



EMANCIPATION.

The Boston Post says they have to see this question fairly presented, and like those in favor of continuing the war for emancipation take one side, and those who would continue it only to preserve the Constitution and restore the Union the other. The Post evidently feels, as every man who watches "the signs of the times" must, that the emancipation party is every day increasing. If men were called upon to say whether they would continue the war for emancipation, the majority would say no, but very many say "Yes. This is not a war caused by us. We have been forced into the field; let us now cut up the root of the disturbance." Put the question in the form the Post does, and those who sympathize with the Post, and would have the government restored—the Union saved, and the Constitution preserved, without regard to slavery, might have the majority; but put it in another form, and inquire how many there are who would restore the Union, preserving the equality of the States under the Constitution as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States—so that South Carolina should be the equal of Massachusetts—in other words, to return us all to the exact condition we held before the war, and slavery remaining as it was then, and we should find that a great change in public sentiment had taken place. This locality is the most conservative of any section of Massachusetts and we see how it is here. The men who a year ago talked of compromise would scorn it to-day; and those who talked of the rights of States demand that the rebellion shall be swept away, if we are forced to subjugate the whole country and hold it by a standing army. In other words, everywhere we find the same change in public sentiment. The increased hostility to the nation and increased loyalty to their institutions and state of society. And this goes on from day to day, and to all human appearance its volume and force are destined to increase. We state this as a simple fact, without designing to offer a single comment thereon. A year ago, if Mr. Lincoln had proposed emancipation, it would have bred rebellion in the North; to-day, if he were to declare it, one-half of the North would be glad, and the remainder would submit to it silently; and let the war go on till next November, and upon our souls we believe a declaration of emancipation to all slaves in the country would be hailed by the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and bonfires on all the hills, as the anniversary of national independence is greeted.

We have declared over and over again our opinions on this matter; but it is of no use to blind ourselves and fool ourselves upon the present state of public sentiment and the feeling that the war does and will generate. The feeling of the South in the Union, if it puts itself without that, it will fall and perish; if it puts the South in peace and law; or resorting to war and revolution it lays itself open to ten thousand assaults. What the future will bring forth, no one can say with any degree of positiveness; but taking the facts as they are, we look forward to confiscation of property, emancipation of slaves, and the desolation of the South, as the almost inevitable consequences of the course of present events. The only thing that can stay the tide is an uprising of the Union men of the South to bring the war to a speedy termination. As yet they have not appeared; and if they do not, the immediate end of the war cannot be expected, nor the consequences foretold. Every day of war renders the restoration of the old order of things more difficult; and it may even become impossible before many weeks shall pass.

The foregoing, from the *Newburyport Herald* of the 4th inst., a paper which has heretofore occupied in form, as it still does in heart, the extreme ground of conservatism, is a most significant sign of the times.

GOV. STANLEY'S INSTRUCTIONS.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1862. The instructions given to the Hon. Edward Stanley, Military Governor of North Carolina, are identical to those furnished to Hon. Andrew Johnson. The following is a copy of the letter of instructions:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 2, 1862. SIR,—The commission you have received, expresses on its face the nature and extent of the duties and power devolved on you by the appointment of Military Governor of North Carolina.

Instructions have been given to Major-General Burnside to aid you in the performance of your duties and the exercise of your authority. He has also been instructed to detail an adequate military force for the special purpose of a Governor's Guard, and to act under your direction. It is obvious to you that the great purpose of your appointment is to re-establish the authority of the Federal Government in the State of North Carolina, and to provide the means of maintaining peace and security to the loyal inhabitants of that State until they shall be able to establish Government.

Upon your wisdom and energetic action much will depend in accomplishing that result. It is not deemed necessary to give any specific instructions, but rather to confide in your sound discretion to adopt such measures as circumstances may demand. You may rely upon the perfect confidence and full support of this Department in the performance of your duties.

With respect, I am your obedient servant, SAMUEL M. STANTON, Sec'y of War.

Hon. Edward Stanley, Military Governor of North Carolina.

Gov. Stanley's commission invests him with the powers, duties, and functions pertaining to the office of Military Governor, including the power to establish all necessary offices and tribunals, and to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* during the pleasure of the President, or until the loyal inhabitants of North Carolina shall organize a civil Government in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

The letters from Newbern in the New York papers which reached Washington to-night, created great wrath in the minds of leading men here. Senators who read them before the adjournment, were so indignant that they talked of laying aside the tax bill to consider the case of this pro-slavery despot.

Resolutions of inquiry will be introduced in both Houses to-morrow. Mr. Sumner, when introducing the resolution of inquiry into Gov. Stanley's order, closing the colored schools on Monday, made the following remarks, now first published, a portion of which apply to Gov. Stanley's general action:—

"If any person, in the name of the United States, has undertaken to close a school for little children, whether black or white, it is important that we should know the authority under which he has assumed to act. Surely nobody here will be willing to take the responsibility for such an act.

It is difficult to conceive that one of the first fruits of National victories, and the reestablishment of National power, should be such an enormity, which is difficult to characterize in any terms of moderation.

Jefferson tells us, that, in a certain contest, there is no attribute of the Almighty which would not be against us. And permit me to say, that, if in the war, as which we are now unhappily engaged, the military power of the United States is to be employed in closing schools, there is no attribute of the Almighty which would not be against us, nor can we expect any true success.

Sir, in the name of the Constitution, of humanity and of common sense, I protest against such an impious and unchristian act as the closing of the proper rule of conduct is simple. It will be found in the instructions to which I referred in debate the other day, from the British Commissioner in a conquered province of India."

After indicating certain crimes which were to be treated with summary punishment, he proceeded to say:—

"All other crimes you will investigate according to the forms of justice usual in this country, modified as you may think expedient; in all cases, you will endeavor to enforce the existing laws and customs, unless where they are clearly repugnant to reason and equity." (See *Edinburgh Rev. Papers*, 1 *Knapp's Privy Council*, rep. 337.)

Here is the proper limitation. Anything else is unworthy of a civilized country. Whatever is clearly repugnant to reason and equity must be rejected. Surely such a thing cannot be done. But what can be more clearly repugnant to reason and equity than the barbarous law which an officer in the name of the United States has threatened to enforce!"

MR. COLYER AND THE NEGRO SCHOOLS AT NEWBERN.

On Sunday evening, at St. George's Chapel, Mr. Vincent Colyer gave an account of the colored (evening) schools in Newbern, recently closed by Gov. Stanley, with many other interesting statements. When the Military Governor arrived, it became Mr. Colyer's duty, as Superintendent of the Poor, to call upon him. The Governor said there was one thing he did not approve of—the establishment of the negro schools. He said the laws of the State made it a criminal offence, and that his instructions from Washington were to administer the old laws so far as it was possible. Mr. Colyer particularly noted this language, as he had previously been told that Gov. Stanley's instructions were very indefinite. If called upon, the Governor said he would do as against him. Mr. Colyer had opened the schools under the sanction of Brig. Gen. Foster, and of course he conferred with that official, and that night announced to the public that the schools would be closed. The next day—four days after the arrival of Gov. Stanley—came the rendition of fugitive slaves. The Governor said he gave authority for the man to take the slave wherever he found him. This man had never taken the oath of allegiance, although he promised to do so. He had also been served with Government ratios three times by Mr. Colyer. He took a slave—a girl nearly white. There was immediately a great state of alarm through the whole 5,000 contrabands. That night two of the colored scouts came in. They had been gone for a week or more through the marshes, through the pickets of rebel regiments, without blankets, without food, except such as they could get by chance; with nothing, in fact, but a few shillings and a good revolver in their breast, furnished them by Government. They were full of information that they had just rescued their three comrades. It was hard to tell them now that they could not claim protection. Twenty left that night. The instinct of self-preservation told them this was their only course—to go back as soon as possible to those who would afford them the same kind of protection. The next morning the General, upon reflection on the effect of this sending out men who knew everything about the strength and position of his forces, decided that he would be guided by that act of Congress which says that no officer of the army shall return a fugitive slave. [That night some soldiers went to Master Bray's house and recaptured the slave. Not five minutes before Mr. Colyer left, he saw this same Bray prowling round for the "chattel." A number of instances were related where the blacks had been of great service to the army. In one case 100 soldiers were in a vessel under the entire guidance of a negro, and 200 bales of cotton were found piled up in the woods, covered with brush. All that could be taken on board was carried away.

Dr. Tyng confirmed what he said in regard to the secrecy of war. He told him in a decided manner that he would not sustain nor would he belong to a Government that would sustain such a course.—*New York Tribune*.

THE NORTH CAROLINA EXPERIMENT.

We should do injustice both to our feelings and our convictions, if we did not characterize the course of Governor Stanley of North Carolina as at least a great blunder. He has undertaken to return fugitives in a way violative of an express act of Congress. He has summarily closed schools for the instruction of colored persons. And he has expelled a citizen and exercised other arbitrary acts, for which he seems to have no other shadow of authority than his own will. It is said he rests his authority on the local laws of North Carolina. But if that were his sole guide, the first thing he would do would be to abandon his own office, for the laws of North Carolina know nothing of a "military Governor," and his strict enforcement would expel him from the State.

The truth is, Gov. Stanley is appointed to an extraordinary office for the general purpose—as expressed in his letter of instructions—"to re-establish the authority of the national government in the State of North Carolina, and to provide the means of maintaining peace and security to the loyal inhabitants of that State until they shall be able to establish a civil government." Hence, with the material of the State laws and the Constitution and United States laws about him, and the great exigencies of the crisis, his "sound discretion" must be the main guide of his conduct. And that must embrace considerations altogether wider than the local law. By these considerations this unfortunate opening of his course must be judged. But it would be remembered that Governor Stanley derives his authority from the President, and that the whole subject of the exercise of it rests, therefore, in safe hands.

We trust, then, that there will be no undue excitement about this matter. It will come out all right in the end. We think it will be safe to consider it an experiment, so far as the President has had anything to do with it, dictated by his desire to evoke a controlling Union sentiment in North Carolina. He did not, of course, foresee these acts of Governor Stanley, but he was animated by the noble intention to relieve a suffering people. He believed Mr. Stanley to be, and to clothe him with almost unlimited powers. And so Mr. Stanley comes up from California, doubtless believing that the majority of his neighbors of the "Old North State" are for the Union at heart, and if he can only get at them, will finally rally around him and redeem the State. Hence he would disarm the prejudices of the planters and gain their confidence by a prompt carrying out of the local law. We give this interpretation of Gov. Stanley's course, to save his character, as it was formerly understood by the country, and probably by the President when he made the appointment.

It is needless to say that he made a terrible mistake. His absence in California had prevented him from understanding the true character of this rebellion, and from seeing how utterly any pro-slavery leniency would be thrown away upon its victims. Nor could he appreciate that feeling which the experience of the war has drilled into the soldiers and the people of the North. But the whole question is now in the hands of the President. Gen. Burnside and his noble army should have the sympathy of the loyal community. They keenly feel the ignominy to which Gov. Stanley's course subjects them, but they have no alternative but obedience. The letter of instruction to Gov. Stanley says:—"Instructions have been given to Major-General Burnside to aid you in the performance of your duties and the exercise of your authority." We trust that there will be no resignations and no open resistance. The present state of things must be of short duration. Even Gov. Stanley may have discovered his mistake by this time. If not, the President will soon have had enough of this experiment, which, if it has failed in the purposes for which it was instituted, has certainly succeeded in demonstrating the stern resolution of our people and army to sanction no more truckling to the slave power, and not to relieve it from the ruin it has so plainly brought upon itself.—*Boston Journal*.

OFFICIAL BLUNDERS.

Edward Stanley, the newly appointed Military Governor of North Carolina, when a whip representative in Congress from that State, was reckoned a man of more than ordinary character and intelligence, but his long residence in California, or something else, has rendered him singularly oblivious to the change in the condition of things in the old States. We had high hopes that his appointment would prove a most fortunate one, and that the influence which he formerly possessed in his native State would be exerted in doing all that he could to remove the debasing thralldom exercised by the leaders of the rebellion. But his very first act proves that he is unworthy of the high trust reposed in him, and that he is wanting in that wise discretion, the constant exercise of which is absolutely necessary in the high position to which he has been called. He clearly shows by his recent action in declaring war upon the contrabands, that the Union is to be re-constructed upon the old basis of chains and slavery, and the preservation of the American System (of Slavery) is to be the grand result of this protracted and costly contest.

Whatever views Mr. Stanley entertains, we are glad to see that his only supporters are the New York Herald and the Boston Post, and their myriads, whilst, on the other hand, his outrageous course has produced great dissatisfaction among the gallant men under General Burnside, and has been made the object of an order of censure from the President and the Secretary of War. Mr. Stanley's vocation is gone, and he will soon follow.—*Dedham Gazette*.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1862.

FOURTH OF JULY!

It has been the invariable custom of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to commemorate this National Anniversary; not, however, in the boastful spirit and inflated manner of those who rejoiced in a Union with Slaveholders, and who could see no contradiction, in such a Union, to the great principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. Our celebration has ever been with the distinct and simple purpose of recalling to the mind and impressing upon the heart of the people the great "self-evident truths, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Confident that our repeated testimonies on these National Anniversaries have been as good seed, sown upon soil long indeed stubborn and unyielding, but at length fertilized, and now full of promise of a glorious harvest, we trust, we will be gathered in,—we again invite and summon the friends of Freedom, of every name and age, and whether living within or beyond the bounds of this our honored Commonwealth, to meet with us, as aforesaid, and in even greater numbers than ever before, at the beautiful and well-known FRAMINGHAM GROVE, on the ensuing Fourth of July.

We need say nothing of the beauty and many attractions of the spot, whether for adults or for the young. The day and the occasion constitute the real claims upon our attention, and to these let the Anti-Slavery men and women of Massachusetts, and of New England, respond fitly, as they so well know how to do.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Co. will convey passengers to and from the Grove, upon their main road and its branches, on that day, at hours to be more particularly announced hereafter, and at the same reduced fares as last year, and in some instances at lower rates.

Speakers, and other particulars, to be announced in future papers.

Friends, one and all! Let us be like those who wait for their Lord, at his coming; that, whether it be at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, we may be found ready, our lamps trimmed and burning. Now is the time for us to work with redoubled energy and zeal. The enemy everywhere is sowing tares. If possible, the very elect will be deceived. Let not one stay his hand, or hold back his testimony; but, with renewed purpose and with increased hope, do battle valiantly for God and humanity, until the dimitting advocates of Slavery are driven forever from the field, and "Liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

SAMUEL MAY, JR., WM. LLOYD GARRISON, H. H. HEYWOOD, HENRY O. STONE, CHARLES A. HOVEY, Committee of Arrangements.

PROGRESS.

The rapid succession of new and strange events in this year night satisfy even the demands of Mr. Micawber. Never before did so many things "turn up" in so short a space of time. The difficulty is that they are left to turn up as nearly in accordance with chance as the arrangements of a superintendent Providence will allow; they are left, for the most part, without such direction as the faithful performance of human duties, official and individual, might give to them. The great Divine law, that sin constantly tends towards the ruin of the sinner, goes on unintermittedly, because that is independent of man's action or negligence; but, all these long dreary months of war, we are missing the benefit of another great law of God, for want of fulfilling its conditions; the law, namely, that the sinner must repent and reform before he can possibly attain true felicity. God does much in our affairs, but it is His ordinance that man shall do something; and in the great housekeeping of this world, repentance and reformation are matters entirely and exclusively in man's department. God never transacts that sort of business; and the sinner who waits for Him to do it does so at his own cost and peril.

Everybody is now asking everybody—What do you think! What is the prospect! How are matters going! How shall we come out of this struggle! When shall we come out of it! These questions, as yet, can have no direct answer, only a contingent one. Our troubles will end only in proportion as we apply the right means, and in the right direction.

A wise old physician, teaching his pupils to search for the cause of the disease, in order that they might intelligently apply the means for its cure, instead of ignorantly trying various kinds of remedies in succession, for the chance of some one of them being a specific—said to them—"If a man comes to you with a splinter in his finger, it is useless to give medicine, or to apply ointments and bandages. The splinter must come out. Whether anything else be necessary or not, this is the first, and the indispensable thing, because the foreign body is still there to prolong and increase the trouble it originally caused. So, if the man has a splinter in his stomach, (that is to say, if he has some foreign substance in his stomach which pains and irritates it,) the first and indispensable thing to be done is to get rid of this splinter; the cause of the trouble must come out, must be removed and abolished.

When we apply a similar course of reasoning and of action to our national troubles, we shall be in the way towards prosperity. Until then, we shall be going further and further from it. If victories would do the business, we have plenty of them. Suppose them to go on, without interruption, until the bitterness of utter and final defeat is added to that intense hatred which the South now bears towards the North. Suppose our armies able to march all over the immense extent of the rebel country without meeting an opposing army. What is to be done next? We shall be no nearer a Union than now. The United States Government will be no more respected and supported than now, in those regions; and there is no prospect of the functionaries of that Government being able to act there, except as they are sustained by a large military force in each place. To fulfil the purposes of the general Government in so many States filled with a hostile population, an army of occupation would be required, three as large as the army of conquest. And we should then have a permanent expense of two millions a day to provide for; we should commit the unspeakable folly of undertaking to unite the advantages of peace with the machinery and operations of war; and we should be doing the laughing-stock of the civilized world, by attempting to enforce our laws against an unwilling people, assuming, at the same time, that governments derive their just powers only "from the consent of the governed." Is such a result worth its cost! Is it a good result at all! Is it worth having, even if it could be attained without cost!

Two things are needed before we can possibly have either a peace worthy the name, or that prosperity which should follow a permanent peace. First, it is indispensable that the cause of the rebellion and the war be thoroughly removed. While slavery remains in existence in our country, it must necessarily and constantly tend to a repetition of these same troubles. He who has established, and who maintains by force, an unjust authority over his neighbor blacks, will of necessity seek to extend that authority over his neighbor whites. While that system is suffered to continue, no neighbor of his is safe. For the common safety, no less than for the common welfare, this nuisance must be abated and eradicated.

Next, it is indispensable that a loyal population occupy those Southern States, giving allegiance and support to the Federal Government, and carrying on the State government in cooperation with it. Thus only can the enormous expense and the manifold absurdity of a permanent army of occupation be avoided. The vast majority of those who have hitherto carried on the Southern State governments being utterly disloyal and hostile, how shall the useful population of loyalists be attained! This is the problem.

Two methods of attaining this end, or making a beginning of it, are obvious. First, the love, loyalty and hearty cooperation of four millions of the existing population there could be secured and rendered permanent by a single stroke of the President's pen. Whenever he chooses to write and publish the word LIBERTY, and direct his armies to enforce it, not only will the four millions of slaves be immediately and irretrievably united in interest with the Union, but the half million of free blacks, now scattered over the whole country, would immediately be attracted to that congenial climate. Slavery alone has caused them to flee from it. The abolition of slavery would draw them thither again.

By all the laws and usages of civilized nations, rebels against a government forfeit their property, as well as their other rights and privileges, under it. The lands formerly occupied by the rebels, the cotton, rice and sugar plantations, are now without owners, and are within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. They are not only without owners, but the persons who ought to own them, the laborers by whose toil all their products have been raised, are the very persons who are now to be attracted or repelled by the action of this Government in relation to them. The assignment of a large portion of these lands to the laborers who have hitherto tilled them, and to such free people of color as now exist there, or may choose to settle there, would have the following very great advantages.

It would be the natural, normal, just, appropriate retribution for the rebellion, and for the war made in support of it. It would be the wisest treatment of the existing rebels, and the greatest possible discouragement to any who might contemplate such a movement in future.

It would be just to those laborers who have hitherto sowed and reaped under compulsion, and who have been systematically robbed of the harvest, by complicity of the very Government whose remedial action is now in question. That Government certainly owes this retribution, both to them and to the free people of color, whom it has helped to keep under various unjust limitations and disabilities.

It would be the very most effective step towards a permanent restoration of the United States authority in the Southern States, fixing there a loyal population, and inspiring them with the strongest motives to uphold the national Government.

It would be the most thorough security possible against a renewal of the cause of the rebellion.

The second of the two methods of providing a loyal population for the South—a method no less recommended by justice and expediency than the first, and in every way suited to accomplish both the immediate and the ultimate purposes which the Government should have in view—is the allotment of another portion of those Southern lands, first to such soldiers regularly discharged from the army, and next, to such other Northern men, as may wish to settle there. Many of our people who prefer the soil and climate of the South, but who have been prevented from living there by the manifold evils of slavery, would now be glad to try the experiment under a new order of things. Their residence there would be not only the best of support to the Government in its approaching trial, but would introduce the customs of civilized life into that barbarous region, commence a system of common school education, improve agriculture, establish manufactures, cause labor to be respected, and give a new impulse to art and science of every sort. And, if these new comers choose to establish just and friendly relations towards the existing colored population, each might be an unpeakable benefit to the other, and both could secure themselves and the Government against further trouble from the ex-slaveholders.

If the Administration is not ready to arrange for measures so needful as these, why should not the people call for them, urge them, and offer their cooperation in executing them!—c. k. w.

"RELIGIOUS" HINDRANCES TO REFORM.

The *Reformed Presbyterian*, (Pittsburg, Pa.) in an excellent article on "Reformatory Agencies," admits that the religious press is far behind the secular press in criticisms of vicious action on the part of the Government, and condemns silence in regard to such action as tacit approval and encouragement of it. After saying that associations for moral and religious objects ought to be, much more extensively than they are, agencies of reform, it speaks thus of the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society:—"The avowed design of the first of these is to put the Bible into the hand of every person who can read it. The object is a grand one, and it cannot be denied that the Society was sustained in its efforts to accomplish it. But while this was the main end of the Society, it was bound to wield its great power in advancing other collateral interests. For instance, as the Bible teaches men their mutual obligations, it should not have been withheld from those who were denied the teacher which is the common inheritance of all. It is no apology to say that they could not read it, for this was not universally true, and, besides, this was not the reason assigned for refusing to make donations of Bibles to the slaves. The reason given was, that the Society was well sustained in its efforts not to allow to read the Bible, and the Society would not interfere with, or seem to oppose civil enactments. In thus yielding to an unjust and cruel exercise of power, the Society shut itself out from the opportunity of protesting against an interference with it by the civil authorities, in accomplishing its noble and its just end, and in its efforts to do all that was possible of physical resistance could justify the shutting out of slaves from the advantages included in the comprehensive object of the Society's organization.

And now, when this difficulty is in part removed, and the Bible is doing its noble work, it is to be held, and we will likely have an opportunity to give our readers some information on this subject. If the Society shall continue to pursue its policy of refusing to slaves, or those who were slaves, the Bible, the fact means to be known, that the hands of the treasury may seek and find other channels to reach those so unkindly overlooked. If, on the other hand, the Society put their hand to this great work and prosecute it with the energy that its importance demands, let new channels be opened through which money will be furnished to an amount far exceeding all that will be lost by the withholding of contributions from the South. By such a course, the Society will exert an indirect but most salutary influence for the good of the country—educating and preparing the bondsman for the enjoyment of freedom, and directing attention to the claims of the Bible, the gift which it proposes to give, as superior to all human constitutions and enactments.

With regard to the *American Tract Society*, our first article under "Selections," taken from the *Liberator*, will show where it is in the progressive movements of the day. Like the other agencies which we have noticed in this article, it is the tail, and not the head. It is waiting to see what direction public opinion on the question of emancipation will take, instead of going forward to give it the proper shape and lead it in the right course.

It gives us no pleasure to record these failures in their duty of what might be efficient reformatory agencies, working out, under God, the problem of the destiny and welfare of our country. If what we have written will avail anything to excite those who have the means in their hands to prosecute the cause of liberty, morality and religion, our object will be accomplished."

An editorial article subsequently written, after the annual meetings of these two Societies had freshened their intended course of operation for the present year, represents the Tract Society as making amends for past remissness in regard to the colored people of the South; but it points out the significant fact that the American Bible Society has made no reform whatever in this direction, and appropriately suggests that those who wish the Bible distributed to the freedmen must entrust their funds for that purpose to some better agent than the American Bible Society. The same spirit still rules it which, in 1834 and 1835, refused the offer of five thousand dollars to the treasury, on condition of a distribution of Bibles to the slaves.—c. k. w.

Not Bro. Wells Brown, or "Box" Brown, as he is usually called, a bright mulatto, who stole himself from slavery some years ago, made a capital speech lately. The following is a specimen of his answer to some of the objections to the abolition of slavery:—"If they tell us, 'If the slaves are emancipated, they won't receive them upon an equality.' Why, every man must make equality for himself. No society, no government, can make this equality. I do not expect the slave of the South to jump into equality; all I claim for him, is that he may be allowed to jump into liberty, and let him make equality for himself. I have got some white neighbors around me; they are not very intellectual; they don't associate with my family; but whenever they shall improve themselves, and bring themselves up by their own intellectual and moral worth, I shall not object to their coming into my society."

The Independent, from which the above paragraph is clipped, should have known that William Wells Brown, whose wit and intelligence are well shown in the paragraph quoted, is a very different person from "Box Brown."

Both escaped from slavery. But the latter, after getting out of the box, from transportation in which he derived his name, confined his attention to looking out for No. 1, a work for which he was as competent as any Yankee; while the former, besides supporting himself and his family, has always assiduously labored in the twofold work of overthrowing slavery, and inciting the free people of color to aspiration and improvement. Box Brown went, many years ago, to England, as an exhibitor of a panoramic painting, since which I have heard nothing of him. William Wells Brown has been abroad, but is now in this country, giving anti-slavery and other lectures and readings, all of which are well worth hearing, as the reader may judge from the specimen above quoted.—c. k. w.

LETTER TO HON. JACOB COLLAMER.

HON. JACOB COLLAMER, Washington, D. C.

Sir,—I am one of the humblest of your constituents, with little influence at home, and less abroad; and, otherwise under circumstances in which I, if any one, am on the down-hill side of fourscore, and not a day of my blood is coursing in the veins of my living being. But, sir, notwithstanding all this, many of the events of the past few months have alternately made my blood to fever heat, and again sink it to mere freezing point. When I have witnessed the labors of a very few to remove the cause of our national calamity, I could but bid them God-speed, and pray for their success. When I have witnessed a disposition of the majority to retain, nay, worse, to cherish the cause, and only remove the effect, my blood is chilled, and I am almost ready to despair of ever witnessing the extinction of slavery, and the dawn of universal peace and reign of righteousness, as sure to follow.

I have read your remarks on the Confession Bill, as copied into the *Tribune* of the 3d with painful interest. You say, "The Republican party pledged themselves not to interfere with slavery in the States; but if it is possible to free a large portion of the slaves, can they make the world believe they have not interfered with slavery in the States?" With all due deference to your high position as a citizen of our State, and your still higher position as a Senator of the United States, is this nation of thirty-four millions, now bleeding at every pore, bound by the pledges of a few scores of timid politicians, as heartless as they were timid, made in a time of peace? Is it not enough that the bones of fifty thousand men already lying bleeding in Southern sands, when a proclamation of war, nine months ago, giving freedom to the slaves, might have ended the rebellion at once, which now three-fourths of a million of men in arms, as an expenditure of near a thousand million of dollars has thus far failed to do? Have you, kind sir, fully considered the condition of four millions of human beings, who were born on republican soil, have labored on republican soil, and never received any protection of liberty or property from any government, State or National, and owe no more allegiance to our government than they do to the king of Dahomy, or the Emperor of Japan?

The rebels appeal to Jehovah for the justice of their cause, and implore his protection. We do the same. The rebels mutilate dead men to show their abhorrence of free men and free institutions, and we call it barbarous. Government officials, civil and military volunteer their services to send living men into the hell of slavery, to show their fealty to "the sun of all villainies," and we call it obedience to law. Now, if the principle and the practice were applied to ourselves, friends, which should we regard as the most diabolical?

If a true and impartial narrative of our country, for the last twelve months, is ever written, it will be a chapter in the world's history that will astound all the ends of the earth; and I verily believe the good of every land will be at a loss which most to deplore, the wickedness of the rebels, or the folly of the government. In acts of meanness, we have outdone the rebels. While they have mutilated the dead, we have stripped from a negro's back a soldier's cast-off uniform, to show the world that we despise those feeble and unprotected wretches as much as they oppress them. They despatch at once their bondsmen, who refuse to follow their runaway masters. We suffer armed rebels to enter our camps, and seize the victims who have fled to our lines for protection, and drag them into a bondage second only to the torments of the damned. While they manifest their malignity by maltreating their prisoners, we suffer our captured rebel officers, with hands red with Northern blood, to wear their side arms, and hold their slaves in a free State, in defiance of all law and the breach of all promises. When the Summers, the Hales, the Lowells, the Julians, are now, even many of the pro-slavery Democrats, cry, "Cut it down!" the Senator from Missouri cries out, "Spare that Upas tree which will spread its poisonous branches to heaven, and in no time to the depths of hell! We must redeem our people, though the nation perish!"

In conclusion, sir, let me say, even at the risk of giving offence, that my own little State is the last of the thirty-four in which I could have expected to find a man of any note, in the inner temple of corruption and political blasphemy, worshipping at the shrine of the god of slavery. O, if the history of the transactions of the rebels and the government, for the last twelve months, could reach the grave, media a premature resurrection of the revolutionary dead would startle the world, and their first exclamation would be a shriek of despair at witnessing the desecration of the principles they shed their blood to sustain!

Even while I write, a soldier passes my window, with one arm less than when he left us for the war, and had you been here at their funeral, to witness the bitter anguish of two mothers and five orphan children, whose husbands and fathers had been slain in battle, does seem to me you would have had but little to say in support of "Republican pledges" to sustain that prolific source of all our woes!

Are you still bound by that infamous volunteer pledge, foolish as uncalled for when given, now that the storms of war are upon us, and the nation in peril? It strikes me that Herod of yore was no more base and foolish in binding himself by his oath, and more wicked in performing it, than the Republican party in theirs, with this difference against them—they are bound by the command of God, and the dictates of justice and humanity, to liberate every slave, pledge or no pledge; and while they refuse or neglect to do so, are little less guilty than the rebels themselves.

If I have written with some little warmth, I beg you to make all due allowance. I was born on Massachusetts soil, but am no less proud of my adoption to my native State. My father was a revolutionary soldier, and the revolutionary blood is not all run out in the second generation; and when I receive "marching orders," God being my helper, it shall not be said I was recreant to the great principles of civil liberty for all, adopted in a day of peril that tried men's souls, nor guilty of binding myself and foot to any party at their expense. JESSE STEDMAN.

SPRINGFIELD, VT., May 8, 1862.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have read your Confession Bill, by which it appears, in section 10, that after a rebellion has been in full blast for six months, the President is authorized, if he thinks fit, to issue his proclamation to fix and appoint a day of course, a long while hence, if he is a slaveholder, or Northern man with Southern principles, in which all persons held to service or labor shall be set free, if the rebels do not hold up! A terrible proclamation that, to be sure! coming right in the face and eyes of "pledges" to let slavery alone in the States! Of the 300,000 rebel slaveholders, you would give each a title, and call at least two witnesses to prove an overt act, work enough for all the courts in Christendom for half a century! I hazard nothing in saying, there is not a loyal slaveholder upon the earth. A loyal slaveholder and a Christian devil are alternative contractions in terms. Free every slave at once, and you hit every rebel, and none but rebels, and more than half their property is gone at one fell swoop; and restore two millions of millions of stolen property to four millions of rightful owners, and the benediction of a thousand millions of earth's population will rest upon you, and all that is helping hand to end forever the crime of crime, which has been the ruin of most, and the cause of every nation that ever tolerated it; and God grant that the sentence of moral and political damnation be pronounced against it, on the very soil where eighty years ago, the declaration went forth that started every tyrant upon the thrones of Europe, "That all MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL."

NEW PUBLICATIONS. THE EXCHANGER: A Home and Colonial Monthly Review of Commerce, Manufactures and General Politics. London: Sampson Low, Son & Co., 47 Ludgate Hill. May, No. 2.

The object of this new magazine, we are informed in the prospectus, is to supply the British public with a periodical corresponding to the *Journal des Economistes* in France, and to *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* and *De Bow's Review* in this country, and occupying a middle place between the *Economist* and the *Times*. That it meets a very sensible want may be inferred from the fact that the first number has reached a second edition. The contents of the number before us are as follows:—Ships in Armor; Our Colonial Empire; Colonial Emancipation; Co-operative Associations; and the Christian Socialists; Federal Finance; Exhibitions of Industry, National and International; Mexico and the Intervention (concluded); Legal Securities for English Settlers and Capital in Bengal (concluded); The Budget and the Income-Tax; The Finances of France; The Import Trade of 1860 and 1861; English and Foreign Literature; Money, Banking and Shares; English and Scotch Metals and Metal Manufactures; Textiles and Textile Manufactures; Corn, Provision, and Foreign and Colonial Produce, &c.

For sale in New York by Walter Low, 39 Walker street, and 8



Poetry.

From the Vermont.

JACK BOROGENS. On Maryland's proud soil, Where the negro's lot is told, And the master lolls at leisure, lived a man;

His face perhaps was black, And seemed with scars his back, But his soul was stirred with visions of the great and grand.

He had heard the welcome cry, "Union and Liberty!" And that the army of the North brought freedom to the slave;

He knew where traitors hid, Their implements of blood, And bravely risked his life to carry tidings to the brave.

In the dark and dreary night, Guided by the North Star's light, He wended his weary footsteps through the dismal Southern swamp;

With wand'ring long and dreary, With body worn and weary, Just as the day-light dawned, reached the Northern army's camp.

"I can tell—though oft forbidden— Where the rebel's guns are hidden, And so your brave commander, I have come this dreary night."

So with mingled moans and blessings, And with many Yankee greetings, The loyal slave was taken to the tent of Col. Dwight.

Oh, many a soldier's life Was saved in battle strife, By the tidings that Jack Boroogens had risked his life to tell;

But no recompense or station, Or even commendation, Rewarded the brave fugitive who earned them all so well!

But the master claimed the man, And—believe it who can— This loyal slave was given up to a rebel black as night!

To strife and torture back, The traitor dragged poor Jack, And with horrid blows and beatings cursed the hours till morning light!

The rise and set of day Witnessed his hard agony! Unpitied and alone, the noble slave was lying;

And when the sun went down, And the cheerless night came on, On the cold and bloody ground the martyr bold was dying.

Dying for liberty— Dying from treachery— In this our boasted land of light, was murderously dying!

How long, O Lord, how long The weak yield to the strong? How long shall brother's blood from the ground in vain be crying!

My fathers' God, I pray, Take my bitter heart away, And give a trusting spirit that unceasingly can pray;

Let not the curse of blood Sweep o'er us like a flood, But pardon, Father, and remove blood-guiltiness away.

Weybridge, Vt. JAMES RICHES. From the Christian Inquirer.

SONG OF THE CONTRABAND. BY J. C. RAKER. TUNE—"The Drums of Balquhain."

Let us sing, brothers, sing, But no longer in sadness! Let the old cabin ring With the shouts of our gladness!

Our bondage is o'er, To return again never; We are freemen forever! The glad tidings we hear Shall alleneer our grieving;

The glad tidings from fear, The crushed spirit rolling; And it thrills through our hearts, Like a song of salvation, On the white cotton-field, And the sugar plantation.

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

Delivered at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Wednesday, May 25th, 1862.

MR. PRESIDENT.—Of the great family of man, the Negro has, during the last half century, been more prominently before the world than any other race.

He did not seek this notoriety. Isolated away in his own land, he would have remained there, had it not been for the avarice of other races, who sought him out as a victim of slavery.

Two and a half centuries of the negro's enslavement have created, in many minds, the opinion that he is intellectually inferior to the rest of mankind;—and now that the blacks seem in a fair way to get their freedom in this country, it has been asserted, and from high authority in the Government, that the natural inferiority of the negro makes it impossible for him to live on this continent with the white man, unless in a state of bondage.

Mr. Postmaster-General Blair, in his letter to the Union Mass Meeting, held at the Cooper Institute, New York, in March last, takes this ground. The Boston Post and Courier both take the same position.

I admit that the condition of my race, whether considered in a mental, moral or intellectual point of view, at the present time, cannot compare favorably with the Anglo-Saxon. But it does not become the whites to point the finger of scorn at the blacks, when they have so long been degrading them.

The negro has not always been considered the inferior race. The time was when he stood at the head of science and literature. Let us see. I claim that the blacks are the legitimate descendants of the Egyptians.

Nearly all historians agree that the Egyptians were black. Volney assumes it as a settled point. Herodotus, who travelled extensively through that interesting land, set them down as black, with curled hair, and having the negro features.

The sacred writers were aware of their complexion;—hence the question, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?" The image of the negro is engraved upon the monuments of Egypt,—not as a bondman, but as the master of art.

The Sphinx, one of the wonders of the world, surviving the wreck of centuries, exhibits these same features at the present day. Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, was supposed to have been an African princess. Atlas, whose shoulders sustained the globe, and even the great Jupiter Ammon himself, were located by the mythologists in Africa.

Through there may not be much in these fables, they teach us, nevertheless, when they considered the nobles of the human race. Euclid, Homer and Plato were Ethiopians. Terence, the most refined and accomplished scholar of his time, was of the same race.

Hanno, the father of Hamelin, and grandfather of Hannibal, was a negro. Alexander H. Everett, the ablest writer of his day upon this question, took the ground that I do. These are the antecedents of the enslaved blacks in this continent.

From whence sprang the Anglo-Saxon? For, mark you, it is he that denies the equality of the negro. "When the Britons first became known to the Tyrin mariners," says Macaulay, "they were little superior to the Sandwich Islanders."

Hume says they were a rude and barbarous people, divided into numerous tribes, dressed in the skins of wild beasts. Druidism was their religion, and they were very superstitious. Such is the first account we have of the Britons.

When the Romans invaded that country, they reduced the people to a state of vassalage as degrading as that of slavery in the Southern States. Their King, Caractacus, was captured and sent a slave to Rome.

Still later, Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon generals, presented another yoke which the Britons were compelled to wear. But the last dregs of the bitter cup of humiliation were drunk when William of Normandy met Harold at Hastings, and, with a single blow, completely annihilated the nationality of the Britons.

and one of my own sons, attending the same school. I must say that this poor negro boy, Beverly Williams, was one of the best scholars at the school, and in his Latin language he was the best scholar in his class.

There are others, I am told, which show still more conclusively the aptitude of the colored race for every kind of intellectual culture.

Mr. Everett cited several other instances which had fallen under his notice, and utterly scouted the idea that there was any general inferiority of the African race. He said, "They have done as well as persons of European or Anglo-American origin would have done after three thousand years of similar depression and hardship."

The question has been asked, "Does not the negro labor under some incurable, natural inferiority?" In this, for myself, I have no belief. I think, Mr. President, that is ample refutation of the charge of inferiority, as brought by Mr. Blair, against the blacks.

There is another point connected with the cause of negro emancipation in this country that I must speak of, and that is the asserted incapability of the slave to take care of himself in a state of freedom.

This charge is entirely and forever refuted by the history of the West Indies, since the abolition of slavery in those islands. We have heard a great deal about the "ruin of Jamaica," and such journals as the Boston Courier, the Boston Post, and the New York Journal of Commerce, lose no opportunity to parade this falsehood in their columns, to prove that the same fate awaits the Southern States, if emancipation shall take place.

As to the British Colonies, the fact is well established that slavery had impoverished the soil, demoralized the people, and brought the planters to a state of bankruptcy, and all the islands to ruin, long before Parliament had passed the Act of Emancipation.

All the Colonies, including Jamaica, had petitioned the home government for assistance, ten years prior to the liberation of their slaves. It is a noticeable fact that the free blacks were the least embarrassed, in a pecuniary point of view, and that they appeared in more comfortable circumstances than the whites.

There was a large proportion of free blacks in each of the Colonies,—Jamaica alone having 55,000 before the day of emancipation. A large majority of the West India estates were owned by persons residing in Europe, and who had never seen the Colonies.

These plantations were carried on by agents, overseers and clerks, whose mismanagement, together with the blighting influence which chattel slavery takes with it wherever it goes, brought the islands under impending ruin, and many of the estates were mortgaged in Europe for more than their value.

One man alone, Neil Malcolm, of London, had forty plantations to fall upon his hands for money advanced to them before the abolition of slavery. These European proprietors, despairing of getting any returns from the West Indies, gladly pocketed their share of the twenty millions pounds sterling, which the home government gave them, and abandoned their estates to their ruin.

Other proprietors residing in the Colonies, formed combinations to make the emancipated people labor for scarcely enough to purchase food for them. If found idle, the tread-wheel, the chain-gang, the dungeon, with black bread, and water from the moat, and other modes of legalized torture, were inflicted upon the negroes.

Through the determined and combined efforts of the land-owners, the condition of the freed people was as bad, if not worse, for the first three years after their liberation, than it was before. Never was an experiment more severely tested than that of emancipation in the West Indies.

Nevertheless, the principles of freedom triumphed, not a drop of blood was shed by the enfranchised blacks; the Colonies have arisen from the blight which they labored under in the time of slavery, the land has increased in value, and, above all, that which is more valuable than cotton, sugar, or rice, the moral and intellectual condition of both blacks and whites is in a better state now, than ever before.

(Applause.) Sir William Colebrook, Governor of Antigua, said, six years after the islands were freed, "At the lowest computation, the land, without a single slave upon it, is fully as valuable now, as it was, including all the slaves, before emancipation." In a report made to the British Parliament, in 1860, it was stated that three-fifths of the cultivated land of Jamaica was the bona fide property of the blacks.

The land is in a better state of cultivation now, than it was while slavery existed, and both imports and exports show a great increase. Everything demonstrates that emancipation in the West India Islands has resulted in the most satisfactory manner, and fulfilled the expectation of the friends of freedom throughout the world.

Red Bank, the able sons of our country stood side by side with their white brethren. On lakes Erie and Champlain, on the Hudson, and down in the valley of the Mississippi, they established their valor and their invincibility. Whenever the rights of the nation have been assailed, the negro has always responded to his country's call, and with every pulsation of his heart beating for freedom.

And yet the editors of the Boston Post and the Boston Courier would have us driven from the land of our birth. If these two gentlemen wish to show their patriotism, and are really desirous of doing their country a lasting service, and at the same time to immortalize their names, let them take themselves off to Lapland, or some other land, and give bonds not to disgrace America by their presence again.

(Laughter and applause.) There is a class who have done our country more injury, both in the United States and in Europe, than we can possibly imagine. I refer to those Union-savers, speakers and writers, who say one word in favor of the Constitution and the Union, and ten against the negro and his friends.

We have lately been disgraced abroad by one of this class, a Mr. Geo. Francis Train, who, on arriving in London, made several flaming speeches against the rebels and in favor of the Federal Government, by which he secured the ear and sympathy of the British people, and then showed his cloven foot by attacking and libelling the colored people of America, and the Abolitionists generally.

These speeches have been extensively circulated here in pamphlet form among the laboring classes, for the express purpose of prejudicing their minds against the slaves' liberation, asserting his inferiority and incapability of taking care of himself if freed.

A harlequin without genius, a railroad builder without originality, an upstart with only the merit of audacity and love of falsehood, Mr. Train's speeches are of the lowest possible order, and calculated to suit the ignorant and the unsuspecting. His assertion that the slaves cling to their masters on account of their attachment, called forth laughter and derision from the audience, while his claim that slavery Christianized, educated and refined the negro, brought down a volley of hisses from all parts of the hall.

Finding, from the state of feeling of the audience, that he had missed his aim, he changed his tune before the conclusion of his first speech, and promised that he would give them his plan of emancipation on the following evening; and here it is, as taken from his second address:—"Let the States pass a law, under the guidance of the Constitution, compelling the planter, as a slight tax upon his treason, to give the slave his own labor one day in the week to work out his own freedom."

Public opinion will not set upon the planter, that many will emancipate such slaves as can take care of themselves at once; the strong and active negroes should be made to work out the freedom of their parents and children where they are unable to do it themselves.

The deception which he tried to practise upon the English people in this plan turned the whole tide of public opinion against Mr. Train, and he complains bitterly at what he calls the "prejudices in England against Americans." At the conclusion of his last speech, Mr. Train received a severe and well-merited castigation from J. Passmore Edwards, Esq., who said in his remarks—"While holding your country's banner high against Secession, I applauded you, but I feel that it is a disgrace to America to hear her Union champion advocating negro slavery."

The idea of freeing the country from slavery, by allowing the slave one day in each week by which to earn the means of purchasing his freedom, and that the able-bodied should be compelled to buy the liberty of the old, the halt and the blind, is ridiculous in the extreme. Upon such a plan, no man could work out his freedom in a life-time. Mr. Train exhibited his mendacity still more in his attempt to prove the inferiority of the blacks.

His dealing with the different races of men created considerable merriment for the Londoners, who set him down as a mountebank. Such men as this Train, the editors of the New York Herald, the Boston Post, and the Boston Courier, have done great injury to the cause of liberty and the Union.

If hatred to justice, humanity and the negro race should entitle one to the highest seat in the lowest kingdom, I am sure that the editors of the Post and the Courier will be amply provided for in the warmest corner of the lowest pit, in the world to come. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

ULTRAISTS. Truth is always ultra and extreme to ignorant and darkened minds. The lover of freedom is the so-called extremist or ultraist of the day. By an ultraist is understood one who forces, as it were, his fundamental idea upon the world.

He has a fixed principle, around which he revolves, and all the radiations from that centre partake of the central idea. The majority of mankind are conservative, or middle-men—politicians. They buy of the producer and sell to the retailer. They occupy this middle-ground—a position of mischief-making. They consider themselves of great use in the market and the world.

They are always ready for some form of compromise, and will lean to either side for small favors. The sun in yonder sky shines for the purpose of sending through all the world the great principle of life. A great life-force emanates from its rays. Truth, like a central orb, sends forth its wonder-working powers, and the life of humanity rises to its high and holy purpose, according to its reception.

From all minds filled with the idea of liberty, much good must result. The rabble cry, "Crazy fanatic!" but what harm ensues? In the extensive fields of science and art,—in that broad expanse for mental rambles, how many extreme and ultra minds you find rushing off in some wild freak, in pursuit of one leading idea or principle.

Freedom, and cannot be, when he is in favor of a Union founded in truth, and when he says that, for such a Union as these base middle-men would patch up, by compromise and concession, he has no love. Why is it that such men are despised and scorned? Why is it that such men are not listened to? And why is it that the reason of men leave them, and mental blindness so fatally seals their perception, when the truth is proclaimed by such lovers of God and freedom?

Shame! shame! that an American citizen should believe in the principle of slavery! Shame, that the pure flag of our country should float over the Goddess of Liberty, at whose feet a slave is kneeling, not asking for liberty, but protected in slavery by the power of the stars and stripes! How absurd the picture; how conflicting the emblems.

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." This motto, inscribed on the old bell, once in the tower of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, is not an ultra motto. It is the grand and eternal idea of God; and as the tone of harmony sounded over the land, what a corresponding tone of the harmonious echo in the hearts of all free men—the happy union of free thought in a free body.

May the harmony of freedom swell in pealing tones of thunder over this fair and goodly land, in years not far distant. I. L. WADE, M. D.

CIVIL RULE IN NORTH CAROLINA. THE COLORED SCHOOLS BROKEN UP. Slaves Sent Back—Consternation Among the Fugitives—The Slaveholders Exultant—Indignation of the Officers and Soldiers—H. H. Helper Expatriated—Four Hundred More Released Prisoners on their Way to New York.

(Correspondence of the New York Times.) NEWBERN, N. C., Saturday, May 31, 1862. The experiment of placating the Old North State has commenced, under the rule of the new Governor. The first acts in the drama have the virtue of being intelligible, and pleasing at least to one class of people.

As usual, in all attempts to soothe Southern wrath, the negro is thrown in as the offering. CLOSING THE COLORED SCHOOLS. The schools established by Mr. Colyer for the instruction of the colored people were suddenly closed on Wednesday evening. It was the first administrative act of the new Governor, since whose advent the military authority seems, to a great extent, suspended.

Hearing that this was to be done, I went early to the Methodist Church on Hancock street, where one of the colored schools is held. Very few had, as yet, arrived. Sitting at the door, I observed an old couple of at least sixty years of age, each of whom held a little primer, in hand, into which they were intently peering, and by the aid of the dim twilight were endeavoring to master their first lesson in letters.

Approaching them, I asked, "How do you get along with your book?" "O, master, we is trying right hard, but git on slow." "Don't you know how to read?" I asked. "No, but we wants to, master, very much; we wants to learn more dan we does to eat a good dinner when we is hungry; we want to learn so dat we can read de Word of God," said the man.

In a few minutes the pupils began to come in. They came—young, old and middle-aged, male and female—and quietly took seats, filling the body of the house, as well as the galleries, and numbering five or six hundred. In front of the altar were sixteen bright and wakeful little boys of from eight to twelve years, ranged on two benches, and confronting the lesson of the evening, which had been written upon a sheet in large letters, and hung over the pulpit.

"Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you."—Matt. 5th ch. When all had become seated, Mr. Colyer gave out the Sabbath school hymn:—"Joyfully, joyfully, onward we move," which was sung with earnest pathos by the whole congregation.

During the prayer, when incidental reference was made to the closing of the school, a sob was heard in all parts of the house. That single sentence dashed all hopes, and sent a pang to every heart. The Superintendent remarked that during the six weeks the schools had been opened, no disorder had occurred, and not the slightest complaint had been made by the authorities. The schools had been uniformly closed before the hour of guard-mounting, though by this course they had been obliged to assemble at an inconvenient hour, leaving their work at the fortification and on the bridge frequently without their papers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon one work—the fact—and that no disturbance had occurred, not a fight had taken place among them. Meantime they had lived in most inconvenient places, generally kitchens and outbuildings in the town, crowded together in unhealthy and irritating circumstances.

"These schools," said the speaker, "are now to be closed, not by the officers of the army, under whose sanction they have been commenced, but by the necessity laid upon me by Gov. Stanly, who has informed me that it is a criminal offence, under the laws of North Carolina, to teach the blacks to read, which laws he has come from Washington with instructions to enforce."

The teacher said he hoped that the schools would be closed only for a brief time, and exhorted them to submit patiently to the deprivation like good, law-abiding people, such as they had always proved themselves to be. Those who followed the injunction before them, on the command, would not only have this blessing restored to them, but must, ultimately, enjoy even greater blessings than this.

The old people dropped their heads upon their breasts, and wept in silence; the young looked at each other with mute surprise and grief at this sudden termination of their bright hopes. It was a sad and impressive spectacle. Mr. Colyer himself could hardly conceal his emotion. A few moments of silence followed, when, as if by one impulse, the whole audience rose and sang, with mournful cadence, "Crisis of the First Year," and then, in a low and solemn tone, "The Lord is my Rock and my Fortress," and "The School at the Baptist Church, where the more advanced scholars were placed, was closed in a similar manner."

Bray is a brother-in-law of G. E. Eubank, the Quartermaster of the rebel militia, lately at this place. He is a well known rebel; was mustered into the service, it is said, and only escaped taking part in the battle of Newbern on account of some alleged injury to his back. He promised to take the oath of allegiance.

Several other orders were given for the capture and taking away of slaves from the town. Four were reported to have been captured and carried out of our lines yesterday.

FLIGHT OF THE NEGROES. Frightened at this turn of affairs, a number of the slaves who have congregated in the town, had scattered like a flock of frightened birds. Some have taken to the swamps, and others have scattered themselves in out-of-the-way places. A perfect panic prevails among them. The greater part were employed on the fortifications are so much alarmed at the prospect of being returned to their enraged masters, and being punished, that they are flying to the woods.

It is believed that many will find their way to the rebel lines, and, in order to make friends with them, will reveal important facts touching the conduct of affairs in this department. The slaves express the greatest horror at the prospect of being sent back to their old homes, and say that they will be unmercifully "cut up" for having absconded. One old man of sixty told me to-day that he would rather be placed before a cannon and blown to pieces than go back. Multitudes say they would rather die.

FEELING AMONG THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS. The new administration has fallen upon the officers and soldiers in this place like a wet blanket. Prominent officers, from colonies and quartermasters down to the humblest soldiers in the ranks, speak in terms of the most vehement indignation of the course which the new Governor is pursuing, and I have met an individual, either officer or soldier, and I have seen a large number, who does not condescend, in the plainest language, the course which has been adopted.

Nevertheless, no whisper of disloyalty to the Government has as yet uttered or tolerated in any quarter. Massachusetts, and New York troops, it is assumed, will conquer their prejudices and execute the behests of the Government, believing that patriotic motives inspire whatever measures are adopted for the putting down of the slaveholding rebellion.

It would be a dereliction of duty on my part, however, to conceal, at the present time, the state of feeling which prevails, and to predict that military force will, before long, be required to assist in compelling the return of fugitive slaves to their claimants. I have carefully watched in every quarter for the uprising of the Union sentiment in this State, but, unlike the reports of the Tribune, have failed to see it. Hence, I have refrained from misleading the public on that subject. For the correctness of my reports, in this respect, I appeal with confidence to every officer and soldier in the department.

MORE RELEASED UNION PRISONERS. Four hundred more of the released Union prisoners arrived here, via Washington, last night, on board of the steamer Virginia. They are in a deplorable condition, many having surgery in its worst form. One man whose arm had become scabrous from the use of his limbs, and his flesh turning black and blue, many have ulcerous gums and loosened teeth, from the constant use of salt, fat pork, and no vegetables. They include the letters G and part of M. Sergeant Mathews, the color-bearer of Col. Corcoran, is on board. They will receive medical attention, some necessary comforts, and sail at once for New York.

Mr. Morrell, Third United States Infantry, died on board to-day, of dropsy. ACT THIRD.—THE "CRISIS"—MR. H. H. HELPER EXPATRIATED. The following correspondence explains itself. Mr. Helper, like Gov. Stanly, is a native of this State, and belongs in Rowan County. As his late states, he has been employed in the army, and also in other important positions of the Government service. He is a brother of Hinton Helper, author of The Impending Crisis.

NEWBERN, N. C., May 30, 1862. To his Excellency Gov. Stanly: DEAR SIR.—I wish you to believe me when I tell you that what I say to you to-day, is said in a spirit of love and kindness, and not only the work of one man, a son of the State, who heartily desires to become again a permanent citizen.

I enlisted in the service a private soldier for the purpose of fighting down the slaveholders' rebellion, and was mustered out of said service on the 1st of February last, on my own application, to join the division of the army, in either a military or civil capacity, in the hope that I might be more useful in my native State than elsewhere. This course was by some thought to be impolitic.

I have awaited your arrival with no little impatience, under the expectation that a new era was to be inaugurated by your administration, which would favor my long cherished hopes of a settlement on my native soil, and becoming useful. Without any means of knowing the policy to be adopted by you, upon your arrival, the recent acts of the General Government have led me to expect that you might try the effect of an earnest appeal to the people to listen to the gracious offer of the President in his late proclamation, and seek deliverance from the incubus of slavery, which weighs so heavily upon our industry—an appeal which, backed by the high reputation you have enjoyed in the State for moderation and patriotism, could hardly fail to make its impression upon the people, and in the main, to the wish of all of us, that you should be able to make it.

You, possibly, thus held out the olive branch to the few large slave-owners in the State, whose interest of convenience might temporarily suffer by the change. I might possibly make myself useful among that larger class of non-slaveholding citizens, who have no direct interest in perpetuating the system, and who, I have reason to believe, would be brought by judicious management, soon to acquiesce in the paternal policy of the President. Thus much I will reveal to you of my feelings and hopes.

I have had no good opportunity, since you came to learn what course you intended to pursue; but your first act, closing the schools which have been established for the instruction of the negroes, had seemed to me to point in quite another direction from that which I had supposed you might pursue. It strikes me that this is a bad beginning, whether viewed as a stroke of policy or of justice, and my object in this communication is to respectfully inquire—presuming it not to be improper for me to do so, since you observe that you would be glad to hear any suggestions I might offer—whether the course thus taken by the first act of your administration, is to be adopted by you. If so I shall need no further light, and will prepare as soon as practicable to leave the State, satisfied as I am that I can render the State no service so acceptable to you and them.

I am, Governor, very respectfully, your obedient servant, H. H. HELPER. GOVERNOR STANLY'S REPLY. NEWBERN, N. C., Saturday, May 31, 1862. H. H. Helper, Esq.: Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, and to inform you that the Government of North Carolina, to inform you that the Government requires you to leave this department in the first week going North.

Capt. C. G. Loring, Jr., Assistant Quartermaster, will furnish you with the necessary ticket for transportation. I am, very respectfully, yours, DAN MESSENGER, Procureur-Marshal. RETALIATION ON BRAY. Last night, a party of men, distinguished by the letter "M" on their caps, proceeded to the house of Nicholas Bray, at a distance of two miles from town, and took out the slave woman who was yesterday carried away, and then burned the house. This morning, the wife of Bray appeared before the Governor, and made complaint of the facts, and asked against her negro woman. The Governor called advised her to return home, without making any present offer to find her. At last accounts things looked black, though Bray had disregarded the Governor's advice, and armed with the power which had been previously given him, was still searching the town for his slave.