

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

Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

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

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Refuge of Oppression.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR? Are we fighting merely to protect Washington and Cairo? Are we fighting merely to keep the enemy out of the free States?

Are we fighting merely to retake Fort Sumter? When shall we retake it? What shall we do with it? What shall we do further, after we have retaken it?

Will the masters then ever yield us any obedience which will not cost more to get and to keep, than it is worth? Do we want any States in this Union which can only keep in by other States' bayonets?

Will this war conciliate the Southerners? Will anything ever conciliate them into obedience to compromise? How long will a peace based on new compromises to slavery last?

Can we make the seceded States willing members of our Union? Do we want unwilling members? Are we sure we can keep the seceded States in the Union, if they do not come back with a wish to be friends with us?

Will not the withdrawal of Government protection and patronage give them a good opportunity to consider what these are worth? May we not be obliged to let them out of the Union any way, sooner or later?

If we must let them go, how much blood shall we shed to do so? Cannot the next Congress amend the Constitution as to let them go?

Cannot the States that shall remain, give each other such guarantees as will prevent any further secession without general consent? If Jeff. Davis is in any danger of being conquered, is he not sharp-enough to see it? Will not this exhibition of our strength make him glad to make peace on reasonable terms?

What are we fighting about that is worth fighting for?—Carr. Journal of Commerce.

THE HAND-WRITING ON THE WALL.

The North is at blood-heat from Maine to Nebraska. Every city, village, and county is in arms. One continuous roll of drums echoes the land.

A REBEL ESTIMATE OF THE YANKEE CHARACTER.

The Richmond (Va.) Examiner informs us as follows:—"The Yankees are the lineal descendants of the Vi-Kings, the sea-rovers and land-robbers of Norway and Denmark.

PIQAYUNE BUTLER.

Our citizens feel considerable relief at getting rid of Gen. Butler—in other words, Piquayne or Strachine Butler—who was in command for some days of this military division.

ETERNAL HATE TO THE NORTH.

The National Intelligencer says a subscriber writes from Athens, Georgia, May 8th, as follows:—"There is now no Union or Reconstruction party in the South.

Selects.

"THE FLAG OF OUR UNION"—WHAT DOES IT SYMBOLIZE?

"OUR TROOPS"—SHALL THEY FIGHT FOR FREEDOM?—OR FOR SLAVERY?

Neutral they cannot be—neutral they ought not to be. It is in vain to say that the war has nothing to do with slavery—that it is only for the support of the Government against the rebellion—that the slavery question will take care of itself—or that it must be postponed until the war is over, and be settled afterward.

Slavery has everything to do with the war. It wages the war against anti-slavery; and nothing but anti-slavery can meet and cope with it.

Disclaiming, as I do, all desire or intention to interfere in any way with the prerogatives of the State in Missouri, and with the functions of its executive or other authorities, yet I regard it as my plain duty to express to the people, in respectful, but at the same time decided language, that, within the field and scope of my command and authority, the "supremacy of the laws" must be maintained; and no subterfuge, whether in the form of legislative acts or otherwise, can be permitted to harass or oppress the good and law-abiding people of Missouri.

LETTER TO GEN. HARNEY. Gen. Wm. S. Harney, Commanding the Military Department of the West, St. Louis, Missouri:

Sir,—In common with thousands who have perused your admirable proclamation of this morning, I return you the thanks of a citizen of Missouri, for its patriotic and tranquillizing assurances.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your most obedient servant, THOMAS T. GANTT.

MAY 14th, 1861. GEN. HARNEY'S REPLY.

Sir,—I have just received your note of this date, inquiring as to whether I have not been disrespectful to a citizen of South-Western Missouri, as to the purpose of the United States Government, respecting the protection of negro property.

This is sufficiently explicit. If it rightly expresses the wishes and intentions of the Federal Administration, the questions at the head of this article are answered.

"OUR TROOPS"—SHALL THEY FIGHT FOR FREEDOM?—OR FOR SLAVERY?—OUR TROOPS ARE BEING EMPLOYED FOR THE SUPPORT OF SLAVERY, THE ANTAGONIST OF FREEDOM.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN WASHINGTON.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune: Sir,—Ever since the negroes began to show their slight appreciation of the patriarchal institution by escaping to the North, there has been an active, conscientious conflict in the minds of Northern people in regard to returning the fugitives.

What a stroke of national policy have we here for the defence of "our glorious Union," and the crushing of rebellion! What a tempting bait to the 300,000 slaveholders, at the expense of four million whites, including the "free State" men, now under the harrow of the "border ruffians"!

Having thus subdued rebellion in these States, the way will be prepared for the same operation in the Gulf States.

GENERAL BUTLER. The Richmond Whip, a strong secession paper, devotes a short article in a late issue to Major-General Butler, which we copy entire, as follows:—

"Of the Massachusetts General, who has been sent to Fort Monroe to lead the army to be there assembled for the subjugation of the South, we know little. Judging by the extract we published the other day, he is not very well read in the history of his country.

"On his arrival at Annapolis, he heard rumors of an insurrection of slaves, and promptly volunteered to aid Gov. Hicks in suppressing it. There was no occasion for his assistance—there being no insurrection.

"As to his previous life, he is said to have been a Massachusetts Democrat—warmly in favor of Southern rights, which he now comes to exterminate; a lawyer of eminence and ability, and of high standing in all the relations of life.

THE ARMY INTERFERENCE TO SUSTAIN SLAVERY.

In an article, last week, on "the war and its results," we noticed the alacrity with which Gen. Butler offered his services to return fugitive slaves, and remarked that we were not sure but he would be for holding Jeff. Davis, in case of a general insurrection of the slaves in the Confederate States.

"Who knows what shall be? It will be as God pleases!" "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches—the sinews of war—to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill."

"Let all whose loyalty and love of country is based on the impartial love of man, and guided by the love and fear of God, bestir themselves, and utter, exactly to those around them, whatever of wisdom is within them." Let them lose no time in petitioning the Chief Magistrate to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

CONDUCT OF ARMIES.

Hon. Neal Dow, of Portland, in a letter published in the last New York Independent, plithly says:—"There seems to be an impression, even among officials of our Government, that compliments and courtesies are better than cannon, and gunflections better than grape.

"This is a stretch of magnanimity which would be ludicrous, if it was not so inhuman and cruel. A fugitive escapes from the enemy, and we volunteer to catch him, keep him, and give him to the owner free of charge. Mr. Webster is right—we do it 'with alacrity'!"

"Besides, it is an outrage on the members of the 71st to require them to assist in so revolting a service. They don't like it. I know that many of the members regard it as a degrading necessity of their oath to obey orders. Several of them have openly expressed their abhorrence of the business, and complain that, when they went to fight for Liberty, they are made to catch negroes—the business which Southern men consider is the most degrading which a white man can engage in."

"I discontinue my subscription to your paper, Christian Inquirer. Your account shall be paid (on presentation) to your agent here. No man of Christian humanity, no one of the Unitarian faith should patronize a vehicle of blood-hoofed passion, such as your paper has become, through the inspiration of such men as Bellows, and Osgood, and others, and your editor."

SOME MONTHS SINCE, in connection with several members of our congregation, I wrote requesting you would send me some copies of your paper, as the articles contained in them were offensive, based on false premises, and an outrage on the people of a section to which the North owes the greater portion of its prosperity.

"I am not a partisan, and I do not wish to be. I am a Union man, and I do not wish to see the Union broken up. I do not wish to see the South seceded from the Union, and I do not wish to see the North divided into two parts. I do not wish to see the North divided into two parts, and I do not wish to see the South seceded from the Union."

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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 invested with such odious and unjust privileges as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion?

"We have no patience to argue against the propriety of such proceedings. Anybody with half an eye, or a heart to love the Golden Rule, and to appreciate, we might say, the most common principles of justice, must protest against their being allowed. Gen. Butler should be peremptorily forbidden to send back another fugitive, or make any more disgraceful and gratuitous offers of aid to our enemy."

"There seems to be an impression, even among officials of our Government, that compliments and courtesies are better than cannon, and gunflections better than grape. General Butler, sent by Massachusetts to rescue the Capital of our country from humiliating flight, and all our invaluable archives from inevitable destruction, turns aside from that pressing business which admits of no delay, and is permitted to employ his troops—the freedmen of glorious old Massachusetts—in the work of putting down and keeping down their slaves!"

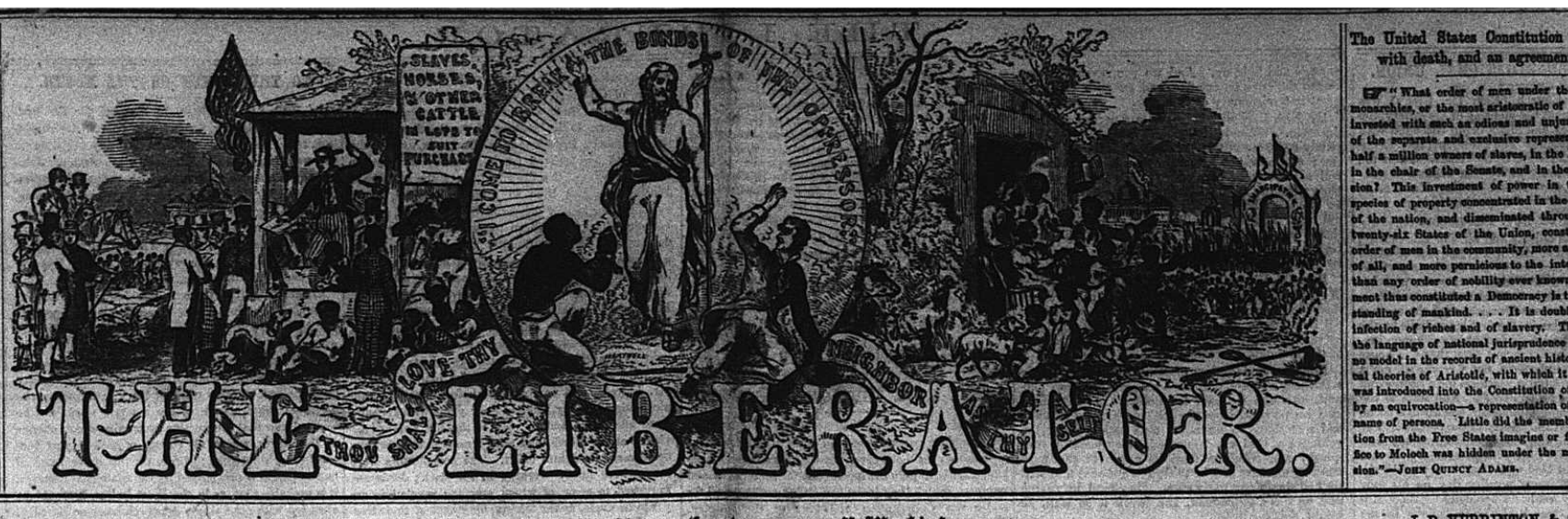
"This must be pardoned to the antecedents of that official: there will be no repetition of the act. La Fontaine relates that, in the days of enchantments, a cat was changed into a beautiful lady, who betrayed to her husband her origin, by leaping from her bed and eagerly seeking a mouse, which she boarded nibbling in the wainscot. Our Generals will soon see that the exigencies of this war will not permit them to disregard those rules for the conduct of armies, which require every circumstance of an enemy's weakness to be taken advantage of."

"Gen. Butler has already seen, at least partially, that he can use his military authority better than in the suppression of the rising spirit of freedom in the breasts of the slave population. Hundreds of fugitive slaves are now protected by him in Fort Monroe, as 'contrabands of war,' until their owners come forward, and take the oath of loyalty to the Union."

CHARLESTON, S. C., May 9, 1861. Some months since, in connection with several members of our congregation, I wrote requesting you would send me some copies of your paper, as the articles contained in them were offensive, based on false premises, and an outrage on the people of a section to which the North owes the greater portion of its prosperity.

"I am not a partisan, and I do not wish to be. I am a Union man, and I do not wish to see the Union broken up. I do not wish to see the South seceded from the Union, and I do not wish to see the North divided into two parts. I do not wish to see the North divided into two parts, and I do not wish to see the South seceded from the Union."

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

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

AMERICAN CONGRESSIONAL UNION.

Mount Vernon Church (Rev. Dr. Kirk's) was filled to overflowing at the meeting of his society, the main floor, galleries and aisles being thronged with an enthusiastic audience.

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. BACON.

In explaining the objects and aims of this society, the speaker remarked that it had one line of effort—the building of churches in the destitute portions of our country, the establishing of these strongholds of our religion, of our individual and national liberties.

THE WAR POWER OVER SLAVERY.

We published, not long ago, an extract from a speech delivered by John Quincy Adams in Congress in 1842, in which that eminent statesman confidently announced the doctrine that in a state of war, civil or servile, in the Southern States, Congress has full and plenary power over the whole subject of slavery.

ADDRESS OF REV. A. L. STONE.

We welcome our cousins from the West, the pioneers of our New England institutions. We have heard of your uprising for the government, and recognize the harvest from the seeds of our own principles.

ADDRESS OF REV. J. P. THOMPSON, D. D., OF NEW YORK.

It is no mere association of words—American Congressional Union, American Union! And while we speak of our earnest patriotism and zeal for our government, we claim no pre-eminence over our Christian brethren of other denominations, who have nobly expressed themselves.

ADDRESS OF REV. HAY PALMER, D. D.

Dr. Palmer began by relating the fact that he knew of a clergyman who commenced preaching from a well-selected text, appropriate to the times, and had already preached four sermons from it, and cannot find a stopping place.

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courage and fight on. And we can reverently enshrine the cross on our flag, and go with the same spirit as a missionary of the cross.

Dr. Kirk wished to put a "paper pot" on the table. When in Boston and lately, I learned that nearly 8,000 "chattels" are brought and sold in that city; and now the first blow struck at Richmond will make my heart glad.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1861.

WHAT HAVE THEY GAINED BY IT?

Undoubtedly, in lifting the heel of rebellion against the American government, and organizing a truculent confederacy for themselves, the Southern secessionists have sought to gain that protection for their rights and interests, which they insist can no longer be hoped for under the Constitution and laws of the country.

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was powerless in their hands; for they controlled both houses of Congress, the Treasury, and the Supreme Court—so that there was no chance whatever for any action adverse to the interests of the South, either on the part of the President or of Congress, even if the disposition had existed (as it assuredly did not) to take such action.

Washington, had been so feebly supported, or so straitened for lack of deliberative cooperation, as Mr. Lincoln. The Republican party was getting rapidly demoralized, through timidity and a disposition to compromise, under the leadership of Mr. Seward, and its opponents growing more defiant and resolute; so that the success of the slave oligarchy, at the next Presidential canvass, clothed with new powers, seemed more than probable.

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TO THE WOMEN OF THE NORTH.

In 1842, Mr. Giddings, in his zeal for the non-extension of slavery, undevotedly offered the resolution, that Congress should never, in any event or in any way, interfere with slavery in the States.

THOUGHTS ON THE WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, May 27, 1861.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Dear and Esteemed Friend—It was quite unexpected to find the simple breathings of my spirit in your paper of the 20th inst. "Yet, whatever may be its emanations or aspirations, they can be safely confided to the sincere earnestness of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

THE PETITION OF THE WOMEN OF THE NORTH.

Whereas, a fratricidal war is raging in the United States of America, having for its real origin and cause the holding of slaves in some States, we, the women of the North, pray Congress to propose to any State or States, beginning with Maryland, which shall proclaim emancipation within its borders, aid from the United States Treasury, to remunerate all individuals, who, having no property except slaves, would be impoverished by their emancipation.

DEATH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

The death of Senator Douglas is recorded in another column. He died at Chicago, on Monday morning last, after a brief illness, of typhoid fever, in the 49th year of his age. For the last fifteen years, he has been the recognized leader of the Northern Democracy, and was its Presidential candidate at the last election, having been repudiated by the Southern wing because he was unwilling to say of slavery, as pertaining to the territories, anything beyond this—"I do not care whether it is voted up or voted down."

A NEW AND IMPORTANT WORK.

A Normal Institute for Physical Education is to be opened in this city on the 4th of July next. It is incorporated, and will have four Professors, viz: Thomas H. Hoskins, M. D., Professor of Anatomy; Josiah Curtis, M. D., Professor of Physiology; Walter Channing, M. D., Professor of Hygiene; Dio Lewis, M. D., Professor of Gymnastics.

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION.

The proclamation issued by the government of Great Britain declares its intention of maintaining the strictest and most impartial neutrality between the government of the United States and certain States styling themselves the Confederate States of America. It warns British subjects that if they enter the military service on either side, or join the ships of war or transports, or attempt to get recruits or fit out vessels for war purposes, or transports, or break or endeavor to break any blockade lawfully or actually established, or carry soldiers, dispatches, or any material contraband of war, for either party, they will be liable to all the penalties and consequences, and will do so at their peril, and in no wise obtain protection from the government.

THE CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA.

The campaign in Virginia is progressing rapidly, and stirring events may soon be expected in that famous Commonwealth. Her right, left, and centre are now threatened by Gen. Butler in the East, Gen. McDowell opposite Washington, and Gen. McClellan in the Northwestern section of the State. Important results are evidently near at hand.

THE NEW YORK JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

The New York Journal of Commerce, while coldly pretending to uphold the government, is daily crowded with articles, either editorial, communicated, or purposely extracted from Southern journals, all saturated with a factious and treasonable spirit.

JOSEPH B. SMITH.

Joseph B. Smith, the well-known seer, has tendered to Governor Andrew one hundred dollars, in aid of the Massachusetts soldiery.

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Poetry.

From the New York Bee. THE DEMON. A PARODY ON POE'S RAVEN. BY CALS R. WEAVER. "Once upon a midnight dreary, while I pondered 'in a

And, where'er I turn, his lowering visage ever is appearing. At the right forever sneering, though in paroxysms of rage; Still I see his hateful features through his poorly-worn disguise.

The Liberator.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK.

The annual meeting of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday, May 29th, opened with prayer by the honored apostle of Liberty from Kentucky, Rev. John G. Fee. A forcible address followed by the President, and Report by the Secretary, reviewing in a succinct and truthful manner the complexity and blood-guiltiness of the American Church with slavery the last year.

The Council, nor was any one heard on the part of the majority; and neither the Records of the Church nor copies from the Records were produced before the Council. Yet does this Council try and condemn, and so far as it can, would annihilate that Church under such circumstances.

representative on earth, then to hold him as property is to ignore if not to deny his human nature, and is a practical denial, therefore, of Christ's human nature also, in the person of His representative, and like the denial of His divine nature, it is a virtual abjuring of the Christian religion, and the very worst form of infidelity.

In respect to the aggrieved members, the Council do, notwithstanding the action of the Church of the Puritans, recognize them as worthy members of the body of Christ; and recommend that, with others who may associate with them, they either be constituted in due form a distinct church, or received into sister churches, as they shall prefer.

Notwithstanding the constant reiteration from some sources South, that they had never dreamed of an attack on Washington, the Richmond Whig of the 22d ult. had the following: "We are not enough in the secret of our authorities to specify the day on which Jeff. Davis will

Selected Articles.

ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE SCHOOL OF DESIGN FOR WOMEN. NEW YORK, May 22, 1861. Last evening, I turned aside out of Broadway, from the heavy, measured, impressive tramp of citizen soldiers, armed "in the defence of Right," and made my way into the Cooper Union, to be one of a large multitude who were in attendance upon the Annual Exhibition of "The School of Design for Women."

CHURCH OF THE PURITANS.

I find in the Journal of Commerce a full report of an extra-parish Council, called by a minority of the Church of the Puritans in New York City, with the hope to obtain either a removal of the pastor, Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever, or a statement of the opinion of the Council in some manner unfavorable to the church.

A REMARKABLE STATEMENT.

We find this remarkable paragraph in the editorial columns of the Rochester Union:—"This great and long-standing conspiracy was well known to its outlines to Mr. Buchanan himself. We heard from his own lips, previous to his entering upon the duties of the Presidency, that he had been reliably informed, (we think he said by Gov. Wise) that the officers of the army and navy had been polled on the question whether, in case of a rupture between the two sections of the Union, they would respectively go with the North or the South; and that nearly every Southern man answered that he would adhere to the section which gave him birth. Here we have proof, not only that this conspiracy had assumed its present definite shape five years ago, and only waited for opportunity, but that Mr. Buchanan was perfectly well aware of the fact at the very time when he took some of the leaders into his Cabinet, and when he was passively aiding Calhoun, Floyd, Thompson and Toucy, in their plans to cripple the Federal Government, and assure the success of the rebellion."

FIRST BLAST OF THE NORTHERN BULLET.

We plead guilty to the charge of having, in times past, talked confidently of and trusted implicitly in Northern conservatism. The fact is, the professional advocates of that particular ism exercised its South-scouts habitually so warmly in favor of the seceded so loudly the idea of secession, and advocated with so much apparent sincerity a system of conciliation and concession, that thousands of Northern men were completely deceived. There is no doubt whatever that an opinion prevailed among us that if Lincoln should attempt to make war upon the South, the conservative element in the North would overwhelm his Administration, and by timely diversions would extend aid and succor to the rebellion."