



education, he would, at the very first, have given a death-blow to the rebellion by allowing colored men to be a part of the seventy-five thousand troops to be called for.

Ever since the President modified Fremont's Proclamation, and indicated so strongly that hatred and opposition were still to be the policy of the Government toward the negroes, I have strongly feared that the South would be pressed by our victories and by the persuasive counsels and tempting offers of Europe to proclaim Emancipation, I have strongly feared that her negroes, bond and free, would be drawn by the Proclamation, and driven by our hostile attitude toward them, to identify themselves with the cause of the South.

But nothing of what I have said of Emancipation by the South do you believe will come to pass. I own it will not, if you shall hasten to deal justly and wisely with the negroes. And I own it will not, if you shall anticipate Emancipation by your surrender to the South.

But all that I have said of Emancipation by the South will probably come to pass, if, whilst continuing the war against the Rebels, you shall also continue the war against the negroes. Why will not the South emancipate? Other people have done so in the straits of war.

But could the South, even with the earnest help of all her blacks, bond and free, successfully defend herself against the North? Our nation was busied several years, and at the cost of forty millions of dollars and many lives, in conquering the handful of Indians and negroes in Florida.

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slavery nor being also killed. The question is no longer whether slavery shall die. The sole question now is whether our slavery-bewildered nation shall live. It will live, if the Government resolve unconditionally that it shall.

THE POWER OF FREE DISCUSSION.

A Discourse Traveler, of Saturday evening, published a discourse of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, warmly commending President Lincoln's message to Congress, in the course of which is the following reference to the Anti-Slavery struggle:

It is a memorable epoch that is marked by this State paper, as illustrating a complete trial and triumph of the power of free discussion and moral influences applied to the removal of national evils. The men are yet alive, and many of them are scarcely old yet, who saw the beginning of that agitation which, having gone through the most remarkable phases, has resulted at last in this substantial change of the public mind and feeling.

It seems as though it was hatred of slavery, abhorrence of the system, that characterized the earlier movements in behalf of emancipation; and it seems as though this stirring up the worst enemies of the system would have been the best course to pursue.

Consider how this change has been brought about. It has been brought about by the simple force of free discussion. The right of free speech was first attacked. You recollect it, and I recollect it. The battles of the Presbyteries of the West were under the going forth of the word of God, and the declaration of liberty was sinful.

Though men were despised for holding and advocating the doctrines of liberty, yet there was a large calendar that gave themselves willingly to contempt for the sake of justice and truth. They were the instruments that God employed. And what had they? They had their faith in God. They had their love of Christ. They had their unwavering conviction that the right was with them.

(1) This strikes us as paradoxical, to say nothing of its invidiousness. It is like regretting that a person does not love holiness, because he hates sin so intensely; nor God, because he detests all Mammon-worship; nor Christ, because he sedulously resists the devil!

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1862.

A WORD OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

DEAR SIR:—In the Liberator of March 14th, I read with the closest attention your criticisms upon "the President's Message." It simply occurs to me to inquire, whether you ought not to have noticed, and given some credit for the following portion:

"If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue, and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend, and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle, must and will come."

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned, than are the institution and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs.

I have italicized certain words, to show their point more distinctly. Is it not stated that there is to be no yielding to the rebels? Is it not more than intimated that, if they persist in their rebellion, the most efficient course—Emancipation—may be resorted to?

LUCIUS HOLMES. Charlton, (Mass.) March 18, 1862.

REMARKS. Our object, in simply criticizing the resolution which the President recommends to the adoption of Congress, was specific—to show that it was uncalled for, unreliable, an avoidance of the true issue, and therefore to be rejected. It is of very slight importance, we conceive, that the President intimates that the rebellion must be put down; for, of course, he is pledged to that extent, by virtue of his office.

On Saturday, Mr. Speaker Grow gave one of his elegant dinner parties in honor of Wendell Phillips. Several distinguished guests were present, among them, Vice President Hamlin and lady, Mrs. Fremont and Senator Sumner. On Sunday, Mr. Phillips went to Alexandria, upon the invitation of several officers, and addressed the soldiers.

Wendell Phillips has delivered a couple of abolition lectures here, but in such a moderate style (!) compared with some of his previous efforts, that he did not come up to public anticipation. He warmly applauded the President's emancipation message, although it meant to the Border Slave States, "Not a year's time to sell!"

The Washington correspondent of the Boston Herald says:—"Wendell Phillips has delivered a couple of abolition lectures here, but in such a moderate style (!) compared with some of his previous efforts, that he did not come up to public anticipation."

Doublets, and certainly, he meant no such thing! "Perley," the Washington correspondent of the Boston Journal, writes:—"The matchless oratory of Wendell Phillips has taken the town by storm. His reception has been a triumph, and on the floors of the Houses of Congress, in the lecture room of the Smithsonian, and at the social entertainments given to honor him, he has been the subject of marked attention."

Tracts for Priests and People. By Various Writers. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. pp. 872. Last year, a volume was published in England, characterized by remarkable critical ability and theological independence and liberality of opinion, entitled "Essays and Reviews," and written by several scholarly clergymen and laymen, all connected with the Established Church.

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN WASHINGTON.

The delivery of a radical Anti-Slavery lecture in the Capitol, by Wendell Phillips, to a densely crowded and a warmly applauding audience, is certainly an incident deserving to be specially chronicled in these eventful times. For thirty years this has not been permissible, under the brutal sway of slavery; and it is so now, only because of the great Northern army near the seat of Government, and the consequent temporary preponderance of Northern sentiment within its limits.

The marked respect and high consideration paid to Mr. Phillips, by distinguished members of Congress and others, he has honorably won by a quarter of a century of manly, disinterested, self-sacrificing labors in the cause of justice, freedom and humanity, and for the salvation of our common country. He has laid upon the altar of duty the best culture, the richest promise, the highest accomplishments, and the most persuasive eloquence, in the face of universal proscription, and with the certainty of losing all chance of political success and popular favor.

Mr. Wendell Phillips has, by his rare oratorical powers, created quite a sensation here. The Vice President left the chair of the Senate to greet him when he was introduced on the floor to the ultra-Republican members of that body, and took a seat by his side on the platform when he lectured. Mr. Speaker Grow entertained him last evening at a dinner-party, and this evening he is to be the *honorary* "a reception" where certain notable will congregate, as is their custom every Sabbath night.

WENDELL PHILLIPS TO-NIGHT. This noble patriot and incomparable orator will lecture to-night at the Smithsonian. Those who wish to hear him must go early, or it will be impossible to gain admittance.

"It was the 14th Massachusetts Regiment to which Wendell Phillips preached the Gospel of emancipation yesterday. He told the soldiers that if they were not all abolitionists like himself, they were all Yankees, and would give him a hearing. Later in the day, Mr. Phillips had the temerity to visit General McClellan's headquarters. The general commanding was absent."

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A new edition of that truly original and admirable book, THE REJECTED STONE, by Rev. Moncure D. Conway, of Cincinnati—himself a native Virginian—is we are glad to learn, immediately to be published by Ticknor & Fields of this city. The mechanical execution of this edition is to be in every way equal to that of the former one, the retail price of which in cloth was seventy-five cents per copy.

I would by no means attribute to "C." any intentional unfairness of statement. Nevertheless, it must be plainly said, that his representation of the entire class of slaves as persons "with no self-reliance, and no power of self-seeking or self-assertion," is a representation absolutely unjust, and absolutely at variance with facts.

THE MODERN JONAH.

And it came to pass, in the latter days, that the Lord spake unto Abraham, whose surname was Lincoln—(Now this Abraham was of the seed of Jonah, him who aforetime was sent of the Lord to cry against Nineveh; howbeit, he feared, and fled toward Tarshish.)

And the Lord said unto Abraham, Arise, and make Proclamation against the sin of them of the South, and cry against it: for their wickedness is come up before me.

They have refused to hear what I said by my servant Isaiah—Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke!

Moreover, they have refused also to hear that which I said by my well-beloved son Jesus, crying against them who laid men with burdens grievous to be borne, and who take away from these laborers the key of knowledge.

Arise, therefore, and make Proclamation unto them (that thou hast not been called to be ruler over this whole people?)—and say unto them—Turn away, every man of you, from your oppressions! Render unto your servants that which is just and equal! Defraud not the hireling of his wages! Execute judgment in this morning!

So Abraham said within himself—Are not these of the South my kinsfolk, and the kinsfolk of Sarah my wife, and have we not always winked at these oppressions? Lo! this thing is too hard for me! And he refrained, and held his peace, as Jonah his father had done aforetime.

And the oppressions of that land went on, and the sound of them continually came up before the Lord. And the children of the oppressed died, day by day. Some sank under their heavy burdens, some perished miserably by the scourge, and some were cast alive into a burning fiery furnace.

And it came to pass that a son of Abraham, even his son also, died. And the cry of the oppressed continually went up, saying, How long, O Lord, how long! And many of the people of the land said unto Abraham, their ruler—How long halt we between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, and make Proclamation, as he hath commanded!

But Abraham refrained still, and held his peace. Howbeit, after many days, Abraham said unto the elders and councillors, even the grand Sanhedrim—Go to now, speak ye for me unto them of the South, (if it shall seem good in your eyes,) and say unto them—

If it shall seem good in your eyes to do some small part of that which the Lord hath said, (for we would not that ye should be rash enough to do the whole of it,)—if any of you will begin, very slowly and moderately, to do this work, Lo! we will stand by you and help you.

And when Abraham had spoken thus to the Sanhedrim, he took water and washed his hands before them, saying—If you will not hear your voice, and if RUIN follow, I am innocent. See ye to it. Even thus spake Pilate aforetime, when he left the innocent in the hands of the oppressor.

The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good. Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. Verily, the end is not yet.—C. X. W.

SLAVES—METAYERS—FREMONT.

MR. GARRISON: Your correspondent C., on the fourth page of last week's Liberator, recommends a change of the slave system of the South to the old "Metayer" system. The characteristic feature of the latter was, that the proprietor of the land furnished the farming laborers with seed, cattle, and instruments of husbandry, the whole stock, in short, necessary for cultivating the farm; and the produce was divided equally between the proprietor and the farming laborers, after setting aside what was necessary for keeping up the stock, which was restored to the proprietor when the laborers either quitted the farm or were turned out of it.

Your correspondent proceeds to say—"The Metayer culture does not differ essentially from the custom of taking a farm upon shares in this country. The chief distinction appears to be, that custom governs wholly in the Metayer system, while the joint account system with us is governed by special contract."

It appears to me that the distinction here mentioned is a very important one; and that the difference between having and not having "a special contract," for the security of the laborer against oppression by the proprietor, is a difference by no means trivial, but of very great importance, especially in the peculiar circumstances of our Southern laboring population.

That your correspondent also recognizes a material difference between the Metayer tenure and the condition of freedom for the laborer, appears from the following subsequent paragraph in his article:—"Obviously, these laborers must work with or upon somebody's capital besides their own, for they have none. To turn them adrift in freedom, with uncertainty of employment, and dependent upon wages, without any organization of capital or power to provide them; with no self-reliance, and no power of self-seeking or self-assertion, would be, it appears to me, rather cruel than kind. Freedom upon such terms would be a doubtful boon."

To me, the Metayer system seems unsatisfactory and objectionable for the very reason that recommends it to your correspondent; namely, that it is something different from freedom. Moreover, I wish to protest in the strongest manner against the position taken by "C." in the paragraph last quoted, that freedom for the slaves would be either dangerous or "doubtful." He has availed himself of that delusive phrase, invented by the apologists for slavery, which represents the negro as one absolutely needing a master, because incapable of taking care of himself; and which represents the emancipated slave as one *turned adrift*, in the same position as a ship floating without a human being on board.

The present volume is composed of a series of Tracts, written also by clergymen and laymen of the Established Church, who are not disposed either wholly to endorse the *so-called* "Essays and Reviews," or to join in the popular denunciation of them, or in appeals to ecclesiastical authorities against them. Hence, the spirit they evince is truly catholic, and their discussion marked by admirable ability.

Consider what a high degree of the qualities thus sweepingly denied is implied in the fact of successful escape from the slave-region to Canada, or to the Northern States. Fifty thousand of this class have safely accomplished this perilous transit, and probably twice that number have attempted it, without success, in the face of dangers and liabilities suited to appal the stoutest heart.

slave laws authorize them to be, and where part of the slave's time is allowed him for his own advantage, what diligence does he frequently show in labor, what keeness in bargaining, what thrift in laying up his demption-money! Setting aside the highest types of human excellence under the disabilities of slavery, (the classes represented, respectively, by Nat. Turner and by Uncle Tom,) the slave does as well in caring for himself as you can reasonably expect any man to do under like circumstances.

Freedom, then, would by no means be that "doubtful boon" to the slaves which "C." represents it. They know very well how to "take care of themselves." All they need is the opportunity. Let us give it them.

But here another of the misleading phrases propagated by the slaveholders comes up, to frighten us from the course required by justice and humanity. Will you "turn the slaves loose upon the community?" ask many of the same people who raise the former objection. Even if they can take care of themselves, will they not violate the rights of others in doing so?

To dispose of this objection, it needs only to be remembered that what we ask for the slave is merely what we insist upon as our own right and advantage, Freedom under Law. Freedom to secure his own happiness and welfare, as far as he can accomplish this without interference with his neighbor's similar rights.

As soon as the emancipated slave interferes with these, the law takes hold of him, just as it would take hold of you or me; just as it does take hold, every day, of white people who never were slaves, and who have not their good excuse for lawlessness. All we ask is that the freed men be placed, like ourselves, under the government and protection of laws made by all and for the good of all, not like the slave laws, made by a class, for their own benefit. There is, then, no such thing proposed or contemplated by us, as "letting the slaves loose on the community."

This phrase is merely a cheat, practiced by slaveholders and their apologists for the deception of the rest of the world. What the abolitionists want is to stop the slaveholders from being "let loose" as the slaves.

To return to "C.," from whom I have for a moment wandered—No doubt "uncertainty of employment and dependence upon wages" are evils; adding that they be such, what I say is, they are evils, speakably less than slavery. To continue slavery, anything akin to it, for the sake of avoiding uncertainty and dependence, would be extremely foolish as well as wickedness.

Abundance of men and women at the North, common laborers and others, natives and foreigners, suffer from uncertainty of employment and insufficiency of wages. Would "C." recommend their enslavement as a remedial measure?

The right thing to be done for all these classes, but most especially for the slaves, on their emancipation, is to assist in providing employment for them, in the extent of our power, both as a nation and as individuals. Of course there will be some deficiency of employment among them. There always is among us in Boston. Of course there will be some privation and distress among them. There always is among us in Boston. Of course there will be some violation of law and justice among them. There always is, such among us in Boston, every week in the year, and every day in the week. Let the remedy be suited to removal of the disease. Do not endeavor for theft in Georgia, any more than for theft in Massachusetts. There, as well as here, trust, for the prevention or diminution of theft, to good laws, naturally tending to discourage it, and bearing equally upon black and white. In the same manner, do what you can to provide employment, and to encourage industry, by insuring the attainment of all the fruits of the dusty. But, in God's name, begin by making a slave a freeman! We want no Serfs, we want a Metayer. We want no system in which the "customs" of wealthy proprietors shall "govern" the laboring class, instead of law, uniform in its operation over the whole community. Our one thing needs is a securing to men and women of the rights of men and women. After that, as much help to the needy you please; but let freedom, assured, legalized freedom, equal freedom for all, under law, come first.—C. X. W.

THE N. Y. OBSERVER ON THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The opinions of different portions of the public respecting the President's late Message to Congress are exceedingly various. Its motive, its purport, its tendency, its fitness, its moral significance, and its probable amount of its practical interference with slavery, are all differently understood, not only by different classes of men, but by different members of the same class. Some abolitionists like it, and others dislike it. Some pro-slavery people praise, and others condemn it.

It is a natural that the more sagacious of the abolitioners of slavery should bestow enthusiastic approval upon a document like this, which interposes a plan for the very gradual abolition of slavery, coupled with a plan for great pecuniary profit to the slaveholders, just at the moment when the existing war promises speedy emancipation, with no bonus to the rebels for relinquishing their system of robbery. The *Species* South Carolina, of the *Genus* slaveholder, were to be positively and thoroughly mad, the great majority of the slaveholders have some method in their madness. They know a hawk from a hand-saw. They know, moreover, that half a loaf is better than no bread. They know that an excellent bargain is better than an enforced loss. And they know that, next to no emancipation at all, the thing which will best answer their purpose is an emancipation cunningly delayed, so that slavery will last through their time, through the lifetime of the present generation. They know, besides, how to raise the price of their goods when a customer shows himself exceedingly expert in buying. And they know, further, the advantage of letting some of their number vehemently protest against making any bargain at all, while the remainder, in this circumstance to enforce their own pretensions of doubtfulness, and to draw a higher bid from their patient customer. The President's move has not invited the slaveholders to this line of policy, which opens to Uncle Sam the agreeable prospect of exporting, in hush-money to the rebels, a sum equal, or additional, to that which he will have expended in fighting them.

This Message, however, is by no means so bad as it might be. It would be easy to have made it play more powerfully into the hands of the slaveholders. And that organ of Presbyterian piety, the *New York Observer*, pursuing its accustomed evil course by its accustomed evil means, bringing mendacity to the aid of slavery, in a column of unqualified eulogy of the President, and of his Message, impudently twists the meaning of that document, and the direction of its own wishes, and puts its own words in the President's mouth, as follows:—

"The points of special interest and of commanding force in the manifesto are the following:—1. The exclusive right of the several States to regulate the subject at their own discretion. All power on the part of Congress to meddle with the matter is thus expressly repudiated.

2. In proposing to offer compensation to the States to be used at their discretion, and in showing how very soon the current expenditures of the war would purchase at a fair valuation all the slaves in any State, the President recognizes the idea of property, and the consequent obligations, as plainly as the Constitution does.

3. The President says—"In my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all." This is the plan by which New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and other States have freed themselves from the incubus of slavery, and the Louisiana (N. Y.) *Herald* last week very truly remarked that some of the border States, now slaveholding, would long ago have abolished slavery had it not been for "abolitionism."

Conservative men, who, for thirty years, have resisted the revolutionary and disunion measures of the radical abolitionists, hail with profound satisfaction the constitutional, statesmanlike, national and patriotic propositions of the President of the United States.

Of the three specifications here represented as ex-



Poetry.

From the Overgrown Commercial Times. WENDELL PHILLIPS. He speaks beneath his country's flag to-night—

Remember, we will not for thee! They glory forever in God's!

The Liberator.

THEN AND NOW. It is a source of intense gratification to every lover

mightily, richly, and incessantly in full relief in this structure is a contrivance for hiding in four lines

THE MASSACHUSETTS HOMOEOPATHIC MEDICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of this Society, recently held in Boston, the following statement and resolution were unanimously adopted:— To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

chinery, cattle, the wrecks of gardens and orchards, the supports and ruins of aqueducts, the embankments of skillful roads, and we know not yet how many human bodies, to be whelmed in the turbid

THE AMERICAN BOARD.

Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston: 1861.

LETTER FROM REV. STARR KING.

THE FLOOD IN CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 20, 1852. To the Editor of the Boston Transcript: Let me see if I can find any paper in the house

Friday, March 17th, 8 A. M.—We are steaming slowly down the coast, making about six knots an hour, with the wind blowing freshly from the West.

THE NAVAL FIGHT IN HAMPTON ROADS.

From One who was on Board the "Monitor." On Friday, March 17th, 8 A. M.—We are steaming slowly down the coast, making about six knots an hour, with the wind blowing freshly from the West.

THE DOOMED CITY.

BY J. C. HAGER. O Charleston! thou city so fair, That art like a queen by the sea;

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