

GEN. FREMONT AND THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S NOTES.

Has the meaning of ex parte testimony been forgotten? Is a great case to be tried and a verdict rendered with no appearance for the defendant, no sifting of the testimony for the Government, no evidence adduced for the defendant, no judicial sifting up and presentation of the facts and the law? Is a peripatetic Adjutant General, taking notes from the general second in command and from the adjutant, and taking the unadvised testimony of men who know what is expected from them, and whom to please, and from whom to expect contracts or preferment, to be put forward to forestall public opinion—when its publication disgraces the Government by exposing to the enemy the general's plans, and that weakness for which the War Department is mainly responsible? Has the privilege granted by the patriotic people to the head of that Department, just so soon as the President determined to retain him, been so misinterpreted that his Department can dare to attack a general by insinuation and indirection before a people who have examined to see that he has his fair play, and whose exhibitions of energy, in spite of all the neglects of that Department, are delighting this saddened but not disheartened country?

We sincerely hope that a clerk may be found upon whom to thrust the disgrace of publishing the loose notes of an Adjutant General, which would be rejected in a court of law, that the War Department may be relieved from what the universal popular estimate will, rightly or wrongly, ascribe to two things—the thwarted will of one able, patriotic, obstinate, self-willed and rash man in Missouri, (P. P. Blair), and the determination for political reasons to break down, by charges and counter-charges, not half proved, the most popular man in the Northwest and with the masses of the whole people.

It is an open question whether any Major General in our armies is competent for the combinations of the campaign and the battle-field. Even Gen. McClellan has not reputation enough made to afford to make a mistake, nor is he in such desperate circumstances as to risk for one what Napoleon risked in Italy. The presumption is in favor of him who has shown most facility for close combination, and who has believed firmly in Gen. Fremont. We propose no comparison, except in his favor, between him and Gen. Fremont, but simply say that all our Major Generals are on trial, and, so far as we are concerned, if the question is to be laid, in this wretched way, before the people and before our enemy, we mean to see that Gen. Fremont is not convicted without at least the forms of a fair trial.

Is it decent to put him to-day, when he is defending the government against its enemies in Missouri, on his defence against the government? Or, to state the facts more exactly, is it anything but cruel injustice, when a General is driving our enemy into Missouri, to try and condemn him on the basis of the people know exactly to acquit or condemn Fremont. If the government has judicially made out a sufficient case against Gen. Fremont, why not take the responsibility of his prompt removal, instead of showing that it deems the facts insufficient or unproved by thus referring his case to the people and to our enemies?

The facts are afloat. But some of them would seem to be these: The War Department had evidently failed to realize the importance and provide for the necessity of his great department. He came to the direction of it with the temporary forces just disbanded, leaving him but about 8000 soldiers for Cairo, the great strategic point of the Northwest, and which alone needs 20,000, and for the whole of Missouri and the whole of Kentucky. A large rebel army was entering Missouri. Their real object might be Cairo, or it might be the point at which they struck. He did what we imagine any good General would have done—strengthened Cairo. This involved the fortification of St. Louis, and the people of the great Northwest think that there are a few other points in this country to be defended by the sides Washington are on the line of the Potomac. He applied to the War Department for the proper force to make his contracts. They were not sent. This labor, in addition to every other, was forced upon him. Of course he made mistakes, and in his desperate situation could not stop to higgledy.

The mistakes of others—which of them belong to the necessities of the situation, and which to his want of a business system which he could in such circumstances organize and work—how far those forms, excellent in times of peace, may have been positive impediments to success in the emergency in Missouri, are not in evidence before the people, and cannot be before the Government.

He wrote and telegraphed for small arms and ordnance, and he was met by red tapers. With his enemy entering Cairo, he got arms and men where he could and as he could. He came to Missouri, he denied his demonstrated energy and facility for military organization. He had in all respects to make bricks without straw. Neglected and hampered by the Departments which should have strained every nerve to aid him, the first five thousand available men he collected they sent at once, ignorant and careless of his necessities, to Washington. In spite of this, in spite of everything, he organized an army of forty thousand men, of which the War Department, in face of all these facts, has the assurance to complain as imperfectly armed and supplied! It is clear that if he were to be strengthened, he could not reinforce Gen. Lyon against a possible attack. The burden of proof, such as it is, shows that it was not his fault that Col. Mulligan was not relieved. He is to-day in possession of three-fourths of Missouri.

Among other things he issued a proclamation, of the necessity for which, under martial law—which overrides all acts of confiscation, and all other law—he was the absolute and sole judge. The President, without the concurrence of Congress, and without proclamation of martial law, does not hesitate to defy our courts by suspending the writ of habeas corpus. If General Fremont made a mistake, it was not that the necessity for the proclamation did not exist, but that he had no power to enforce it. He is to-day settling that practical question. We will not waste time to contrast his position in that proclamation, supported by the public law and the publicists of the world, with that of the Administration, which, on the one hand, in its letter to General Butler, proposes, after the relations of rebel masters to their slaves have been dissolved, to turn this free Government into an immense slaveholder, and, on the other, in its instructions to the Naval Expedition, clearly orders the arming (through not the proclamation of the general arming) of slaves, as emergencies arise.

The result of the whole matter is this: that General Fremont has doubtless made some inevitable, and it may be some culpable mistakes,—that the most serious charges against him fly home to the War Department to root; and that whether he is a competent Major General or not, he has been subjected to substantially the same complaints which would have been made against any General of the highest executive capacity, placed in the same circumstances of neglect and desperation, and who had with such means done so much. This Government has not accomplished enough in the last six months to afford to weaken its popular support by the publication of such hearsay "notes" as these against a General too closely struggling with his country's enemies to defend himself, especially when that very publication is informing the enemy of his forces, his plans and his weakness.—Boston Transcript.

WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

We take from the Daily Advertiser the following in regard to this noble young soldier, who was briefly noticed in the last Liberator.—This young man, who died at Poolesville, Md., Oct. 22, of a wound received the previous day at the battle of Ball's Bluff, Vol. 2, Lectures in Co. E, 20th Regiment, Mass. Volunteers. He was son of S. B. Putnam, Esq., of this city. He was buried at Mount Auburn with military honors, last Monday, Oct. 28, after services conducted by Rev. Dr. Bartol in the West Church, Boston. On this occasion, the following notice of his life and character was read by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, which will be interesting to the many friends of this excellent young man:—The boy-soldier, whose remains are before us, came, by both parents, from the best New England races. His father is descended from the ancestor of old General Putnam, and his family on this side contains such statesmen and scholars as Timothy and John Pickering. On the other side, his mother's family has given to us statesmen, sages, patriots,

poets, scholars, orators, economists, philanthropists, and now gives to us also a hero and martyr. His great-grandfather, Judge Lowell, inserted in the Bill of Rights prefixed to the Constitution of this State, the clause declaring that "all men are born free and equal" for the purpose, as he avowed at the time, of abolishing slavery in Massachusetts; and he was appointed by President Washington Federal Judge of this district. His grandfather was minister of this church, honored and loved as few others have been, for more than half a century. Of few men need we speak, but those who know him personally or whose friends, I may say that his native powers and scholarly habits indicated that he would fully keep the promise given in the traditions of his family.

Born in Boston in 1840, he was educated in Europe, where he went when eleven years old—and where, in France, Germany and Italy, he showed that he possessed the ancestral faculty of mastering easily all languages, and where he faithfully studied classic and Christian antiquity and art. Under the best and most loving guidance, he read with joy the holy scriptures of Virgil, while looking down from the hill of Parnassus, the headland of Misenium and the ruins of Cumæ. He studied with diligence the remains of Etruscan art, of which perhaps no American scholar, though he was so young, knew more. And here, let me mention a distinguished French savant, Dr. Guépin, of Nantes in Brittany, who took a peculiar interest in William Putnam, and devoted himself to his instruction as if he had been his parent. This excellent scholar and generous gentleman will hear of his death with pain, scarcely less than if William were his own child, but, nevertheless, he made no display of his acquisitions, and very few knew that he had acquired anything. When he broke out, his conscience and heart urged him to go to the service of his country. His strong sense of duty overcame the reluctance of his parents, and they consented. A presentiment that he should not return alive was very strong in his mind and theirs. But he gave himself cheerfully, and said in entire strength of purpose,—that to die would be easy, in such a cause. And in the full conviction of immortality he added, "What is death, mother? it is nothing but a step in our life." His fidelity to every duty gained him the respect of his superior officers, and his generous, constant interest in his companions and soldiers brought to him an unexampled affection. He realized fully that this war must enlarge the area of freedom, if it was to attain its true end—and in one of his last letters, he expressed the earnest prayer that it might not cease till it opened the way for universal liberty.

These earnest opinions were connected with a feeling of the wrong done to the African race, and an interest in its improvement. He took with him to the war, as a body-servant, a colored man named George Brown, who repaired to every duty with the respect of his superior officers, and his generous, constant interest in his companions and soldiers brought to him an unexampled affection. He realized fully that this war must enlarge the area of freedom, if it was to attain its true end—and in one of his last letters, he expressed the earnest prayer that it might not cease till it opened the way for universal liberty.

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In the fatal battle a week ago, Lowell fell, as is reported, while endeavoring to save a wounded companion,—fell, soiled with no ignoble dust,—non prole, non prole, non prole. Brought to the hospital tent, he said to the surgeon, who came to dress his wound,—Go to some one else, to whom you can do more good; you cannot save me," like Philip Sydney, giving the water to the soldiers who needed it more than himself.

Brave and beautiful child!—was it for this that you had inherited the best results of past culture, and had been so wisely educated and carefully trained? Was it for this, to be struck down by a ruffian's bullet, in a hopeless struggle against overwhelming numbers? He was content to let these questions be thus wasted, apparently for nothing,—through the ignorance or carelessness of those whose duty it was to make due preparation, before sending them to the field! How can we bear it!

But believing in God and in Christ, we can bear even this. It is not any blind chance, not any human folly, which controls these events. All is as God wills who knows what the world needs, and what we need, better than we can know it. He uses the folly and sin of man for great ends—and He does not allow any good and noble effort to be lost. The death of Christ seemed at the time an awful waste of the world's most precious treasure; a waste of the noblest flower of the human race. Christ, the Son of Man, by cruel and brutal hands crucified and slain, seemed a great waste, but was the redemption of the world. And the death of Christ was taught that it is God's great law, that the best shall always be sacrificed to save the worst—the innocent suffering for the good of the guilty. This is the law; ordained before the earth was made—and every pure soul sacrificed in a struggle with evil, is another "lamb slain from the foundation of the world."

And do we not see, in these great sacrifices, that the heroism itself is already a great gain? Is it not something to know that we do not belong to a degenerate race? Is it not a great blessing to know that we also, and our sons, are still as capable as our fathers were, of great and noble sacrifices—that Massachusetts (God bless her!) still produces heroes in these boys of yours, trained perhaps in the lap of luxury, can, at the call of their country, spring to battle, and die cheerfully for their land? Is it not something to see that they put into simple facts and plain reality the grand words of old poetry, and say, I wish,

"In some good cause, not in mine own, To perish, wept for, honored, known, And like a warrior overthrown, Whose eyes are dim with glorious tears, His country's war-sung thrill his ears."

Yes, we lose them, these precious children, but we gain them while we lose them! They go from us in their strength and beauty—but they go direct to God, and come to us again from Him, transfigured in the light and glory of his Heaven. We take them with us in our hearts wherever we go. We feel the exalted life which they have attained. There come to us at this time some singularly applicable lines of Schiller, in his Wallenstein—singularly applicable, because this German play was one which William Lowell was very fond of reading, and in which the character and fate of Max seem so parallel to his own. When Max fell in a battle, he was last Monday, when he was attacked by overwhelming numbers, and no retreat was possible—the more are the words of his friend:—

"Be these more fortunate! Yes, he hath finished! For his life there is no longer future. His life is bright—bright without spot! And cannot cease to be. No ominous hour Knocks at his door with tidings of mishap, No shadow of doubt, no gloom, no fear, O' well with him!"

"WELL WITH HIM!" and well also with the land which bears such sons. Their spirit deepens ours, deepens the soul of courage throughout the land, calls out more valor, more devotion. When we hear of such deaths, we feel how happy we also should be to die so. We feel as Pulaski felt—I quote an anecdote told me in my youth. Pulaski, the Polish soldier, was gently rebuked by Washington for rash exposure of his life. He replied, "General, my father died in battle, when he was 22; my grandfather died in battle, fighting for his country, when he was 23; General, I am 23, and I am ashamed to be alive." We feel almost ashamed to be alive, when we hear of these sacrifices. Such deaths are not in vain, for they rouse the whole soul of the land—and the blood of the martyrs is again the seed of the church.

Farewell, then, dear child, brave heart, soul of sweetness and fire! We shall see no more that fair candid brow with its sunny hair, those sincere eyes, that cheek flushed with the commingling roses of modesty and courage. Go, and join the noble group of devoted souls, our heroes and saints. Go with ELIZABETH, patroness of the great cause, with FREEDOM, with WASHINGTON, poet and soldier, our Korzar with sword and lyre; go with the chivalric LYON, bravest of the brave, leader of men; go with BAKER, to whose utterance the united murmurs of Atlantic and Pacific ocean gave eloquent rhythm, and whose words flowered early into heroic action. Go with our noble Massachusetts boys, in whose veins runs the best blood of the age. Go gladly, and sleep in peace. Those who love them, as much as parents ever loved child, give them joyfully in this great hour of their country's need. Our Massachusetts mothers, more than Roman

mothers, because Christian mothers, bring their spotless lambs to the altar, expiatory victims for a nation's sin. We shall rise together, parents and children, to the high level of this great historic day. Happy, happy death—coming to him who, "being made perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time. For, as the ancients say, "honorable life does not stand in length of time"—if "an unperfected life is deemed the many years" passed in more routine and worldly self-seeking—then we may rejoice over these dear brothers and sons, who have gone to God in all the purity of their souls, not dying in vain. "They pleased God, and he took them."

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1861.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every State in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State bounded with slavery to a foreign power."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

To the Congress of the United States: The undersigned, citizens of _____ State of _____, respectfully submit—That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. There is no time to be lost. Congress will soon be in session, and the first claim upon its attention should be this Petition, or one in any other form that may be more satisfactory, having the abolition of slavery in view, signed by such numbers as to secure the action desired with the least possible delay.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANTI-SLAVERY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists" as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfillment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carelessness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that there has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the councils of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity. We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always, in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do. All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.] Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

- L. Maria Child, Mary Wiley, Ann Rebecca Bramhall, Sarah P. Remond, Henrietta Sargent, Mary E. Stearns, Sarah J. Novell, Elizabeth Von Arnim, Helen Eliza Garrison, Anne Langdon Alger, Elisha Apthorp, Sarah Conings, Abby Kelley Foster, Sarah H. Southwick, Lydia D. Parker, Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Augusta G. King, Sarah C. Atkinson, Mattie Griffin, Abby Francis, Mary Jane Parkman, Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephenson.

AT HOME.

In compliance with an invitation officially extended to us to attend the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at West Chester, on the 24th ult., we left home on Saturday, the 19th, to spend two or three days in advance, in the city of New York. Sunday forenoon, we embraced the opportunity to attend, for the first time, religious services at the Church of the Pilgrims, in Brooklyn, whereof Henry Ward Beecher is pastor. The church is a large and an admirably constructed edifice, of about the dimensions of the Tremont Temple in this city, and at an early hour was crowded with an unusually intelligent and wide-awake audience,—as we were told, invariably, no matter what may be the state of the weather or the times. This is owing to the wide-spread fame which Mr. Beecher has acquired as a public lecturer and pulpit orator; and his fame comes from his rare versatility of talent, fluency of speech, affluence of illustration, copiousness and vigor of thought, earnestness of manner, strong individuality, large common sense, liberal and independent spirit, genial temperance, personal magnetism, warm-hearted humanity, and dramatic action. There is no similar case of long-continued pulpit attractiveness in this country. True, in addition to the regular attendants in populous Brooklyn, multitudes are drawn across the ferry from New York, who are equally curious and interested listeners. In singing, a small choir takes the lead, joined by the immense assembly in a standing position; the effect is inspiring. The subject of the sermon was Conscience—its functions and manifestations—and it was treated with marked ability on a philosophical rather than an "evangelical" basis. Before commencing his sermon, Mr. Beecher made a few prefatory remarks in relation to the "contrabands," at Fortress Monroe, (in whose aid a collection was taken up,) and also to the case of Gen. Fremont, for whom he expressed the warmest regard, and in whom he reposed the utmost confidence. The tribute evidently gave universal satisfaction.

Sunday evening, we listened to one of the series of powerful anti-slavery discourses in process of delivery by Rev. Dr. Cheever. It was most gratifying to see his church thronged on the occasion; but as the sermon was mainly devoted to a defence of the U. S. Constitution as an anti-slavery instrument, it seemed to us as ill-timed, (especially now that the old Union is broken asunder,) as it was, and as every such effort must be, futile. Still, it commanded unbroken attention to a late hour; and wherever it struck an effective blow at slavery, it elicited warm approbation. Dr. C. is unwearied in his labors to break the fetters of the oppressed, and speaks "in demonstration of the spirit and with power."

Monday evening, it was our privilege to meet, in a social manner, a large company of highly intellectual and gifted friends of freedom,—an account of which interview, copied from the Anti-Slavery Standard, was published in last week's Liberator. We shall long remember it with high satisfaction.

Tuesday we took the train for Philadelphia, stopping by the way, over night, at the residence of our esteemed friend, CYRUS PEIRCE, at Bristol, and receiving from the entire household the kindest attentions and the warmest hospitality. In the circle of friends gathered in the evening for a free interchange of sentiments, we were particularly gratified in once more taking by the hand our early, tried, brave and eloquent friend, ROBERT PURVIS, Esq., of Byberry, with his estimable wife, a daughter of the late hon. and distinguished JAMES FORTES, and both identified in complexion and destiny with an oppressed and deeply injured race.

Wednesday, we arrived in Philadelphia—a city which we always visit with pleasure—and in the evening were privileged to attend the weekly meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle, at the residence of Dr. CHILDS. In addition to the members of the Circle, many others were present, making the aggregate more than a hundred, and presenting a most animating spectacle. It was an occasion of great interest and pleasure to us.

Thursday morning, accompanied by a delegation of the early and untiring friends of our cause, we took the train for West Chester, and there participated in the proceedings of the State A. S. Society during that and the next day. Five sessions were held, the beloved and venerated JAMES MOTT in the chair. In consequence of the convulsed state of the country, and the paradoxical aspects of the present bloody conflict, so as to change the position or alter the action of many claiming to be the friends of peace and anti-slavery, we were anticipating considerable diversity of opinion as to the proper course to be pursued by the Society, especially as nearly all present were more or less identified with Quaker sentiments; but we were very agreeably disappointed in this particular. Remarkable unity of feelings and views prevailed throughout; and in the adoption of the official STATEMENT published last week, there was entire concurrence. Among those who participated in the discussions were Lucretia Mott, J. Miller McKim, Mary Grew, Oliver Johnson, Anna E. Dickinson, Rev. N. R. Johnston of Vermont, Thomas Garrett, Chandler Darlington, Thomas Whitson, Robert Purvis, Edwin H. Coates, Joseph A. Dugdale, Thomas Curtis, and Osborne P. Anderson—the last named one of the colored compatriots of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. There was some diversity of opinion as to whether the Memorial to Congress, which has been so extensively circulated, compromised the principles of the Society in the matter of compensation; but it was generally viewed as sufficiently guarded in that particular, and many copies were distributed for signatures in that regard.

Excellent letters were received from Rev. HENRY GREW, JONATHAN WALKER, (of the "branded hand,") and THEODORE TILTON. The last was very pithy:—NEW YORK, Oct. 28, 1861. MY DEAR FRIEND,—My opinion, since you ask it, is just this. There is war because there was a Republican party; there was a Republican party, because there was an Abolition party; there was an Abolition party because there was slavery. To change the war into peace, Republicanism is merely to blame the lamb that stood in the brook; to charge it upon Abolitionism is to blame the sheep for being the lamb's mother; but to charge it upon slavery is to lay the crime straight at the door of the wolf. So, to end the trouble, kill the wolf. I belong to the party of the wolf-killers! Always your friend, THEODORE TILTON.

To JAMES MILLER MCKIM. Though the attendance was not quite as large as usual, especially on the part of the younger portion, (a number of whom had "gone to the war,") yet those present constituted a body remarkable for their solid character and rare moral worth; and it is believed that no anniversary of the Society ever gave more satisfaction, or indicated a more earnest purpose to prosecute its great work until the triumphant completion thereof in the abolition of the slave system.

It was our happy privilege to spend Saturday and Sunday at Longwood, and to address a full gathering, on Sunday forenoon, in the Progressive Friends' meeting-house,—being followed by Thomas Curtis, of Philadelphia, who thought that the Calvinistic view of the atonement was the main cause of the existence of slavery by the land! [About the same relation, we think, that God winds bore to the Tenterden steeple.] A forcible and eloquent address on slavery and the war was made by Anna E. Dickinson, who, though young in years, gives great promise as a public speaker in the future.

To Oliver and Mary A. W. Johnson in New York—to Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimb, J. Miller McKim and family, James and Lucretia Mott, in Philadelphia—to Simon Barnard and family in West Chester—to Isaac and Daniel Mendenhall, John and Hannah Cox, Chandler and Hannah M. Darlington, in Longwood—and to all others who bestowed upon us their kind and generous hospitality—we return our most grateful acknowledgments. No single visit, in our whole experience, has ever been so crowded with pleasant incidents as this; and we return home all the better for it in health and spirits.

ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH TOWARDS ANTI-SLAVERY.

The following item, which appears in the New York Observer and in the New York Evangelist, shows one of the indirect methods by which American clergymen discourage all active movement against slavery. Of the direct methods, we have had many specimens.—"At the Christian Conference in Switzerland, when the American war and slavery were up for discussion, the Rev. Mr. Sawtell, pastor of the American chapel in Havre, made the shortest speech. Addressing the English delegates, he said, 'Give us your prayers and grow your own cotton, and slavery will soon cease in America.'"

This suggestion was made at the quadrennial meeting of the "Evangelical Alliance," lately held at Geneva. The influence of the American delegation has heretofore been so strong with this body, that all debate on the subject of slavery in its sessions has been prohibited. It is for this reason that Count Agénor de Gasparin refuses to be a member of the Alliance, and would not be present at its recent session, (although he sent an Essay to be read there,) because he had reason to suppose that this shameful exclusion would still be enforced. The new aggressions of the Slave Power, however, seem to have caused an exception to this rule or custom in the recent meeting, and a debate took place in regard to slavery, followed by a resolution on that subject, recognizing it as the cause of the war, and urging its suppression, in spite of the efforts of Dr. Baird and Mr. Sawtell to have people merely pray against it instead of acting against it.

As specimens of the manner in which our churches, almost universally, receive the attempts of the Church Anti-Slavery Society to urge them towards a Christian position in regard to the slaveholder and the slave, take the following recent action of Orthodox Congregationalists in the State of New York:—"Church Anti-Slavery Society. At the late meeting of the General Association of New York, a resolution laid over from last meeting, approving the principles and aims of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, came up, and after a discussion, the following resolution, as a substitute, was unanimously passed:—"Resolved, That in view of the frequent and emphatic declarations of this Association touching the sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of using all moral and lawful means for its removal, and in view also of the general fidelity of our ministers and churches in carrying out these declarations in preaching and practice, the Association see no occasion for a society extraneous to the churches to incite them to their duty upon this subject, and respectfully leave the Church Anti-Slavery Society to pursue in its own way whatever duty it feels called upon to perform in the common cause of our American Christianity for the abolition of slavery."

The impudence of this assumption of the New York churches, of being already right on the subject of slavery, after a career of complicity with it as decided as that of the Tract Society, the "American Board," or the United States Government, might teach the Church Anti-Slavery Society, if it were willing to learn, the folly of recognizing such people as Christians at all.—c. x. w.

FOURTH FRATERNITY LECTURE.

The fourth lecture of this course was given to a very large audience, on Tuesday evening last, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Worcester. His subject was, "Cromwell's Ironsides."

He said he had chosen his subject from a remote period, because, though conscious that he, like all the other lecturers in the course, must speak about our present war, it was better for that subject not to monopolize all that they said. The subject of Cromwell's army had been brought to his mind by his first journey to Kansas. Years ago, when he first obtained a sight of the genuine "Border Ruffians," they were identified by his guide, by their long hair; and there Mr. Higginson learned "not only that that class affected a wild and savage length of hair, using the scissors as little as the comb, but that they nicknamed their civilized opponents "Roundheads," thus recalling the old characteristics, and the very language, of the Cavaliers and Puritans of a former age.

After describing the Cavalier army, led by Prince Rupert, and the Puritan, led by Cromwell—and after mentioning that the royal forces had conquered in all the earlier minor contests, having skilled military leaders, though the wealth and the brains were on the side of the Puritans—he asked why it was that Cromwell was never beaten in his small preliminary contests, any more than in the great, decisive, subsequent battles?

He found the answer in two facts. First, that Cromwell chose for soldiers men who had the fear of God, and a conscience, to inspire and direct their actions; and next, that he employed or imported men skilled in war to regulate their movements; and that, if he could find leaders and men, 250 of whom could rout 2000 of the enemy, he did not care whether these genuine soldiers were men of foreign birth, or whether their names were hard or easy to pronounce. (Great applause.)

As in all armies, there were some excesses and some disorders among Cromwell's troops; but, as a general rule, the camp of the Puritans was moral and orderly. Their cause, and the principles on which it was founded, kept them not only orderly, but vigorous, vigilant, and persistent. They fought on and advanced through the winter, routing the Cavaliers while they were planning luxurious winter quarters.

The lesson taught by these men remains for us in the present conflict. Thus far, we have frequently repeated the mistake which the Puritans at first made, of meeting a despised enemy with inadequate preparation,—of conducting the war carelessly and negligently. We have committed the error of sending out, against a united, a desperate, and a well-offered foe, only our spare funds and our surplus population. We plan and act in regard only to the superficial part of the war, and shrink from striking through to the absolute reality. We dread overmuch the danger of a divided public sentiment, and so fail to touch the sympathies and principles that lie deep in the human heart, and that are absolutely necessary to make men good soldiers. Not till we dare to trust each other, and speak out our deepest thought, shall we reach the source whence the best armies flow. The banishment of the slavery question from the great war meetings had a chilling and disastrous effect, and the right man to lead our armies would not be brought out until we met that question openly, and struck directly at slavery. An effective army for this purpose cannot be made of the unemployed population. We must penetrate to the very heart of the State to find Cromwellian soldiers, who will fight from a conscientious principle.

Much has been said, and truly said, about the horrors of war. But look at the horrors of the auction-block, extending back for more than a century! There is something worse than this war, namely, the slavery in which it originated! Yet the war meetings ignore this origin! This is as absurd as it would be to invite Mr. Gough to deliver a lecture, and, when an immense audience was already assembled, to say to him, My dear Sir, you must be particularly careful to say nothing against rum! Not until we plainly appeal, in words and deeds, to the right of freedom, and the duty of maintaining it, shall we conquer. The absurdity of carrying on the war without striking at slavery was like attempting to storm hell without interfering with the personal comfort of Satan!

Have we, anti-slavery men, no cause to criticize ourselves! Have we taken our fair share of effort to carry on the war? In spite of the years of warning we have had, of the manifest signs that this question must be brought to a bloody issue, the anti-slavery men of the North have left the military training of the State so entirely in the hands of others, that, when the time for action came, the officers were all of a different persuasion.

Much has been said, and rightly, of the return of fugitive slaves since this war commenced. But who returned them? Not Lincoln, not Cameron. It was the Colonels of Northern regiments; yes, of Massachusetts regiments; and one, he was ashamed to say, from Worcester! Are not we, in part, to blame for

this! If anti-slavery men stay out of the war till all goes right, they will stay out forever.

At the present moment, a right position of the army is more important than a right position of the Administration; and if we wish the army's work to be done well, we must take our share in it. Fighting should be done, if at all, by the calm self-devotion of those who stand most firmly on principle.

In spite of the unfavorable antecedents of Mr. Devens in regard to slavery, Gov. Andrew wisely appointed him to command the regiment which he had trained. Let his zeal for the cause of the Union cast those former deficiencies into the shade.

We must have men of conscience and character to fight this war, if it is to be fought through. And we should take part in it, since our private duty cannot be truly done while our public duty is left undone. The 25th regiment, from the heart of the Commonwealth, is the noblest that has yet left Massachusetts. But a nobler yet is needed, and I believe it will be found.

The Administration, too, is taking better ground. The great naval expedition is not hampered by orders to favor slavery; except the prohibition of a general arming of the slaves—a thing that even John Brown did not purpose—no prohibition whatever is placed upon them.

My lips have been sealed upon this subject while I could only say—"Go." For this reason I have waited to the present moment, when I can say—"Come."—c. x. w.

THE FUGITIVES IN CANADA.

St. CATHARINES, (C. W.) Oct. 30, 1861. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I notice in the Liberator of the 25th inst. the announcement of a Society here, called "The Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catharines," the names of the officers being given.

This movement may appear well to friends of humanity in Boston and other parts of New England, but it looks strangely to us here, it is so uncalculated for us in a thriving condition. Divine Providence has favored them, in common with others, with a fruitful season, and with ample employment.

Fugitives fresh from slavery have been in the habit of coming to my house for relief, advice, &c., ever since I have lived in the place, now eleven years, and they have always had help when it was in our power to favor them; but since the civil war commenced, they have very seldom come to us, for the reason that they find protection in the Northern States, and are encouraged to stop short of Canada; or, if they do come over, they can come at their leisure, having with friends by the way, who minister to their wants, so that they come into Canada in a far more comfortable condition than in former years.

With regard to those who may be suffering from sickness or destitution, (which, by the way, there are none now that I am aware of,) the town charity is ample, and I am happy to know that it is extended as promptly and liberally to them as to any other class of poor people. I say these things from personal knowledge, and not from hearsay or second-hand testimony.

For years past, while the strangers, direct from slavery, have generally been well cared for, and always to the extent of our means; others, who, by reason of sickness, misfortune or providence, have required help, in

OUR NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

Editor of the Liberator: DEAR SIR—Our national administration, poor simple souls, and as ignorant as simple, have never dared to inquire for the cause of the rebellion that despoils the Union, and fills the land with bloodshed and devastation. They know it is a great rebellion, and that the rebels are very wicked, and that is pretty much all they know about it. They mean to quell it, but they do not mean to ascertain the cause of the outbreak; for if they do, they will be required to remove it; and that they will not do. They seem quite as solicitous to save the cause of the rebellion, as to save the Union and the government. By removing the cause of the war, peace could be immediately dictated to the rebels. It could be forced upon them, whether they will or not, by a power that would prove irresistible. But one of the great stumbling-blocks, preventing the speedy termination of the slaveholders' democratic rebellion, is the personal ambition of the three leading members of President Lincoln's cabinet—Seward, Chase, and Cameron. They have each an eye to the succession, and it requires much time to watch each other, look after Fremont, McClellan, and other military leaders, and set their nets, their traps, and their hair-triggers, so as to ensure success. Washington is alive with traitors. Every important measure, whether civil or military, is known to the rebels before it is known to loyal citizens, and yet no measures are taken to remove the evil. These shrewd aspirants for the White House take it for granted that the rebellion will be put down, and they all look beyond it. In 1864, the Southern States will have over half as many votes as the Free States. Such men as Seward, Chase and Cameron do not overlook considerations so important, and they mean to take time by the forelock. They are making to themselves friends of the mammoth of unrighteousness, that when their present offices fall, they may be received into the everlasting White House. Hence, they desire a clean Southern record. They are determined to crush the rebellion, and they are determined to leave the rebels in good humor. They mean to prosecute the war vigorously, but they mean to do it in a most friendly manner. They banish all feeling of mere passion or resentment, and recollect only their duty, to the whole country; that this war was not waged, on our part, in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, rights and equality of the several States unimpaired; and as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease. They mean to fight the battles and kill the rebels on the most amicable principles. They will save the Union, but they are equally bound to save slavery. If one of the other must perish, Mr. Cameron would willingly toss up a copper, and agree to abide the result. He cares but little whether liberty or slavery prevails, but he cares much about Simon Cameron. Mr. Seward has a decided "antipathy in favor" of liberty; but he has shown, on more occasions than one, that he will not sacrifice Wm. H. Seward to promote the liberation of all the blacks in America. They have his best wishes, and he sees, and feels, and knows, that liberty is better than slavery, and that between them, as antagonistic and opposing forces, there exists an "irrepressible conflict." This conflict he will go through with all his power in latitude 48 deg.; but he will so overcome with lassitude and languor when he reaches the low latitude of 37, that he is powerless—so weak he can do nothing.

Mr. Chase is, doubtless, the most consistent of these very modest advocates of the "higher law." Theoretically, both Mr. Chase and Mr. Seward believe in the higher law. Practically, they believe no such thing. Both have been tried, and both have been found wanting. The rulings of that judicial tyrant, Judge Wilson, in the Oberlin rescue cases, inaugurated a state of affairs that fully tested Gov. Chase's faith in the higher law of God; and proved that, in his opinion, God's laws are void when repealed by act of Congress. The position Mr. Chase assumed was, doubtless, his final one, and was taken with deliberation, in view of ulterior results. That he is at heart an anti-slavery man cannot be denied; but it is equally true that he aspires to the Presidency. It seems to an outside spectator so plain, that no member of the present cabinet can ever be President, that "the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein." The public exigencies demand of them great sagacity, energy, shrewdness, industry and efficiency. If they fail in either, they will be condemned; and if they do not, they will offend myriads of cormorants and placemen, who will become their implacable enemies. So, whether they do their duty, or neglect to do their duty, their hopes for further advancement will be annihilated. It is greatly to be regretted that they cannot see how nor where they stand.

The most honest man in the cabinet is Edward Bates. But he is a Southern man. He has no sympathy with any of the "isms" of the day. Such is his boast. Yet he has emancipated all his slaves. Still, all his sympathies are with his Southern slaveholding brethren. The same may be said of the Postmaster General. The anti-slavery of the whole Blair family is political. They care nothing about the slave question, except as it affects the white man. All their good wishes are with the slaveholders.

It was most unfortunate that the President was born among them. While he is resolved to put down the rebels, he seems equally resolved to save and protect slavery. He does not love slavery; on the contrary, he is evidently a just man. Like Mr. Bates, he loves justice, but his friends and kindred are slaveholders, and he has no heart to see them ruined. He knows that our Union cannot exist, part slave and part free States; that they must become all one or the other; and yet, such is his weakness, so great is his desire to harmonize what even the Almighty God cannot harmonize, that he dictated to Fremont such an alteration in his proclamation as would totally annul its efficacy; and a measure that would make all the States free, and crush the rebellion, and secure the blessings of peace and liberty to these United States forever, he has directed to be so emasculated as to be worthless, being only a repetition of the law of Congress, which is no more a law because issued as a military proclamation. Thus far, Fremont has not modified his proclamation. If he does not do it, will the administration dare suspend him? Where would it leave them,—the President and his cabinet? How will it affect the legislation of Congress, at its coming session, and how the army? Where will they find new recruits? Will they not be compelled to renege the very policy they have repudiated, and, having proclaimed liberty to the slaves, recruit their decimated ranks from the enfranchised bondmen? And, then, what of the secession? Where will our ambitious Secretaries be found? Where will Fremont stand? He has now gone out to battle, sustained by despair. If he is defeated, he will be sacrificed at once. If successful, where will his enemies be?

There is an important settlement to be made between Fremont and somebody. Why was Lyon sacrificed? Was he neglected to reinforce him the fault of Fremont, or of the authorities at Washington, or was it the lack of men and means with which to do it? Why was not Mulligan reinforced? Was the fault Fremont's, or was it at Washington? Why were 6000 men ordered from his department, when it had been known for days, all over the country, that Price was advancing, with a strong force, on Lexington, Booneville, or Jefferson City? Was Washington in danger? If so, why not get the required force to defend it nearer home? Why send, at that hour of peril, an order which, if obeyed, was sure to defeat Mulligan, give Price the victory, and place Fremont where he could do nothing? Could it have originated in Cameron's fear of Fremont's popularity? The matter is full of mystery. One thing, however, is certain—our public men are demoralized, and Slavery's mis-

ious rule our government, notwithstanding the rebellion. But, when the rebels are conquered, will liberty and justice be in the ascendant? or will the Northern States, like the Southern, settle down under a military despotism? Who can tell!

HON. CHARLES SUMNER AT MILFORD.

DEAR GARRISON.—Last Saturday evening, our people had the pleasure of listening to the noble-hearted Senator of Massachusetts. His theme was—"The Rebellion; its Origin and Mainspring." Notwithstanding the night was dark and stormy, the Town Hall was filled. At 7 o'clock, Mr. Sumner took the platform, being introduced by Hon. AARON C. MAYNEW. The eloquent Champion of Freedom occupied two hours in unfolding the cause and remedy of the Rebellion, not sparing, for a moment, that horrible system of iniquity, American Slavery, as the prime and ever swelling cause of all our woes—the monstrous atrocity which must be removed, before peace can be restored to our suffering country. The word slavery, to Mr. Sumner, is the culmination of all crime, and he speaks it with an emphasis and will, that reveal his large heart and intellect to be on the side of humanity.

The perfect chain of logic, backed by facts and concurrent history, with the clear philosophy of Justice and Right, carries conviction to every heart, that is not encased in prejudice, and a determination not to believe. He does not allow the least concession to the sin of oppression to be called small. Nay, nothing can be small that wrongs the weakest child of God, or does violence to the least citizen of a Commonwealth. In a clear, transparent atmosphere, he transfigures his audience, and with himself standing on the Mount, all feel that "it is good to be there." No distrust or desire to "look back" is so painful as that which takes us again to the cold meshes and miserable expediency of lowering, one iota, the standard of eternal justice.

But to those who have tolled, lo! these thirty years, in the cause of Anti-Slavery, no part of this peerless service of Mr. Sumner is more grateful than his just, but, nevertheless, most noble testimony in behalf of the Abolitionists. "I hear a voice," said the orator, "saying it is not Slavery, but Anti-Slavery, that has caused this Rebellion." In reply to this unfounded and malignant charge, Mr. Sumner soars in power and conviction which is irresistible. By a quotation from Tacitus, one of the greatest historians of his generation, if not all other generations, he shows the same charge was preferred against the early followers of Christ, by those who called them "vulgar" devotees of one "Christ of Tiberias." "The Abolitionists!" said Mr. Sumner, "need no defence from me. To their praise be it said, they warned you faithfully, long ago, of all this calamity we are now suffering. As well charge the faithful passenger, who warns the helmsman of the fatal shoals, of the destruction of the vessel. As well blame the astronomer, who has calculated the eclipse, for the darkness which has gathered." Cheer upon cheer, with which the flowing and graceful sentences were greeted, evinced that justice does not slumber always in the human soul.

Now comes the remedy for this hour of conflict. "It may be," said Mr. Sumner, "through the words and way of Gen. Butler, or it may be by the way of the gallant Fremont, or the more sublime plan of John Quincy Adams, but it must be through Emancipation." (Long and continued applause.) At this point, Mr. Sumner took from his pocket the late order of Secretary Cameron to the Naval Expedition, and read it, declaring that it covered all, and even more than the ground he had taken. "We can have," he remarked, "no other interpretation"; and although it has been published more than a week, it has had no comments from the Boston press, doubtless because it condemns their former position.

"I expected," said Mr. Sumner, "that order when I made my Worcester speech at the late Convention." It was, therefore, hailed with pleasure as the most important progressive step since the inauguration of the war. Only one thing was feared by the orator, that, by some fatality, concessions might be made, which would be far more fatal than flying armies or captured hosts. In closing words, which are not soon to be forgotten, we were exhorted to do justice to our brother man the wide world over, "though the heavens fall." "But," said Mr. Sumner, "the heavens will not fall—God and Justice will triumph—the Rebellion must and will be crushed—victory and peace will be ours." God bless our noble Senator! for when we hear his voice again in the Capital, it will be for universal freedom.

REMOVAL OF GENERAL FREMONT.

Great Indignation and Excitement.—Resignation of Officers and Refusal of Soldiers to Fight.—Renouance of Gen. Fremont.—His Parting Address to the Soldiers.—Gen. Pope to Command until Gen. Hunter's Arrival.

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Nov. 8. Yesterday small bodies of the enemy came within twelve miles of us, and news was received of the approach of the advance of 3500 strong. Preparations were being made to go out and attack them, when Gen. Fremont received an unconditional order from Washington relieving him at once from his command. Simultaneously came the newspapers announcing the fact. The intelligence spread like wildfire through the camp, and created indescribable indignation and excitement.

Great numbers of the officers signified their intention of resigning at once, and many companies laid down their arms, declaring that they would fight under no one but Gen. Fremont. Gen. Fremont spent much of the time expostulating with the officers and men, urging them by their patriotism and by their personal regard for him not to abandon their posts. He also addressed the following farewell order to the troops:—

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT, Springfield, Mo., Nov. 2d. Soldiers of the Missouri Army: Agreeably to orders received this day, I take leave of you. Although your service has been of but a few months, you have grown up together, and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirits which you bring to the defence of your country, and which make me anticipate for you a brilliant career. Continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same courage and energy which I have so often encouraged me. Emulate the splendid example which you have already before you, and let me remain as I am, proud of the noble army I have thus far labored to bring together. Soldiers, I regret to leave you, most sincerely. I thank you for your regard, and for the confidence which you show me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win, but I shall claim the right to share with you in the joy of every triumph, and trust always to be personally remembered by my companions in arms. (Signed) JOHN C. FREMONT, Major General.

The feeling ran intensely high during the whole of last evening, and there were meetings almost everywhere. The various bands serenaded the General, and whenever he appeared he was greeted with cheers. Although after notifying General Hunter, as his order directed, he had no longer command over the troops, he spent several hours in making a personal examination of the ground about the city to be prepared for a battle, and in accordance with a written request from all the Brigadier Generals here, he remained through the night, to lead the army in case of an attack. All of the troops slept on their arms, and many officers remained all night. An attack was expected at any moment, but nothing more occurred than the firing on our pickets in two different roads. The enemy are now encamped on the old Wilson Creek battle-ground.

Gen. Fremont is prepared to leave for St. Louis, and will go as soon as Gen. Pope arrives, who has been sent forward and will take command until Gen. Hunter gets here. Universal good prevails throughout the camp. A battle will undoubtedly occur ere long. Our troops will meet the enemy firmly, but they are disheartened and have lost their enthusiasm. The body guard, who would not be induced to remain, will remain all night. An attack was expected at any moment, but nothing more occurred than the firing on our pickets in two different roads. The enemy are now encamped on the old Wilson Creek battle-ground.

FREMONT'S BLANKET PURCHASE.—EXPLANATION. E. M. Davis, Assistant Quartermaster under Fremont, publishes a letter in the Philadelphia Bulletin, to Adjutant-General Thomas, correcting several errors relative to himself in his (Thomas's) letter to Secretary Cameron. He entirely repudiates the report from an anonymous correspondent that he had purchased from the government a quantity of blankets, and says that when the report of the Board reached Fremont, he expressed great displeasure, and ordered the blankets to be returned.

THE LOSS AT BALL'S BLUFF.

A comparison of the various lists of the killed, wounded and missing at the battle of Ball's Bluff leads to the belief that the following figures will not vary much from the official reports:—

Table with columns: No. Engaged, Killed, Wounded, Missing. Rows: California, 570, 18, 42, 227; Tammany, 660, 10, 20, 120; Massachusetts 15th, 480, 14, 63, 245; Do. 20th, 118, 8, 41, 110. Total, 1918, 60, 166, 702.

The Rebels report having taken but 620 prisoners, and that it is 173 short of our number reported missing, it is fair to presume that nearly all of the balance was killed in the battle. Of the prisoners, probably one hundred, at least, are wounded. With these additions, the list of casualties will stand as follows:—

Table with columns: Killed, Wounded, Prisoners not wounded, Total. Rows: Killed, 223; Wounded, 166; Prisoners not wounded, 400; Total, 689.

To the above must be added the killed and wounded of the Third Rhode Island battery, the First U. S. Artillery, and the 1st Cavalry, which would swell the number to 830, or nearly fifty per cent. of the whole force engaged.

THE BARBARITIES OF THE CONFEDERATES.—Criminals cannot be otherwise than cruel; and the traitors waging the present war against the General Government appear to be as merciless as savages. The following are some of the most atrocious illustrations of this fiendish disposition. In referring to the matter, the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia Press says:— "The Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment, although not in active battle, detailed Captain W. H. Wilson, with Company No. 1, to take possession of Harrison's Island, which did duty there more noble and humane than often falls to the lot of men. They held the island, but not only saw the transport of the troops to Virginia, but to the return of the survivors and of the dead and wounded. The deeds of barbarity related by an eye-witness, who is a distinguished member of the medical faculty of Philadelphia, perpetrated by these rebel fiends, are almost beyond the bounds of credulity; but when wounded men were driven deliberately, naked, into the river, and then shot, it will tell of some of the least barbarous acts of this thieving and assassin cavalry."

NEW YORK, Oct. 30. The Herald's Washington despatch says that the 16th Massachusetts Regiment held their first parade Thursday evening since the battle. After the parade the regiment was formed in a square, and the noble and gallant Col. Devens made them an address. No description could portray the tender, subdued fervor with which the Colonel first spoke, the electric sympathy by which his men were affected, or the earnest determination with which the question was asked and answered:— "Soldiers of Massachusetts, men of Worcester County, with these fearful gaps in your ranks, with the recollection of the terrible struggle of Monday fresh upon your thoughts, with the knowledge of the bereaved and soul-stricken ones at home, weeping for those whom they will see no more on earth,—with the thought before you that with every man that remains unharmed, you are asked you now whether you are ready again to meet the traitorous foe who are endeavoring to subvert our government, and who are crushing under the iron heel of despotism the liberties of a part of our country? I would you go next week? I would you go next month? I would you go this moment? One hearty 'Yes!' burst from every lip."

THE REBELS AT BALL'S BLUFF.—The Richmond Examiner of the 24th of October, says:—"Several gentlemen who were cognizant of the circumstances at the near-Leesburg, Monday last, say the rout was complete; that the panic exceeded that of Manassas plains. When they took to the river, their heads appeared almost as thick as blackbirds. It is impossible to describe the scene or estimate the number drowned. The rebels shot while swimming and struggling in the water." The rebels engaged were Mississippi and Virginia troops, and the Examiner adds that when the contest grew fierce, the Mississippi troops threw away their rifles, and used bow-knives. The attack upon the Rebels was made by the 16th Mass. and the 1st Cavalry. Rebel reinforcements were sent for, but were not used.

RETIREMENT OF GEN. SCOTT.

Gen. Scott has withdrawn from active service, and, upon his application, has been relieved from the command of the army of the United States. The incident is one of universal interest, and was very properly made the occasion of a simple but impressive ceremony. Upon receiving the General's application for leave to retire, the President, attended by his cabinet, and with every demonstration of respect and honor, informed him that his request was granted. The General replied in some unprepared remarks, full of grateful emotion, expressing his ardent love of the Union, and his prayers for its preservation, and his cordial confidence in the patriotism and wisdom of the Administration.

It is understood that Gen. Scott will return at once to New York. In obedience to an order of the War Department, Gen. McClellan has assumed command of the armies of the United States.

NEW YORK, Nov. 4. The Herald's Washington despatch says the parting scene between Gen. Scott and Gen. McClellan was a most impressive and affecting affair. Gen. McClellan and staff proceeded to the depot in the morning, and on the retired general he bid farewell to the veteran soldier, who has just withdrawn from active service; and, as Gen. Scott pressed the hand of his young successor, he besought him not to be controlled by the advice of any party who might counsel him to resign, or to give up his post, or to attempt to succeed in indicating the honor of his country, which he was called upon to serve in so high and responsible a capacity.

Gen. McClellan's reply was: "I thank you, General, and will not forget your counsel. May you be restored to health, and live to see your prophecy fulfilled. God be with you. Farewell."

Shortly before his retirement, Gen. Scott obtained positive information that his entire estate, all of which he had conveyed to his son, had been sequestered for the benefit of the so-called Confederate Government.

The Boston Transcript states that a gentleman in a position to be well informed of the plans and intentions of the Government, says that the proposed movements were not in the Naval Expedition form, in the places occupied by the Federal troops, Territorial Governments, to be in force until the authority of the United States is restored over an entire State, when the old State form will be reestablished.

Among the most important of the measures of bright cloth, which it is intended to make up into uniforms for colored men, thus pointing to the intention of forming black battalions from slaves, and you cannot make soldiers of slaves without freeing them. This is a settled point with military authorities. If the war is to last for any length of time, we ought to have more colored soldiers and sailors in our service, and so make them useful to the country, paying them well for their work. The red cloth taken by the expedition would convert prisoners who might become Romps in a servile war, into "Black Republicans" in regular warfare.—Traveller.

OBITUARY.

Died, at his residence in Sumbury, Delaware Co., Ohio, July 15th, 1861, Rev. Asa A. Davis, aged 51 years. The deceased was born at Killingly, Conn., Oct. 17, 1810. In 1828, he removed to Ohio, and in the following year, when but nineteen years old, he came to preach the doctrine of Universal Salvation. He is remembered by the earlier Universalists of the State as the pioneer of Universalism, heralding its catholic belief where two or three could be gathered together in the primitive temples of the sect. He was earnest, zealous, thoughtful of self, unflinching in his labors, unobscured by any popular influence. For ten years his labors were unremitting, and to him was due, in a great measure, the organization of the churches now prospering in Ohio and Kentucky. In this laudable field he sown the seeds of that fearful disease, which, until the day of his death, filled him with pain. In 1840, he removed to Massachusetts, and became pastor of the church in Danvers. His health here became so much impaired as to render active duty impossible, and leaving his family with his parishioners, he visited Jamaica, whence he returned in the following year, much improved, and more than ever anxious to further the cause of Universalism. In the fall of 1843, again he felt to perform his burdensome and incessant duties, he resigned his position, and conducted the Gospel Messenger, in Providence, R. I. In the following year, he again removed to Glen Falls, N. Y., where he devoted six years in building up a flourishing church, and officiating as its pastor. Not long content to reap the well-earned reward of his labors as the beloved and respected shepherd of a parish that owed its existence and prosperity to his exertions, he went, in 1848, to Ohio, and was installed pastor of the church in Zanesville; but after a last earnest and manly struggle against the inroads of disease upon a frame weakened by his long and faithful life-labor, he was compelled to resign all hope of active ministerial duty, and retired to Sumbury, where the remainder of his life was spent—his health hopelessly ruined, every breath a painful spasms, every movement full of misery. If ever seemed wonderful to his friends that he endured so much, and yet lived; not more wonderful than the perfect resignation with which he bore his numberless afflictions. Content was he to wait until the end, sustained by an unflinching trust "in Him who doeth all things well." Not a word of impatience, not a whisper of complaint, not a murmur of ingratitude or disbelief, was uttered by his sufferings. Helpless in the prime of life, and down in a field of usefulness, he was so well fitted to adorn and render fruitful, compelled to linger in painful inactivity year after year, he was ever patient and kind and long-suffering, never permitting the paroxysms of a diseased frame to disturb the serenity of a disciplined and Christianized mind. He is gone now—gone to reap the rewards of a life which he has taught his weary heart "to labor and to wait"—to work earnestly in God's field while He will let it—submit without a murmur to His chastisements.

With but a partial early education, he made himself thoroughly and critically acquainted with the literature of our own and several other modern languages, and was, until the day of his death, a close and indefatigable student, not only of theology, but of every department of general knowledge. He was especially conversant with the literature of Germany, and drank at the poisoned fountain of modern German philosophy without imbibing any of its infidelity. He has left a record of his life-labor in the hearts of Universalists East and West; in the memory of the friends of healthful Reform everywhere, and in every good work; above all, among those who were nearest and dearest—who ministered to him during his last, long, lingering years of suffering, resignation, and hopeful, willing obedience.

FRATERNITY LECTURES.—The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully informed that the FORUM SERIES OF FRATERNITY LECTURES continue weekly at TREMONT TEMPLE.

The lecture on Tuesday Evening, Nov. 12, will be by RALPH WALDO EMERSON. To be followed on successive TUESDAY EVENINGS by Lectures from the following gentlemen:—

- November 19—WILLIAM R. ALGER.
" 26—HENRY WARD BEECHER.
December 3—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
" 10—DANIEL S. CHAPIN.
" 17—EDWIN H. OGDEN.
" 24—EZRA H. HEYWOOD.
" 31—WILLIAM S. STUDLEY.
January 7—WENDELL PHILLIPS.
Organist—HOWARD M. DOW, Esq.

Doors to be opened at 6 1/2 o'clock. Lectures to commence at 7 1/2 o'clock, precisely. A limited number of tickets (admitting the bearer and a lady) are offered for sale at \$2 each; to be obtained at Oliver Dison & Co., No. 277 Washington street, John C. Hayes & Co., 33 Court street, D. O. Goodrich's, 303 Washington street, or the several members of the Fraternity hitherto having the disposal of tickets, and at the Tremont Temple. Oct. 11.

WM. LOYD GARRISON will speak at Music Hall, on Sunday forenoon next, before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society. Subject—The State of the Country.

A. T. FOSS will speak in Portsmouth, N. H., Sunday evening, Nov. 20.

The Life and Letters of CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN, Who was Executed at Charlestown, Virginia, December 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack upon American Slavery; with a History of some of his Confederate. Edited by RICHARD D. WALKER, a very valuable and laborious work, which has met with a most favorable reception and ready sale in England, has been carefully prepared by one of the most intelligent and experienced friends of America in the old world. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, 21 North Street; also in New York, at No. 5 Beekman street; and in Philadelphia, at No. 106 North Tenth street. Price, One Dollar. Nov. 8.

The Anti-Slavery History OF THE JOHN-BROWN YEAR; BEING THE Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society.—Is published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 North Street, A. WILLIAMS & CO., CROSBY & NICHOLS, and REDDING & CO. Price 50 cents. Nov. 8.

TERMS REDUCED. At the Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass., to \$7 and \$10 per week. Open Summer and Winter. Dr. HALLSTADT's success in the treatment of Women's diseases is well known. The cure is specific and reliable. Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk. Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stubborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given from the Turkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis. Needing a little change, and desiring to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge. Northampton, Oct. 30.

Woman's Rights under the Law. THREE Lectures delivered in Boston, January, 1861, by Mrs. C. H. DAVIS. I. The Oriental Empires and the French Law. II. The English Common Law. III. The United States Law, and some Thoughts on Human Rights. Published by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston. Uniform with Woman's Right to Labor, 63 cts.

Practical Illustrations of the same, 63 cts. Historical Pictures Retouched, \$1.00. All of which are sent free by mail on receipt of the price. Oct. 25—31st.

THE most able and brilliant book, called forth by the present struggle, is THE REJECTED STONE! Or, Infracture vs. Restoration in America. By a Native of Virginia. 12mo., flexible covers—59 cts. Published, and sent free by mail, on receipt of the price, by WALKER, WISE & CO., 245 Washington street, Boston. Oct. 25—31st.

Poetry.

OUR COUNTRY AND THE WAR.

She has not lost her ancient strength, Her patience and her power; Her battle must be hers at length, How'er misfortune lower. She has a bitter work to do, A mighty heart to bear; Let but that heart be firm and true— She need not yet despair!

From the Atlantic Monthly for November.

THE FLOWER OF LIBERTY.

BY O. W. HOLMES.

What flower is this that greets the morn, Its hues from heaven so freshly born? With burning star and flaming brand, It kindles all the sunset land;— O, tell us what its name may be! Is this the Flower of Liberty?

WAITING.

We watch, we wait! October's sun Has draped the woods with yellow leaves;— They tell us victory should be won Ere Autumn bound her harvest sheaves.

THE CORN SONG.

Heap high the farmer's victory board! Heap high the golden corn! Nor richer gift has Autumn poured From out her lavish horn!

The Liberator.

OUR COUNTRY TO BE FREE AND UNITED.

Thirty years of effort at the North to portray the horrors and crimes of slavery would seem to be enough to complete the dark and revolting picture. Politicians of every dye, and citizens irrespective of their birth-place, must have suffered enough by this time to wish to see American liberty resting on a broader and nobler basis.

This terrible civil contest is a phenomenon we all can see. But in the tumult and commotion, its cause, objects and uses are not always visible. At this day the compromises in the Constitution with slavery, and their connection with our present disasters, are plainly seen, if we will only look. This poison, injected into the body of our organic law, was the fatal mistake.

The English colonist under the auspices of his sovereign, the framers of the Constitution, Northern and Southern partisans united for the division of the spoils of office, and elevated, by the suffrages of a duped but honest constituency, to heights for which God and nature never intended them.

Party lines are vanishing. Men are planting themselves on the solid ground of American citizenship, and with the determination to wrest the country, cost what it may, from the foul clutch of the conspirator.

RELATION OF THE POPULAR THEOLOGY TO SLAVERY.

SIXTH AND ARCH STS., PHILADELPHIA, OCT. 30, 1851.

EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR:—In your remarks before the Penn. A. S. Society at West Chester, last week, you referred to the Abolition press as being among the few which give perfect freedom of opinion in their columns, &c., on all subjects. I am going to avail myself of the privilege to criticize your remarks in another place, in response to some statements made by myself. You said, at the Progressive Friends' meeting held on Sunday, at Longwood, that "the word Compromise was written on the hearts of the American people," that this was brought about by temporizing with great wrongs, that "the inevitable consequences of such a course were disaster and ruin, that we were paying to-day the certain price of oppression and robbery in the past," &c., with a great many other statements of a like character, with which I cordially agreed.

Is not the conduct of Tract, Bible and other Societies connected with the Orthodox bodies, influenced by their religious opinions, and their persistence in shutting out the question of liberty the result of such opinions? If men believe that religion (their religion) is the source of morals, must not that religion guide and direct their conduct towards each other?

Trusting to your forbearance for the length of this, I am, dear Sir, respectfully,

THOMAS CURTIS.

P. S. I believe that it is not good policy to injure a cause by placing too much of what is unpopular upon its shoulders.

In the absence of Mr. Garrison, I volunteer a word of reply to the foregoing. I do not know the number of the people who call themselves "Infidels." But I have seen no evidence at all that they, either in combination, or as separate bodies, have been active and zealous laborers for the abolition of slavery.

HENRY C. WRIGHT'S LABORS.

DETROIT, (Mich.) Oct. 26, 1851.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND:—You long ago had some experience of the welcome which Detroit gives to the Abolitionist. When you were here, and refused any house but the African church, the city was Democratic. It has since become Republican. But though that is a great improvement on the old regime, the Abolitionist has hitherto found no more favor, and indeed has perhaps been hated all the more heartily for his cousinship.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

[The following extracts are from an elaborate Essay, signed "Merchant," in the Bangor Jeffersonian, Why should not all merchants, and all Northern men, urge the Government to act in accordance with ideas so just and reasonable?]

SUPERLATIVE OLD FOGYISM.

The Democracy of the Fifth Congressional District, in this State, have put forward Hon. George B. Upton as a candidate for the House of Representatives. In the "Union speech" of that gentleman before the Democratic Convention, he said that we could never have "peace with Secession, and never peace with Abolitionism." Upon this sapient remark, the Tribune comments as follows:—

Time has shown that the extension of slavery, the building up of an empire whose corner stone should be slavery, causing property in man to be recognized as a fundamental principle of government, is the reason and the motive why, under other guises, the South commenced this war, the sin of whose unholiness rests with them, and not with us.

Stubbly we have persisted in not believing what our enemies have more recently told us, and will scarcely now believe that they mean what they say, or that they are not terribly in earnest.

WEAK BRETHREN.

To the Editor of the Bradford Advertiser:

Sir,—The strange struggle maintained in England, for lifting the maximum of check to the progress of slavery abolition in America, will at some time be looked back upon with wonder and with shame.

VICTIMS OF THE WAR IN MISSOURI.

St. Louis Democrat says, that in and around St. Louis and Rolla are some five hundred citizens who have been driven from their homes, and captured at Hill Run.

BRUTALITY OF THE REBELS.

An extract of a letter in the Providence Journal, descriptive of the late skirmish at Baker's Cove, near Harper's Ferry, is "Talk about Southern chivalry! the dignity of the battle-ground of yesterday were enough to make one's blood boil with anger.

WEST INDIA COTTON.

We find in the last files of Havana papers that the cultivation of cotton has begun to occupy the entire attention of land-owners throughout the island.

THE CENSUS OF CANADA.

The population of the principal cities is as follows: Montreal, 90,428; Quebec, 51,109; Toronto, 41,742; Hamilton, 19,095; Ottawa, 14,669; Kingston, 15,741; London, 11,555.

REBEL COMMISSIONER IN SOUTH AMERICA.

A letter from Rio Janeiro says, it was rumored here that Robert G. Scott had been nominated as rebel commissioner of the Southern States.

THE NEW YORK EVENING POST INQUIRES—

The New York Evening Post inquires—on the supposition that Gen. McClellan, or some other commander, should be sent into the Southern tier of States—What ought he to do? What would he do? and answers its own questions thus:—

IF THE EMERGENCY SHOULD PROVE SUFFICIENTLY GREAT,

he would rightly force every able-bodied man in his reach to bear arms and help in his defence.

A BIG FISH.

A letter from New Bedford reports that they took a right whale, 63 w. or more, and 233 missing. Most of the missing are prisoners.

THE MISSING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FIFTEENTH.

An official despatch from the State House states that fourteen of the Massachusetts Fifteenth were killed in the late battle, 63 w. or more, and 233 missing. Most of the missing are prisoners.

MISSOURI SENT TO THE PRISONERS AT RICHMOND.

Generally retained by the Confederate authorities for their own use; other articles put to the prison, with their sometimes sent to the way to the prison, with their friends at home, and are always received with intense and overflowing gratitude.

GEORGE PROMLEY, OF PRESTON, CT., WHILE STAYING ON THE RAILROAD TRACK, A FEW DAYS SINCE,

was struck by a passing train, and pitched into the air, the train backing up to the conductor that if he came forward and give any way, he was ready to fight for it, and left for home. That man is decidedly tough.

THE AMERICAN SHIPMASTERS' ASSOCIATION HAS PUBLISHED A LIST OF ACCIDENTS AT SEA, FROM WHICH IT APPEARS THAT, DURING NINE MONTHS PAST, 181 VESSELS HAD BEEN LOST BY FALLING OVERBOARD, 374 BY COLLISION, 123 IN STRANDED VESSELS, AND 166 BY OTHER DERISGS, &c. Total, 844.

liberty, that if we will only go back to the point at which we commenced the war, we shall be sure of eternal peace? Of what stuff does he think the human mind is composed? How can he, otherwise, believe, a sensible man, talk of getting rid of what he calls "Abolitionism," and not of getting rid of slavery? As if "Abolitionism" were an accident of an accident; as if it were something which some ill-intentioned fellow had substituted for the profit and amusement of which we have only to be deprived, or to be rid of immediately.

The following seems to be written in reply to certain criticisms in anti-slavery quarters upon Mrs. Stowe's letter to Lord Shaftesbury. Like other recent efforts of Gen. Thompson, it shows his clear insight into the American struggle, and his usual devotion to the anti-slavery cause.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BRADFORD ADVERTISER:

Sir,—The strange struggle maintained in England, for lifting the maximum of check to the progress of slavery abolition in America, will at some time be looked back upon with wonder and with shame.

IT IS NOT TRUE THAT ENGLAND HAS HER WHOLE HEART HATES SLAVERY,

and desires its extinction. She has not got her heart, any more than America. The phenomenon the reasoners of the day will not comprehend is, that in times of change there is no such thing as a whole heart in a nation, but, on the contrary, all manner of conflicting hearts, running against one another, and first one getting uppermost and then the other.

ONE INFERENCE ONLY IS PROMINENT.

Bad influences have been at work somewhere. This trifling in moments of crisis ought not to go forth to America as undisciplined specimen of English ferocity. It would be a fine time for some of the sons of the prophets, and the declared object of all of government existing in America.

YOURS SINCERELY,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON. Eliot Vale, Blackheath, 24th Oct., 1851.

RATIONALE OF WAR EMANCIPATION.

The New York Evening Post inquires—on the supposition that Gen. McClellan, or some other commander, should be sent into the Southern tier of States—What ought he to do? What would he do? and answers its own questions thus:—

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