

Refuge of Oppression.

THE SLAVERY POLICY OF THE ADMINISTRATION—OPPOSITION OF THE ABOLITION INDIANARY PRESS.

It needs no argument at this time to prove that to the operations of the abolition agitators of the North can be traced the cause of the present war, and all the evils, sufferings and loss of life attending it. Their continued and systematic agitation, in season and out of season, through their conventions, public orations, stump speeches, fascinating sermons, communications and editorials, in such organs as the Tribune, Times, Boston Liberator, and that class of journals, has, from time to time, furnished the revolutionists of the South with their material to inflame the Southern mind, prepare it for secession, and unite the entire South in their policy for a separate confederacy. In attempting to build up a party in the North, based exclusively on the abolition of slavery, they have palmed off upon their followers imaginary statements of hardships, falsehoods and misrepresentations, which, coming to the ears of their antipodes, the South, furnished the basis for a revolutionary party and their entire political food, in the absence of which, they would have been without power or influence. Going before the people of the South—by nature, habits and education an excitable race—with these statements and misrepresentations started at the North, they have increased in power and influence just as the agitators of the North grew more noisy and arrogant. Leading the Southern mind step by step, through its several stages, they finally succeeded in inducing the belief that the election of Lincoln was another name for the immediate emancipation of the slaves, and that their only salvation was in immediate secession and a separate confederacy. Thus we find that as soon as the election of Lincoln was made known, several of the Southern States declared themselves out of the Union, and immediately entered upon extensive warlike preparations; the leaders, daily strengthened among their own people by the domineering attitude of the agitators of the North, found willing hands in Buchanan's Cabinet to play at convenient points the latest style and most approved weapons of warfare in the hands of the government.

With the revolutionary material furnished them by the abolition agitators, they continued to strengthen themselves, until, soon after the inauguration of Lincoln, eleven States adopted this policy, and amidst their fortunes with the Southern Confederacy. Continuing the same system of appeals, and declaring to their followers that the entire North were abolitionists, bent upon emancipating the slaves, and that President Lincoln was but their mouthpiece and tool in this work, they succeeded in uniting the South, and working them to the pitch that we now find them—in arms against the regular constitutional government, and menacing the national capital. They are to-day enabled to keep their army together, amidst privations and sufferings, by reiterating to the rank and file the very words of the agitators of the North, holding those views to be that of the entire North, and that which the President is pledged to carry out. We regret to say that to the latter statement the course of the Tribune and Times furnishes the appearance of plausibility. The columns of those kindred journals are still filled with articles attempting to free upon the Administration the emancipation of the slaves as the war-cry. Thus, in the Times of Monday, we find two or three communications, apparently meeting the approval of the conductors of that journal, arguing the importance of making the war a war for the abolition of slavery, in which we find such sentences as, "we need a war-cry, a professed object;" "besides, we must proclaim emancipation if we would conquer." Another writer adds, "admitting that the issue which the Administration is carrying on is not the abolition of slavery, that a more radical cure would be to proclaim slavery incompatible with our national safety, and the end of slavery the only end of the war." "Slavery and freedom, the one or the other must go down."

Now, we know that the President and his Cabinet are not gathering armies, nor are our generals drilling and perfecting them, to destroy the institution of slavery, but to restore the Union to its former prosperous condition, through such constitutional means as that instrument and Congress have placed at his disposal. "The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government," writes Secretary Cameron, in his letter to General Butler, "is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all constitutional rights of States, and the citizens of all the States of the Union." Again, Caleb B. Smith, another member of the Cabinet, and constitutional adviser of the President, in a recent speech delivered at Providence, states unequivocally that "this war is not a war upon the institution of slavery, but a war for the restoration of the Union and the protection of all citizens in the South as well as the North, in their constitutional rights." The law passed by Congress, confiscating the property of rebels, affects that of slavery only the same as other property. There is not, in fact, the slightest evidence that the Federal Government is now conducting a war having for its object the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, we have an accumulation of evidence that it is a war for the maintenance of the Union and the protection of all citizens in their constitutional rights, slavery not excepted.

This being the real object of the war, as the letter of Cameron, the speech of Smith and action of Congress declare it to be, the course pursued by those organs of this city that labored for the election of Mr. Lincoln—and which are consequently believed by the South to be the organs of the President, now that he is in power—is manifestly doing ten-fold more damage, to the cause of the Union than all the so-called peace organs combined. Their systematic appeals to adopt the abolition of slavery as the war-cry, and thus attempting to force the government to adopt that policy, are not only strengthening the rebels at home, but dividing the North, weakening the hands of the Administration, and obstructing the prosecution of the war for one of the wisest and most just causes that ever a nation went to war upon. Those journals that have recently been visited with a mob, and others which the government has attempted to prevent their circulation, by seizing copies in Philadelphia, are harmless as doves, compared to the Tribune and Times, engaged as they are in hounding the Federal Government into adopting the policy and inscribing upon the banner of the restoration of the Union and the protection of all citizens, the words and the so-called peace organs to the rebels, but a drop in the bucket, compared with the incendiary appeals of the agitators; and the sooner the Administration puts a stop to their incendiary appeals, the earlier will it receive the united and undivided support of the North, and completely disarm the rebels and their allies in the South.—N. Y. Herald.

HISTORY SUITED TO THE TIMES.

I. More than twenty years ago, a number of able but mistaken men in Boston raised a cry against both the Union and the Constitution. They met in private council, they gathered in public meetings, and everywhere, with eloquence and ardor, proclaimed the Constitution a covenant with death, and sought the destruction of the Government. It was considered a time of public danger. They were mobbed, and all good citizens from that day have condemned the act. That same faction, in the relation of the present year, recognizes its handiwork.

II. Some years later upon the floor of Congress, an ex-President of the United States presented a petition for the dissolution of the United States, for the abrogation of the fundamental law of the country, for the disorganization of the Government itself. The act met not only with a tame approval from the North; it was greeted by at least a portion of the Press of New York with loud hallelujahs; and the successful defence then of the right of the people, even in the halls of Congress, to assail the very existence of the Government in speech and in petition, is the chief historical fact that hallows the name of John Quincy Adams, since his descent to the grave.

III. During the Administration of President Pierce, the legally established Territorial Government of Kansas was attacked by enemies at home and enemies abroad. A systematic and well-organized conspiracy existed to inaugurate a revolution in the Government of the Territory. An independent and unauthorized Government was set up, without the pretence of legal authority. It was a case of rebellion, and of armed resistance to the laws of the United States. The newspaper which principally advocated and principally instigated that rebellion was published in New York; and although the then President of the United States considered it a time of public danger, the publication of that paper was neither suppressed for its advocacy of treason, nor was any violence suggested.

IV. During the autumn of 1856, a resident of the North, a confident and counselor of the Northern Anti-Slavery organization, with Northern money, organized a conspiracy for the purpose of inaugurating the horrors of a San Domingo insurrection in the Southern States, and of overturning the State and National Government in a war for the emancipation of the negroes of the South. The man was honored as a hero and a martyr. At his death, printing offices and pulpits were draped in mourning, and sympathy with his treason was proclaimed by at least one of the principal presses of New York. That, in the view of the then Government of the United States, was a time of public danger; yet sympathy with the author of that treason was expressed and promulgated without restraint, and there was no opportunity afforded to congratulate a Marshal of the United States upon the suppression of that sympathy, or of a treasonable Press.

V. Less than a year since, when the public dangers had culminated in dissolution and prospective civil war, the people of Boston, maddened by a sense of the deep injury which the Government had sustained from the assaults of treasonable organs, and a hostile press, mobbed the most finished orator of their city, and with paving stones drove him from the streets. It was then a time of public danger. Yet the assault upon Mr. Wendell Phillips, by the unanimous voice of the country, was declared an outrage upon free speech and upon the Constitution of the land.

VI. A few months since, a portion of the people of the North, fired with resentment at the calamities induced by the treasonable teachings of one of the New York presses, hung its editor in effigy, heaped ignominy and reproach upon his name, believing him to be the highest of criminals against the Government in a time of public danger. No one congratulated that mob upon having done its duty.

VII. A few days since, a meeting was held in the State of Ohio, at which one of the principal advisers and office-holders of the present National Administration was the principal speaker. At that meeting, resolutions were passed, advising the proclamation of liberty to the slave throughout the land, in violation of the laws of the country; and of the usage of civilized nations. The purposes of the meeting were applauded by press and people, and through a time of public danger, no man has questioned the right of that meeting, under the Constitution, to promulgate its barbarous sentiments to the world.

VIII. There is a newspaper published in the city of Boston every week, advocating with as much persistence as ability the dissolution of the Union, and the destruction of the present form of our Government. In its columns, moreover, are found many of the most able articles which see the light of day, showing the utter futility and fruitlessness of the present policy, and the necessity of a more radical course. It is a time of public danger—yet the Boston Liberator is an honored and respected press in the ranks of the Republican party, and no United States Marshal suppresses its editions, nor are mobs daily incited to attack the office in which it is printed.

ONE WEIGHT AND ONE MEASURE.

If the President may, in such times as these, go beyond the written Constitution and the laws, without imputation, it is not strange, perhaps, that a patriotic people should feel themselves warranted in strengthening the rebel at home, by dividing the North, weakening the hands of the Administration, and obstructing the prosecution of the war for one of the wisest and most just causes that ever a nation went to war upon. Those journals that have recently been visited with a mob, and others which the government has attempted to prevent their circulation, by seizing copies in Philadelphia, are harmless as doves, compared to the Tribune and Times, engaged as they are in hounding the Federal Government into adopting the policy and inscribing upon the banner of the restoration of the Union and the protection of all citizens, the words and the so-called peace organs to the rebels, but a drop in the bucket, compared with the incendiary appeals of the agitators; and the sooner the Administration puts a stop to their incendiary appeals, the earlier will it receive the united and undivided support of the North, and completely disarm the rebels and their allies in the South.—N. Y. Herald.

Selections.

EDWARD EVERETT ON SECESSION NEWS-PAPERS IN THE NORTH.

It is an old proverb that the laws are silent amidst arms. The laws are, for the most part, made for a state of peace, excepting those which expressly refer to war, and the manner of conducting it. When a state of war arises, the community necessarily undergoes a great, and sometimes a rapid change; the quiet pursuits of society are, to some extent, checked, and in the immediate vicinity of the seat of war suspended, and with them the laws, which regulate those pursuits, must for the time give way to the stern necessities of the new state of things. It should, however, be, and it is, the great effort of an enlightened Government in civilized countries, to keep this disturbance of the peaceful order of things within the narrowest limits; and allow the supremacy of the law to be interfered with by military authority as little as possible. It is in particular a cardinal maxim of free governments, that the military commander should be subordinate to the civil magistrate. There are undoubtedly cases, when war exists, in which the public safety absolutely requires that the operation of the laws and the authority of the civil magistrate should yield to the paramount considerations which require summary measures. The patriotic magistrate, of whatever rank, must in such cases exert that moral courage—quite alien to the courage required for the risks of the field—which is needed for the discharge of the unpopular duty of suspending the laws. He must not shrink before the reproaches which his conduct is sure to bring upon him from the timid, the perverse, and the disaffected, cloaking their disloyalty under an assumed zeal for constitutional principles. He must take the risk even of subsequent disavowal, for poor humanity is very prone to be wise after the event, and brave after the danger. But he will confine his interference with the regular march of law to the narrowest limits and fewest occasions, and be the first to welcome the restoration of its authority.

These are the general maxims which apply to the conflict of civil and military authority, and the practical difficulty will naturally be, not in their general soundness, but in their application to particular cases. This difficulty will of course be much greater in the commencement of a state of war, than if it has lasted some time, and the community has been obliged to conform itself to the exigencies of the contest. At the present time, those citizens in some of the Border States, who sympathize with the Confederates, think it hard that they cannot be at peace and at war, in the Union and out of it, at the same time. They claim the protection of the Constitution as in a time of profound peace and universal obedience to the laws, while they render secret, and, under circumstances admit, open aid to those engaged in arms against them. They assault the forces moving to the defence of the Capital; they convey supplies and arms to the enemy; they recruit his ranks openly and by stealth; and to effect these objects, they sometimes avail themselves of official position and authority derived from the Government which they assail; and when that Government, in self-defence, interferes to arrest these treasonable movements and machinations, they clamor that the liberties of the citizens are invaded.

There are presses, for the most part in the Border States, though some of them are found in cities more remote from the scene of action, which are leading the cause of the enemy, misrepresenting and vilifying the Government of the United States, exaggerating every article of unfavorable intelligence, and exerting themselves to the utmost to dishearten the friends and defenders of the Constitution and the Union. But such is the all but superstitious devotion to the liberty of the Press, that these pernicious journals have, with the exception of a single instance in St. Louis, never been interfered with. It seems to have been thought better by those in authority to tolerate the mischief of these unpatriotic presses, than to devote them to greater importance by prosecution, or to encroach in the slightest degree upon that freedom of public discussion which of the greatest ordinary times is justly regarded as one of the greatest safeguards of liberty. But it is preposterous to sacrifice the end to the means. We should in this respect learn wisdom from the enemies of the Union. While we regard as unbecoming our Christian civilization that resort to lynch law, by which every expression of opinion adverse to the popular sentiment is suppressed in the seceding States, we ought to remember that, in tolerating a traitorous Press among ourselves, we practise a liberality which awakens no gratitude at home, and never is reciprocated by the opposing party. It is in fact an absurdity in terms, under the venerable name of the liberty of the Press, to permit the systematic and licentious abuse of a Government which is tasked to the utmost in defending the country from general disintegration and political chaos. The Governor of Malta was once censured in Parliament for some alleged severity toward the editor of a journal in that island, and the liberty of the Press was declared to be in danger. The Duke of Wellington said he was as friendly as any body to the liberty of the Press in London, but a free Press in the Island of Malta was as much out of place as it would be on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war. We suppose the most enthusiastic champion of the liberty of the Press would hardly think it right to publish a journal within the walls of Fort Mifflin, in which the officers of that garrison should be daily advised to desert, and the men constantly exhorted to mutiny; and whose columns should be filled with persistent abuse of the Government, and all engaged in its defence. Why should journals that describe in detail the progress of their poison beneath its walls, amidst the excitable population of a large city?

So too with reference to the freedom of speech in debate, one of the vital conditions of republican liberty. The late session in Congress has witnessed a magnanimity on the part of the majority in both Houses of a truly romantic cast. The acts and the motives of the Government, in the suppression of the insurrection, (admitted by one of its most distinguished chiefs to proceed mainly from the disappointment of leading aspirants to office,) have been presented to the public eye with a virulence and a persistence which would have been harmless in time of peace, but which in time of war can have no other effect upon the popular mind than to perplex and dishearten those who are staking life and fortune in the defence of the country. This generosity excites no gratitude on the part of those toward whom it is practised; and so far from being reciprocated, the member of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery or Richmond, who should assail the conduct or policy of that body, as the Government of the United States has been assailed by the sympathizers with secession at Washington, would not reach his hotel in safety. He would swing from the next lamp-post. Not merely is all freedom of speech and of the Press prohibited in the seceding States, but the most quiet and the humblest rights of citizenship are in-

terdicted. When the Ordinance of Secession was about to be submitted to the vote of the people of Virginia, a distinguished Senator of that State in Congress, and who in that capacity was under oath to support the Constitution of the United States, published a letter, signed with his name, in which he declared that such citizens of Virginia as did not approve the ordinance must leave the State; a summary sentence of banishment and confiscation against about a third part of the people of that ancient Commonwealth; a sentence which the seceding majority are now attempting to enforce at the point of the bayonet, to illustrate the principle that "the right of government rests upon the consent of the governed."

The necessity which, in time of war, partially suspends the operation of the laws, transfers the governing power to the military authority, not absolutely and without conditions; far from it; but under the limitations of the Constitution, and of the laws enacted to meet such a state of things. The power which existed in the Roman Republic of creating a Dictator, in seasons of imminent danger, who was clothed with absolute authority for a limited period—a power which was substantially, though not avowedly, assumed by Congress in the Revolutionary war—is unknown to the Constitution; and it is to be desired that the general armament of the South, with ordnance and munitions reasonably prepared beforehand by the sworn officers of the United States, and by an official threat of a movement on Washington, has been denounced by President Davis as an unprovoked measure, whose magnitude transcends all constitutional limits, and can aim only at "the subjugation" of the South. At a time when the population of the United States did not exceed four and a half millions, General Washington called out fifteen thousand troops to suppress an insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania. Our population is now thirty millions, and the insurrection has assumed the dimensions of a civil war. The only reasonable objection to the military preparations of the United States is, that they did not at once proceed on that gigantic scale, which wisdom and humanity alike dictate, as the only means of bringing the auspicious conflict to a speedy close. To let it drag on by inadequate means is to prolong the sufferings which it inflicts on both parts of the Union; to protract the perilous duress imposed upon the friends of the Union in the South, who look with aching eyes for the hour of deliverance; and to augment all the difficulties which are to be overcome before peace is restored to the country.—New York Ledger.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS.

The determined action of government toward a few secession presses, which is but the reflection of that public opinion which is known to exist from the fact of the excitable section; and some of them even justified that suppression on the ground of the necessity of the case. The South, they said, would not tolerate "incendiary publications," the circulation of which was sure to excite the slaves to revolt. Well, let them apply the arguments that were then used to the circumstances of the present case. Without questioning the right of slaveholders to suppress abolition journals, (i. e., any journals that it pleased them to consider abolition in character,) we think we are warranted in saying that the American Union is of as much value to the American people as slavery can be to slaveholders; and if the slaveholders were allowed to use vigorous means in order to preserve their El Dorado, the Federal Government ought to be firmly supported when it has resort to vigorous measures to promote the preservation of the Republic. If incendiaries of the abolition school were promptly punished, let not incendiaries of the slavery school escape.

There is no country in which the freedom of the press is more valued than it is in England. The English say it is their air, and without it they die. But can it be supposed that the English Government could allow a score of papers to advocate the repeal of the Act of Settlement; the banishment of the royal family, the violent abolition of the prerogative, the overthrow of the church, the seizure of the public property, and the establishment of a democratical republicanism? Such papers would be suppressed on the very day of their appearance. Yet they would have done nothing more than is done by our secession journals, which advocate the success of thieves, and support the subversion of government. If papers published here were to advocate the right of every man to commit murder, to perpetrate rape, and to steal and set fire to his neighbor's property at any moment he might feel inclined to take a little pleasure in the Roman imperial character, they would be promptly suppressed, and with the general approbation of even gentlemen of the secession persuasion in politics. Now, men object to rebellions because they cause murder, rape, theft, and fire-raising, and misery generally. If a rebellion could be got up, in the course of which there should be no bloodshed, no violence of any kind, no personal outrages, no confiscations, and not the least disturbance of the public peace or the ordinary business of life, it might safely be allowed to go on and spend itself without there being any expenditure of money and of men by government to put an end to it. But a rebellion of that kind is not possible. Not even the Dorr rebellion was quite so harmless as that, though it had nothing to do with fire and blood, or with powder or steel. The trouble with rebellion is, that it includes almost every other crime that can be named, and is so much the more intolerable than any other crime. Those papers which support the rebels here do, so far, mitigate the burning of Northern cities, the ravishing of Northern property, the seizure or depreciation of Northern property, and the consequent loss of the whole North by the slaveholding interest. The Southern have threatened us with fire and

sword, if we should not succeed in keeping the war in their country; and all who adhere to them, "giving them up in our comfort." Do just so much toward bringing destruction upon us as individuals, as States, as a nation. Those presses that advise and urge men not to enlist in the army or to enter the navy, which stigmatize as "unholy" a war waged for the maintenance of the nation and the redemption of its obligations, which advocate the right of the disaffected to refuse the payment of taxes illegally levied, which predict the repudiation of the debt contracted by the Federal Government, and which urge the rebels to continue in their lawless course—such papers, we contend, are not entitled to plead the freedom of the press in their behalf as against the legal action of the authorities to suppress them. They are the enemies of the communities in which they are published; and under the general law of self-preservation, these communities have the right to suppress them—the same right that they have to exterminate bears and wolves. Beholding what are the objects of the secessionists, and how those objects are to be accomplished, if at all, a secession editor at the North ought to be regarded as a *caput lupinum*, to be hunted down until destroyed. He is as much an enemy to the country as a wolf could be, and far more dangerous than the whole pack of wolves. There are lines beyond which no individual is allowed to proceed in speaking and writing, in every country. In some countries the field of discussion is very broad indeed, and suffices for the exercise of every man's talents, except those few men who belong to the class of destructives. The field is thus broad in the Northern States of this country. In the South, they limit the field. There you can say nothing against the institution of slavery, or in support of its abolition. Here we are not so stringent. If any man has a "call" in New England to say anything in behalf of slavery, he is at liberty to say it in any language that he may think best adapted to his purpose; but we cannot permit him to argue, day after day, in support of the right of slaveholders to cut our throats, to destroy our freedom, to overthrow our government, and to play the mischief generally with us. If Mr. Kimball, late of the Essex County Democrat, chose to apologize for inadvertently having called slavery a sin, we do not see that that was the business of anybody but the persons who chose to support his silly paper; but when the Essex County Democrat supported the rebellious secessionists, the men who are in arms against the government, and who are seeking the destruction of social order, it was high time that it should be suppressed. Our only regret is, that that was done by a mob which should have been done by the agents of the law. But even when a mob destroys a secession press, it does no more than the conductors of such presses have held to be right in the case of editors who may have offended against the majesty of slavery. We know that the action of one band of violent men is no justification for the action of another band of violent men; but nevertheless there is a sort of satisfaction, poor human nature being what it is, when persons who have done all that they could to make mob law prevalent at the expense of others, get hoisted by it themselves. A man may not be a lover of indiscriminate hanging, nor a very warm worshipper of the gallows, and yet think the gallows an attractive spectacle when the hangman is to be seen firmly tied to it, and swinging in the wind.—Boston Traveller.

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

The cause of the civil war which distracts our country is so plain that a wayfaring man, though a fool, may see it. Says a drivelling sheet, "This is a war neither for nor against slavery, but for the preservation of the country. This contest has no reference to the institution. The irritating and distracting question of slavery must be kept entirely out of sight."

Self-deception is a chronic disease in a doughface. The crooked way is ever preferred to the straight. He will cling to a self-evident falsehood, and reject a palpable reality. Every man with a spoonful of sense knows that the revolt is a slaveholders' revolt. Slavery alone is the cause of all the trouble. It has no other parentage. No good is accomplished by denying the real nature of the disease, and employing quacks to prescribe ointment for the itch, when cancer is the malady preying on the body politic. The object of the insurrection is, to establish Slave Despotism on the ruins of American Liberty.

They have no disguise as to their purpose down in Dixie. They proclaim from the house-tops that they are waging war to enlarge the privileges and boundaries of slavery. They demand more territory for the slaves and more slaves, for the territory. They insist on the right to rule this nation in the interest of their system of bondage; and that being refused, they proceed to destroy it.

Vice-President Stephens, the great orator among the Confederates, is sent forth to proclaim the object of the rebellion. He declares in the face of mankind, that the purpose is to found on the ruins of the Union, a government whose corner-stone shall be slavery. He pronounces the ideas of freedom held by Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Henry and the other founders of the Union, to be heresies, that must be discarded and repudiated, and the new gospel, taught by Calhoun, must be accepted as the true faith, viz: that capital should own labor.

Were it not for slavery, the ocean bound Republic would be profoundly at peace throughout its length and breadth. There are no geographical nor climatic reasons for discord and civil war. There is nothing in the productions or local industries of the different sections of the country, calculated to breed treason, or cause rebellion. On the contrary, the three great sections are mutually dependent on each other. The manufacturers of the East, the farmers of the West, and the planters of the South, each produce what is essential to the comfort and welfare of the whole. Take slavery away, and as cordial a friendship would subsist between the South and the North as we behold between the West and the East. The "sum of all villainies," as Wesley called it, is the slimy serpent which has crawled into our happy Garden of Eden, and turned our joys into sorrows, our bliss into misery. But, says shallow peate, "If you impress this fact on the minds of the people, the government will be deprived of much support in the North, and the loyal slaveholders of the border States will fly from us in multitudes."

The "loyal slaveholders" (they are precious few) are not ignorant of the cause of the war. They know that it is a slaveholders' rebellion, and nothing else. Some of them are loyal because, though they love slavery, they love the Union more. Others are loyal from having the sagacity to perceive that the rebel slaveholders are rushing the "institution" upon its doom, in their mad attempt to destroy the Republic, and convert the continents into a Slave Despotism. They know that their loyalty to the Union will secure them exemptions

United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested 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 this 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 of slavery. There is no name 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 constitution."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

SECESSION AND GOVERNMENT.

freedom to others, not freedom to ourselves. All fear of an interference of England (now an imminent danger) would pass away, for the English people and the popular sympathies would be with us so strongly as to overpower the action of government.

It is, to any reflecting mind, perfectly useless to attempt to conquer the South, unless we attack them on their own soil. After four months' preparation, we are beaten back in disgrace from the first twenty-five miles of Southern territory.

Suppose that every ravine, from the Potomac to Charleston, from Charleston to New Orleans, is defended like this little pass near Manassas! Why should it not be? It is there the best reason to suppose the South Carolinians or Louisianians will not fight as well on their own soil as in Virginia?

We may, indeed, accumulate vast arms, attack their ports with navies, pour expeditions over their wide territory, but it should be remembered that battles are greatly determined by chances, or by powers which we do not see. A single accident may ruin a whole expedition, or a panic destroy a half-victory.

The enemy's eight millions are weakened by the necessity of guarding and providing against the four millions of slaves.

A moral terror, a panic would pervade every Southern State. By landing expeditions on their coasts, their army in Virginia would be almost entirely broken up. Each regiment must retire to guard its own State or county.

What the precise move should be of proclaiming and limiting emancipation, it is not necessary here to lay down. The resolution which has passed the Senate is too satisfactory, and has not the greatness of a broad promise of freedom.

We should lose nothing anywhere by such a proclamation,—nothing at the North, for there it is seen more clearly every day that this is the only key to victory; nothing at the South, for there it is a *trouance*; nothing before the world, nothing before history.

And may not the religious mind look upon this mysterious and sudden panic, just in the moment of victory, as a warning to us to make our cause the cause of freedom and humanity, even the cause of the slave?

GRAND SCHEME OF THE REBELS.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

I have just this day returned from a long, tedious, and dangerous, but thorough ramble over the Southern Confederacy, undertaken for the purpose of estimating the full extent of the military and political preparation, and disposition of the Rebels, as well as of ascertaining their intentions and prospects, and what degree of cohesion they possess.

which will flash and blaze from Washington to St. Louis, and the armed hordes of the South will pour their combined volume northward with simultaneous tread toward the Potomac, the Ohio, and the Missouri. This is the entire design exposed in all its expansive proportions.

The Confederates are strong in purpose, united in motive, expeditious in action, terrible in their feehish hate, and far more numerous than the North has ever dreamed of. We underestimate their strength in Virginia, we have so in Tennessee and in Arkansas.

The Rebels intend to make this whole movement co-incident from East to West, and they will strain every muscle to succeed in it; and if they are successful, they trust as a part or rather result of the project, that it will give encouragement to England to insist on an opening of the blockade.

COMMON SENSE.

The Americans were always accessible to "Common Sense"; and if one party in England is justifiable in trying to appeal to it, another is.

At the same time, it cannot be concealed that every man's "common sense" is his own "common sense," or what the ordinary faculties of mankind, if they were in his place, would point out as for the advantage of his particular cause or interest.

It is wonderful how men can reason, on their own side. Hear to the reasons, why Northern America should abstain from uttering the word which would quash the mischief, like Virgil's handful of dust among a swarm of bees.

What would General Scott be doing all this time, who did not let the barbarisms of all colors understand there was a third party in the field, and the sooner they made themselves invisible, the better?

"This would not be the worst; much good would be done, and much would accompany it. We have ready from time to time his glimpses and warnings of what would happen."

What would General Scott be doing all this time? It is true that where a generation of men have seen their own kind, and have been brought to the best bidder, it would not be contrary to what is known of human nature, that there should be danger of revenge.

"But before this point was reached—at the first rumor of an intention on the part of the Northerners to emancipate and raise the slaves, every fetter would be doubled, every stripe would be multiplied by ten. Mist and terror would goad the slave-owners and their overseers to the wildest excesses of severity, and might thus even expedite the menaced outbreak and the fearful retribution. Who can paint the state of affairs which would prevail throughout the entire South, the moment slaves and slaveholders became aware that the negro population were to be summoned to the field as combatants and arbiters in the strife."

the nameless horrors upon them and theirs! On what terms could those who had called out four millions of slaves to wreak their vengeance on their former masters, and those who had undergone that vengeance, ever again unite in one commonwealth, or become citizens even of one empire?

They made the giants first, and then they killed them. Could anything justify those who threw up the opportunity of putting an end to such a mass of atrocity for ever, through terror of a feeble bugbear put forward without likelihood and without support?

One further consideration, a military one, for the contemplation of those who are not at home in military calculations. Operations in the South are difficult by reason of the climate. The enemy has brought out the Indian tomahawk, as suited to the state of the thermometer.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPT. 6, 1861.

"WHO WILL CARRY THE PROCLAMATION?"

Under this head, a correspondent of the Independent argues against the proposal that the President of the United States proclaim freedom to the slaves of those who are now in armed rebellion against his government.

He alleges that—all loyal persons within the rebel States being now objects of suspicion and persecution, and often of violent expulsion—the official bearers of a Proclamation so damaging to the rebellion would most of all be interfered with, and would find it impossible either to execute their mission or to preserve their lives.

The first blunder of the Independent's correspondent is his assumption that the movement in question is suggested primarily for the sake of the slaves, or as the means of benefiting them by accomplishing their liberation.

But what the President has very much at heart—is all important to him, both as a man and as the head of the United States Government—is the suppression of the rebellion.

Does any one fail to see how this movement would help towards the suppression of the rebellion? To me it seems plain that it would most seriously affect the rebels, changing their whole plan of operations, and compelling their retreat from an offensive to a defensive position, even before it reached the ears of a single slave.

Ever since the time of John Brown, the slaveholders have apprehended a renewal of such an attempt as his, in every quarter accessible to his surviving friends and sympathizers. In spite of the disclaimers of the Republicans, the leaders of the pro-slavery party have insisted upon stigmatizing them as Abolitionists, affecting to believe them bent not merely upon resisting the extension, but effecting the overthrow, of slavery.

Ever since the time of John Brown, the slaveholders have apprehended a renewal of such an attempt as his, in every quarter accessible to his surviving friends and sympathizers. In spite of the disclaimers of the Republicans, the leaders of the pro-slavery party have insisted upon stigmatizing them as Abolitionists, affecting to believe them bent not merely upon resisting the extension, but effecting the overthrow, of slavery.

From that moment, the fear which the leaders of the Slave Power formerly pretended to feel, of predatory incursion from the North against them as slaveholders, becomes a reality. From that moment, all the slaveholders living upon the long border line of the rebel States will have good ground to expect expeditions, little and great, by day and by night, sometimes of private parties of those Northern men whom they have been taught to believe all Abolitionists, and sometimes of military or naval expeditions sent by the Government, for the purpose of offering freedom to the slaves!

From that moment, the fear which the leaders of the Slave Power formerly pretended to feel, of predatory incursion from the North against them as slaveholders, becomes a reality. From that moment, all the slaveholders living upon the long border line of the rebel States will have good ground to expect expeditions, little and great, by day and by night, sometimes of private parties of those Northern men whom they have been taught to believe all Abolitionists, and sometimes of military or naval expeditions sent by the Government, for the purpose of offering freedom to the slaves!

From that moment, the fear which the leaders of the Slave Power formerly pretended to feel, of predatory incursion from the North against them as slaveholders, becomes a reality. From that moment, all the slaveholders living upon the long border line of the rebel States will have good ground to expect expeditions, little and great, by day and by night, sometimes of private parties of those Northern men whom they have been taught to believe all Abolitionists, and sometimes of military or naval expeditions sent by the Government, for the purpose of offering freedom to the slaves!

From that moment, the fear which the leaders of the Slave Power formerly pretended to feel, of predatory incursion from the North against them as slaveholders, becomes a reality. From that moment, all the slaveholders living upon the long border line of the rebel States will have good ground to expect expeditions, little and great, by day and by night, sometimes of private parties of those Northern men whom they have been taught to believe all Abolitionists, and sometimes of military or naval expeditions sent by the Government, for the purpose of offering freedom to the slaves!

philosophic production of the nineteenth century, or, indeed, of any antecedent period. It occupied 677 large octavo pages, and was so copiously furnished with notes and references, that even the mere names of the various authors consulted by Mr. Buckle required for their recital and classification no less than fourteen closely printed pages!

Buckle's second representative has been seasonably introduced among us through the enterprising firm of its American publishers, D. Appleton & Co., of New York city. This volume is uniform with its predecessor, and is quite as able, philosophical, and attractive. It treats of Spain and Scotland, whose initials are the two crooked sticks of the alphabet, as their people are the two right nations of the civilized world.

It is, among other things, a candid criticism of the World's theology for ages; and he brings it before a test standard, arraigns its deportment and actions before the deliberate and impartial tribunal of reason and common sense, analyzes its ingredients, and demonstratively ascertains a large proportion of its composition to be superstition.

New England has already lost the opportunity of commencing this movement. Already, in Pennsylvania and the further West, they are circulating the following petition:

To His Excellency, the President of the United States. The undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of the believing Slavery to be the great cause of our existing national calamities, earnestly desire that it be immediately abolished, by Presidential Proclamation, under the War Power.

The following private letter is from one of the oldest, bravest, and most eminent reformers in England—the associate and efficient coadjutor of Cobden, Bright and Wilson in the Corn Law repeal movement. He is a veteran essayist, and is now actively wielding his pen in the service of Northern freedom versus the Southern traitors.

LETTER FROM LIEUT. GENERAL THOMPSON.

DEAR SIR—I do not think we have ever met; but we have been in positions where we might possibly have been acquainted with each other's names.

I was Governor of Sierra Leone in 1808, 1809, 1810, and was fortunate enough to put a block on a plan which was on foot for establishing a system of purchase of negroes from the interior, under color of apprenticeship, on the prohibition of the slave trade. It was, as might be expected, at the expense of my immediate prospects in life; but it naturally left me with a strong will to be acting in opposition to slavery in all shapes.

I have since been Member for Hull and for Bradford, and I have lost no opportunity for following up my early impressions. In the capacity of Member of Parliament, I have been in the habit of keeping up a weekly communication in the press with my constituents. And I have continued the practice with my old constituents of Bradford, after I ceased to represent them.

I had further some standing and reputation with the public, as being the earliest mover for Free Trade, and the author of a work entitled the "Catechism on the Corn Laws," which was considered as having had considerable effect in turning the public mind in that direction.

My object in now troubling you is to forward to you some articles or letters published in the Bradford Advertiser, and published on the same day in The Elector, which is the organ of the friends of the Ballot in England, and published by the Ballot Society in London. It so happens that I have only copies of The Elector at hand, which are forwarded separately by post, and a list of references here-included; but having no possession of your address, I hope you will be supplied from time to time with copies of the Bradford paper, or with slips of articles prepared for publication, either from me or from my friends.

There is reason to fear that the major part of the commercial interest is unsound on this subject. As one mark of which, I was pointedly excluded from the assemblage of the professed supporters of Free Trade at the Mansion House on the 17th July. In fact, I have lost all my parliamentary supporters, from being believed unsound in devotion to Cotton.

It is in hopes of furnishing the means of proof that everybody in England is not tarred with the same brush, that I trouble you as I have done.

BUCKLE'S SPAIN AND SCOTLAND.

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND. By Henry Charles Buckle. Volume II. From the Second London Edition. To which is added an Alphabetical Index. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway. 1861. pp. 476.

philosophic production of the nineteenth century, or, indeed, of any antecedent period. It occupied 677 large octavo pages, and was so copiously furnished with notes and references, that even the mere names of the various authors consulted by Mr. Buckle required for their recital and classification no less than fourteen closely printed pages!

Buckle's second representative has been seasonably introduced among us through the enterprising firm of its American publishers, D. Appleton & Co., of New York city. This volume is uniform with its predecessor, and is quite as able, philosophical, and attractive. It treats of Spain and Scotland, whose initials are the two crooked sticks of the alphabet, as their people are the two right nations of the civilized world.

It is, among other things, a candid criticism of the World's theology for ages; and he brings it before a test standard, arraigns its deportment and actions before the deliberate and impartial tribunal of reason and common sense, analyzes its ingredients, and demonstratively ascertains a large proportion of its composition to be superstition.

New England has already lost the opportunity of commencing this movement. Already, in Pennsylvania and the further West, they are circulating the following petition:

To His Excellency, the President of the United States. The undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of the believing Slavery to be the great cause of our existing national calamities, earnestly desire that it be immediately abolished, by Presidential Proclamation, under the War Power.

The following private letter is from one of the oldest, bravest, and most eminent reformers in England—the associate and efficient coadjutor of Cobden, Bright and Wilson in the Corn Law repeal movement. He is a veteran essayist, and is now actively wielding his pen in the service of Northern freedom versus the Southern traitors.

LETTER FROM LIEUT. GENERAL THOMPSON.

DEAR SIR—I do not think we have ever met; but we have been in positions where we might possibly have been acquainted with each other's names.

I was Governor of Sierra Leone in 1808, 1809, 1810, and was fortunate enough to put a block on a plan which was on foot for establishing a system of purchase of negroes from the interior, under color of apprenticeship, on the prohibition of the slave trade. It was, as might be expected, at the expense of my immediate prospects in life; but it naturally left me with a strong will to be acting in opposition to slavery in all shapes.

I have since been Member for Hull and for Bradford, and I have lost no opportunity for following up my early impressions. In the capacity of Member of Parliament, I have been in the habit of keeping up a weekly communication in the press with my constituents. And I have continued the practice with my old constituents of Bradford, after I ceased to represent them.

I had further some standing and reputation with the public, as being the earliest mover for Free Trade, and the author of a work entitled the "Catechism on the Corn Laws," which was considered as having had considerable effect in turning the public mind in that direction.

My object in now troubling you is to forward to you some articles or letters published in the Bradford Advertiser, and published on the same day in The Elector, which is the organ of the friends of the Ballot in England, and published by the Ballot Society in London. It so happens that I have only copies of The Elector at hand, which are forwarded separately by post, and a list of references here-included; but having no possession of your address, I hope you will be supplied from time to time with copies of the Bradford paper, or with slips of articles prepared for publication, either from me or from my friends.

There is reason to fear that the major part of the commercial interest is unsound on this subject. As one mark of which, I was pointedly excluded from the assemblage of the professed supporters of Free Trade at the Mansion House on the 17th July. In fact, I have lost all my parliamentary supporters, from being believed unsound in devotion to Cotton.

It is in hopes of furnishing the means of proof that everybody in England is not tarred with the same brush, that I trouble you as I have done.

BUCKLE'S SPAIN AND SCOTLAND.

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND. By Henry Charles Buckle. Volume II. From the Second London Edition. To which is added an Alphabetical Index. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway. 1861. pp. 476.

the theme of Secession,—a theme upon which there is at this hour a violent contrariety of opinion and feeling between North and South, also especially doubtless between persons in the one section and in the other,—is one wherein it seems Abolitionists are not fully agreed. That it should occupy and engage their thought prominently is not unnatural, and even right and duty of secession in the relations of North to South have in former years been much discussed among them, and for most part strongly insisted upon.

Now, some seem to suppose that, upon the very same grounds on which the withdrawal of the Northern States from the Federal Union was urged, and would have been justified, is the secession of South Carolina and her sisterhood of confederates also justified. To deny this, they deem, would be to deny the sovereign right of self-government, the right of the community or a State to the conduct and control of its own affairs.

Others seem, at the present time, to regard the Federal Union as, in itself, a sacred affair, an organic whole, bound together in vital bond, an indivisible, inalienable, and inviolable, a thing not without guilt to be denied or renounced. The seceding States, therefore, are guilty of treason—treason in setting at naught the Federal Government, casting off allegiance to the Union, and essaying to establish an independent sovereignty and nationality of their own. The rebellion must, therefore, be promptly and decisively put down, but all things go to pieces—society is broken up—tutions become a nullity—federation, union, government a phantasm, a mockery.

Are not both these views partial and incomplete, and so in a measure awry, and misleading? The sovereignty of the individual does remain supreme, and inviolable, transcending in sacred worth and commanding claim all possible combinations and compact among men. No government, no federation, called of what name and armed of what prestige, soever, may, without murderous guilt, throttle or trample it underfoot. The right to renounce and withstand any such attempt as a rebellion, a conspiracy against the supreme authority—to withdraw from it, or to resist and destroy it, as the relations of the case may be—of the indelible and all-secured rights of human nature.

But this sovereignty is a sovereignty not without qualification. It is a sovereignty for truth and justice alone. The right is the right to fulfil the ends of human existence—to honor virtue, to cultivate the intellect, to secure and attempt secession from the presence and away of truth, justice, integrity, is rebellion and treason evermore.

The renunciant States of the South are guilty of treason, not by virtue of the fact that they have rebelled against and withdrawn from the actually called the Federal Union, but that, in this, they have rebelled against and attempted withdrawal from the felt presence of justice, from the authority of those ideas and truths which professedly, however falsely and perjurally, that Union symbolizes and represents. In this, the essence of their rebellion and treason consists, and not in the renunciation *per se* of one or another federal pact; certainly, not of a pact of such character as this of ours. Not unfrequently have men been guilty of gross and glaring wickedness in just this way,—maligning and assailing truth under the form of some symbol that, for the time, might stand professedly, however unreal, as its representative; scoffers, for instance, bitterly renouncing God, religion, the human soul, in their renunciation of some institution of church or worship, which, false, delusive and atheistic as it might be, yet ostensibly represented the sacred.

And all this of the Southern Confederacy may remain true, while the Federal Government, under its thus far actual character, is destitute of just claim for respect and allegiance from its true and faithful men. That government, with all its professions of freedom, has been from the beginning the accomplice and willing instrument of slavery; up to within recent months, it has surrendered itself, unhesitatingly and shamelessly, to all its demands; and to this hour it shamelessly consents to give itself the national recognition and protection. It bases itself at the bottom for the legitimacy of its existence and claim; not upon a moral verity, an immutable principle in the sphere of great truth, but upon an incident, a caprice, affirming the foundation, the source, seat, soil of governmental authority in the decisions of the popular will, making the voice of the people practically the voice of God. It is thus in its elemental theory atheistic, and so, false and anarchic. No loyal man can, for a moment, assent to a dogma stated thus baldly, and without the all-vital qualifications, so flagrantly untrue, so pregnant with misrule and mischief. And the actualization is not greatly better than the theory. The expressions of the popular will are pretty generally far enough from being the utterance of the supreme law and justice. The representatives selected to wield the sacred prerogatives of government are far enough from having embodied the divine and authoritative elements in their character. Pretty generally, the vassals and bond-slaves of the senses, the appetites and the passions, their wisdom the cunning of the hawk and fox, in playing upon the multitude, and these in turn the idolaters of their great exploiters, and of the sovereign statutes their hands have "made."

Nor is there mystic sacredness in any pact or combination of States, in a Government or Federal Union, to impose obligations of allegiance, irrespective of the intrinsic character of such organization, and of its relations to the requirements of men. As an arrangement, it is relative,—relative to the wants and needs of human creatures. If it be an embodiment of wisdom, ministering encouragement, guidance, strength to men for the fulfillment of the purposes of their existence, exerting itself for their elevation and welfare efficiently, beneficently and continually,—if, in a word, it be a Government, an expression in character of the Laws of the Eternal Kingdom, then is it divine, sacred prerogative, and may not be renounced or abjured, except with deep guilt and damning treason.

But, apart from this question of intrinsic character, there is no power in any incident, any enactment of the sovereign people, baptized into the name Constitution, and sanctified through long years of subsequent prosperous history as it may be, to arm a federation with authority to bind men to allegiance to it, or make its treason in them to withdraw from it.

All this furnishes no word of justification or apology for the Southern Confederacy, steeped as it is from its inception in malignity and crime,—itself an atrocious conspiracy; but it does involve the right, so sacred and inviolable, of men and women, whether free or more, intent on honoring and fulfilling the true ends of their being, to withdraw from any government, so called, which stands false or hostile to these, and to seek to set up and maintain institutions, and a state quite other than their own. Such are no rebels; nor may they be decreed or assailed as disloyal or traitorous to the true purposes and just claims of civilization. They stand where they do in loyalty, by the indefeasible rights of human nature.

In our own country, the true men and women, scattered sparsely enough all abroad, found for most part one here and another there, solitary and alone,—must be perpetually seceding from the Government,—from its falsehoods in theory, its misanthropies among and oppressions in fact,—and must build up among themselves, and with each other, an *imperium in imperio*, seeking through mutual cooperation and assistance to help each other forward in the fulfillment of their proper destiny, to enrich each other with ministrations that quickening, guidance, strength, which what assumes the name, place and privileges of government among us, is sacredly bound, yet signally falls even to attempt to give.

Syracuse, N. Y., July 30, 1861.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART IV.—[CONCLUSION.]

PRESENT ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

Before proceeding to treat of this topic, I recur for a moment to the crimes of the slaveholding traitors, not proposing now, any more than at first, to furnish a full catalogue, but only a brief list of the most violent and flagrant, leaving unnoticed a large class of a stealthy kind, in which fraud, deceit, treachery and swindling have been the main ingredients.

11. Violating by unheard-of proceedings of parliamentary proceeding, imposed in defiance of natural and divine law, of the guarantees of the Constitution, and of all the venerated charters of English and American liberties—the sacred and fundamental rights of petition and debate, with no relaxation during ten years, except for the insulting admission of memorials from slave States for the annexation of Texas; and crowning these strange and persistent outrages by an attempt under the charge of treason to expel John Quincy Adams for presenting a respectful petition, praying that Congress would "adopt measures for the peaceful dissolution of the Union," although he had moved, in the same breath, that the petition be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report in favor of its rejection, and the reasons therefor.

12. Systematic and incessant rapine, fraud, corruption and cruelty practised upon the unfortunate natives of our country, by Southern States, citizens and Federal agents,—selected mostly from the South,—and by Administrations, wielding in the interest of the slaveholders, and in obedience to their behests, the whole power of the Republic—treasury, army and militia of rapacious borderers, greedy of federal pay, greedy of Indian "beauty and booty," greedy of pickings and stealings from the commissariat and quartermaster's department; and repeatedly provoking wars of extermination against those simple and upright peoples by disguising themselves as Indians, murdering whole families of their white neighbors, and then summoning, in well feigned terror, the ready ruffians of the frontier and the fiercest garrisons of the army to the harvest of death.

13. Enacting and executing, in palpable and virtually admitted violation of the Constitution, State laws for the seizure and enslavement of citizens of Free States, coming within the limits of Slave States on their lawful business; persisting for forty years in this flagrant villany in the face of a judicial decision composed of Southern Judges; expelling, with ignominious threats and demonstrations of personal violence, under the direction of Preston S. Brooks, representing the Governor of South Carolina, the envoy of a Free State, deputed to test in an amicable manner in their own courts, and finally, if necessary, in the highest of the nation, the constitutionality of those inhuman enactments; and consummating this unparalleled audacity and defiance of all law, divine and human, by ordering that it shall be felony, punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, for a minister of peace to come within the borders of South Carolina on such mission of justice and humanity again!

14. Corrupting and subverting, by fraud and force, the vital prerogative of the elective franchise, and thereby fastening into the highest dignity in the Republic, and as we have proudly boasted, the highest upon earth, two false and usurping, to the exclusion of two legally elected Presidents. And because fraud and violence, striking at the ballot-box, will no longer serve their purpose of ruling the nation with despotic sway, they have at last resorted to treason to ruin it.

Having presented the foregoing as supplementary to the preceding part of this disquisition, I proceed to the object of the present division.

It has been asked, why seek to explode Gen. Butler's doctrine of "contraband of war," when you yourself cannot but rejoice in the result of its application, inasmuch as it has been the means of rescuing a goodly number of human beings from wicked thralldom? (conceding that every friend of justice, liberty and humanity must feel a satisfaction in the immediate and apparent result, I am still constrained to reply—

1. That the assumption of Gen. Butler is totally unfounded and false.

2. That the doctrine, besides being false, would be narrow and impracticable if it were true; narrow, because it applies to property only, and does not recognize slaves as persons; impracticable, because the seizure or reception and possession of property as contraband does not divest the owner of his right, and transfer it to the possessor. The right remains in the original proprietor until the property has been condemned by a court of prize, duly advertised for sale at public auction, sold accordingly, and the proceeds paid into court; and then, after deducting the costs of court, paid over to the treasurer or other proper officer of the United States. Thus the human chattel would remain a chattel, with only a change of masters, the clods and thorns of Free States would be converted into slave marts, and the United States into a regular slave-trade.

Mr. Cameron, in reply to Butler's first letter in May last, directed him "to employ the fugitives, keep an exact account of the labor by them performed, and the expense of their maintenance." He evidently understands that the property is not changed by the mere possession of the captor, but must await subsequent proceedings. He evidently means that the fugitives shall still be held as slaves, subject to the claim of their rebel masters, and that in some contingency they may be restored to their possession; for there is no instruction to give them any compensation for their labor, or the promise of any. Thus they have been working diligently and very effectively, it is said, many of them for months, without the comfort and encouragement of wages. It is plain that their wages is reserved for settling day with those amiable people, who have been robbing their servants all their lives, and in order that they may continue to do it with impunity, are now striving to murder us, and destroy the nation. With prodigious assurance, they demand that we send back these persons to help them do these things.

If, then, we correctly understand the forecasting and proposed accounting of the Secretary of War, he is making the United States the agent and factor of slave-trading pirates and enemies, with whom, by the laws of war and the President's proclamation of August 16th, neither he nor any member of the government, any more than a simple citizen, can lawfully have any contract, intercourse or correspondence, unless it be to treat of peace, the exchange of prisoners, the care of the wounded, the abandonment of barbarian practices in the conduct of the war, reprisals for atrocities perpetrated upon Northern and Union men, and other analogous subjects.

The fugitives thus held by us may be restored by one of two methods, either by the United States voluntarily relinquishing its claim, or by decree of a prize court, determining the property not to be condemnable as contraband of war, as any decent prize court would certainly do.

The first method must be the one which Mr. Cameron has in view, for no man in his position would ever think of proceeding to adjudication on such a claim in any court inside of Christendom. If such be the intention, it follows that the government is still under the sorcery of the Delilah of compromise, and will continue to be short of its strength, and to be the sport and derision of its foes; for only by compromise with traitors can such restoration take place. To make it under any other circumstances would be to incur mortal guilt.

By the Rules and Articles of War, enacted in 1806, "Whoever shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer death;" and by a law of 1790, "If any person owing allegiance to the United States, shall levy war against them, or shall adhere to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, and shall be thereof convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of treason against the United States, and shall suffer death."

It was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in its golden days, that the words, "owing al-

legiance," are immaterial, and that "not only the persons, who bear arms, but those who assist otherwise, are included among those levying war." Every slave, therefore, who performs a part in the drama of the war on the side of the rebellious faction, is a traitor, and all slaves might well be warned by proclamation not to incur the penalty of treason by aiding and abetting the treason of their masters! Of course, slaves can contract no guilt when, in taking such part, they yield to overruling force, and act under duress; but though they do thus act, the mischief may be the same as if they levied war against the United States with the hearty concurrence of the will.

He, therefore, who from our side sends a man into the ranks or trenches of the traitors, or a woman into the kitchen or laundry of a rebel regiment, or either of them into the potato, corn, rice, tobacco, cotton or cane fields to raise provisions for their armies, or bags and hogheads of merchandise to fill the parcellous North, is a traitor. If one should enlist men in the North or in Canada, and send them South for any of those purposes, or knowing that their service or labor would be applied to any of those purposes, there would be no doubt of the highly criminal nature of the transaction, and no hesitation in seizing and arraigning him for treason; because he could in no way levy war against the United States more effectively. It was decided by the same Court in the same case, (4 Cr. 470.) that a recruiting officer, sending men to the ranks of traitors, commits treason, though he never go to a traitor camp, fort or field.

What mode of "corresponding with and giving intelligence to the enemy" can be more direct and certain than sending back a fugitive slave, who has seen our forces, forts and lines of fortification? We have received and are almost daily receiving useful information, little as we have profited by it, and little as we have merited it, from fugitive slaves. As our armies advance under competent leaders—if that is to be into the enemy's territory, their topographical knowledge, their communications and guidance will be of incalculable value. Already, in repeated instances, the lives of our officers and soldiers have been saved by vigilant and patriotic women of Frank Pierce's "subject race." Subject! just as if he himself, when he uttered that apostate and undemocratic phrase, was not the object subject of the meanest and most ferocious despotism on the face of the fair earth, which it contaminates! Those great-hearted women, at the risk of their lives, have again and again warned our men of ambushes, which, without such warning, would have been fatal. The fugitive slave sent back to torment, sure to be increased by his escape and his efforts to be loyal, will have the strongest motive to propitiate the tyrant, who holds his life or death in his hand, by imparting, though his whole heart may be with us, all the information against us which may be in his power!

Not a single fugitive has thus far been set free, or obtained an assurance of ultimate freedom. A great number, how many none can tell, have been thrust back, against law and without mercy, to chains and tortures; from Fort Pickens by Lieut. Stemmer, to die under tortures as a terrible example; from Fortress Monroe by Col. Dimick; from the steamer Quaker City; from the camps and columns of Gen. Sprague and Col. Burnside, of Rhode Island; Col. Jones, Col. Cowdin and Gen. Banks, of Massachusetts; Patterson, of Pennsylvania, himself a slaveholder, and strongly suspected of Secessionism; and many more.

While our armies have been thus violating law and humanity, and in effect aiding and abetting traitors and enemies, citizens of Free States in the service of the United States, endeavoring to take on board the steamer, Star of the West, some of the troops betrayed by the black traitor Twigg, and afterwards captured in their unarmed state, contrary to capitulation, and their safeguard violated by the black traitor, Van Dorn,—we were seized by the rebels, and sold at public auction as slaves! These unhappy men—unhappy, I fear, are all who trust this government for protection, except Secessionists and spies—were marched off by their purchasers to life-long servitude in the interior, nobody can tell where, and nobody thus far seems to care! That no circumstance of aggravation and insult might be wanting, they were carried a thousand miles from Indiana to Montgomery, that they might be put upon the block, and knocked off under the nose of Jeff. Davis! Has this fellow been warned, by any word or deed of our government, of the consequences which such fiendish acts must draw upon him and his confederate kidnappers and flesh-jobbers? Not a bit of it! These living martyrs of liberty, more to be commiserated than those among the dead, have not obtained from the government even so slight a token of recognition and sympathy as an official notice of their fate, or a public record of their names!

Twice has our country engaged in foreign wars for the single object of punishing this stupendous crime of reducing its citizens to slavery. In 1803, under Commodore Preble; and in 1816, under Decatur, before Tripoli and Algiers, we redeemed our countrymen at the cannon's mouth from captivity, barbarian in name and nature, but far less inhuman than that which these traitors have doomed the citizens and servants of the United States within the last three months on our own shores.

So far from discerning any sign of a determination to redeem, as the government should do at any cost or sacrifice, the victims of this high-handed villany, or to deter, by a just and necessary retaliation from a repetition of it, we have seen new enormities of the same kind committed in Florida and Louisiana. Meantime, the venomous reptiles, who sting us thus, are threatening, with high and swollen crest, to enslave two Yankees for every fugitive slave whom we shall sell to Cuba, in addition to the 250 we have already sold thither! Thus do they invent calumnies to excuse the crimes they have committed, and new ones which they meditate.

I have entire confidence in the integrity, sagacity and good intentions of the President, but I wait with deep solicitude for proofs of decision, firmness, promptitude and vigor, corresponding to the exigencies of this great crisis in the nation's life. That this intellectual, high-spirited, industrious, opulent and powerful people will demand, and speedily in any price, will have, a more comprehensive, searching, cleansing, trenchant, swift and formidable conduct and sway of its unequalled moral and material forces, and a more complete executive mastery of the magnificent situation, is as certain as that Hercules, in his war against the thieves, brutal and bloody enemies of mankind, had a club; and grappled them not, as in the beginning, with naked hands. "He cut his club for himself in the woods of Nemea."

I was one of the most anxious for the election of Mr. Lincoln; and by suggesting every considerable and reasonable allowance for the extraordinary difficulties and trammels contrived for him and the country by his mean and worthless predecessor, I have striven earnestly to repress an impatience for aggressive action against so malignant an enemy, already making open war upon us before Mr. Lincoln's accession; and another impatience, more pronounced, for the thorough expurgation,—if nothing more,—of spies and Secessionists from the Executive Departments, and traitors from the city of Washington. But, now, every true friend of the administration or of the country has begun, however reluctantly, to feel that time and the prodigious popular movement, now in its fifth month, have rendered that defence as stalo and worthless as the name of Buchanan. Some time ago, this impatience found a little indirect vent through the press in referring to the sudden dismemberment of a British Cabinet at the bidding of the people of England, grown impatient and half frantic at the national disgrace and virtual ruin, resulting from their neglect, blundering and imbecility; and more especially from the unhappy management of the War Department.—In the beginning of the Crimean war, a war of remote and slight concern, compared with ours for national existence. A curt and pretty severe reply was flashed back from Washington, to the effect that such allusion betrayed a pitiable ignorance of the great difference of organic structure between the Executives of this Re-

public and that Monarchy. Shall we take tamely this rebuff of red-tape, and subside in awful silence before it?

Few of us are unfamiliar with that difference. We have had sorrowful and mortifying occasions to consider it; and I, for one, venture now, through this unshackled and unshackling press, to declare, that the sooner the feature of the British system, whereby the administration of it is rendered flexible to the will of the nation, and the tools at all times transferable from free, inflexible or unfeeling hands, to those which are trusty and able to use them, the better it will be for our safety, honor, prosperity, and the perpetuity of all that is dear and valuable in our noble institutions.

Things have changed since our Constitution was formed. We have had experience, and we have had trials and humiliations. We have lost some prejudices and learned some new truths. We have ceased, most of us, to mix in one hash—

The Pope, the Turks, The King, the Devil, and all their works; and we have painfully learned that, in its most important executive feature, our Constitution is a failure, and executive responsibility to the law, a myth.

When John Tyler was negotiating with filibusters for dismembering and robbing Mexico, pledging to them the protection of our army and navy against the efforts of the Mexican government to destroy or whip them from its borders, and—that scheme being defeated by the exercise of the treaty-making and veto power of the Senate,—was intriguing to bring in Texas by circumventing the treaty-making of the Senate; when Franklin Pierce was backing the Border Ruffians in their murders, rapes and arson, with the aid, and whenever they got into trouble and danger, with the protection of the Federal troops; and when James Buchanan was found to have been playing into the hands of traitors the greatest stake in our land or the world—I urged, in each case, upon some of our most faithful members of Congress, that these men should be impeached by the House, and brought to trial at the bar of the Senate. The unvarying answer from each of them was: "It would be useless. The effect, if any, would be to confirm their malversations, and lend them the appearance of a legal sanction." One gentleman said: "As well impeach Satan before his 'Synod of infernal Gods,' Moloch, Belial, Beelzebub, Mammon and the rest."

Chancellor Kent, having been consulted in respect to Tyler, replied that his course had been unconstitutional, unprincipled, and "would lead to the ruin of the Union"; and that he ought to be impeached.

Yet Tyler's sins were white as snow, compared with the crimson dye of Buchanan's and Pierce's. It may be safely assumed, as an established result of the working of the Constitution, that the Republican executive, ordained for us by the fathers, is practically as irresponsible and inviolable as the sovereign of Great Britain. A vicious President can do but little harm, if majorities of both houses are against him; and if both or either is for him, it will always be impossible to impeach and punish him, and consequently to make good his constitutional responsibility.

The error of the Constitution consists in not providing a tribunal, removed as far as possible from the political arena, instead of the Senate, to try impeachments.

We, therefore, need, and if we love our country or ourselves we shall have, some new political arrangement to remedy this capital defect.

The English have for ages recognized and accepted the law and the fact of the entire irresponsibility of their sovereign. "The King can do no wrong." But they have never left themselves for a moment in the helpless condition, in which it has long been obvious that we are lying.

The British ministers are held responsible for executive offences; and the ordinary method of enforcing this responsibility is by driving them from office, either by voting down the measures they propose, or by a direct declaration of "want of confidence."

This is the point of difference between the British and American Constitutions, to which the respect from Washington, in proof of the distant muttering of the press, referred.

Seeing, therefore, that our actual position on this subject is precisely that of Great Britain, why should we not adopt her eminently democratic custom, and pack off a cabinet, or part of a cabinet, whenever dissatisfaction with their principles, conduct or measures has become general, or "want of confidence" has been unmistakably pronounced? If our American Secretaries value office more than they do the approbation of their countrymen, and more than they do the welfare of their country—for, surely, those are powerless for good who have lost or never possessed the public confidence—so much the worse, and the President should remove them forthwith. If he refuse, Congress should withhold from him the means of exercising his office and carrying on the government. It is scarcely conceivable that a continued disagreement and a dead lock should ever ensue.

That our government has freed no slave, but has prevented many from passing to freedom, and is treating as slaves all the fugitives who have escaped to them, is evident not only from their being worked without wages, payable to them, but also from their being confined to our camps and fortifications, or to the jail of the District of Columbia, in which, according to accounts, many have long been languishing. When the Massachusetts Third and Fourth Regiments (their term of service having expired) were about to leave Fortress Monroe, taking with them some of the servants to whom they had become attached and wished to employ, they were peremptorily forbidden by Gen. Butler. Fourteen of their favorites were wrested by superior authority from the Ellsworth Zouaves, under similar circumstances, within that ancient and famous slave-pen, the District of Columbia. Since that occurrence, the Provost Marshal of the District has issued orders, interdicting the departure of any refugee slave for the North; while, on the other hand, Gen. McDowell had forbidden them to go with the army South—a superfluous proceeding, so long as he was in command!

After such an accumulation of merits on our part toward the traitors in arms, would it not be a wise and delicate overture of conciliation and compromise, if Gen. Scott were to write a letter, by a flag of truce, to the chief of the traitors, enumerating and acknowledging the little amenities practised on their side toward us; toward our seamen of the Star of the West; toward our defenceless prisoners and wounded heroes, butchered on the field of battle; toward our Northern citizens, tarred and burned alive at Pensacola and other places, because they refused to take arms against their country; toward Northern men and Southern unionists, continually hung and shot all over rebellion for the same cause! And when these and other flowers of civility shall have been gathered for the traitor into one huge nosegay of overpowering sweetness, let him that "for these courtesies we will lend" them our soldiers to pen, and to guard their slaves, and a score or two of our regiments to put down the risings for freedom, if so dreadful a crime as "insurrection" should be committed by them, and their masters cannot conveniently quell it without weakening too much the grand army with which they are preparing to wage Washington!

In his second letter dated in July ordering a change in the imprisonment of fugitive slaves from the Alexandria jail to our fortifications and camps, Mr. Cameron directs that their labor be "paid for," not paid. Here is no freedom nor justice for the slave, only a change of masters.

great class of slaves may be considered to be free as fast as they may please to leave their masters, and take refuge with the Union forces. This, it seems to me, is the plain and obvious construction of the Secretary's letter; and yet it is impossible to feel content about it, in the face of the fact that the writer has since interposed directly to effect the restoration of a fugitive to a master, represented to be loyal! If this be so, the Secretary of War still hangs free, and must be too indignant of purpose to admit of much reliance upon his declarations or actions.

No positive assurance of freedom to the enthralled can be found in any thing emanating from the government, except in the confiscation act, passed at the late session of Congress, and in Gen. Fremont's recent proclamation. The confiscation act is a virtual invitation to all slaves employed, or intended or permitted, or given or sold by their owners to be employed, "in aiding, abetting or promoting insurrection or resistance to the laws," to flee and take refuge with us. Of course, such slaves can never be restored. The act also makes the same class liable to capture and confiscation as prizes, and enjoins upon the President to cause them "to be seized, confiscated and condemned." This is interposing the same delays and embarrassments which must attend the operation of the contraband doctrine, but with this important difference, that the judicial process in the former will undoubtedly result in the enfranchisement of some slaves, but in the latter of none.

The proclamation of Gen. Fremont, a name of good omen, declaring the slaves of all the rebels of Missouri FREE, is the first word touching the real cause and end of this war, which has had the right ring. It abolishes instantly and absolutely two-thirds of the slavery of that State. I venture this assertion, not because there is an equal or any preponderance of the white population and wealth in favor of treason, but because a rebellion, begun and waged for extending and eternizing slavery, necessarily embraces in its folds a disproportionate number of the devotees of that basest and basest form of Mammon worship; and because treason, like all other lawlessness, violence and crime finds congenial nourishment in its rank pollutions.

The residuum of slavery in Missouri cannot abide long under the effects of this brave and wide sweep, nor will be speedily drawn into the vortex. Nor will the effects be confined to one great State. The key-note is struck, which will awake the grand sympathy, and usher in the Year of Jubilee.

"From harmony, from heavenly harmony, This universal form began; From harmony to harmony, Through all the compass of the notes it ran, The diapason closing full in MAN." D. L. C.

LETTER FROM A WESTERN WOMAN.

Another breeze, hot with battle, heavy with news, has blown from the West. Lyon, the bravest of the lion of the house of Judah—has fallen; and the Germans are again busy in the midst of their sadness, giving honor to their "tapfen und braven Sigi," whose death we must be prepared to hear in the next news of importance; for the enemy loves a shining mark, and Sigi, according to Atchison, is "the best commander in America, without any exception."

How many such will even the faithful Germans (God bless them!) be willing to give to slaughter, if their beloved ideal, LIBERTY, is not to be realized in the land watered by their blood! The word Democracy has blinded many of them, but they are too simple and too wise long to be deceived into the belief that the thing they mean by that word is at all compatible with slavery.

How long shall we play the sickening game of fighting the Northern battle with one hand, and building up Southern slavery with the other, while our best and bravest fall, like autumn leaves, around us! Must they all die before the real work of war has begun?

We all know that the Republic of America has come to mean the North. It is OUR COUNTRY, with her free institutions, her civilization and industry on one side, and—I hardly dare to say what on the other. All of an aristocratic government that can be made to mean proscription, all of a free one that can be tortured into license. The line between them is distinctly drawn; there is no need of confusion. The choice is between Slavery with its horrors, and Liberty with its unspeakable blessings.

We have a vital interest in this question—"we women." Our brothers, sons, nephews, whom we taught to "speak plain the word country," are in this war, and we will require them at the hands of government. We do not demand that they shall return safe as to life and limb, but that, if they lose either, it shall be in the service of that which is better and dearer. We can see them fall, but not covered with dishonor.

I remember long ago reading or hearing a song, the gloomy refrain of which haunted me ever as the most hideous of curses—

"Shame and dishonor sit by his grave ever—
Bleeding shall hollow it, never, no never!"

Such, it seems to me, will be the doom of those who fight for the extension and perpetuation of slavery; and rather than it should fall upon those dear to us, we would see the young heads only yesterday, as it were, hushed to sleep upon our bosoms, laid too low for shame to touch again.

Letters from volunteers in Cox's brigade breathe ominous indignation at the shameful tasks they are sometimes set to do since the capture of De Villiers, their gallant Colonel and real general. To guard the return of slaves, they had brought in as prizes—to be sold to the enemy, in the forming of turkeys and distributed to public tranquility by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are warned that they are exposing themselves. All persons who have been led away from allegiance are requested to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of military authorities power to give instantaneous effect to the existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of the war demand; but it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country where law will be administered by civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably administered.

The commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and, by his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only acquiescence, but the active support of the people of the country.

(Signed),
J. C. FREMONT,
Major General Commanding.

The Philadelphia Inquirer says that a decree has been entered in the United States District Court, in the case of the schooner Enchantress, a warding salvage, in the sum of \$1,500, to the crew of the U. S. vessel Albatross, and also decreeing that the negro cook, Jacob Garrison, who, by jumping overboard, gave the alarm, thus causing the recapture, should come in the same as one of the crew of the Albatross, for proportionate share of salvage. Restitution of the schooner to the owners was likewise decreed.

The Ashblake Sentinel says—"We understand that John Brown, Jr., if as it is expected, he obtained a pardon yesterday. There were but few equipments and transportation, will be a company of one hundred picked men accustomed to the use of the rifle, to serve the United States during the war, with Col. Montgomery, in the brigade of Gen. James H. Lane of Kansas."

MAUCH CHUCKE, Sept. 1. A Dialog Pennsylvania Paper "Cleared Out." The Carbon Democrat office was entered last night, the type destroyed, and stands and cases upset. The press was undisturbed.

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 1. A Peace Convention met at the Convention Hall yesterday. There were but few participants, although a large crowd assembled. Hon. R. S. Walpole, Chairman, while addressing the meeting, was interrupted, and he left the stand amid great confusion. A man named McLean then attempted to address the crowd, and, as he was going down a pit, when he was handled rather roughly by the negro rousers, but without any serious result. In the evening, the crowd visited the residences of Walpole and others of questionable loyalty, and forced them to take the oath of allegiance. The editor of the Sentinel was among the latter.

Gen. Butler was serenaded at Washington on Sunday night, and responded in a stirring speech.

Sikha, the conquest of China and Russia, but whose iron hand it was that, for centuries, crushed the life out of Scotland and Ireland. I have the blood of both nations in my veins. The old historic, glorious associations of Scotland live in my heart. I have pride in them, while I remember who bowed the neck of this proud nation to the yoke, and taught her the lesson of submission. But enough. We are well aware that England does not go to war until it is clearly her interest to do so, and then she does not spare her foe.

Mr. Richard Webb spoke of our readiness to go to war. I have no idea to what he can refer. He must be thinking of the Indians and a portion of the South. Peace, with its results to trade, commerce, agriculture, is our passion. We have submitted to everything but the actual overthrow of government, rather than have our dear trade, our most unparalleled material prosperity interrupted. War is generally looked upon by our people as the greatest of calamities, only to be invoked for a cause like ours. Not till our national difficulties culminated in the attack on Fort Sumter, and the President's moderate and strictly constitutional proclamation was met by the impudent defiance—

"With mortar, Palisade and pistol,
We tender Old Abe our Bearspawd."

Think of such a reply from an English mob to a similar order from Victoria! Did we know that we had soldiers amongst us? And even yet, the splendid regiments that go by seem to us as if evoked by a magic not less strange than that of the "Spectre Caravan." Winthrop's hit of the "dragon's teeth that came up dragons," no doubt seems fantastic to English ears. To us it has a wonderful fitness of illustration. Our nineteenth regiment, who won the reputation of regulars, and did such execution in Virginia, were quiet mechanics, many of whom never saw a military drill, or a soldier in full uniform, previously to their enlistment for this war.

In Pittsburg, which has sent out so many fine regiments years ago, such drill was brought into disrepute by men appearing on parade disguised as various animals, braying, crowing, squealing, and showing fight according to the fashion of beasts.

A standing army is regarded as the greatest of nuisances. In short, we have no idle, savage and multitudinous population to be used as bullet-marks. Our people are thoroughly aware that, in a war of conquest, they have little to gain, and much to lose; and they have quite enough to do in "making a home" of the 160 acres given them by "Uncle Sam" for the pretty wife and six children God is to give them.

While travelling in Minnesota, we rested for a few moments on one of the boldest bluffs of the Mississippi, to take a view of Fort Snelling, as it lay there on the river-side like a great ship becalmed. I said to my friend, "Those port-holes are dangerous-looking things: what do you suppose they are used for?" "If I might guess," he said, "I should say the old folks hid their pipes, and the young ones their marbles there; an attack is probably the last thing any of them think of. I'll bet, now, there isn't a gun fit for service in the concern; and what nonsense it is to keep those big fellows there, when they ought to be out on the prairies at work." The reveille sounded, the soldiers left play, and lounged through their task. It seemed to us all a great humbug.

I speak of these things, because it seems to me that, to any one taking the view your friend deems, the great significance of the present vast movement in our country is lost. Mr. Phillips has caused to fear a compromise. Suspension of business, a stand-still in moiled affairs, is the thing that shakes the nerves of an American. The Fabian policy did well for Fabius, but we fear it will be disastrous for Scott. What force can hold our men to "drill" through many long months? To them it is idleness—waste of precious time—and that is death.

Ohio. E.

GEN. FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 31. The following proclamation was issued this morning:—

HEADQUARTERS, WESTERN DIVISION,
ST. LOUIS, Aug. 30, 1861.

Circumstances, in my judgment, are of sufficient urgency to render it necessary that the Commanding General of the Department should assume administrative powers of the State. Its disorganized condition, helplessness of civil authority, and the total insecurity of life and devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who invest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of public misfortune and the violence of a hostile foreign army, to ravage and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State. In this condition, the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance, to the prompt administration of affairs. In order, therefore, to suppress disorder, maintain the public peace, and give security to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare martial law throughout the State of Missouri.

The lines of the army occupation in this State are, for the present, declared to extend from Leavenworth by way of posts to Jefferson City, Rolla and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi river. All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands, or with the lines of the army, or tried by court martial, and, if found guilty, shall be shot.

Real and personal property, owned by persons who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with the enemy in the field, is declared confiscated to the public use, and the owners are hereby warned to declare it free from all claims. All persons who have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges or telegraph-lines, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law. All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemy, in forming or circulating and disturbing public tranquility by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are warned that they are exposing themselves. All persons who have been led away from allegiance are requested to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of military authorities power to give instantaneous effect to the existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of the war demand; but it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country where law will be administered by civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably administered.

The commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and, by his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only acquiescence, but the active support of the people of the country.

(Signed),
J. C. FREMONT,
Major General Commanding.

The Philadelphia Inquirer says that a decree has been entered in the United States District Court, in the case of the schooner Enchantress, a warding salvage, in the sum of \$1,500, to the crew of the U. S. vessel Albatross, and also decreeing that the negro cook, Jacob Garrison, who, by jumping overboard, gave the alarm, thus causing the recapture, should come in the same as one of the crew of the Albatross, for proportionate share of salvage. Restitution of the schooner to the owners was likewise decreed.

The Ashblake Sentinel says—"We understand that John Brown, Jr., if as it is expected, he obtained a pardon yesterday. There were but few equipments and transportation, will be a company of one hundred picked men accustomed to the use of the rifle, to serve the United States during the war, with Col. Montgomery, in the brigade of Gen. James H. Lane of Kansas."

MAUCH CHUCKE, Sept. 1. A Dialog Pennsylvania Paper "Cleared Out." The Carbon Democrat office was entered last night, the type destroyed, and stands and cases upset. The press was undisturbed.

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 1. A Peace Convention met at the Convention Hall yesterday. There were but few participants, although a large crowd assembled. Hon. R. S. Walpole, Chairman, while addressing the meeting, was interrupted, and he left the stand amid great confusion. A man named McLean then attempted to address the crowd, and, as he was going down a pit, when he was handled rather roughly by the negro rousers, but without any serious result. In the evening, the crowd visited the residences of Walpole and others of questionable loyalty, and forced them to take the oath of allegiance. The editor of the Sentinel was among the latter.

Gen. Butler was serenaded at Washington on Sunday night, and responded in a stirring speech.

BRILLIANT VICTORY—CAPTURE OF THE FORTS AT CAPE HATTERAS.

BALTIMORE, Sept. 1. The following General Order has been issued by Gen. Wool:—

HEADQUARTERS OF DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA, &c.,
FORTRESS MONROE, Va., Aug. 31.

General Order No. 8.
The Commanding General has great satisfaction in announcing the glorious victory achieved by the combined operations of the army and navy at Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, under command of Commodore Stringham and Major General Butler.

The result of this gallant affair is the capture of 715 men, including the commander, Barron, and one of the members of the North Carolina cabinet, 1000 stand of arms, 75 kegs of powder, 5 stand of colored, 31 pieces of cannon, including a 10-inch columbar, a brig loaded with cotton, a sloop laden with provisions and stores, 2 light-buoys, 160 bags of coffee, &c., all of which was achieved by the army and navy and 800 volunteers and 60 regular artillery of the army.

Poetry.

The Liberator.

MISSING.

Not among the suffering wounded; Not among the peaceful dead; Not among the prisoners. "Missing" - That was all the message said.

SECESSION.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO GEN. BEAUREGARD. The sun's hot rays were falling fast, As through a Southern city passed.

A MODEST CLAIM.

"All we ask is to be let alone." - JERRY DAVIS. A trifling boon for traitor hosts To claim as loyal patriots' hands!

THE WAR, AND COLORED AMERICAN AUXILIARIES.

The recent master-stroke of Gen. Butler, of converting slaves into contrabands, since mainly endorsed by the Secretary of War, is destined, under God, to materially weaken the rebel power, which is equivalent to that extent, at least, to abolishing slavery.

gent had a colored regiment in the revolutionary war, which was noted for its fidelity and efficiency. One of the regiment, Ripster Baker, at the close of the war, was presented with a Badge of Merit, and a certificate for six years' faithful service, signed by George Washington.

On, then, in God's great name! Let each pure spirit's flame Burn bright and clear; Stand firmly in your lot, O'er all the world's wrongs, Do every fear forget - Christ leads us here!

Subjects, who are driven by a despot to battle, only need for enthusiasm the order or hope of favor from their master. Men, who belong to themselves, need, and fill them, in opposition to another which excites their hatred.

But it is so on the side of the North! This question, the sunsets and old women may answer, who, soldiers, have they not said every third word of the war was carried on only against "brothers"?