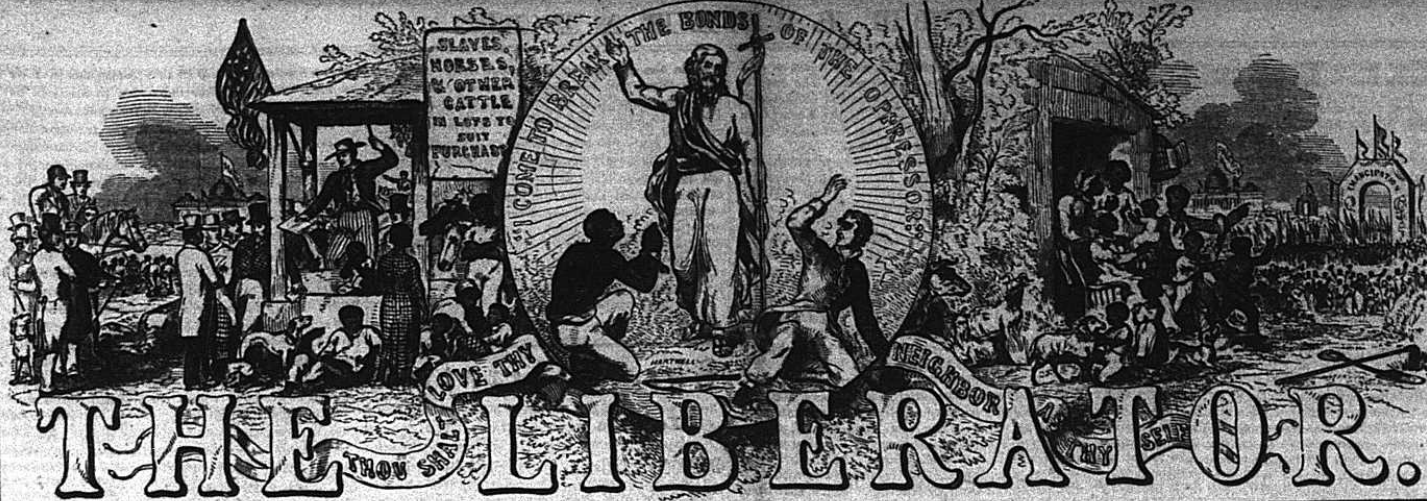


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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

Refuge of Oppression.

CRUSH OUT ABOLITIONISM.

Extract from a speech delivered by John B. Haskin, late Representative in Congress from the Westchester District, N. Y.:

The day of the Bull Run disaster I was at Fortress Monroe, and there I saw the "contrabands," as they are called. I talked with many of them, and I could not hear of a single one of their race who had taken up arms against the rebels...

"Many dream, withal, the hour is nigh That gives them back their fathers' heritage."

Do not let them imagine that the North is abolitionized, and that Garrison, and Phillips, and Jay, are exponents of the Northern people.

THE ABOLITION FANATICS.

No one will be at a loss to know who is responsible for so calamitous a state of things. Under the tutelage of democracy in Great Britain, jealous of the success of American institutions, the Garrison, Tappan, and Leavitts, of thirty years ago, began those machinations which under Greeley, Beecher, Raymond, Cheever, Wendell Phillips, and others, culminated in the creation of a party which denounced the Constitution as "a league with hell, and a covenant with death," and never relaxed its incendiary efforts until the slaveholding States had been goaded into overt acts of treason.

PURITAN CHURCH INFLAMMATION.

Dr. Cheever, since his return from Europe, has been laboring with might and main to accomplish the destructive ends of his patrons in England, from whom he received money to keep up his church. Yesterday, he poured forth one of his customary incendiary abolition harangues, calculated to disturb the action of the Federal government, excite insurrection in the loyal States, and afford indirect aid to the rebellion which is distracting the country.

Selections.

CONTRABANDS AT FORTRESS MONROE.

BY EDWARD L. PIERCE, ESQ.

On the 23d of May, General Butler ordered the first reconnoitring expedition, which consisted of a part of the Vermont regiment, and proceeded under the command of Colonel Phelps over the dike and bridge towards Hampton. They were anticipated, and when in sight of the second bridge saw that it had been set on fire, and, hastening forward, extinguished the flames. The detachment then marched into the village. A parley was held with a secession officer, who represented that the men in arms in Hampton were only a domestic police. Meanwhile, the white inhabitants, particularly the women, had generally disappeared.

The three negroes, being held contraband of war, were at once set to work to aid the masons in constructing a new back-house for the fort. The necessity for the term "contraband" bore a new significance, with which it will pass into history, designating the negroes who had been held as slaves, now adopted under the protection of the Government. It was used in official communications at the fort. It was applied familiarly to the negroes, who stared somewhat, inquiring, "What d'ye call us that for?"

and conscientious reflection, what is necessary to suppress the rebellion, it must proceed with incredible purpose to inflict the blows whose rebellion is weakest, and under which it must inevitably fall.

On the 30th of July, General Butler, being still unprovided with adequate instructions, the number of contrabands having now reached nine hundred, applied to the War Department for further directions. His inquiries, induced by good sense and humanity alike, were of the most fundamental character, and when they shall have received a full answer, the war will be near its end.

On the 27th of May, the 4th Massachusetts Regiment, the 1st Vermont, and some New York Regiments made an advance movement, and occupied Newport News, (a promontory named for Captain Christopher Newport, the early explorer.)

The negroes who remained, [in Hampton, after the flight of their masters,] of whom there may have been three hundred of all ages, lived in small wooden shanties, generally in the rear of the master's house, rarely having any room of their own, and the kitchen, containing an open fire-place where the cooking for the master's family was done, tables, chairs, dishes, and the miscellaneous utensils of household life.

On the 27th of May, General Butler, leaving in a private conveyance, reported his interview with Major Cary, called the attention of the War Department to the subject in a formal dispatch, indicating the hostile purposes for which the negroes had been or might be successfully used, stating the course he had pursued in employing them and recording expenses and services, and suggesting pertinent military, political, and humane considerations.

The ever-recurring question continued to press for solution. On the 6th of July, the Act of Congress was approved, declaring that any person claiming the labor of another to be due to him, and permitting such party to be employed in any military or naval service whatsoever against the Government of the United States, shall forfeit his claim to such labor, and proof of such employment shall thereafter be a full answer to the claim.

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The 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 lavished with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of more 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."

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1610.

though without a pastor, they held religious meetings on the Sundays which we passed in Hampton, which were attended by about sixty colored persons and three hundred white soldiers.

On Monday evening, July 15th, when the contrabands deposited their tools in the court-house, I made a present of some tobacco, which all the men and most of the women use. As they gathered in a circle around me, head peering over head, I spoke to them briefly, thanking them for their cordial work, and complimenting their behavior, remarking that I had heard no profane or vulgar word from them, in which they were an example to us, adding that it was the last time I should meet them, as we were to march homeward in the morning, and that I should bear to my people a good report of their industry and morals.

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STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, BY THE PENNSYLVANIA A. S. SOCIETY.

Since the last anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, a violent disruption of the American Republic having taken place, through the treasonable withdrawal of nearly all the slaveholding States, which have organized themselves into an independent Southern Confederacy, the objects of which are the interminable prolongation of slavery, the subversion of the Government, and the overthrow of all free institutions, by a wickedly aggressive and desperately malignant war on their part, it devolves upon this Society clearly to define its position in relation to the present anomalous state of things, so as to keep its testimonies unimpaired on the one hand, and to prevent needless misconception and injurious misrepresentation on the other.

This Society has nothing to retract or modify in regard to its object, its principles, or its measures. Always animated by a spirit inflexibly loyal to the cause of freedom, and having for its sole object the triumph of that cause universally, without regard to race, color or condition, it finds no language adequate to express its abhorrence of a system which consigns four millions of the inhabitants of the land, with all their posterity, to the most degrading and intolerable bondage—ranking them in the category of personal and real estate, property to be used and transferred like household goods, brutes to be driven to unrequited toil, and recognizing their common humanity only for the purpose of making them strictly responsible to their tyrannical masters in all things, under terrible pains and penalties. In any other land, however dark and benighted, the toleration of such a system would indicate complete desecration to shame and deep corruption; but, in a country like ours, claiming to be the most enlightened on earth, boasting of its religious and political privileges, and glorying in an instrument which declares it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, it presents an exhibition of shameful hypocrisy and blood-red criminality, wholly unparalleled—especially, attempting, as it does, to find its justification in the highest religious sanctions, alike under the Jewish and the Christian dispensation. To seek to perpetuate such a system is the most comprehensive iniquity that can be perpetrated; to make any compromise with it is always full of guilt and danger; to demand its immediate and total abolition is the dictate of justice and humanity.

The principles of this Society remain unchanged, because they are unchangeable; being based upon human nature and the law of the living God, and in defence of which, prophets have been put to death, and apostles crucified, and martyrs carried to the stake, and patriots executed upon the scaffold. Its measures have ever been rational, and well-adapted to promote the righteous object in view, and limited to the exercise of a peaceful, lawful, constitutional right of petition and reformation, using only the weapons of reason and argument, for the sole purpose of establishing the freedom of all classes upon an enduring basis.

To the malicious attempt, which has been so extensively made, to identify the secessionists of the South with the abolitionists of the North, this Society unequivocally affirms that no two classes can be more unlike, or more opposed to each other, in spirit, design and action. The former aim to give unlimited range and lasting perpetuity to slavery and the slave-trade; the latter are for the immediate liberation of all in bondage. The former are under the control of an unpassable selfishness, a satanic aspiration for universal dominion, an imperious spirit that would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven," and striving to break down, as intolerable nuisances, all the free institutions of the North. The latter are animated by an unselfish and all-embracing philanthropy, seeking the welfare of the oppressor as well as of the oppressed, and desiring to put an end to all sectional animosities and divisions by the proclamation of universal freedom. The former contemptuously trample the Declaration of Independence beneath their feet, and boldly give the lie to its self-evident truths; the latter heartily subscribe to that Declaration, as defining the origin, nature and scope of human rights. The former are armed with bow-knives and revolvers, and ready to stab, shoot, or hang any abolitionist who may venture upon Southern soil; the latter resort to no other weapons than those of entreaty, warning and rebuke, meeting all calumnies with patience, all insults with forbearance, all outrages in the spirit of martyrs. In short, the former are desperately bent upon mischief, and "full of treason, stratagems and spoils"; the latter are laboring disinterestedly to save the country from ruin, and fill it with the abundance of peace, by extracting the only root of bitterness.

As it respects the tremendous conflict now going on between the forces of the Federal Government and those of the Southern Confederacy, this Society, and the abolitionists in every section of the country, are united in the sentiment, that the rebellious attitude of the former finds no justification whatever, but is marked by every feature of malignity, treachery, murderous violence, and savage barbarity; that it has for its object, not only the perpetuation of the inhuman system of slavery, but the subversion of free institutions universally; that all the allegations brought against the Government, by the conspirators, of designing to interfere with slavery in an unconstitutional manner, are without foundation; that, therefore, the Government is simply acting on the defensive, and endeavoring to execute its constitutional prerogatives, in accordance with the original bond of Union.

But this Society, believing the cause of this bloody strife to originate solely in slavery, and in the haughty spirit of tyrannical mastery engendered by it, deems it the height of infatuation, on the part of the Government and people, to think of bringing back the rebellious portion to loyalty under the Constitution, and effecting a peaceful settlement of difficulties, while leaving untouched the source of all those desolating judgments which are now sweeping through the land. Nor is this a desirable result. Like causes produce like effects. Neither the old compromises, nor any new ones, can produce harmony, or avert divine retribution. Our nation is reaping as it has sown. "Ye have not proclaimed liberty every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." To avert still heavier judgments, therefore—to make a real union of all the States and the preservation of a free government possible—it becomes the solemn duty of the nation to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. The powers of the General Government are ample for this purpose, on its own plane of action. In anticipation of the present state of things JOHN QUINCY ADAMS said, years ago, in his place in the House of Representatives of the United States,—laying it down as the law of nations,—“From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institutions of slavery in a way in which it can be interfered with. . . . Not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.”

From this weighty authority, there is no intelligent dissent. The Government, therefore, is invested with the power to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof," in the midst of the exigencies of war, and to maintain its supremacy over the whole country. Those exigencies now fully justify the immediate exercise of that power. The rebellion is precisely where slavery exists as a cherished institution; it is the product of slavery; the whole slave population are made the efficient instruments of the rebels to overturn the Government, and to consummate their treasonable designs. The enemy is yet at the gates of the Capital, threatening its security and keeping the Government in continual peril. All the property held in common by the nation, within the limits of the Southern Confederacy, has been perforce seized, and turned to the support of this vast

slaveholding conspiracy. Hundreds of millions of property, the amount of Southern indebtedness to the North, have been basely confiscated. The nation is bleeding at every pore. The wall of bereavement is heard in every quarter; for the slain are rapidly multiplying, and every day witnesses fresh victims falling on the battle-field, struck down by the weapons of the minions of an impious slaveholding oligarchy. The daily expenditures forced upon the Government by this war are of a startling character, and must constitute a fearful aggregate in the end, if the rebellion be not speedily put down. To save this ruinous waste, to stop this shocking effusion of blood, to make a solid peace possible, nothing is wanted but the total abolition of slavery. If this be not done, then there is no hope of reconciliation or prosperity, and the doom of the nation is sealed. In the language of a President Lincoln, uttered before his inauguration, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing, or all the other." Again:—"This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave must cease to slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it." The President has it now in his power, as had Pharaoh of old, to let the oppressed go free, so that the land may have rest, and the retributive judgments of Heaven be removed far from it. If he refuses to improve this sublime opportunity to do the grandest and most beneficent work of the age,—whether through weakness or perversity,—then more than the guilt of Pharaoh will rest upon his head; and, instead of preserving the Government he has sworn to defend, he will but have hastened its downfall by refusing to strike the only blow necessary for its perpetuity. But if he will declare freedom for all, wherever the flag of the nation advances, the flames of civil war will be speedily extinguished, the smiles of an approving Heaven secured, and his memory will be crowned with lasting honor.

THIRD FRATERNITY LECTURE.

The eloquent discourse of George William Curtis on "National Honor" held an immense audience in breathless attention for an hour and a half on Tuesday evening. The lecture had brilliancy, wit, pathos, exquisite beauty, but, to our surprise, as well as regret, it lacked "the one thing needful" in our present crisis.

In the portion of this discourse touching upon slavery, the speaker deliberately argued that Government should, at present, interfere with that institution no further than the necessities of war actually demand. He advised the confiscation of the slaves of rebels, whether or not they were engaged in warlike operations, and showed the absurdity of the distinctions which some have striven to draw upon that point, including the rebels in proportion to the extent of their slaveholding, and allowing the claim to property in human beings, when the claim to all other property has been justly forfeited. But he would have slavery touched no further than this during the present war, unless success on our part, or new and unforeseen emergencies, shall render further action against it indispensable to our success in the war. If peace can only come by the emancipation of all the slaves, he would say "Amen!" But if the necessity for emancipation did not manifestly appear in this form, he would postpone all thought and action upon that subject until complete triumph over the rebellion should have been secured.

The lecturer dwelt much, and strongly, on the importance of saving the national honor. In our judgment, national honor is a thing yet to be attained by this slaveholding nation. The war offers a most auspicious opportunity to commence the work of attaining it. To slight this opportunity, to postpone to a superlatively uncertain tomorrow this chance to throw off the greatest of evils and secure the greatest of blessings, seems to us the madness that precedes destruction. Procrastination here will be the thief of more than time.

We had hoped from Mr. Curtis something better than an endorsement of the great delusion under which the Republican party are now laboring. It was some satisfaction to find that the ideas above objected to were heard in silence by the immense audience, while enthusiastic applause followed those expressions which bore strongest against slavery. We submit the Journalist's report:—"Mr. Curtis stated his subject to be 'National Honor.' Honor he defined as manhood, and the obligations of honor to do all that a man can and ought. After pointing out its origin, and the conditions of its maintenance, which he said to strengthen and maintain it, he considered it more particularly in connection with our present national crisis. We in this country have not only the conditions and necessities of nationality, but we have the political union, which is the source of patriotism. It is this which makes us now, instead of being a scattered people, as the Spaniards, the Spanish Armada, as a single ship from whose deck the tempest-tossed mariners behold walking toward them on the water, the spirit of Union, saying, 'It is I, be not afraid!' (Applause.)

The sentiment of patriotism seems to have been newly awakened in a new and a nobler way, and have doubted its existence. But the defection of traitors, the accumulated defilements of Cabinet ministers, and at last the open attack on our flag, had roused our people to action. The movement was of the kind which we had little to expect from an administration which pronounced a cry for fasting and prayer, when it should have given a stentorian command to aim and fire. (Applause.) We are compelled to believe that there can be but one nation, and the duty of every citizen is to aid in maintaining the Government as it is, and to bring down the rebellion. To save the honor of the nation we must take up arms, not to change the form of government, but to defend it as it is. This war is a struggle between two spirits, which mutually strive for the ascendancy in this country. We must meet it as the mariner meets the storm, and by the force of his cargo and the treasure must be thrown over, if need be, to save the ship. This is not a war of subjugation or emancipation; but if peace can only come by conquering the rebellious section—Amen! If peace can only come by the confiscation of the property of all slaveholders, and the peace can only come by the emancipation of the slaves—Amen! (Loud and continued applause.)

The right to do this is undeniable. How and when this right should be used is a far different question. It is this which slavery is the cause of the war, and that it must be destroyed; but the question of today is how to heal the wound it has made; and believing that the war must inevitably lead to emancipation, he would rather see it the result of the grave deliberations of earnest men in time of peace, than have the decree written with the point of the sword upon a drum-head. But if they force us to answer which is most precious, Government or slavery, they shall have the answer. The mower sweeps across the field to gather the harvest, and not to destroy snakes and vermin; but if the snakes and vermin come in his way they will be destroyed. (Applause.)

After peace shall be restored, our national honor will each us to inquire how can another rebellion be rendered impossible. He believed the rebellion to be the result of a settled purpose on the part of the slaveholders, and this was the policy necessary to preserve the system of slavery. When we fully understand that slavery is identical with treason, shall we devote ourselves religiously to the great question of emancipation. It must be the result of conviction, and not of any party emotion. Already the main support of the slave system—the cotton monopoly—is passing from their hands. How and by what plan emancipation is to be accomplished will be the next question for the nation to settle. Our national honor will teach us to guard with more jealous care the duties of our citizenship, to mingle more in politics, and carry out in our own lives the principles of a popular government, instead of leaving all the work of elections, except the mere depositing of a vote, in the hands of others who will do our work. We are closed with an eloquent apostrophe to the spirit of peace which would come to a restored nation. We may get blows under which our country will sicken and reel. We have not yet seen the depth to which we must sink; but as we go down our eyes shall be light on the mountain-tops. Eyes must weep: God dier. Hearts must break: God comfort them. But we are on the point of the sword upon a drum-head on the mount of the future; in her right hand is justice, and in her left hand peace."

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY OF THE JOHN BROWN YEAR: BEING THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. pp. 337. Though long delayed by circumstances not within the control of the Society or its Committee, this Report is altogether welcome and timely. It was not a lighter brief work to prepare a fitting history of this one of the most eventful years in our country's history. So far as the question of slavery is concerned, and who does not know that that was for years entered into nearly every government measure, into all the political parties, all the religious sects and societies, and more or less into all business and social life,—that history is most thoroughly given in this Report. It is much the most elaborate and complete report the Anti-Slavery Society has ever published; and no injustice is done to any one of the valuable series of Reports which have preceded it, when we say that upon none of them have so much time, labor and careful investigation been expended as upon this. With much pains to bring it within a moderate compass, its length has unavoidably been extended to more than double the average of former reports; but we are sure that no one who has occasion to read or refer to it will regret its length; while the manifest care which has been bestowed upon it, under the influence of a feeling of more than usual responsibility for the absolute accuracy of every point, will commend it to every person, of whatever shade of opinion, as one of the most valuable and reliable historical documents ever published in our country. The Report is now for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, and will be found at several of the book-stores in the city.

"WOMAN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW: IN THREE LECTURES, DELIVERED IN BOSTON, JANUARY, 1861, BY CAROLINE H. DALL, AUTHOR OF 'WOMAN'S RIGHT TO LABOR,' 'HISTORICAL PICTURES RETOUCHEE,' &c. — Boston, Walker, Wise, & Company, 245 Washington St., 1861."—pp. 164.

This excellent work is dedicated "To the friends of forsaken women throughout the world;" and it is so dedicated "because the lives of such women are a legitimate treat of the spirit of the law." Its three lectures treat, 1, of the Oriental Estimate of Women, and the French Law in regard to them; 2, of the English Common Law; and 3, of the United States Law, with some thoughts on Human Rights.

A respectable clergyman once told us—as his reason for refusing to sign a remonstrance against the Fugitive Slave Law—"I am a law-abiding man." We are often tempted to maintain a lazy acquiescence in the theory that the law is, on the whole, right and best, because this theory excuses us from the great (and thankless) labor of reforming it. In this book Mrs. Dall has shown us the evidence that, in regard to women, as in some other points, "the law of God, positive law and positive morality, sometimes coincide, sometimes do not coincide, and sometimes conflict." A thorough assurance of this must needs precede any hearty and persistent efforts at a reform in the law. American women greatly need information upon the points here treated of. Those who know the wide intelligence, diligence, and conscientious faithfulness of Mrs. Dall, will need no assurance of her ability to treat this subject in a satisfactory manner. To others it may be said, first, that technical accuracy has been secured in it by the revision of manuscript and proofs by the Hon. Samuel E. Sewall; and next, that this book, in beauty of form, clearness of statement, and depth of interest, is a worthy companion to the works previously published on other branches of the subject, by the same author."

"THE HARBINGER OF HEALTH: containing Medical Prescriptions for the Human Body and Mind. By Andrew Jackson Davis. New York: A. J. Davis & Co., 274 Canal St., 1861."—pp. 428.

This book, written in the peculiar dialect of spiritualism, treats of various matters in physiology, pathology, and the treatment of disease, recommending the judicious use of human magnetism in nearly all cases of disordered health, and especially the use of one's own magnetic energy on different parts of his own body. A large portion of it consists of diagnoses and prescriptions, and a copious alphabetical index assists the student to find both diseases and remedies. The writings and the life of Andrew Jackson Davis assure us that this work is an honest attempt to benefit the sick and suffering. It is for sale by Bela Marsh, at 14 Bromfield street.

"A Northern Printer" (whom we understand to be George K. Radcliffe of Haverhill) has printed Charles Sumner's admirable speech at the Worcester Convention on a broad sheet, intending to circulate it among those soldiers who have gone to the war from Haverhill, and among the families in Essex County and beyond it, as far as the means are furnished him. Let those help him who would redeem the Republican party from the disgrace of disregarding the counsels of their best and ablest man.

ANOTHER ACT OF TREASON. The only arrest for treason in Iowa has been that of George Frank Foster, Cedar county, who, it is alleged, wrote a letter to the rebel sheriff of Bates county, Mo., in forming him that Coppie, of John Brown notoriety, had left Northern Missouri for the purpose of recruiting men in Iowa, and was to go back to the army on a certain day by the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, and that he would be interested in the enterprise. The proof of such information being sent is satisfactory. Coppie and his company were intercepted, and he and one of his men killed, and several others were severely wounded. Frank has confessed privately that he gave the information above specified; but his own admission was held legally sufficient to convict him, and he was discharged. He is, however, a fugitive from the popular wrath.—Journal.

Perhaps the foregoing explains the origin of that diabolical outrage in Western Missouri, the partial burning of the Little Platte River bridge, so as to make it give way under a train of cars containing nearly one hundred passengers. Coppie perished at that place. The incidents were given in the Liberator, Sept. 13th, and on the 27th a sketch of Coppie's life was given by his friend Mr. Hinton.

We learn that A. T. Foss held a very large and impressive meeting at Brattleboro', Vt., last Sunday evening. Rev. William H. Channing was present, and made an earnest and congratulatory speech.

IMPORTANT ORDER IN REGARD TO SLAVES. The following order was sent out with the commanders of the forces accompanying the Naval expedition:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, Oct. 14, 1861. Sir,—In conducting military operations within States declared by the proclamation of the President to be in a state of insurrection, you will govern yourself, so far as persons held to service under the laws of such States are avoided, by the principles of the following order:—That you shall not be held responsible for the loss of the services of persons so employed. It is believed that the course thus indicated will best secure the substantial rights of loyal masters, and the benefits to the United States of the services of all disposed to support the Government. But you shall avoid by the exercise of the services of local institutions of ever State beyond that which insurrection makes unavoidable, and which a restoration of peaceful relations to the Union, under the Constitution, will immediately remove. Respectfully, SIMON CALMERON, Secretary of War. Brig.-Gen. CALMERON, commanding expedition to the Southern coast.

BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF.

The last Liberator contained the brief and incorrect notice that first arrived respecting the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff, near Lebanon, Mo., on the 10th of September. Numerous contradictory reports about it have since been in circulation. We give, below, an abstract of the official report, lately received, from Edward W. Hinks, Colonel of the 19th Massachusetts Volunteers, commanding Baker's brigade.

Col. Hinks ordered to Harrison's Island to support Gen. Baker, found that he had been killed, and that everything was in deplorable confusion, his column having been entirely routed, and being then in precipitate retreat, showing their arms, deserting, and leaving the wounded and the residue of prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Col. Hinks at once took the command, and endeavored to restore order, sending the 19th Massachusetts Regiment to the front, on the Virginia side of the Island, to oppose the anticipated advance of the enemy. He commenced the gathering of the wounded, and the rescue of small parties of our defeated troops on the Virginia shore, but the boats used for crossing thither had been swamped and lost in the precipitate and disorderly retreat, and the small boats and rafts proved miserably insufficient. No other Federal reinforcements were gradually permitted to the Confederates, being asked by a flag of truce, refused permission to remove the wounded, except a few whose injuries seemed fatal. He also refused to let the Surgeon cross and treat the wounded, except on condition of his remaining a prisoner. A hundred negroes, however, were gradually permitted to bury the dead on the Virginia shore at night.

During the night, a retreat was effected, in good order and without accident, to the Maryland shore, assisted by a portion of the Massachusetts 24, on this side the river.

The estimate of loss, among the 2,100 Federal troops engaged, is—Dead, 150; Wounded, 250; Prisoners, 500. Large numbers of wounded and unwounded were drowned when the boats were swamped, as well as in attempts to swim the river during the night. The bodies of the killed were rifled of all valuables by the enemy.

Lieut. Col. Palfrey, commanding the 20th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, reports to Gen. Andrew that seven companies of the above Regiment, with a portion of the Massachusetts 16th, were also engaged on the Virginia shore, greatly outnumbered by the Confederates, and suffered losses amounting nearly to fifty per cent. of the 318 rank and file engaged, and more than that proportion of the officers. The following despatch from Lt. Col. Palfrey, of the Mass. 20th, has been received at the State House. It gives an accurate account of the casualties to the officers of the regiment:—

TAKEN PRISONER.—Col. Wm. Raymond Lee, of Roxbury; Major Paul J. Revere, of Boston; First Lieut. George B. Perry, of Boston, Adjutant Charles L. Pierson, Salem, and Assistant Surgeon Edward H. Revere, of Boston.

DEAD.—Lieutenants Alois Babo, of Boston, and Rehold Wesselschlag, of do., both of Company C, probably drowned.

KILLED.—Lieut. W. L. Putnam, of Roxbury. Wounded.—Captain Ferdinand Dreher, of Boston, of Company C, badly wounded. Captain George A. Schmidt, of do., severely wounded. Lieut. J. J. Lewis, of Cambridge, Co. E., slightly. He is doing well. Lieut. O. W. Holmes, Jr., of Boston, Co. A., slightly. Do. well. Capt. John C. Putnam, of Boston, Co. A., right arm gone. Doing well. All the other officers are safe.

WASHINGTON, October 28. ORDERS ISSUED, THANKING THE TROOPS ENGAGED IN THE BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF. The following order has been issued:—

"Headquarters Army of the Potomac, Washington, Oct. 28, 1861. General Order, No. 82. The Major General commanding the Army of the Potomac desires to offer his thanks and to express his admiration of their conduct to the officers and men of the detachments of the 16th and 20th Massachusetts, 1st California and 1st Iowa regiments, and the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 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Poetry.

Selections.

THE WARRIORS OF THE SHROUD.

From the Atlantic Monthly for November.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Along a river-side, I know not where, I walked last night in mystery of dream; A chill creeps curling yet beneath my hair, To think what shrouded me by the pallid gleam Of a moon-wraith that waned through haunted air.

Pale fire-fleets pulsed within the meadow mist Their halos, wavering thick-downs of light; The loon, that seemed to mock some goblin tryst, Laughed; and the echoes, huddling in affright, Like Odin's slanders, hid beyond the night.

Then all was silent, till three smote my ear A movement in the stream that checked my breath: Was't the slow plash of a wading deer? But something said, "This water is of death! The Sisters wash a Shroud,—all things to hear!"

I, looking then, beheld the ancient Three, Known to the Greek's and to the Norseman's creed, That sit in shadow of the mystic Tree, Still crooning, as they weave their endless broods, One song: "Time was, Time is, and time shall be."

No wrinkled creases were they, as I had deemed, But fair as yesterday, to-day, to-morrow, To moan, lover, poet, ever seemed; Something too deep for joy, too high for sorrow, Thrilled in their tones, and from their faces gleamed.

"Still men and nations reap as they have sown,"— So sang they, working at their task the while,— "The fatal moment must be cleansed ere dawn: For Austria? Italy? The Queen's Isle? O'er what quenched grandeur must our shroud be drawn?"

"Or is it for a younger, fairer core, That gathered States for children round his knees, That tamed the wave to be his posting-horse, The forest-feller, linker of the seas, Bridge-builder, hammerer, youngest son of Thor's?"

"What make we, murrain'd thou, and what are we? When empire must be waned, we bring the shroud, The time-widow of the implacable three: Is it too tough for him, the young and proud? Earth's mightiest deluged to wear it; why not he?"

"Is there no hope?" I moaned. "So strong, so fair! Our Fowler, whose proud bird would brook erowild No rival's swoop in all our western air! Gather the ravens, then, in fustian file, For him, life's morn-gold bright yet in his hair!"

"Leave me not hopeless, ye unyielding dames! I see, half-seen, Tall me, ye who cannot die, The stars, Earth's elders, still stand on nebulous aims Be traced upon oblivious ocean-rands? Must Heper join the wailing ghosts of names?"

THE NEW YORK HERALD.

From the edition of South Carolina to the fall of Sumter, the Herald outdid all the journals of the South in its advocacy of the Southern rebellion.

It justified it as a wise and necessary defence against the anti-slavery sentiment of the Republican party and of certain Northern men, precisely as it now clamors for the arrest and incarceration of the same men for presuming to form a judgment upon a system which has well-nigh proved our national ruin.

It endeavored to bring up public opinion to the point of acknowledging the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It labored by demanding that everything they asked for should be granted. It denounced any measure of coercion, any attempt to enforce the laws, and insisted that our troops should be withdrawn from Southern forts.

It never ceased in its abuse of Mr. Lincoln and his Administration, declaring again and again in these terms and in similar language, that the people "would hold it to a bitter responsibility for the shameful imbecility and fanaticism with which it was betraying the interests of the country."

It appealed to the people of the North, and especially to the capitalists of New York, and to the merchants of Philadelphia, to stop the wheels of Government by refusing to lend a dollar, that it might be thus coerced into yielding to the South all that it demanded at the point of the bayonet, and be compelled to compound a peace.

It comforted the South, and threatened the North with the dire calamity of a divided North, and a consequent bloody civil war among ourselves. It predicted the ruin that was to visit us by the overthrow of all our trade, which are being removed to Southern cities to flourish under a Southern tariff.

It declared that the North and West would thus be seduced by their interest in their allegiance, and would desert the Government and the Union for the sake of free goods smuggled in under the Confederate tariff. It denounced any attempt at a blockade of our ports as illegal and impossible.

It threatened the country with an acknowledgment of the Southern Confederacy by the great Powers of Europe, declaring that it was certain to be made before the middle of the year—July last. And above all, it urged that the bastard Constitution, conceived and brought forth at Montgomery, was so much superior to the Federal Constitution that it should be substituted for it, declaring that it would be accepted by the Northern people by an overwhelming majority.

It predicted that all of these many things, these things once done, would desert the Government and the Union for the sake of free goods smuggled in under the Confederate tariff. It denounced any attempt at a blockade of our ports as illegal and impossible.

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THE GREAT QUESTION.

The great business of this country being to put down the present slaveholding rebellion, the question, How to put it down? is always in order for discussion, and cannot be kept out of sight and hearing by any agreement whatever.

When we are told that we must yield to the Administration, and to its method of carrying on the war, we readily assent. We must yield to it; we do cheerfully and cordially and earnestly support all its measures for carrying on the war. It should have all the money and all the men it wants, and it should not be embarrassed by unfriendly and captious criticism.

But when we are told that the Administration has definitely pronounced, once for all, against the policy of making use of the negroes, free and slave, as a weapon of war, we answer, first, by denying the statement, and second, that even if its present policy tends that way, there is no certainty and no probability that it is so wedded to its theories or so embarrassed by its acts that its policy cannot be changed.

Almost every man who is not ready for emancipation as a means of ending the war, is not brought to a successful end without it. If the Republic or slavery has got to go to the wall, they say, let slavery go. They refuse, however, to admit the emergency. Probably the Administration now does the same.

Very well; the question is one of opinion and fact. We don't deny that possibly the rebellion may be crushed without freeing the negroes. But we are and always have been for a short war. The present condition of affairs doubtless has its charms for contractors and adventurers; but the people, especially the business community, prefer a condition of peace, and will demand that the rebels shall be crushed as speedily as possible, and as effectually as possible.

If emancipation is a peddler and not an effectual war, the people will sooner or later get it out. There is nothing in the history or the present position of the Administration which leads us to suppose that its modification of Gen. Fremont's proclamation is anything more than an indication of its policy toward Kentucky; perhaps its temporary policy there. It is obliged to deal with questions as they arise, and the events of a week or a day may induce or compel a sudden and absolute change of ground.

Some new aspect of the contest, some new disaster, perhaps, may precipitate upon us the question of emancipation for immediate action; and the New York Herald may be compelled to change front upon it again as suddenly as it has done within the last two months. The history of this war, on the part of both Government and people, is little more than a record of the discovery of mistakes and the rectification of blunders. Nobody is to blame. The press which supposed that the rebellion was a mere continuation of the system of bullying by which the South had always won its victories, and the statesmen who fancied it could be quelled by patiently waiting thirty, sixty, or ninety days, were equally honest, but have been proved equally mistaken.

Among the most pernicious blunders which have embarrassed our warlike operations, has been the blunder of underestimating the strength of the rebels. As a matter of course, we have overrated the strength of the loyal States. In estimating the strength of the Confederate States, we have regarded slaves as an element of weakness, assuming the truth of the old adage, "so many slaves, so many enemies," and forgetting that they can never be the enemies of their masters until they are treated as friends by us; that at best, in their present position, they are but neutrals, and as such, an element of neither weakness nor strength to the enemy; and that, from the moment that our refusal to recognize them as allies, or the Confederate Government to appeal to them for help, slavery becomes an element of positive and terrible strength.

By a table prepared for the American Almanac of 1861, by Mr. Kennedy, the Superintendent of the Census, it appears that the free population of all the States, not including the District of Columbia or the Territories, was, in 1860, 27,280,070. Of this number, the free States had 18,831,329; the slave States, 8,448,741. The entire slave population was 3,999,765. Counting the slaves as neutral, the relative strength of the two sections, without estimating the difference as to the means and appliances of war, is represented by their free populations respectively, viz.: 18,831,329 to 8,448,741, or 2 1/4 to 1.

Mr. Hickman's proposition seemed simple and feasible. Eighteen millions can overpower eight millions. It was based on the supposition of the neutrality of the slaves. This is a delusion now, and will prove a greater and more fearful delusion as the war proceeds. It is now the question of eight millions to eight millions. But we may better Mr. Hickman's formula, and make it twenty-two millions to eight millions, or thereabout, if we please. To one complexion or the other it must come at last. However anxious our Government may be to protect the Union men of the Border States, without requiring anything of them in return, except that they shall allow our troops to guard their farms, hen-roosts, and slave-pens, Jeff. Davis will allow no neutrality in his dominions. This war will upturn the foundations of Southern Society, and every man, woman, and child must take part, on one side or the other. The four millions of irresponsible African slaves, who are the slaves of the other, and who are not allowed to work and fight for us, they will work and fight against us.

Now let us look at some further deductions from Mr. Kennedy's tables. Slaves between the ages of fifteen and sixty are regarded as able-bodied, for working or fighting. There were, in 1850, between these ages, 815,425 male slaves. In 1860, calculating the increase in the same proportion as the increase of the whole slave population, there were 1,019,281. Every one of these men is now at work, supporting the families of the rebel soldiers, or performing the exhausting labor of the rebel army. These are the fighting men of the rebel army, the "mudsills" in our armies, have to do for themselves. In Maryland, there are 22,000 of these able-bodied male slaves. There were in Virginia, in 1850, 121,564 able-bodied male slaves; to-day there are 126,000, and 14,000 able-bodied free colored men—140,000 men helping support the Rebel armies, if not actually helping to constitute the Rebel armies. Supposing we permitted them to work for us? or supposing we should welcome them within our lines, instead of sending them back to report of our flag that it is the emblem of oppression, and of our Eagle; that for the poor slave his bones are broken and his feathers are plucked? How long in such a case, would Beauregard flaunt the rattlesnake flag in sight of the White House? There are 53,322 of the same class in Kentucky; 69,358 in Tennessee; and in both States, 4,100 able-bodied free colored men. Total, in both States, 126,000. What? Allies or enemies? Every one of them is a Union man, and if we choose to have him so, a fighter for the Union. North Carolina has 78,000 of the same class, besides 3,000 free colored men; South Carolina, 104,000 of both classes; Georgia, 115,000; Alabama, 111,900; Mississippi, 124,000; Louisiana, 92,100; and Missouri, 27,750. These are the fighting men of the rebel army, the "mudsills" in our armies, have to do for themselves. 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