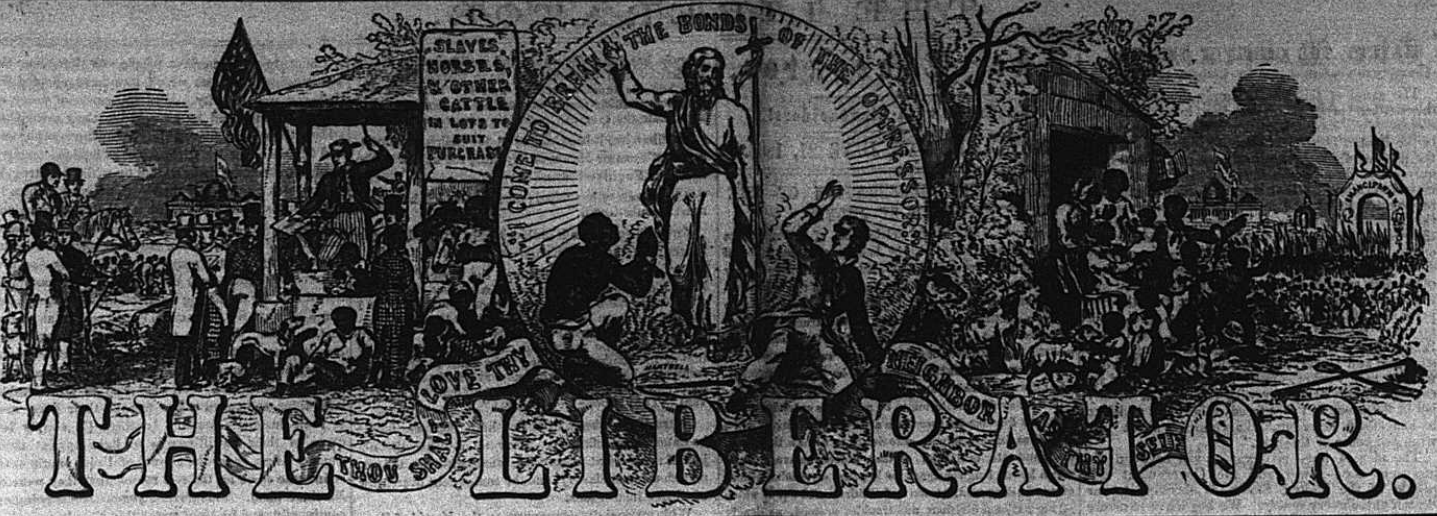


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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.  
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.  
VOL. XXXI. NO. 25.  
BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1861.  
WHOLE NO. 1591.



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

What order of men under the most absolute monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the hands of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivoical representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Refuge of Oppression.  
SPEECHES OF JEFFERSON DAVIS AND GOV. WISE.

On the evening of the 1st of June, Mr. Davis and his wife were serenaded at the Spotswood House, Richmond. Mr. Davis responded as follows:—

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT DAVIS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,—I thank you for the compliment that your presence conveys. It is an indication of regard, not for the person, but for an position which he holds. The cause in which we are engaged is the cause of the advocacy of rights to which we were born, those for which our fathers of the Revolution shed—the richest inheritance that ever fell to man, and which it is our sacred duty to transmit unimpaired to our children. Upon us is devolved the high and holy responsibility of preserving the constitutional liberty of a free government.

Those with whom we have lately associated have shown themselves so incapable of appreciating the dignity of the glorious institutions which we inherited, that they are to-day stripped of the property to which they were born. They have allowed an ignorant usurper to trample upon all the prerogatives of citizenship, and to exercise powers ever delegated to him; and it has been reserved to your own State, so lately one of the original thirteen, but now, thank God, fully separated from them, to become the theatre of a great central camp, from which will pour forth thousands of brave hearts to roll back the tide of this despotism.

Apart from that gratification we may well feel at being separated from such a contest, it is the pride and glory of our people to be in the front ranks of a new Government. I believe that we shall be able to achieve this noble work, and that the institutions of our fathers will go down to our children as sacred as they have descended to us. (Applause.) In these Confederate States we observe those relations which have been poetically described to the United States, but which never had the same reality—States so distinct that each existed as a sovereign, yet so united that each was wound with the other to constitute a whole;—as more beautifully expressed, "Distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea." (Applause.) Upon every hill which now overlooks Richmond, you have had, and will continue to have, camps containing soldiers from every State in the Confederacy; and to its remotest limits every proud heart beats with indignation at the thought that the foot of the invader has been set on the soil of old Virginia. (Great cheering.) There is not one true son of the South who is not ready to shoulder his musket, to bleed, to die, or to conquer in the cause of his liberty.

Beginning under many embarrassments, the result of seventy years of taxation being in the hands of our enemies, we must at first move cautiously. It may be that we shall have to encounter sacrifices; but, my friends, under the smiles of the God of the just, and filled with the same spirit that animated our fathers, success shall perch on our banners. I assure you do not expect me to go into any argument upon those questions which, for twenty-five years, have agitated the country. We have now reached the point where arguments being exhausted, it only remains for us to stand by our weapons. (Cheers and cries of "we will!")

When the time and occasion serve, we shall smite the smiter with many arms, as did our fathers before us, and as becomes their sons. To the enemy we leave the base arts of the assassin and incendiary, to them we leave it to insult helpless women; to us belongs vengeance upon man. (Tremendous applause.)

Now, my friends, I thank you again for this gratifying manifestation. (A Voice.—"Tell us something about Buena Vista.")

Well, my friends, I can only say we will make the battle-fields of Virginia another Buena Vista, and drink them with blood more precious than that which flowed there. We will make a history for ourselves. We do not ask that the past shall shed its lustre upon us, bright as our past has been, for we can achieve our own destiny. We may point to many a field, over which has floated the flag of our country when we were of the United States—upon which Southern soldiers and Southern officers reflected their brave spirits in their deeds of daring; and, without intending to cast a shadow upon the courage of any portion of the United States, let me call to your remembrance, that no man went from any of these Confederate States has ever yet, as a general officer, surrendered to an enemy. (Great applause.)

Parson me if I do not go into matters of history, and permit me, again, to thank you for this kind manifestation of your regard, to express to you my hearty wishes for the individual prosperity of you all, with the hope that you will all pray to God to crown our cause and our country with success.

PROCLAMATION OF GOV. JACKSON.

JEFFERSON CITY, June 12.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MISSOURI:—A series of unprovoked and unparalleled outrages have been inflicted upon the peace and dignity of this Commonwealth and upon the rights and liberties of its people by wicked and unprincipled men, professing to act under the authority of the United States Government. The solemn enactments of your Legislature have been nullified, your volunteer soldiers have been taken prisoners, your commerce with your sister States has been suspended, your trade with your fellow-citizens has been, and is, subject to an increasing control of an armed soldiery, peaceful citizens have been imprisoned without warrant of law, unoffending and defenceless men, women and children have been ruthlessly shot down and murdered, and other unbearable indignities have been heaped upon your State and yourselves. To all these outrages and indignities, you have submitted with patriotic forbearance, which has only encouraged the perpetrators of these grievous wrongs to attempt still bolder and more daring usurpations.

Fellow-citizens, all our efforts toward conciliation have failed. We can hope nothing from the justice or moderation of the agents of the Federal Government in this State. They are energetically hastening the execution of their bloody and revolutionary schemes for the inauguration of civil war in your midst; for the military occupation of your State by armed bands of lawless invaders; for the overthrow of your State government; and for the subversion of the liberties which the government has always sought to protect; and they intend to exert their whole power to subjugate you, if possible, to the military despotism which has usurped the powers of the Federal Government.

Now, therefore, I, C. F. Jackson, Governor of the State of Missouri, do, in view of the foregoing facts, and by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and laws of this Commonwealth, issue this my proclamation, calling the militia of this State to the number of 50,000 into active service of the State for the purpose of the restoration of the liberties of the State, and the protection and property of the citizens of this State; and I earnestly exhort all good citizens of Missouri to rally to the flag of your State for the protection of their endangered homes and firesides, and for the defence of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties.

In issuing this proclamation, I hold it to be my most solemn duty to remind you that Missouri is still one of the United States; and that the Executive department of the State Government does not arrogate to itself the power to disturb that relation. That power has been wisely vested in the Convention which will, at the proper time, express its sovereign will; and that, meanwhile, it is your duty to obey all constitutional requirements of the Federal Government. But it is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is due to your own State, and that you are under no obligation whatsoever to obey the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has introduced itself at Washington, nor submit to the infamous and degrading array of its wicked minions in this State. No brave hearts of Missouri shall be driven out of the country, or their property seized, by the hands of lawless invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes.

(Signed) CLAIRBORNE F. JACKSON.

THE VILE YANKEE WRITERS.

To be conquered in open and manly fight by a nation of gentlemen, and subjected to their sway, might not drive us raving distracted with rage and shame; but for lank-necked, contemptible and detestable of God's creation—the vile wretches, whose only sustenance consists in the refusal of all other people—they eat nothing that anybody else will buy—for them to lord it over us—the English language must be enlarged, new words must be invented, to express the extent and depth of our feelings of mortification and shame. No, it is not possible that we can be reduced to a state which there are no words to describe. Instead of this, we must bring these enfranchised slaves back to their true condition. They have long, very properly, looked upon themselves as our social inferiors—as our serfs; their mean, miserably lived, low, vulgar, and sordid occupations, have ground this conviction into them. But, of a sudden, they have come to imagine that their numerical strength gives them power—and they have burst the bonds of servitude, and are running riot with more than the brutal passions of a liberated wild beast. Their uprising has all the characteristics of a ferocious, servile insurrection. Their first aim is demolition—the destruction of everything which has the appearance of superior virtue, which excites their envy and hate, and which, by contrast, exposes the shameful deformity of their own lives. They have suggested

Selections.

THE WAR IN AMERICA.

From the London Herald of Peace, June 1.

Seven years ago, when England was in the delirious crisis of the war with Russia, we were very much struck with the fact, that our American kindred not only regarded the conflict with a much more calm and Christian feeling than the great majority of Englishmen did, but that they really had formed a far soberer and sounder estimate of the merits of the question in dispute. No doubt many of our countrymen would have passionately denied the competence of Americans to have any judgment in the matter at all, and resented any opinion of theirs, however moderate and respectful, which did not fully endorse their own one-sided view of the absolute righteousness of England's cause. But the best proof that our transatlantic friends were right in the more temperate tone they took, is to be found in the fact, that what they thought *then*, is becoming more and more what all intelligent Englishmen think now, as to the character and issues of the war with Russia. Far from deeming it "sheer impertinence," (as an American religious newspaper is pleased to characterize the Address of the Peace Society to the People of the United States,) that our fellow-Christians in that country should speak to us words of peaceful and affectionate counsel, at a moment when it was so imperatively needed, we did our utmost to bring their impartial opinion to bear upon the judgment and conscience of our countrymen. An article which appeared in the *Herald* for July, 1855, introducing a number of extracts from American journals, we made these remarks:—"It seems quite hopeless at present to look anywhere among ourselves for such a calm utterance on the subject of war, as would be befitting the dignity of rational and Christian men. It is some consolation, therefore, to turn from that fierce strife of tongues, which prevails in this country, to listen to the more dispassionate voice that comes from the pen of other hands, who, not being themselves in a more sober and collected mood. We, therefore, transfer to our columns a series of extracts from American newspapers on the subject of the present war, that our countrymen may see a little how the thing looks at a distance."

On the same principle, we sincerely believe that, now we, on this side of the Atlantic, are better able to form a clear and correct Christian judgment on American affairs, than the American people themselves, whirled about as they are in the mad maelstrom of the fierce political excitement, which seems to have sucked almost everybody into its vortex. There is nothing really absurd or presumptuous in saying this. It is only applying to nations what, as regards individuals, the common sense and observation of mankind have embodied in such proverbs as these:—"No man can be a judge in his own case."  
"Whoever attempts to be his own lawyer, is sure to have a fool for his client." &c. Every one, even, that communicates to any newspaper, whether as an associate or as a correspondent, is liable to peroxym of his own mind, and as completely cloud their mental and moral vision, and as completely disable them for a time from acting with wisdom and dignity, as is the case with the most choleric man who ever sacrificed his interest to his temper. In such circumstances, the words of Lord Bacon are as pertinent to nations as to individuals, where he says that "Dry light is ever the best; that is, that the light which a man receiveth by counsel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment, which is ever infused and drenched in his affection and customs." Nor is it any impeachment of this truth, but quite the contrary, that those who need such counsel may vehemently and scornfully repel it, and declare that they are acting, not under the impulse of passion, but under the inspiration of Heaven.

We do not, however, propose to enter upon the political aspects of the question debated between the North and South. We give no opinion as to whether the Union was a confederacy of sovereign States or one homogeneous commonwealth, in which the States had no more independence than a French department or an English county, or whether the confederate States had, in a constitutional, at least a revolutionary, right to withdraw and organize themselves into a separate body, as their forefathers did, when they were colonies of Great Britain—whether, if the latter right be conceded to them, they have exercised it in a legitimate manner, by conventions properly called and constituted—whether, if they have failed in that respect, it is indispensable, in order to satisfy the dignity of the old Union or the requirements of custom, etiquette, or international law, to fight desperately for a certain time, before the two parties agree to separate, even though that must inevitably come at last. All these moot points we leave.

But there is one point, at least, on which even our American brethren must admit that British Christians are quite as competent as they are to form and to pronounce a judgment, and that is, on the principles which Christianity teaches, and the spirit it enjoins upon its disciples as respects those with whom they are at variance. For this purpose, at any rate, we need not be adepts in the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution of 1787, or master the writings of Chancellor Kent and Judge Story. With the open Gospel before us, we have all the materials necessary to qualify us for the investigation. And having carefully, and somewhat extensively, read the American journals for the last two or three months, we are bound to say, that the spirit which is now abroad in all parts of the Union, in the North no less than in the South, is not the spirit of Christ. Ever since the capture of Fort Sumter, the people seem, almost with one accord, to have said, as respects the Prince of Peace, and all the restraints which his blessed and benignant religion has imposed upon the malignity of human passion, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

Our readers shall judge for themselves. First of all, President Lincoln declares war against the South as rebels. To this, Mr. Jefferson Davis responds by authorizing privateers to go and prey on the commerce of the North. Forthwith, Mr. Lincoln brands his opponents as pirates, every one of whom he holds himself at liberty to hang at the yard-arm. The Southern merchants repudiate this demand of their Northern creditors. The Northern creditors

THE SERVILLE POPULATION AND THE WAR.

EDITOR UNION.—The horror of war cannot be made polite and acceptable in the best of hands; but these may be mitigated somewhat, when controlled by wise and humane Generals, who understand the ends sought in the contest, and will rest satisfied when those ends are attained.

You hence do well to shrink from the terrible idea of stimulating a servile demonstration upon our deceived and erring fellow-citizens of the South and would be justified in excluding everybody of the North from all such wanton blood-thirstiness. No national being among us all would encourage or countenance a proceeding so horrible to contemplate, and so hopeless of good results.

The real danger on the contrary is, that our whole people would do as Gen. Butler has already done in Maryland, should a slave revolt take place—that is—suppress it at all hazards, and thus procure a compromise of our present troubles without doing anything effectual toward preventing their future recurrence.

Would not such an event be far more fearful to contemplate, than even the worst that might attend a servile revolt with our present number, of this class of people?

The present is a contest, irremissible, and inevitable, between antagonist ideas of government and right, and it can end—however it may be delayed—only in the destruction of the one, and the supremacy of the other, of these principles.

The entire thing is concentrated in a single fact: Pennsylvania is loyal to the General Government, and desires the perpetual peace of the country, while Virginia is in arms against the Government, and bent on the destruction of the entire fabric, rather than live as she has lived for these eighty years, part and parcel of a great whole. She can't tell why she thus acts, nor in what she would be better off; could she do exactly as she would, without molestation.

And yet, she raves and rages like a suicide, and will destroy herself at least, if not restrained by those who can see her difficulty, and are strong enough to save her from destruction.

Now what would save this old State to herself and to the whole country, and make her what her climate, her material resources, and geographical position all indicate she should have been from the first? Why, just give her the institutions of Pennsylvania, and parcel of a great whole. She can't tell why she thus acts, nor in what she would be better off; could she do exactly as she would, without molestation.

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

Has it sprung from sympathy with the oppressed, from righteous indignation against wrong? They cannot pretend to believe that it is so. They know, none better, that it is, to a large extent, the more offspring of national pride and bellicose passion; and if they trust to this as a means of abolishing slavery, as sure as they are living men, they will find that they are "trusting in the staff of a broken reed, whereof if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it."

For let not the friends of the slave on this side of the water be deceived. This is not an anti-slavery war. That slavery is the cause of it, is beyond all question. But the great bulk of the men who are now swelling the war-cry, and rushing into the ranks to fight, are men who despise the "nigger," and hate the Abolitionists as cordially as ever. The fact mentioned in some of the anti-slavery journals of America, that the very same men who mobbed and kicked Wendell Phillips in the streets of Boston after an anti-slavery oration, a few weeks ago, were with difficulty restrained, only a fortnight later, from carrying him on their shoulders in triumph to his house, after a pro-war lecture, ought surely to have opened the eyes of our anti-slavery friends to the quality of that sort of excitement over which they so prematurely triumph. Already, indications are appearing, which begin to awaken, as they well may, ominous misgivings in their hearts. The first act of Gen. Butler, of Massachusetts, was to offer the use of his troops to suppress an insurrection of slaves in Maryland. Another Northern officer, Col. Corcoran, has, we are told, given "assurances that he and his command would as readily march down to South Carolina to put down an insurrection of the slaves, as they were now doing to suppress a rebellion of the masters." It is reported, says a Northern Republican paper, that Governor Sprague has returned to his own state at Washington three slaves that followed the Rhode Island regiment some ten miles, hoping to escape. We have also heard a report from Fort Monroe, that they are much annoyed by fugitive slaves seeking refuge there, but in all cases they are returned.

And what are the comments of this Republican journal on the facts it cites? Here they are:—"This action, and the proposition of Gen. Butler to suppress a negro insurrection, may seem monstrous to the people of this country, who regard this as an attempt to perfect what John Brown failed to accomplish; but if there is one duty we can owe the South now, or that we do owe the world and each other, it is to show that our sole and only object is the maintenance of the constitutional government, and that we will not war upon any local institutions that do not stand in hostility to the government, and at least of all will we turn barbarians, and fickle slaves to the murder of women and children. To do that would sink our government and the principles upon which it rests in the butchering hordes of Syria. No—none of us will go to war to sustain the national banner and the national government, and our own acts must show, and will show, how deluded has been the South in supposing that we will support their local institutions, their property, or interfere with their local customs and habits."

Very significant, also, is this fact mentioned in the *American Baptist*, that two or three weeks ago, the colored people of New York met at the Assembly Rooms, for the purpose of forming a regiment, and tendering their services to the Government, during the present war. When they arrived at the Hall, they found a police officer at the door, who informed them that Superintendent Kennedy sympathized with their movement, but could not allow them to open the hall, lest it "might lead to some unpleasantness in New York," as well as expressed his regret that he was unable to permit them to do so. It is interesting to know that there were nearly a million of adult males in the North, who voted at the last election for the pro-slavery candidate against Mr. Lincoln, and that by far the largest proportion of those who voted in his favor went no further than the principle of free-soilism; that is, resistance to a further extension of slavery, with no purpose or wish whatever to promote its abolition where it already exists. The genuine Abolitionists, in truth, are a small minority. Do we say this in disparagement or contempt of them? So far otherwise, that there are no men living whom we hold in sincerer reverence than they. They are not ordinary citizens, but they hold a position which requires a degree of public virtue, of moral courage, and of self-denial, to occupy, which few can attain to. But, in proportion as we honor these men, do we grieve to find them quit the high ground of moral influence on which they have hitherto planted their feet, to mingle with the howling multitude who are now clamoring for war; throwing aside the "peaceful, moral, rational, legal, and constitutional" means they have hitherto boasted of using, to finger eagerly those carnal weapons which are not mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of evil. We rejoice, indeed, to find the able editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, who, like the rest, was for a time swept away with his torrent, now begin to resume the possession of his own sound judgment on this matter. "So far," he says, "from expecting a sudden anti-slavery millennium, we think that the present excitement against the South will very likely be followed by a strong pro-slavery reaction."

In truth, it is difficult for us, who look at the matter calmly from a distance, to resist the impression that the fierce war excitement, now raging in the North, is far more a matter of pride and passion than of any principle whatever. Even that vehement and zealous for the integrity of the Union, of which we now hear so much, has to a great extent sprung into existence since the capture of Fort Sumter. Before that time, we heard little of the inviolability of the Constitution, or the impossibility of suffering the South to secede, without relinquishing, at the same time, the very foundations of all government. On the contrary, many of the leading journals strenuously advocated the separation. It is not many weeks since the New York *Tribune*, which is now the very Corymbus of the cry for war to the knife, in order to coerce the South back into the Union, wrote these words:—"If the Cotton States unitedly and earnestly wish to withdraw peacefully from the Union, we think they should, and would be allowed to do so. Any attempt to compel them by force to remain would be contrary to the principles enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Independence—contrary to the fundamental ideas on which human liberty is based."—*New York Tribune*, November, 1860.

We repeatedly ask those who dissent from our view of this matter to tell us frankly whether they do, or do not, assent to Mr. Jefferson's statement in the Declaration of Independence, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, &c. &c. We do not mean to accept this doctrine, believing it intrinsically sound, beneficial, and one that, universally accepted, is calculated to prevent the shedding of seas of human blood. And, if it justified the secession from the British Empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861.

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

Has it sprung from sympathy with the oppressed, from righteous indignation against wrong? They cannot pretend to believe that it is so. They know, none better, that it is, to a large extent, the more offspring of national pride and bellicose passion; and if they trust to this as a means of abolishing slavery, as sure as they are living men, they will find that they are "trusting in the staff of a broken reed, whereof if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it."

For let not the friends of the slave on this side of the water be deceived. This is not an anti-slavery war. That slavery is the cause of it, is beyond all question. But the great bulk of the men who are now swelling the war-cry, and rushing into the ranks to fight, are men who despise the "nigger," and hate the Abolitionists as cordially as ever. The fact mentioned in some of the anti-slavery journals of America, that the very same men who mobbed and kicked Wendell Phillips in the streets of Boston after an anti-slavery oration, a few weeks ago, were with difficulty restrained, only a fortnight later, from carrying him on their shoulders in triumph to his house, after a pro-war lecture, ought surely to have opened the eyes of our anti-slavery friends to the quality of that sort of excitement over which they so prematurely triumph. Already, indications are appearing, which begin to awaken, as they well may, ominous misgivings in their hearts. The first act of Gen. Butler, of Massachusetts, was to offer the use of his troops to suppress an insurrection of slaves in Maryland. Another Northern officer, Col. Corcoran, has, we are told, given "assurances that he and his command would as readily march down to South Carolina to put down an insurrection of the slaves, as they were now doing to suppress a rebellion of the masters." It is reported, says a Northern Republican paper, that Governor Sprague has returned to his own state at Washington three slaves that followed the Rhode Island regiment some ten miles, hoping to escape. We have also heard a report from Fort Monroe, that they are much annoyed by fugitive slaves seeking refuge there, but in all cases they are returned.

And what are the comments of this Republican journal on the facts it cites? Here they are:—"This action, and the proposition of Gen. Butler to suppress a negro insurrection, may seem monstrous to the people of this country, who regard this as an attempt to perfect what John Brown failed to accomplish; but if there is one duty we can owe the South now, or that we do owe the world and each other, it is to show that our sole and only object is the maintenance of the constitutional government, and that we will not war upon any local institutions that do not stand in hostility to the government, and at least of all will we turn barbarians, and fickle slaves to the murder of women and children. To do that would sink our government and the principles upon which it rests in the butchering hordes of Syria. No—none of us will go to war to sustain the national banner and the national government, and our own acts must show, and will show, how deluded has been the South in supposing that we will support their local institutions, their property, or interfere with their local customs and habits."

Very significant, also, is this fact mentioned in the *American Baptist*, that two or three weeks ago, the colored people of New York met at the Assembly Rooms, for the purpose of forming a regiment, and tendering their services to the Government, during the present war. When they arrived at the Hall, they found a police officer at the door, who informed them that Superintendent Kennedy sympathized with their movement, but could not allow them to open the hall, lest it "might lead to some unpleasantness in New York," as well as expressed his regret that he was unable to permit them to do so. It is interesting to know that there were nearly a million of adult males in the North, who voted at the last election for the pro-slavery candidate against Mr. Lincoln, and that by far the largest proportion of those who voted in his favor went no further than the principle of free-soilism; that is, resistance to a further extension of slavery, with no purpose or wish whatever to promote its abolition where it already exists. The genuine Abolitionists, in truth, are a small minority. Do we say this in disparagement or contempt of them? So far otherwise, that there are no men living whom we hold in sincerer reverence than they. They are not ordinary citizens, but they hold a position which requires a degree of public virtue, of moral courage, and of self-denial, to occupy, which few can attain to. But, in proportion as we honor these men, do we grieve to find them quit the high ground of moral influence on which they have hitherto planted their feet, to mingle with the howling multitude who are now clamoring for war; throwing aside the "peaceful, moral, rational, legal, and constitutional" means they have hitherto boasted of using, to finger eagerly those carnal weapons which are not mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of evil. We rejoice, indeed, to find the able editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, who, like the rest, was for a time swept away with his torrent, now begin to resume the possession of his own sound judgment on this matter. "So far," he says, "from expecting a sudden anti-slavery millennium, we think that the present excitement against the South will very likely be followed by a strong pro-slavery reaction."

In truth, it is difficult for us, who look at the matter calmly from a distance, to resist the impression that the fierce war excitement, now raging in the North, is far more a matter of pride and passion than of any principle whatever. Even that vehement and zealous for the integrity of the Union, of which we now hear so much, has to a great extent sprung into existence since the capture of Fort Sumter. Before that time, we heard little of the inviolability of the Constitution, or the impossibility of suffering the South to secede, without relinquishing, at the same time, the very foundations of all government. On the contrary, many of the leading journals strenuously advocated the separation. It is not many weeks since the New York *Tribune*, which is now the very Corymbus of the cry for war to the knife, in order to coerce the South back into the Union, wrote these words:—"If the Cotton States unitedly and earnestly wish to withdraw peacefully from the Union, we think they should, and would be allowed to do so. Any attempt to compel them by force to remain would be contrary to the principles enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Independence—contrary to the fundamental ideas on which human liberty is based."—*New York Tribune*, November, 1860.

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THE VILE YANKEE WRITERS.

To be conquered in open and manly fight by a nation of gentlemen, and subjected to their sway, might not drive us raving distracted with rage and shame; but for lank-necked, contemptible and detestable of God's creation—the vile wretches, whose only sustenance consists in the refusal of all other people—they eat nothing that anybody else will buy—for them to lord it over us—the English language must be enlarged, new words must be invented, to express the extent and depth of our feelings of mortification and shame. No, it is not possible that we can be reduced to a state which there are no words to describe. Instead of this, we must bring these enfranchised slaves back to their true condition. They have long, very properly, looked upon themselves as our social inferiors—as our serfs; their mean, miserably lived, low, vulgar, and sordid occupations, have ground this conviction into them. But, of a sudden, they have come to imagine that their numerical strength gives them power—and they have burst the bonds of servitude, and are running riot with more than the brutal passions of a liberated wild beast. Their uprising has all the characteristics of a ferocious, servile insurrection. Their first aim is demolition—the destruction of everything which has the appearance of superior virtue, which excites their envy and hate, and which, by contrast, exposes the shameful deformity of their own lives. They have suggested

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LETTER FROM REV. DANIEL FOSTER.

My dear friend Garrison: I say a few words to you public, through the Liberator, respecting my own position and prospects in Kansas.

Without hands, has become a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. Even the mighty Seward, and the hitherto unflinching Adams, and the formerly fearless Cassius M. Clay, could not deceive the people, and blind them to the real issue. God, or justice and right, has signally triumphed.

LETTER FROM CHARLES STEARNS.

Central City, Rocky Mountains, Colorado Territory, April 25, 1861. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: It is a long time since I have ventured to address a few words, through the Liberator, to my former friends and coadjutors in the glorious cause of human liberty.

My dear friend Garrison: I say a few words to you public, through the Liberator, respecting my own position and prospects in Kansas. I have labored without rest or cessation in this work.

EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE LETTER.

DEAR S.,—I fear your occupation is gone. These "contraband" articles of the war will not need your thoughts and prayers much longer.

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Tracts for our Army and Navy. I have just published a series of Tracts for the brave men who are fighting our battles—on the use of Tobacco, Strong Drink, and Profaneness—vices which grow luxuriantly in armies and navies.

PROCLAMATION OF GEN. BEAUREGARD.

The Richmond Enquirer contains the following proclamation from General Beauregard: Head Quarters, Department of Alexandria, Camp Pickens, June 6, 1861.

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Harper's Ferry evacuated. The returns from Maryland seem to show that, with the exception of Davis, all the Union candidates are elected.

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St. Louis, Mo., June 18th. A dispatch to the Democrat from Jefferson City, Mo., says a general insurrection there, in a shift from six miles below Booneville, brings the news that Gen. Lyon had attacked and completely routed the State forces there, killing 800, and taking 600 prisoners.

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New Dress Goods. HEBBARD'S, 365 Washington Street. Figured Irish Poplins, 62 cts. each 57 cts. French checked do. 50 cts. " 62 cts.

Look at the Prices! HEBBARD'S, 365 Washington Street. Black French Lace Mantillas, 84 cost \$9. Black Silk Mantillas, 6 " 10.

Marking Down. HEBBARD'S, 365 Washington Street. Look at PRICES! Mourning Pine Apple sets, \$2.50 cost 1.00. Valenciennes Medallion sets, 3.50 " 5.00.

THE PINE AND PALM. EDITORS: JAMES REDPATH, GEORGE LAWRENCE, JR. HENRY MELBORN, Office Editor. SPECIAL CONTRIBUTORS: JOHN BROWN, JR., H. FORD DOUGLAS, RICHARD J. HINTON, FRANK B. SANBORN, WM. WELLS BROWN, M. DE BR. ANAND, HAYTI, J. W. SMITH, A. E. NEWTON, J. W. LE BARRES, GEORGE H. HORT.

ST. MARY'S LAKE WATER-CURE. OPENED BY H. A. PETERMAN, M. D. THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

P. O. S. PERUVIAN SYRUP, THE GREAT CURATIVE OF THE AGE. TRY IT. It will entirely cure, or greatly relieve, the following distressing complaints: Dyspepsia, Dropsy, Diarrhoea, General Debility, Nervousness, Ulcers, Piles, Bronchitis, Jaundice, Dysentery, Neuralgia, Liver Complaint, Erysipelas, and the endless catalogue of Female Difficulties, most of which originate in a low state of the blood.

PARKER Sewing Machines, PRICE FORTY DOLLARS. THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company.

REPORT OF THE JUDGES OF THE LAST FAIR OF THE MASSACHUSETTS Charitable Mechanics Association. "FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the various patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from \$40 to \$120 each.

MADAME OARTEAUX BANNISTER. WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to No. 31 WINTER STREET, where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair. She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none elsewhere in providing a new growth of hair.

MADAME OARTEAUX BANNISTER. No. 31 Winter Street, Boston, June 14. She is also another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restorative in any part of the country, for it is used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, except to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing else to do.

Poetry.

From the Boston Traveller. THE SLAVE GIRL. The sun shone bright on Georgia's plain...

By his own sin-chastening rod, You or yours the debt shall pay.

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ.

35 ECCLES ST., DUBLIN, May 29, 1861.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, ESQ. MY DEAR FRIENDS—The wonderful changes which have taken place in your country in the public sentiment of the people, within the past six months...

At no meeting that I ever attended, or with which I am acquainted, have I known such toleration of opinion, freedom from superstition, and, at the same time, so lively, orderly and unitary a spirit manifested...

THE HOME FOR OUTCAST FEMALES.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal.

I should not feel justified in asking for space in your columns, at a time when they are so imperatively required for more momentous matters...

THE CONGREGATIONAL OLEARY AND THE WAR.

Resolved, That, in the present emergency of our country...

Rev. Mr. BRIDGEMAN, Secretary of the Society, said—in answer to the questions frequently put regarding the action of the Society in the present emergency of the nation...

THE NEGROES AT FORT MONROE.

—Hon. J. M. Ashley, M. C., in a letter to the Toledo Blade, describing his interviews with some of the fugitive slaves, says:—

"This little incident tells me more plainly than ever, that I declared that winter in the House's true, when I declared that 'the logic of events told me that slavery must die.'"

RESOLUTIONS.

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NEWARK, (N. J.) June 4, 1861.

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