLY CAUSE.

Now that our country is all convulsed, and the grim visage of war is seen in town and city, threatening the slaughter of thousands of our countrymen, and wasting hundreds of millions of money, it becomes all to search into the cause of this outbreak. What has brought the two sections into battle array with each other? Who are the guilty authors of this bloody mischief? On whom will the guilt rest in the great day of final judgment? These are solemn questions; and as honest men and as Christians, we should answer them to our consciences and to God, truthfully, whether we or others are implicated.

DOWN WITH THE REBELLION!

So say the millions of the North—and so say we. But what is the rebellion that needs to be put down? Why, the rebellion of the Confederate States—you will answer.

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

The New York Examiner (Baptist) mentions a letter from the owner of between two and three hundred slaves—a man who is not able to accept the modern doctrine as to slavery.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"What order of men under the most absolute monarchies, or the most aristocracies of republics, has ever lavished with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of the House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. There is no model in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it, no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

GEN. BUTLER AND SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

Gen. Butler has done a very indiscreet, not to say improper thing, in sending to the press the uncorroborated correspondence between himself and Gov. Andrew, without asking the Governor's consent.

When the Governor's letter was written, our troops had been attacked in Baltimore, Gov. Hicks had been intimidated, and had asked that no more troops should pass over the common highway to the defence of the national capital.

Gen. Butler has done a very indiscreet, not to say improper thing, in sending to the press the uncorroborated correspondence between himself and Gov. Andrew, without asking the Governor's consent.

When the Governor's letter was written, our troops had been attacked in Baltimore, Gov. Hicks had been intimidated, and had asked that no more troops should pass over the common highway to the defence of the national capital.

Gen. Butler has done a very indiscreet, not to say improper thing, in sending to the press the uncorroborated correspondence between himself and Gov. Andrew, without asking the Governor's consent.

When the Governor's letter was written, our troops had been attacked in Baltimore, Gov. Hicks had been intimidated, and had asked that no more troops should pass over the common highway to the defence of the national capital.

Gen. Butler has done a very indiscreet, not to say improper thing, in sending to the press the uncorroborated correspondence between himself and Gov. Andrew, without asking the Governor's consent.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1861.

REPRESSING SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

In his letter to Gov. Andrew, defending his atrocious overture to Gov. Hicks to suppress a slave insurrection in Maryland, and the Massachusetts troops under his command, whenever needed, Gen. Butler

adroitly conjures up "all the horrors of St. Domingo" for popular effect. "A million times magnified," too, and asks, "Could we justify ourselves to ourselves in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South?"

Can we be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion? These questions we propose to answer.

First—a word respecting "the horrors of St. Domingo." These are invariably referred to by the traders of the colored race, as though their perpetration was exclusively confined to the black population of that island; whereas, the real truth is, they were commenced, prosecuted, and carried to an unsurpassable height of ferocity by the French invading mercenaries, and only limited, at last, to a limited degree, by the struggling blacks, in retaliation, and as a measure of self-defence.

Just as Gen. Butler is warning the Southern traitors, that, if they resort to hellish deeds against his own loyal forces, he will "better the instruction" by a ten-fold vengeance! The French troops took the initiative in every act of diabolical cruelty, and committed the most frightful atrocities, before the blacks could be induced to follow their example; but what they did is never held up to the execration of the world, but carefully suppressed, and only the goaded and suffering party are depicted as having been animated by a fiendish spirit—simply because of their complexional identity with the fettered millions in our own land! Such conduct is unpeppably mean and malignant.

Moreover, Gen. Butler falls into the common American blunder, of representing "the horrors of St. Domingo" to have been the result of a slave insurrection. Had this been true, what then? As tyrants soon, they shall also reap. Men who glory in Bunker Hill and Yorktown must not deny to the oppressed any of the means necessary to secure their freedom, whatever becomes of their oppressors.

The exigencies of the case furnish their own justification. "Revenge is sweet" to the white man whose rights are cloven down—even to Gen. Butler—why not to the black man? But the terrible scene referred to grew out of an attempt to renege the people of St. Domingo by Napoleon, seven years after they had been set free by an act of the French government; during which period, everything went on prosperously with the emancipated.

"After this public act of emancipation," says Col. Maitland, who was resident in the island at the time, "the negroes remained quiet, both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Upon those estates which were abandoned, they continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior agents, to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before. On the plantation Gourd, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, not a single negro refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the West." General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, uses these remarkable words: "The colony marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations on the coast rose up again to the eyes." General Vincent, who was a general of a brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in that island, at the same period, declared to the Directory of France, that "everything was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceful possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy." So much for the "terrible consequences" of a general emancipation!

This peaceful and prosperous state of affairs continued from 1794, to the invasion of the island by Leclerc in 1802. The attempt of Bonaparte to reduce the island to its original servitude was the sole cause of that sanguinary conflict which ended in the total extermination of the French from its soil.

In the second place—when Gen. Butler talks of "letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South," he uses language deceitfully and foully. Those four millions are not what he describes them to be; and if they were, their enslavement as chattels would be a revolting crime—for they, too, would have an "inalienable right to liberty" as broad and as sacred as that of Gen. Butler or his soldiers. But the negroes are not of a savage nature, but remarkably docile, patient, slow to wrath, reluctant to shed blood, forbearing and forgiving to a wonderful degree. It is their remorseless and inexorable masters who are "worse than savages," as those who have gone from the North to grapple with them will find out to their cost in due season! There is a great deal of ferocity, both latent and active, in the Anglo-Saxon character; very little of it in the African. There is nothing, therefore, to warrant the flippant but popular supposition, that if the slaves at the South should rise in rebellion to obtain their freedom, they would be led to the perpetration of "brutalities too horrible to be named," beyond what white men would commit under similar circumstances. On the contrary, they would be very likely to lean so far to the side of mercy as to defeat their own end, and make their subjugation comparatively easy. It would be their white enemies who, with their passions "set on fire of hell," would unquestionably proceed to commit such devilish deeds as would cause the earth to shudder. It has always been so. See what was done by the demonized Virginians at the time of the Nat Turner insurrection! Who were the "worse than savages" then, Gen. Butler? Here are a few examples:—Innocent colored persons were sacrificed without mercy to the excited passion and hot revenge of the whites in pursuit. One of them was put to death by torture. They burnt him with red-hot irons—cut off his ears and nose—stabbed him—cut his hamstrings—stuck him like a hog—and, at last, cut off his head, and spiked it to the whipping-post, for a spectacle and a warning to the other negroes! The wish was frequently expressed, that "the d—d negroes might all be exterminated." In other instances, the flesh of their cheeks was cut out, their noses and ears cut off, their jaws broken asunder, and then set up as a mark to shoot at! At Wilmington, N. C., Nimrod, Dan, Prince and Abraham were all shot on Gallows Hill, and their heads stuck on poles at the four corners of the town!

Gen. Butler supposes himself to be better than a negro slave; he is no better. He assumes to have a better right to freedom: he has none. He would shed the last drop of blood in his veins sooner than own a master, or wear a chain; but he volunteers to put down slaves nobly struggling to recover their manhood. This is not to be a hero, but a dastard. Granted the right of Gen. Butler to fight for his own liberty, and the right of every plantation slave to do so is established. What "horrors" may grow out of it is not the question; these clusters about every war. Wait till the present conflict be terminated. If you would stop your fill of them!—for the South is thoroughly demoralized, and there is no conceivable atrocity, in the perpetration of which she will not take the initiative: see lastest burns with hellish intensity, and she will assuredly commit "brutalities too horrible to be named," if Northern men or women fall into her hands at this juncture. In such an event,

Gen. Butler promises not to be outdone on the score of barbarity! "If dishonorable means of defence," he says, "are to be taken by the rebels against the government,—if men are to be attacked by poison, or stricken down by the assassin's knife,—the community using such weapons may be required to be taught that it holds within its own border a more potent means for DEATH PURSUES AND INDISCRIMINATE SLAUGHTER than any which it can administer." "That threat means" "all the horrors of St. Domingo!"—say, more, it is a justification of them all, in case of a slave insurrection—because that is to resist a bondage, "one hour of which," says Thomas Jefferson, "is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose."

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1861.

REPRESSING SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

In his letter to Gov. Andrew, defending his atrocious overture to Gov. Hicks to suppress a slave insurrection in Maryland, and the Massachusetts troops under his command, whenever needed, Gen. Butler

adroitly conjures up "all the horrors of St. Domingo" for popular effect. "A million times magnified," too, and asks, "Could we justify ourselves to ourselves in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South?"

Can we be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion? These questions we propose to answer.

First—a word respecting "the horrors of St. Domingo." These are invariably referred to by the traders of the colored race, as though their perpetration was exclusively confined to the black population of that island; whereas, the real truth is, they were commenced, prosecuted, and carried to an unsurpassable height of ferocity by the French invading mercenaries, and only limited, at last, to a limited degree, by the struggling blacks, in retaliation, and as a measure of self-defence.

Just as Gen. Butler is warning the Southern traitors, that, if they resort to hellish deeds against his own loyal forces, he will "better the instruction" by a ten-fold vengeance! The French troops took the initiative in every act of diabolical cruelty, and committed the most frightful atrocities, before the blacks could be induced to follow their example; but what they did is never held up to the execration of the world, but carefully suppressed, and only the goaded and suffering party are depicted as having been animated by a fiendish spirit—simply because of their complexional identity with the fettered millions in our own land! Such conduct is unpeppably mean and malignant.

Moreover, Gen. Butler falls into the common American blunder, of representing "the horrors of St. Domingo" to have been the result of a slave insurrection. Had this been true, what then? As tyrants soon, they shall also reap. Men who glory in Bunker Hill and Yorktown must not deny to the oppressed any of the means necessary to secure their freedom, whatever becomes of their oppressors.

The exigencies of the case furnish their own justification. "Revenge is sweet" to the white man whose rights are cloven down—even to Gen. Butler—why not to the black man? But the terrible scene referred to grew out of an attempt to renege the people of St. Domingo by Napoleon, seven years after they had been set free by an act of the French government; during which period, everything went on prosperously with the emancipated.

"After this public act of emancipation," says Col. Maitland, who was resident in the island at the time, "the negroes remained quiet, both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Upon those estates which were abandoned, they continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior agents, to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before. On the plantation Gourd, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, not a single negro refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the West." General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, uses these remarkable words: "The colony marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations on the coast rose up again to the eyes." General Vincent, who was a general of a brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in that island, at the same period, declared to the Directory of France, that "everything was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceful possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy." So much for the "terrible consequences" of a general emancipation!

This peaceful and prosperous state of affairs continued from 1794, to the invasion of the island by Leclerc in 1802. The attempt of Bonaparte to reduce the island to its original servitude was the sole cause of that sanguinary conflict which ended in the total extermination of the French from its soil.

In the second place—when Gen. Butler talks of "letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South," he uses language deceitfully and foully. Those four millions are not what he describes them to be; and if they were, their enslavement as chattels would be a revolting crime—for they, too, would have an "inalienable right to liberty" as broad and as sacred as that of Gen. Butler or his soldiers. But the negroes are not of a savage nature, but remarkably docile, patient, slow to wrath, reluctant to shed blood, forbearing and forgiving to a wonderful degree. It is their remorseless and inexorable masters who are "worse than savages," as those who have gone from the North to grapple with them will find out to their cost in due season! There is a great deal of ferocity, both latent and active, in the Anglo-Saxon character; very little of it in the African. There is nothing, therefore, to warrant the flippant but popular supposition, that if the slaves at the South should rise in rebellion to obtain their freedom, they would be led to the perpetration of "brutalities too horrible to be named," beyond what white men would commit under similar circumstances. On the contrary, they would be very likely to lean so far to the side of mercy as to defeat their own end, and make their subjugation comparatively easy. It would be their white enemies who, with their passions "set on fire of hell," would unquestionably proceed to commit such devilish deeds as would cause the earth to shudder. It has always been so. See what was done by the demonized Virginians at the time of the Nat Turner insurrection! Who were the "worse than savages" then, Gen. Butler? Here are a few examples:—Innocent colored persons were sacrificed without mercy to the excited passion and hot revenge of the whites in pursuit. One of them was put to death by torture. They burnt him with red-hot irons—cut off his ears and nose—stabbed him—cut his hamstrings—stuck him like a hog—and, at last, cut off his head, and spiked it to the whipping-post, for a spectacle and a warning to the other negroes! The wish was frequently expressed, that "the d—d negroes might all be exterminated." In other instances, the flesh of their cheeks was cut out, their noses and ears cut off, their jaws broken asunder, and then set up as a mark to shoot at! At Wilmington, N. C., Nimrod, Dan, Prince and Abraham were all shot on Gallows Hill, and their heads stuck on poles at the four corners of the town!

Gen. Butler supposes himself to be better than a negro slave; he is no better. He assumes to have a better right to freedom: he has none. He would shed the last drop of blood in his veins sooner than own a master, or wear a chain; but he volunteers to put down slaves nobly struggling to recover their manhood. This is not to be a hero, but a dastard. Granted the right of Gen. Butler to fight for his own liberty, and the right of every plantation slave to do so is established. What "horrors" may grow out of it is not the question; these clusters about every war. Wait till the present conflict be terminated. If you would stop your fill of them!—for the South is thoroughly demoralized, and there is no conceivable atrocity, in the perpetration of which she will not take the initiative: see lastest burns with hellish intensity, and she will assuredly commit "brutalities too horrible to be named," if Northern men or women fall into her hands at this juncture. In such an event,

Gen. Butler promises not to be outdone on the score of barbarity! "If dishonorable means of defence," he says, "are to be taken by the rebels against the government,—if men are to be attacked by poison, or stricken down by the assassin's knife,—the community using such weapons may be required to be taught that it holds within its own border a more potent means for DEATH PURSUES AND INDISCRIMINATE SLAUGHTER than any which it can administer." "That threat means" "all the horrors of St. Domingo!"—say, more, it is a justification of them all, in case of a slave insurrection—because that is to resist a bondage, "one hour of which," says Thomas Jefferson, "is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose."

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1861.

REPRESSING SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

In his letter to Gov. Andrew, defending his atrocious overture to Gov. Hicks to suppress a slave insurrection in Maryland, and the Massachusetts troops under his command, whenever needed, Gen. Butler

adroitly conjures up "all the horrors of St. Domingo" for popular effect. "A million times magnified," too, and asks, "Could we justify ourselves to ourselves in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South?"

Can we be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion? These questions we propose to answer.

First—a word respecting "the horrors of St. Domingo." These are invariably referred to by the traders of the colored race, as though their perpetration was exclusively confined to the black population of that island; whereas, the real truth is, they were commenced, prosecuted, and carried to an unsurpassable height of ferocity by the French invading mercenaries, and only limited, at last, to a limited degree, by the struggling blacks, in retaliation, and as a measure of self-defence.

Just as Gen. Butler is warning the Southern traitors, that, if they resort to hellish deeds against his own loyal forces, he will "better the instruction" by a ten-fold vengeance! The French troops took the initiative in every act of diabolical cruelty, and committed the most frightful atrocities, before the blacks could be induced to follow their example; but what they did is never held up to the execration of the world, but carefully suppressed, and only the goaded and suffering party are depicted as having been animated by a fiendish spirit—simply because of their complexional identity with the fettered millions in our own land! Such conduct is unpeppably mean and malignant.

Moreover, Gen. Butler falls into the common American blunder, of representing "the horrors of St. Domingo" to have been the result of a slave insurrection. Had this been true, what then? As tyrants soon, they shall also reap. Men who glory in Bunker Hill and Yorktown must not deny to the oppressed any of the means necessary to secure their freedom, whatever becomes of their oppressors.

The exigencies of the case furnish their own justification. "Revenge is sweet" to the white man whose rights are cloven down—even to Gen. Butler—why not to the black man? But the terrible scene referred to grew out of an attempt to renege the people of St. Domingo by Napoleon, seven years after they had been set free by an act of the French government; during which period, everything went on prosperously with the emancipated.

"After this public act of emancipation," says Col. Maitland, who was resident in the island at the time, "the negroes remained quiet, both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Upon those estates which were abandoned, they continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior agents, to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before. On the plantation Gourd, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, not a single negro refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the West." General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, uses these remarkable words: "The colony marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations on the coast rose up again to the eyes." General Vincent, who was a general of a brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in that island, at the same period, declared to the Directory of France, that "everything was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceful possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy." So much for the "terrible consequences" of a general emancipation!

This peaceful and prosperous state of affairs continued from 1794, to the invasion of the island by Leclerc in 1802. The attempt of Bonaparte to reduce the island to its original servitude was the sole cause of that sanguinary conflict which ended in the total extermination of the French from its soil.

In the second place—when Gen. Butler talks of "letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South," he uses language deceitfully and foully. Those four millions are not what he describes them to be; and if they were, their enslavement as chattels would be a revolting crime—for they, too, would have an "inalienable right to liberty" as broad and as sacred as that of Gen. Butler or his soldiers. But the negroes are not of a savage nature, but remarkably docile, patient, slow to wrath, reluctant to shed blood, forbearing and forgiving to a wonderful degree. It is their remorseless and inexorable masters who are "worse than savages," as those who have gone from the North to grapple with them will find out to their cost in due season! There is a great deal of ferocity, both latent and active, in the Anglo-Saxon character; very little of it in the African. There is nothing, therefore, to warrant the flippant but popular supposition, that if the slaves at the South should rise in rebellion to obtain their freedom, they would be led to the perpetration of "brutalities too horrible to be named," beyond what white men would commit under similar circumstances. On the contrary, they would be very likely to lean so far to the side of mercy as to defeat their own end, and make their subjugation comparatively easy. It would be their white enemies who, with their passions "set on fire of hell," would unquestionably proceed to commit such devilish deeds as would cause the earth to shudder. It has always been so. See what was done by the demonized Virginians at the time of the Nat Turner insurrection! Who were the "worse than savages" then, Gen. Butler? Here are a few examples:—Innocent colored persons were sacrificed without mercy to the excited passion and hot revenge of the whites in pursuit. One of them was put to death by torture. They burnt him with red-hot irons—cut off his ears and nose—stabbed him—cut his hamstrings—stuck him like a hog—and, at last, cut off his head, and spiked it to the whipping-post, for a spectacle and a warning to the other negroes! The wish was frequently expressed, that "the d—d negroes might all be exterminated." In other instances, the flesh of their cheeks was cut out, their noses and ears cut off, their jaws broken asunder, and then set up as a mark to shoot at! At Wilmington, N. C., Nimrod, Dan, Prince and Abraham were all shot on Gallows Hill, and their heads stuck on poles at the four corners of the town!

Gen. Butler supposes himself to be better than a negro slave; he is no better. He assumes to have a better right to freedom: he has none. He would shed the last drop of blood in his veins sooner than own a master, or wear a chain; but he volunteers to put down slaves nobly struggling to recover their manhood. This is not to be a hero, but a dastard. Granted the right of Gen. Butler to fight for his own liberty, and the right of every plantation slave to do so is established. What "horrors" may grow out of it is not the question; these clusters about every war. Wait till the present conflict be terminated. If you would stop your fill of them!—for the South is thoroughly demoralized, and there is no conceivable atrocity, in the perpetration of which she will not take the initiative: see lastest burns with hellish intensity, and she will assuredly commit "brutalities too horrible to be named," if Northern men or women fall into her hands at this juncture. In such an event,

Gen. Butler promises not to be outdone on the score of barbarity! "If dishonorable means of defence," he says, "are to be taken by the rebels against the government,—if men are to be attacked by poison, or stricken down by the assassin's knife,—the community using such weapons may be required to be taught that it holds within its own border a more potent means for DEATH PURSUES AND INDISCRIMINATE SLAUGHTER than any which it can administer." "That threat means" "all the horrors of St. Domingo!"—say, more, it is a justification of them all, in case of a slave insurrection—because that is to resist a bondage, "one hour of which," says Thomas Jefferson, "is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose."

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1861.

REPRESSING SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

In his letter to Gov. Andrew, defending his atrocious overture to Gov. Hicks to suppress a slave insurrection in Maryland, and the Massachusetts troops under his command, whenever needed, Gen. Butler

adroitly conjures up "all the horrors of St. Domingo" for popular effect. "A million times magnified," too, and asks, "Could we justify ourselves to ourselves in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South?"

Can we be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion? These questions we propose to answer.

First—a word respecting "the horrors of St. Domingo." These are invariably referred to by the traders of the colored race, as though their perpetration was exclusively confined to the black population of that island; whereas, the real truth is, they were commenced, prosecuted, and carried to an unsurpassable height of ferocity by the French invading mercenaries, and only limited, at last, to a limited degree, by the struggling blacks, in retaliation, and as a measure of self-defence.

Just as Gen. Butler is warning the Southern traitors, that, if they resort to hellish deeds against his own loyal forces, he will "better the instruction" by a ten-fold vengeance! The French troops took the initiative in every act of diabolical cruelty, and committed the most frightful atrocities, before the blacks could be induced to follow their example; but what they did is never held up to the execration of the world, but carefully suppressed, and only the goaded and suffering party are depicted as having been animated by a fiendish spirit—simply because of their complexional identity with the fettered millions in our own land! Such conduct is unpeppably mean and malignant.

Moreover, Gen. Butler falls into the common American blunder, of representing "the horrors of St. Domingo" to have been the result of a slave insurrection. Had this been true, what then? As tyrants soon, they shall also reap. Men who glory in Bunker Hill and Yorktown must not deny to the oppressed any of the means necessary to secure their freedom, whatever becomes of their oppressors.

The exigencies of the case furnish their own justification. "Revenge is sweet" to the white man whose rights are cloven down—even to Gen. Butler—why not to the black man? But the terrible scene referred to grew out of an attempt to renege the people of St. Domingo by Napoleon, seven years after they had been set free by an act of the French government; during which period, everything went on prosperously with the emancipated.

"After this public act of emancipation," says Col. Maitland, who was resident in the island at the time, "the negroes remained quiet, both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Upon those estates which were abandoned, they continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior agents, to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before. On the plantation Gourd, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, not a single negro refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the West." General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, uses these remarkable words: "The colony marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations on the coast rose up again to the eyes." General Vincent, who was a general of a brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in that island, at the same period, declared to the Directory of France, that "everything was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceful possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy." So much for the "terrible consequences" of a general emancipation!

This peaceful and prosperous state of affairs continued from 1794, to the invasion of the island by Leclerc in 1802. The attempt of Bonaparte to reduce the island to its original servitude was the sole cause of that sanguinary conflict which ended in the total extermination of the French from its soil.

In the second place—when Gen. Butler talks of "letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South," he uses language deceitfully and foully. Those four millions are not what he describes them to be; and if they were, their enslavement as chattels would be a revolting crime—for they, too, would have an "inalienable right to liberty" as broad and as sacred as that of Gen. Butler or his soldiers. But the negroes are not of a savage nature, but remarkably docile, patient, slow to wrath, reluctant to shed blood, forbearing and forgiving to a wonderful degree. It is their remorseless and inexorable masters who are "worse than savages," as those who have gone from the North to grapple with them will find out to their cost in due season! There is a great deal of ferocity, both latent and active, in the Anglo-Saxon character; very little of it in the African. There is nothing, therefore, to warrant the flippant but popular supposition, that if the slaves at the South should rise in rebellion to obtain their freedom, they would be led to the perpetration of "brutalities too horrible to be named," beyond what white men would commit under similar circumstances. On the contrary, they would be very likely to lean so far to the side of mercy as to defeat their own end, and make their subjugation comparatively easy. It would be their white enemies who, with their passions "set on fire of hell," would unquestionably proceed to commit such devilish deeds as would cause the earth to shudder. It has always been so. See what was done by the demonized Virginians at the time of the Nat Turner insurrection! Who were the "worse than savages" then, Gen. Butler? Here are a few examples:—Innocent colored persons were sacrificed without mercy to the excited passion and hot revenge of the whites in pursuit. One of them was put to death by torture. They burnt him with red-hot irons—cut off his ears and nose—stabbed him—cut his hamstrings—stuck him like a hog—and, at last, cut off his head, and spiked it to the whipping-post, for a spectacle and a warning to the other negroes! The wish was frequently expressed, that "the d—d negroes might all be exterminated." In other instances, the flesh of their cheeks was cut out, their noses and ears cut off, their jaws broken asunder, and then set up as a mark to shoot at! At Wilmington, N. C., Nimrod, Dan, Prince and Abraham were all shot on Gallows Hill, and their heads stuck on poles at the four corners of the town!

Gen. Butler supposes himself to be better than a negro slave; he is no better. He assumes to have a better right to freedom: he has none. He would shed the last drop of blood in his veins sooner than own a master, or wear a chain; but he volunteers to put down slaves nobly struggling to recover their manhood. This is not to be a hero, but a dastard. Granted the right of Gen. Butler to fight for his own liberty, and the right of every plantation slave to do so is established. What "horrors" may grow out of it is not the question; these clusters about every war. Wait till the present conflict be terminated. If you would stop your fill of them!—for the South is thoroughly demoralized, and there is no conceivable atrocity, in the perpetration of which she will not take the initiative: see lastest burns with hellish intensity, and she will assuredly commit "brutalities too horrible to be named," if Northern men or women fall into her hands at this juncture. In such an event,

Gen. Butler promises not to be outdone on the score of barbarity! "If dishonorable means of defence," he says, "are to be taken by the rebels against the government,—if men are to be attacked by poison, or stricken down by the assassin's knife,—the community using such weapons may be required to be taught that it holds within its own border a more potent means for DEATH PURSUES AND INDISCRIMINATE SLAUGHTER than any which it can administer." "That threat means" "all the horrors of St. Domingo!"—say, more, it is a justification of them all, in case of a slave insurrection—because that is to resist a bondage, "one hour of which," says Thomas Jefferson, "is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose."

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1861.

REPRESSING SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

In his letter to Gov. Andrew, defending his atrocious overture to Gov. Hicks to suppress a slave insurrection in Maryland, and the Massachusetts troops under his command, whenever needed, Gen. Butler

adroitly conjures up "all the horrors of St. Domingo" for popular effect. "A million times magnified," too, and asks, "Could we justify ourselves to ourselves in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South?"

Can we be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion? These questions we propose to answer.

First—a word respecting "the horrors of St. Domingo." These are invariably referred to by the traders of the colored race, as though their perpetration was exclusively confined to the black population of that island; whereas, the real truth is, they were commenced, prosecuted, and carried to an unsurpassable height of ferocity by the French invading mercenaries, and only limited, at last, to a limited degree, by the struggling blacks, in retaliation, and as a measure of self-defence.

Just as Gen. Butler is warning the Southern traitors, that, if they resort to hellish deeds against his own loyal forces, he will "better the instruction" by a ten-fold vengeance! The French troops took the initiative in every act of diabolical cruelty, and committed the most frightful atrocities, before the blacks could be induced to follow their example; but what they did is never held up to the execration of the world, but carefully suppressed, and only the goaded and suffering party are depicted as having been animated by a fiendish spirit—simply because of their complexional identity with the fettered millions in our own land! Such conduct is unpeppably mean and malignant.

Moreover, Gen. Butler falls into the common American blunder, of representing "the horrors of St. Domingo" to have been the result of a slave insurrection. Had this been true, what then? As tyrants soon, they shall also reap. Men who glory in Bunker Hill and Yorktown must not deny to the oppressed any of the means necessary to secure their freedom, whatever becomes of their oppressors.

The exigencies of the case furnish their own justification. "Revenge is sweet" to the white man whose rights are cloven down—even to Gen. Butler—why not to the black man? But the terrible scene referred to grew out of an attempt to renege the people of St. Domingo by Napoleon, seven years after they had been set free by an act of the French government; during which period, everything went on prosperously with the emancipated.

"After this public act of emancipation," says Col. Maitland, who was resident in the island at the time, "the negroes remained quiet, both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Upon those estates which were abandoned, they continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior agents, to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before. On the plantation Gourd, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, not a single negro refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the West." General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, uses these remarkable words: "The colony marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations on the coast rose up again to the eyes." General Vincent, who was a general of a brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in that island, at the same period, declared to the Directory of France, that "everything was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceful possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy." So much for the "terrible consequences" of a general emancipation!

This peaceful and prosperous state of affairs continued from 1794, to the invasion of the island by Leclerc in 1802. The attempt of Bonaparte to reduce the island to its original servitude was the sole cause of that sanguinary conflict which ended in the total extermination of the French from its soil.

In the second place—when Gen. Butler talks of "letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South," he uses language deceitfully and foully. Those four millions are not what he describes them to be; and if they were, their enslavement as chattels would be a revolting crime—for they, too, would have an "inalienable right to liberty" as broad and as sacred as that of Gen. Butler or his soldiers. But the negroes are not of a savage nature, but remarkably docile, patient, slow to wrath, reluctant to shed blood, forbearing and forgiving to a wonderful degree. It is their remorseless and inexorable masters who are "worse than savages," as those who have gone from the North to grapple with them will find out to their cost in due season! There is a great deal of ferocity, both latent and active, in the Anglo-Saxon character; very little of it in the African. There is nothing, therefore, to warrant the flippant but popular supposition, that if the slaves at the South should rise in rebellion to obtain their freedom, they would be led to the perpetration of "brutalities too horrible to be named," beyond what white men would commit under similar circumstances. On the contrary, they would be very likely to lean so far to the side of mercy as to defeat their own end, and make their subjugation comparatively easy. It would be their white enemies who



Poetry.

THE RISING OF THE PEOPLE

BY GEORGE W. PUTNAM.

Anxiously a waiting people held their staid day of rest— Quietly the April Sabbath's light died in the distant west; When skyward looked the watchers, and on their startled gaze...

All day the nimble fingers sew, all night beside the lamp, And woman's voice and step are heard o'er now within the camp!

The Liberator.

A SERMON ON OUR CIVIL WAR.

Preached at Syracuse, May 5, 1861. BY SAMUEL J. MAY.

JEREMIAH 34: 17.—Thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine.

can doubt that, if the philanthropists of our country, when they had effected the suppression of the slave trade in 1808, had persisted in their labors to obtain the abolition of slavery, this root of our present bitterness would have been exterminated?

ble of their magnanimity. Giants can afford to be more generous than dwarfs. Then the people of the free States ought to be very merciful to the slaveholders, notwithstanding their baseness, treachery, rebellion, because our indulgence of them has spoiled them; our acquiescence in their wrong-doing has lessened their consciousness of its heinousness; and our compromises with them have made us partners in the iniquity that has brought this calamity upon them as well as ourselves.

Mr. Emory.—Having heard Wendell Phillips myself, at the time he is alleged by your correspondent, to have made an abusive remark about Abolition, I beg to say to offer a few words, expressive of my own opinion in respect to that affair.

WENDELL PHILLIPS. [From the Boston Investigator.] Mr. Emory.—Having heard Wendell Phillips myself, at the time he is alleged by your correspondent, to have made an abusive remark about Abolition, I beg to say to offer a few words, expressive of my own opinion in respect to that affair.