





THE WAR.

1. The character of the war: It is a desperate rebellion.
2. Rebellion forfeits all constitutional obligations on the part of the Government.
3. Necessity hath no law—no, rather, is the supreme law; and none but weak consciences and crawl-sick politicians will now think otherwise.
4. The rebellion must be dealt with as States as well as individuals.
5. The most beneficial results possible should follow our immense sacrifices. To have, after all, the old chimes about free-soil and rendition questions would make the very heavens sick, and cover the world with worse than mourning, because depriving reason of self-esteem and the sustaining dignity of a becoming pride.
6. DECLARE THAT SLAVERY IS FOREVER AN END IN THE UNITED STATES.
7. Compensation, moderate, for slaves belonging to undoubted Union men when the war is over, to be settled by a stern commission. And the border States are here invoked to draw still further upon their patriotism and true self-interest. As to offending them, for which we should be exceedingly sorry, for their sakes as well as our own, I have to say, let it come if it must; we are equal to our whole work, if we work on a right principle and right system.
8. The slaves to be fully cared for, and employed in labor—men, women and children—all of the most appropriate kinds; one hundred thousand of the men, in the battle-field, commanded by volunteer citizens, under the most rigid military subordination; such command to be considered wholly respectable, and specially patriotic.
9. This abolishing of slavery forever in this country would straighten out and simplify the state of things among us; cut off rebellion from all future effort; give us an immense moral, civilized influence; and support, through out the whole civilized world, the cause of universal liberty by a leap of a dozen centuries; and create for us an epoch of renown in history, without a parallel.
10. Immediately on the close of the war, pour into Eastern Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, three millions of Northern and Western men—particularly laboring men—agriculturists, (a great chance for a new foreign emigration) to be protected by an ample military force; in order that the new element of population may keep down and neutralize individual Southern hostility, and to bring forward the immense agricultural resources of every kind of those regions, particularly cotton, sugar, rice, that can, at any moment, in countless quantities, be converted into gold—making a very hey-day of trade and comfort for all Europe.

Such a course would prove that all labor at the South, by white men, is practicable and honorable, as well as profitable; and it would be a wealth to the country, in commerce, covering a hundred fold, all the cost of the war. As to white men, Northern men, not being able to stand sun, shine, and a black, cooking and miasma, it is an old disease, and as baseless as witchcraft. White men can stand all these things, if they will crowd off their stagnant blood by labor, live carefully, keep by them a little blue mass and quinine, lay by a little in the very heat of the day, avoid the night dews, and generally take care of themselves—especially to fear nothing, except what is dishonest and dishonorable, and unkind towards others.

The foregoing ideas are presented, not by any means, in what has been called an abolition sense, or in a sense in any way radical, having nothing of the kind about me, but as a necessity, and a clear utility—even rescuing the whole South itself from ruin, and giving to them security and unthought-of prosperity. These ideas, too, are due also to our glorious Union, which must be PERPETUAL. It is also a NECESSARY course as it regards the States mentioned; for no man can believe that any less thorough track will ever put an entire end to the rebellion, and render those regions safe for anything in the shape of honest and harmless life.

We owe the grand result I have suggested to the gigantic efforts of our country and Government, and to the suffering and grief of our friends, and to the GRAVES of our dear and lamented soldiery:

"Oh! this is venerable earth,  
 Yielded to a generous host,  
 Hail! the memory of the brave!  
 Hail! the spirits of the dead!  
 Time their triumphs shall proclaim,  
 And their rich reward be this:  
 Immortality of bliss!"

WASHINGTON CITY, July 15, 1862. BELARIUS.

SPEECH OF JUDGE HORTON.

We make the following extract from Judge Horton's speech on Tuesday on the Fourth. He portrays, in vivid colors, the evils of slavery, and his views must meet with the entire approbation of all loyal citizens—

"It was slavery that placed James Buchanan in the Presidential Chair. It was the influence of slavery that the traitors Floyd, Cobb and Thompson held seats in the Cabinet of the nation. It is slavery that marshall the rebel hosts, and breathes into their embattled ranks its own barbarous fire. It is slavery that stamps its character alike upon officers and men. It is slavery that inspires all, from the General to the teamster. It is slavery which gives the word of command, and which sounds in the morning drum-beat.—It is slavery which adds to the white tents and nations the sentiment against the national capital. It is slavery which supports the bayonet and casts the bullet, which points the cannon and scatters the shell, blazing and bursting with death. It is slavery which raises the pirate's flag upon the ocean, and murders our prisoners of war. It is slavery which wantonly burns the cotton, destroys the sugar, and violates all the ordinary usages of war. It is slavery which devastated and devastated Missouri and other Southern States of this Union. It is slavery that has hung the Union men in East Tennessee, and assassinated in New Orleans, and offered rewards for the heads of Butler and Johnson. Wherever this rebellion shows itself, whatever form it takes, whatever thing it does, whatever it meditates, it is moved by slavery; it is slavery itself, incarnate, living, acting, raging, murdering, according to the essential law of its being. More—slavery is the cause, the origin of this war, without slavery it would have ceased long ago, without slavery it would have been long ago. The enslaved race is actually engaged in feeding, supporting, securing and assisting those who are fighting for their enslavement and the perpetuation of slavery."

"Slavery has been our curse in the past. Slavery is our curse to-day, and will be our curse in the future, unless a patriotic President shall, with the mark of his pen, sweep it from the continent. If slavery is the cause, why not extinguish it? While I believe this war may be and perhaps will be closed without the abolition of the 'sum of all villainies,' still I believe sure, certain and lasting peace can only be had, when throughout our Republic not a chain shall clank upon the limbs of man. As the distinguished Senator of Kansas, Gen. James H. Lane, said in my bearing in New York last month, so I say now, where our army marches, there freedom should abide; where our flag waves in victory, there should the fetter fall from the slave; and where the Union is restored, consecrated by the vows of undaunted freemen, sacred with the graves of immortal spirits, let it be re-united in the faith that all men are created equal, and then, indeed, will our land appear to humanity bright, beautiful and effulgent, as was our planet when, in the morning of creation, it was swung by the hand of Omnipotence into ethereal space."

THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS.

Col. John W. Farnay, Secretary of the United States Senate, in addressing the People's State Convention at Harrisburg, recently, is reported—

"He announced that President Lincoln had told him, before leaving Washington, that *America's policy should be to be carried as the most enthusiastic and unhesitating support of the Union.* That *there will be no restriction in the employment of all men in the army.* (Long and loud applause.) *No more doubting about the confiscation of rebel property.* (Applause.) *No longer need the Northern people be frightened with the cry of negro equality and emancipation.* (Applause.) *He thought it proper to put arms into their hands to save the lives of the whites.* (Applause.) *He thought we might as well terminate the war to-day*

if it was not to be fought with the aid of the colored men of the South. (Applause.) Gen. Washington, in the Revolutionary war, used them, and at the battle of Red Bank, 1777, near Philadelphia, a Rhode Island regiment of blacks turned the fortunes of the day."

We trust this is all true, and we especially pray that whatever the President may think best to do, shall be done frankly, boldly, defiantly. This nation is not to be saved by ambiguities, by equivocations, by striking out straight from the shoulder. No sheepish, shame-faced, double-faced policy will possibly answer. To say that we will use slaves labor in our camps, yet give the slaves no valid reason for coming to and working for us, is to trifle with National ruin. If we are to have them help us, we must openly invite them to do so, and give them the best possible reason for coming. Let every one who has the National safety in charge heed the monition of our great poet—

"Go not like the galley-slave at night,  
 Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed  
 By an unfaltering trust—"  
 —New York Tribune.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!  
 BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1862.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

The Anniversary of British West India Emancipation will be celebrated in the usual manner at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON, on FRIDAY, August 1st, in MASS MEETING, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Among the speakers looked for and confidently expected on the occasion are the following—

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, H. C. WRIGHT, WM. WELLS BROWN, JOHN S. ROCK, ANDREW T. FOSS, REV. DANIEL FOSTER, REV. J. SELLA MARTIN, REV. MONCURE D. CONWAY, and others.

An Excursion Train on the Old Colony Railroad will leave Boston at 9 o'clock, A. M. Leave Plymouth 9:30, A. M., stopping at usual way stations. RETURNING, leave the Grove at 5:14 P. M. The Old Colony Railroad Company will convey passengers, on that day, to and from the Abington Grove, at the following rates, being the same as upon former years—

Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Neponset, Quincy, and Braintree,—to the Grove and back,—for adults, 50 cents; children, 25 cents.

Plymouth, and all way stations not already mentioned,—to the Grove and back, half the usual rates.

Excursion tickets good on other trains.

Should the day prove stormy, the meeting will be held in the Town Hall, adjacent to the Grove, so that there will be no interruption of the proceedings.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,  
 SAMUEL MAY, JR.,  
 ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,  
 BRIGGS ARNOLD,  
 SAMUEL DYER,  
 Committee of Arrangements.

THE NEW YORK JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

There are still many base-minded, unprincipled, pro-slavery journals at the North, notwithstanding the hideous revelations of its true character, which slavery has made for many years past, and especially within the last eighteen months. A few of these are conducted with an ability which indicates no lack of intelligence,—only extreme depravity. Foremost among this small number is the New York Journal of Commerce. Its former editor, GERRARD HALLOCK, for a quarter of a century, availed himself of all possible opportunities (and where none existed, he created them) to ridicule the efforts and blacken the character of Abolitionists, to shield the slave system from danger, to heap contempt and obloquy upon the unfortunate colored race, to strengthen the hands of the brokers in human blood, to stimulate mobocratic violence against free speech, and to corrupt and deceive the people. Hundreds of his articles are on record in the columns of the Liberator—all proving the malignity of his spirit and the baseness of his efforts. In the service of the devil, the prince of slaveholders, never was greater zeal or more assiduity shown by any one than by himself. The mischief he set on foot, the evil he countenanced, the brutality he roused to action, the minds he led astray, the misrepresentations and falsehoods he put in circulation, to put down the abolition movement, admit of no measurement. Had he been the owner of every slave in the land, and educated under the most depraving Southern influences from childhood, he could not have labored more unflinchingly in behalf of "the sum of all villainies," and to transform the glorious "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence into "glittering generalities" and empty "rhetorical flourishings." And all this, too, in an evangelical garb, and in reputable connection with an evangelical church—making loud outcries, all the while, about "Abolition infidelity," and affecting superior sanctity, in the most approved pharisaical manner! At times, he attempted to plate his filigree with gold, by ostentatiously cribbing from the ransom of a slave-man or slave-woman endeavoring to procure the needed amount; taking good care to chronicle his "charitable" (!) donation in his own columns, and sometimes improving the occasion to make a malicious fling at the Abolitionists, as much more ready to talk against slavery than to redeem any one out of it by furnishing the means.

Of course, his journal was applauded throughout the man-imbruting South, and liberally patronized in that direction. Constantly stimulating the satanic pride and ambition of the slave oligarchy, defending them against every assault, and upholding every scheme of theirs, however villainous, he left nothing undone to bring about the present awful state of things in the country. Such was his open complicity with the Southern traitors, at the time of the capture of Fort Sumter, that he was compelled by an indignant and formidable public manifestation to retire from the editorial charge of the Journal of Commerce, in order to save the necessity of its suppression. We know of no one whose memory will deserve to be execrated more intensely by the colored population of this country, bond and free, than his own.

For a very short time, the tone of the paper was slightly modified, though still perverse and malignant. Gradually, it ventured to speak out in a bolder strain, till now its articles are as venomous and as treasonable in spirit as ever—all designed to paralyze efficient measures for the suppression of the rebellion, to give "aid and comfort" to the rebels, to prolong the war indefinitely, in order to bring the Administration into popular disfavor, and thereby ensure its ultimate overthrow, or else compel the Federal Government to recognize the independence of the Rebel Confederacy. If any paper ever deserved to be summarily suppressed by martial law, it is the Journal of Commerce.

Hallock having been compelled to retire, of course it became necessary to employ "a new hand at the bellows." The present editor is said to be one PRIME, a brother of one of the editors of the New York Observer, and of the same stripe. His articles are all surcharged with misrepresentation, calumny, abuse, bluster, and pro-slavery scoundrelism, in reference to the friends of impartial freedom, and fiercely deprecatory of any proposition or effort to deprive the rebels of the right arm of their murderous strength by confiscating their slave property. He knows that the entire slave population is actively wielded, in every possible manner, to crown the rebellion with success, and, up to this hour, with tremendous and irresistible effect; that the slaves are kept diligently at work, digging trenches and rifle-pits, building fortifications, carrying supplies, raising food to keep the rebel forces from starvation, doing every sort of laborious and menial work, to ensure final victory to the Confederate States. This is precisely as he would have it. What does he care for the cause of freedom, or the safety of free institutions? Rather than see the Union pre-

served through the abolition of slavery, he would gladly have it broken in pieces "like a potter's vessel." What does he care for the health, safety, lives of Northern soldiers? The "masterly strategy" which buried them by thousands in the Chickahominy swamps, (1) and caused the army of the Potomac to be reduced, by capture, sickness and death, at least sixty thousand men in a few months, is what he specially admires. He would prefer to see the entire army crushed out of existence, rather than to have slavery in any way interfered with by it.

Yet this editorial disclaimer pretends to superlative loyalty! With consummate audacity, he raises the outcry that "the Abolitionists are discouraging enlistments, and throwing every obstacle in the way of filling up the army." He complains that "they refuse to enlist themselves," and asserts that "there is not a prominent Abolitionist in the army to-day." Model patriot! Foaming at the mouth if it is even suggested that the army might be immediately and most powerfully strengthened, by inviting to its standard the hundreds of thousands of expectant loyal blacks at the South; and yet pretentiously shocked at the lack of patriotism evinced by those whom he habitually holds up to public scorn as "disorganizers," "madmen," and "fanatics"! As a matter of consistency, why should he expect any thing more of them? Now, to this impeachment of the Abolitionists, we reply—that the difference between them and their calumniator is, that, while he is for having the government pursue a do-nothing policy, like that of McClellan, (who ought to have been stripped of his command long ago for utter incompetency, or else unwillingness to advance,) and wants the war so conducted as to make it utterly impossible to subdue the rebels, the Abolitionists are for a decisive, energetic, uncompromising course of policy to be adopted, whereby speedy victory will surely be attained. Even this libeller will not have the effrontery to accuse them of having the remotest sympathy with the South in this struggle. Whoever else may be disposed to deal gingerly with her, or to so speak and act as to play into her hands, they are not. For thirty years there has been an impassable gulph between her and them. They have branded her secession as clearly treasonable and for the most revolting purposes; and they have defended the government as wholly in the right as against her secessions and assaults. But, in common with hundreds of thousands of loyal men at the North, who have never had any connection with or sympathy for the Anti-Slavery movement, they perceive no possible chance for the rebellion to be put down, and the unity of the republic preserved, but by a proclamation of universal emancipation; hence their disgust, indignation and astonishment to see such blindness and weakness on the part of the government, and such incompetency or treachery on the part of the leading generals in the army, in dealing with her. Their sharpest criticisms, their severest censures, their strongest admonitions, are not for the purpose of weakening but strengthening the arm of government, and leading it to see that the sober, intelligent, thinking men of the North are not to be expected any longer to fill the decimated ranks of the army "with alacrity," until they see good reason to believe that their lives will not be jeopardized or sacrificed as abortively as the hecatombs which have already been slain on Southern soil.

(1) Read what the Richmond Examiner says of the spot selected by "masterly strategy" for our army:

"Ten days ago, when McClellan beleaguered Richmond, with the exception of about five miles of the Chickahominy low ground, he occupied the most barren, and at the same time the worst watered and most unhealthy region of Eastern Virginia. Agues, hoopes and whorleberries have been always the only sure crops of the country. With a radius of ten miles about the Seven Pines, taking that point as a centre, and but two living streams cross the Nine Mile or Williamsburg road. Between Richmond and Bottom Bridge, on these two roads, with the Seven Pines as their headquarters, the very pink and flower of the Northern army was concentrated, and here for weeks their vigor and numbers melted away under the influence of the miasma, bad water and a Southern sun."

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"America before Europe. Principles and Interests. By Count Agénor de Gasparin. Translated from advance sheets, by Mary L. Booth. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand St., 1862."—pp. 419. For sale in Boston by Crosby and Nichols, 117 Washington St.

This interesting and valuable book is a sequel to "The Uprising of a Great People," published by Count Gasparin rather more than a year ago. Proposing to examine the crisis through which this country is passing from the European point of view, its author takes the part of a true friend to our nation, not only by clearing up various errors in regard to which still prevail in Europe, but by offering such counsel as his wisdom dictates for our present and future guidance. Seeing that it is white the issue of the conflict is still uncertain that it is important to set forth the principles which it involves, he has spoken promptly, once and again, endeavoring to commend those principles to the attention of both his and our countrymen. Every page shows the diligence of the author in penetrating the complications of our condition, and preparing himself, by a careful study of facts and documents, to understand it; and it cannot be but that his intelligence, his earnestness and his prudence will give help, on both sides of the water, towards the successful solution of our great problem.

The six parts into which this book is divided examine successively—the general aspect, to Europe, of the American Crisis—the attitude of England, or rather of two diverse classes, which constitute that nation, towards this country—the errors credited in Europe—the interests of Europe in America—the claim which Freedom makes upon Americans—and the claim which Religion makes upon American and English Christians. An appendix quotes certain State papers of our Government, by way of documentary evidence.

With comparatively few errors, either of fact or of speculation, in regard to us, this work has many great merits. Instead of merely calculating probabilities in regard to our destiny, it seeks to fix attention on the question—Which course is right? It recognizes obedience to duty as the highway of ultimate success, and points out that sound principle is the best guard of our interests. Recognizing the fact that such great, and wide-spreading, and deep-rooted causes of disturbance as here prevail, are not to be speedily calmed into quietness, it counsels patience and prudence. Recognizing also that the faults of the past and present are the dangers of the future, it urges immediate and progressive reform.

It is true that the reform inculcated by Count Gasparin is not precisely of our sort. He prefers gradual to immediate abolition. But every page of his book shows that this is through no lack of zeal for the ultimate result, but only from full recognition of the existing obstacles. The Abolitionists have so often heard gradualism deceitfully urged, on this side the water, for the purpose of postponing prompter and stronger action, that they have learned to look with suspicion upon the motives of him who advises it. But no such suspicion can touch the author of this book. Even the mistakes concerning radical men and measures into which calumnious rumor has led him do not for a moment disguise the fact that he is at heart with us. And he gives the strongest proof of this substantial unity with the Abolitionists by rebuking, precisely as Garrison, and Phillips, and Parker have rebuked the Northern sin of prejudice against color, and warning the Northern people that this vice must be discarded before either Christianity or Democracy can have free course among them.

It is, of course, advantageous for Americans to read both the counsels and the rebukes of a friend so intelligent and so earnest. And this view of America in the presence of Europe can hardly fail to exercise a favorable influence in regard to us both in France and England. A book treating of affairs so various and compli-

cated, occurring in a country which the author has never visited, will inevitably contain errors. Some of the greatest of these are found in Count Gasparin's chapter entitled "Attitude of Christians in America." By "Christians" he means members of churches called "Evangelical." Here, evidently, the intensity of his wish that the American churches might do their duty upon the great subject of slavery has had a very powerful influence upon his estimate of the scanty facts bearing in that direction. In his statement respecting the present attitude of the Northern churches towards slavery, the wish (unconsciously to himself, of course,) has been father to the thought; nor only does his specification of evidence fail to establish his point, but no one item of that evidence even tends to establish it. Here is a specimen of two enormous errors condensed into one sentence—

"The remarkable revival which agitated the whole North, and which, save at a point in Baltimore, stopped short at the frontier of the South, has been the great providential means against slavery."—p. 391.

If the reports of the religious papers, North and South, made at the time of the last great revival, are to be believed, that influence prevailed throughout the South, equally as throughout the North, and with the same utter absence of result, in both regions, upon the institution of slavery. I carefully examined these reports while the events were passing. No mention of slavery was permitted in the revival meetings of either section. I saw no evidence that, in the South, any slave was manumitted in consequence of the "conversion" of his master, or that, in the North, a single person became, through "conversion," an opposer of slavery.

The American translation of Count Gasparin's book is carelessly printed, and contains many errors. For instance—On p. 156, we have "England" printed, instead of "America." At the top of p. 189, we have "the first corner," instead of "the first corner." At the top of p. 386, the language represents as male instead of female that slave who was burned alive by members of one of the American Board's mission churches among the Cherokees, in 1850.—c. k. w.

"God Timing all National Changes in the Interests of his Christ. A Discourse before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, at its Annual Meeting in the City of Providence, R. I., on Thursday evening, May 29th, 1862. By William B. Williams. New York: Sheldon and Company, 325 Broadway. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862."—pp. 66.

It was not at all strange that, when the whole Northern people arose in their might to declare that the nation should remain one, and that the Government should be sustained in its struggle with Rebellion, the clergy should have joined their voices to the general cry. They had always preached, and practised, allegiance to the Government. The coming out of a crop of patriotic sermons, in this exigency, was a matter of course. There has been no change in the sentiment of patriotism, on the part of either people or pastors; only an occasion for the active manifestation of it.

In another particular, however, a great change has been going on. As the progress of the rebellion, and of the war, exposed to the people, and particularly to the army, more and more of the atrocious character of slavery, and of the depravation wrought by it in the manners and morals of slaveholders, more and more of the Northern people have been awakened to the necessity of exterminating slavery. And, closely following these, a similar proportion of the clergy have vigorously inculcated the duty of using the existing struggle for this purpose. Whether Mr. Williams be one of that honored minority of the clergy who spoke plainly against slavery before this necessity was laid upon them, I know not. But in this discourse, treating of the "opportunities and hopes of the times, in their bearing on the Home Mission work of the Churches of Christ," he pleads energetically for an application of the rule of righteousness to our great national sin.

He tells us that the late action of the slaveholders has, happily, swung the whole question out of its old moorings, making it possible for the nation, and the Government, to act against slavery in a way, and with an effectiveness, formerly prohibited. He welcomes the opening for mortal combat against this giant iniquity. Rather than give it, by new compromises, a fresh lease of life, he would accept perpetual war, and leave it in charge to his children after him to reconquer the whole land for freedom.

He declares that the negro, being Christ's kinsman, is our kinsman also; and that, as we no injury or benefit him, it will speedily be said to us—Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.

Showing that the operation of our present struggle, whether longer or shorter, must be to release the black man from bondage, he declares that, when this struggle shall cease, it will be infamous to re-enslave him, and alike foolish and wicked to banish him. And he forcibly asks whether it be either policy or piety, in an age when British and American Christians have just been fighting the good fight of the abolition of caste in the East-Indian mission churches, to expatriate the law of caste on these shores, and convert our dusky fillers and tollers into the coolies of a cruel, enforced expatriation.

A large responsibility for the continuance and growth of slavery rests on the Baptist denomination in this country, both South and North. The Southern Baptists cannot at present be reached by Christian missionaries. But if so sound and able a laborer as Mr. Williams can be obtained for the purpose, I suggest to the American Baptist Home Mission Society the advantage of immediately sending him to evangelize the Reverend Dr. Baron Stow, and the Rowa Street church and congregation, in this city. No Southern heathen are more in need of such labor.

ENFORCING SLAVE LAWS.

The Boston Post states that Gen. Butler has ordered that every negro found after dark about the streets of New Orleans, without a pass from his master, should be treated according to the laws of Louisiana, namely, with whipping, and imprisonment on bread and water. Of course, every free negro found in the streets after dark is liable to be thus treated.

It should not be forgotten that Abraham Lincoln is morally responsible for this, and for every other outrage against the colored people which Gen. Butler may perpetrate in New Orleans.

Gen. Butler, perceiving the injury to the public service resulting from the diversity of action between two high officers in the same department, namely, himself, a pro-slavery Democrat, and Gen. Phelps, an Abolitionist, very properly asked of the President, a short time ago, instructions specifying which policy should be pursued by both, and declaring his own willingness to obey orders in either direction. Mr. Lincoln evaded the point in question, and returned an unmanly and non-committal answer. If he had dared for policy favoring freedom in general for the colored people, or for justice and fair play towards those in Louisiana, either or both these objects might have been accomplished by a single word from him. He has shrunk from this duty, as from so many others. And he, in my judgment, should be held responsible for the meaness, cruelty, and wickedness of the order above referred to.—c. k. w.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY.—Devoted to Literature and National Policy.—for August, 1862.

Contents.—Among the Pines, (concluded); Southern Rights; Macaroni and Canvas; Glances from the Senate-Gallery; The Last Ditch; Rewarding the Army; John McDonough, the Millionaire; Heller; Skelter Papers; Sketch of the Orient; Witches, Elves, and Goblins; A True Romance; Insignificance of New York City; The Bane of our Country; The Molly O'Molly Papers; Wounded; Astor and the Captains of New York; Thunder all Round; Was he Successful? A Marchant's Story; Corn is King; Literary Notices; Editor's Table.

THE CAUSE.

MR. FARRAR.—It was said by one of the speakers at the great meeting on the Common, Saturday afternoon, "We are not here to consider the cause of our country's present condition, but to devise some means for suppressing this terrible rebellion." Now, it is not difficult for us to see why such men as the author of this utterance are so unwilling to say anything about the "cause" of our present troubles. We suppose if a company of incendiaries had fired a large building, for purposes of plunder, and, having been badly burned in the scrape, should call the people together to consider the best means for extinguishing the fire, or staying the progress of the flames, they would be quite likely to say, as did the speaker referred to, "We are not here to consider the cause of this conflagration, but to consider how we shall best put this terrible fire out."

It requires more grace than our modern conservative politicians happen to be possessed of to make them magnanimous enough to confess, frankly, that they have caused the terrible conflagration which is now devastating our country, and threatening to leave it an uninhabitable and desolate waste. Having been in complicity with the rebels ever since the government was formed, and aided them in robbing God's poor, now that the traitors are seeking to rob and enslave them, they find it very convenient to raise the cry, "Thief!" that they may secure a reputation for honesty to which they have never been entitled. We thank God that there are some men in the community—and women, too—who can see into the hearts of these men, and who know that they have no love for liberty *per se*, but desire freedom for the white man only.

Talk about the impropriety of considering the "cause" of this rebellion! Men do not thus reason or act in relation to other and even minor evils which exist in the community. If a ship sprang a leak at sea, one of the first things to be done is to search for the "cause." How absurd it would be, under such circumstances, for the captain to call the ship's company upon deck, and say to them, in the language of one of the Boston Common orators, "We are not here to consider the cause of this sad disaster, but to see how we shall save the ship from sinking, and ourselves from a watery grave." Our impression is that such a commander would be speedily introduced by his auditors to old Neptune, to die.

"Uweep, unhooned and unang."  
 When business is depressed, and financial ruin stares us in the face, men seek for the cause, and labor hard to remove it. When the potato becomes infected with disease, so that we are in danger of losing that valuable esculent, the whole community is astir to ascertain the cause, elaborate essays are written by our most learned men, and spread before the people, suggesting a remedy. When pleuro-pneumonia breaks out among our cattle, threatening to decimate and destroy the herds of our farmers, the whole State is aroused, the Legislature is convened, the people are addressed upon the subject by His Excellency, a large committee of our greatest wisacres in such matters is elected, and thousands of dollars are expended to ascertain the cause and suggest a remedy. But when a disease is raging far more fatal to our peace and prosperity as a nation than any of these, or all of them combined, filling the land with mourning and unutterable woe, and the people with terror and alarm, having its origin in the moral delinquencies of those who have assumed to command our "ship of State," we are to be told, are we, that it is not proper to consider the cause of this terrible state of things, but we must seek to prevent the consequences! Let those who will follow such teachers remember the declaration of the Savior—"If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

When God put down the great rebellion instituted in Eden, and expelled the traitors therefrom, he clearly showed them the cause of it, and why he so summarily dealt with them as his authors. Had He been permitted to take some lessons in the school of modern conservative politicians, He would, probably, have put down the terrible rebellion, as they propose to suppress the more terrible one now existing in the United States, (!) without saying any thing about the "cause." He has, since that period, made a good many similar blunders. For instance, when He visited Pharaoh and his people with such terrible plagues, He told him the cause why He thus dealt with him, viz. "He would not let His people go, that they might serve Him." He speaks to us, providentially, in similar language to-day, and will continue to "plague" us, as a nation, as He did Egypt, unless we will "let His people go" out from their bondage, that they may serve Him.

Again, when Joshua was repulsed by the people of Ai, (see Joshua 7:5,) God showed him the cause, and instructed him how to prevent a repetition of the disaster. (Let those who would overlook the cause of our national troubles read carefully the first twelve chapters of Joshua, and, if they are sensible men and women, they will no more ignore the cause of the unwell and terrible war which is convulsing our government, and filling its supporters with the most fearful apprehensions.)

When God was about to suppress the great rebellion in the time of Noah, He made known to him the cause. He said, "The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold, I will destroy them with the earth." See Genesis 6:18. (Is not the same truth of our own dear native land? and have we not reason to fear that a similar doom awaits it?)

When, at a later period, God was about to destroy the Jewish polity and nation, He told them—by his Son—the cause. The Savior beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this day, the things which belong to thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another: because thou hast hated the word of thy visitation." See Luke 19:41-44. Again, in Luke 13:34, 35, hear him saying, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that were sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." Is not the "cause" of Jerusalem's overthrow here clearly stated? And is not a similar cause working our ruin to-day? Have we not killed the prophets who have predicted our overthrow, if we would not let God's people go out from under the yoke of bondage? Does not the blood of a Lovejoy, of a Torrey, of a John Brown, and others, cry to God from our soil, and has not the cry entered into the ear of Him "to whom vengeance belongeth, and who will repay?" Have we not stoned those whom God has sent unto us, to admonish us that, "though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished"? See Proverbs 11:21. Have we not "sown the wind, and are we not reaping the whirlwind"? See Hosea 8:7. The days when mobs ruled the people, and broke up the meetings of their truest friends, who sought to warn them against the approach of the terrible foe who is now devastating the land, and when the rulers joined in the mad cry, "Crucify them!" "Crucify them!" have come up in remembrance before God, who is nobly vindicating them against the aspersions of their enemies, who are "like the troubled sea, whose waters cannot rest,"—"whose hearts are falling them for fear, and for looking after the things that are coming upon the land." See Luke 21:26.

Those words which have been put about the necks of those who have pleaded for the poor and the oppressed, those prison walls within which they have been incarcerated for uttering the truth; those stones and eggs which have been defiantly hurled at these men and women, whose only offense was that they believed and taught what the Bible asserts, that "God made

of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," (see Acts 17:26,) and that "whosoever we would that man should do unto us, we should do even so unto him," is now resulting, in terrible retribution, upon the necks, heads and bodies of those who thus used them. So true is it that "what a man (or a nation) soweth, that shall he reap." "If he soweth to the flesh, he shall of the flesh reap corruption" and DEATH.

If we do not misinterpret God's dealings with us, He is saying to us, as a nation, as He did to the Jews by the prophet, "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting: your work moons and your appointed fasts my soul hateth; they are a torment unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yes, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear you; your hands are full of blood." (See Isaiah 1:13-15. Again—"Your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear. For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken lies, your tongue hath muttered perverseness. None call for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth; they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity." See Isaiah 59:2-4.

With such examples before us, while we deplore the condition of our country, let us not ignore the cause of these terrible calamities, but search for it diligently, and put it away, lest God, "in his displeasure, shall take us away with his stroke; there is a great reason cannot deliver us." See Job 38:18.

Boston, July 23, 1862. JUSTITIA.

MR. PILLSBURY AT MILFORD.

DEAR GARRISON.—We anticipated a most exciting and impressive meeting last Sunday, and truly we were not disappointed. Seldom, if ever, have the people been more deeply impressed with the past if the hour, than by the weighty words of Mr. Pillsbury. A large and attentive audience, filling Lyverden Hall, gave evidence that all is not stony ground. The soothing words of Jeremiah and Isaiah were recalled in solemn tones, and God's eternal law in the moral and moral world was made the basis of a searching analysis of the present trial-hour to our gratification. Oh, if the Government and Church would listen, and put away their infidelity; if, neglecting the tempest and whirlwind, they would hear the "still small voice," peradventure we might hope the alas! is not the hour at hand when we must mourn "double for our sins"? What shall we do in the fiery judgment and God's scathing justice! Is this hope in such an hour, when "None calleth for justice—no, not one?"

Any attempt to put on record the rebuke and warning of our veteran brother, who, "carven and weary," cries for the dumb in this hour of madness, would be fruitless. His words are still ringing in its ear. God grant they may lodge in the heart! Will it be to do? Ah, this is the question; and what shall be our answer? May we have grace to give even in the face of martyrdom, with Napoleon's Old Guard, "We will die, but never surrender." Ah! blessed be God,

"'Tis not all of life to live,  
 Nor all of death to die."







Poetry.

AMERICAN SLAVES—THE PROPHECY.

BY MRS. MARY WELLS BAKER

You tell me of a bright land far over the sea,
But ah! you call it the land of the free?
For the image of God, for a handful of gold,
Like a beast of the field, in the market sold—
Where the child from the mother's fond bosom is torn—
Where the father is chained, leaving orphan forlorn—
Where the maiden is hurried like merchandise ware,
Then doomed to the lash and the groans of despair!

THE LITTLE CONTRABANDS.

God guide the little "Contrabands,"
From slavery's chains set free!
Oh, let their simple hearts pour forth
In grateful strains to Thee!
Surround them with Thy mighty arms;
Protect them every hour,
Alike from heartless freeman's grasp
And savage master's power.

A POEM FOR THE TIMES.

No sword have I, no battle-blade,
Nor shining spear; how shall I aid
My country in her great crusade?
I cannot war with gold the sod,
Like dragon's teeth, and from the dead
See armed men rise, battle-bred.
I may not stand in mart or hall,
And shout aloud great Freedom's call:
"Come to the rescue, one and all!"

FRANCONIA FROM PEMIGWASSET.

Once more, O Mountains of the North! unroll
Your brows, and lay your cloudy mantles by;
And once more, ere the winds that eek thee fall,
Uplift against the blue vault of the sky
Your mighty shapes, and let the sunshine weave
Its golden net-work in your belt and woods;
Build down in rainbows from your falling floods,
And on your hazy brows, as morn and eve,
Bend down of fire. So shall my soul receive,
Haply, the secret of your calm and strength;

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH ON RELIGION.

Made in Music Hall, Boston, June 15, 1852.

I love this world—not only its lands which are near, but those which are far off—not only its waters which I have seen, but those which I have not seen. I love its white men, and also its red and black men. To me, the world is full of attractions and endearments. Moreover, I am unconscious of enmity or prejudice against nation or individual. Not strange is it, then, that I should be reluctant to leave the world. Nevertheless, I am more reluctant to leave it because of what is hateful than of what is lovely in it. I would linger in it longer and yet longer to exert more and more faithfully my infinitesimal share of influence against those gigantic forms of evil which my observations and reflections and corresponding efforts during many years have educated my soul to hate.

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