



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

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

"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever favored 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 owners 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 equivocation—a 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.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON THE WAR.

We commend the following extracts from Southern papers to the attention of those who would clamor for peace, if the least sufficient confidence that they would make their influence felt. The Richmond Whig, assuming that the North is in fear of losing Washington, says:— "They are alarmed for Washington, but they have not yet begun to tremble for New York and Boston. As England and France knew that there would be no stable peace with the treacherous, knavish, cowardly and cruel Chinese, short of Pekin, so we know that there can be no lasting peace with the Chinese counterparts on this continent until Confederate cannon overtake New York, and Confederate legions bivouac on Boston Common. . . . Boston is the Pekin of the Western China; and 'On to Pekin' is the watchword of Southern armies. Washington is a mere circumstance. We don't want it, any further than to dislodge the Chinese birds that infest it. Baltimore, too, which linds that traitors with so much terror, is not worth a moment's consideration—beyond breaking the fetters (in passing) that outraged people. Our true goal is Pekin—the headquarters of the genuine Tartar horde, with their gangs and stink-guns. The military occupation of the Yankee capital can alone give indemnity for the past and security for the future. Then up with the universal shout, 'On to Pekin!'"

The Richmond Dispatch, grown flagrant and self-reliant since the Bull Run affair, thus repudiates the idea of foreign intervention, and advocates entire non-intercourse with the North, even if the independence of the Southern Confederacy should be established:— "The experiment of republican institutions is lost at the North, and it can only be saved at the South by maintaining a strict non-intercourse with the moral, social and political Union on our side. As the nature of the case will permit. We are willing to agree to the cessation of hostilities; but if any foreign mediation shall exact concessions of intercourse, and commercial and political privilege, as a bargain and stipulation, it will exact what cannot be granted without destruction to our social, political and commercial integrity. . . . The case, therefore, is not one for arbitration. The South cannot refer so grave a question as that of her independence to any arbitration, much less to that of a foreign potentate. Did ever two litigants refer to arbitration the question of either one's slavery? Independence is a question that cannot be referred by the South, and that is, in fact, the only question really involved in the present contest. The Yankee may become sick of the war, and is capable of descending from a demand of our service and fealty to begging the privilege of peddling his wooden nutmegs and bark clocks through our country; but neither of these demands are proper for mediation, and we should be very wary of granting treaty privileges of trade. Despairing of convincing the South by open hostilities, they will try the artifice of the Greeks before Troy, and attempt to introduce, by means of trade privileges, the wooden horse into our midst. It is only some purpose of this sort that mediation can accomplish; and we should distrust and eschew such schemes, as the Trojans learned to distrust their enemies, even when bearing pretended gifts."

THE RULING RACE.

The following article, from the Richmond Whig, discloses the purpose of the South to overthrow our republican government, and establish in its stead a pro-slavery aristocracy. As an authoritative exposition of the sentiment of the Southern rebels, and the principles upon which, if successful, they intend to govern the whole American continent, it deserves serious consideration:— "We are too close pressed and too much influenced by the greatest evils which are passing, to indulge much in philosophizing. But the rout and dispersion, at the great pitched battle near Manassas, bring into bold relief the great fact, that the Yankees are humbugs, and that the white people of the slaveholding States are the true masters—the real rulers of this continent. Under every disadvantage on our side, the preparations for the combat were made. The Northern States had seized upon all the common property of the partnership, had monopolized the whole navy and army, and all the material, with the entire machinery of government, in full operation; and boasted that they had an inexhaustible supply of men and money to wage an interminable war. For months, with all these advantages, they have been diligently engaged in organizing their forces. . . . Under the direction of the most vaunted military character of the age—not of their creation, though, for they never produced a genius capable of anything beyond arranging a hotel or working a steam engine, or directing some mechanical contrivance,—they expended millions of money and drilled armies of three hundred thousand, and equipped them in a style unheard of in the annals of war. They met the rule and poorly equipped volunteers of the Southern States, drawn from their peaceful vocations for the first time, to the theatre of war, and they are routed and slain by the thousand, and driven like chaff before a high wind. Though glibly boast of the highest military talent, (of Virginia short-grass growth), they have nothing to rely upon but their numbers, and that, in the fight, proves an element of weakness. . . . The fact is, the Yankees are very little better than the Chinese. They place the main stress on the jungle of the millions that the Celestials do on the nose of their gongs. Originally endowed with no single amiable trait, they have cultivated the arts of money-getting and cheating, until gain has become their God, and they imagine it to be omnipotent. With money in their pockets, won from a generous and chivalrous race—and multitudinous as Norway rats, they are swollen with conceit, and fancy that they were fit for empire. And yet they do not possess one gentlemanly attribute, nor a single talent that qualifies them for war. They don't even know how to ride a horse—a talent only to be acquired in youth, and gentle avocations. And as to arms, ninety-nine out of a hundred never shot a gun; and we have it on very good authority that Old Scott lost all patience in attempting to teach them how to load a gun. The vile old wretch! he reaps a just reward for his treason and his talents misplaced. . . . The break-down of the Yankees, their utter inability for empire, forces domination upon us. We are compelled to take the scepter, and it is our duty to prepare ourselves to our destinies. We must elevate our race, every man of it—breed them up to arms, to command—to empire. The art

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HON. D. S. DICKINSON'S SPEECH.

This veteran Democrat has been making a powerful speech in Wyoming county, Penn. His idea of meeting the crisis is as far as possible from that of the Breckinridge school of Democracy. Speaking of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, he said: "If I had possession of a traitor, and no other remedy would suggest treachery, I would suspend the writ, and the individual, too." The following extracts will show the earnest and patriotic spirit of Mr. Dickinson's speech:— "But what is the true way of putting down what I shall term a rebellion? And we can all agree on one thing: that rebellion is either right or wrong, justifiable or unjustifiable—to be approved or condemned, as a whole. If it is right for a portion of this country to take up arms against this Government, it is right to sustain such action; and if they are wrong, they should be put down by the power of the people. (Applause.) There is no half-way house in this matter—no tarrying-place between sustaining the Government and attempting its overthrow. There is no peace proposing that will suit the case until the rebellion is first put down. (Applause.) And were I in favor of, or disposed to support this rebellion, or aid or countenance it, I would go and take up arms with them. Because, if it is right for them to take up arms, it is right for them to have armed aid and assistance. If they are wrong, if they are guilty of treason, and murder, and arson, then they should be overthrown by the whole power of the Government (applause), and the whole power of the Government (applause), and the whole power of the Government (applause) day will ever find rebellion again. (Renewed applause.)

THE DEMOCRACY OF WALDOBORO' ON THE WAR.

At a Democratic caucus held in Waldoboro', Maine, on Saturday, 17th inst., at which delegates were chosen to attend the State Convention, the following resolutions were adopted. They are curiosities in a literary point of view. Ignorance, mendacity and malignity struggle to find appropriate expression, and the result will excite nothing but contempt:— 1st. Resolved, That the present civil war was brought upon our country against the solemn admonitions of the Democrats, by a combination of reckless, ambitious and fanatical men, priests, abolitionists and disunionists, calling themselves Republicans. That the so-called Republican party has furnished a precedent for the Southern Rebellion in its own refusal to be governed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, as the expounder of the Constitution. The active orators of that party in the late Presidential campaign outraged brotherly feeling, and violated the truth in speeches on the stump, for the purpose of creating, as they did create at the North, hatred and hostility to the South and Southern rights. That at all times, since the so-called Republican party came into power, their aim has been to preserve their party organization for the purpose of power and plunder, rather than to preserve the Union, and, in our opinion, the present war might have been prevented, had the party in power been as anxious to save the country as to save the party. 2d. Resolved, That the managers of the party in power are anxious to protract the present war, not from desire or hope of restoring the Union to its former glory, but solely as a means of enriching themselves by plunder, and gratifying their ambition for place and power; that their new-born professions of love for the Union are not the honest expressions of change in opinions, but are prompted by fear of losing a large share of public patronage; and their unwillingness to adhere to their cherished mottoes, 'Let the South go and the Union slide,' is checked for the present by the possession of national power. 3d. Resolved, That our Southern brethren are not justified by us in withdrawing from Congress, and taking up arms to protect themselves in their rights, thus leaving the country wholly in the hands of the Abolitionists, and their friends in the North; at the mercy of a party whose history is a record of misrule and corruption, distinguished for its mob-spirit, and its infringement upon the rights of free speech; and, in our opinion, Southern rights would have been fully sustained had the Southern Senators and members of the House remained in their places. 4th. Resolved, That we do not admit the constitutional right of a State or a number of States, to secede from the Union, and as all hopes of adjusting this unhappy controversy, without more serious consequences, is to let the seceded States depart in peace, retaining as many of the border States as a true spirit of compromise will allow on our part, with an eye to the mutual benefits and interests and happiness of the whole people, would be better served by two separate friendly governments than by a continuation of a Union only in name, and a government daily breaking and evading the Constitution in its misrule of the country denuded in fraternal blood. 5th. Resolved, That, in our opinion, by adopting the principles of the foregoing resolutions, with the priestcraft and Abolitionism crushed out in the North, and the follies of the past for a guide, there will be a reconstruction of the Union on a more permanent basis, and the United States restored to its former greatness and prosperity. 6th. Resolved, That our system of government was formed by compromise and concession, and can only exist in its purity by the same; that civil war is disunion, and if persisted in must result in the destruction of the Union with ruin, and the persons or parties that commend or sustain the war, North or South, are disunionists in practice, and are only hastening its destruction, and, besides, burdening the country with an enormous national debt, but believe that many such are honest in their opinions, but are induced to pursue that course with the hope and belief that the Union can be preserved by coercive measures, therefore cordially inviting all thinking and discriminating men that are for pursuing that course, that it will be for the best interest of the whole people to take the matter under consideration, and if they come to the conclusion that the principles set forth in the foregoing resolutions are correct, to cooperate with us in accomplishing our objects and save the country from further bloodshed, bankruptcy and ruin. 7th. Resolved, That we are for the whole Union—East, West, North and South; and it is with the greatest sorrow and regret that we are compelled to favor the separation of this once great and happy family of States; but believe it to be our best and only hope of saving our part of the wreck from utter ruin and destruction, and furthermore, believing it to be of the utmost importance that the Abolition party now in power should be replaced by a party whose sentiments would be respected by the people of the South, in order to make such compromises and mutual agreements as will be for the best interests of the North, we therefore instruct our delegates to vote for such men as will sustain the principles set forth in the foregoing resolutions."

SPEECH OF GOV. O. P. MORTON, AT ROCKVILLE, INDIANA.

A large and enthusiastic Union meeting was held in Parke county, on which occasion, by invitation, Gov. Morton, K. J. Ryan and Judge Williams addressed the people. We make the following extracts from Governor Morton's speech:— All republican government is based upon the principle that when the will of the people has been expressed through the forms of the Constitution, all parties and all men must submit. Unless this principle be unconditionally admitted, republican government cannot exist for a day. For illustration of this truth, I might refer to the history of Mexico, where each election is followed by a revolution; and where the minority refuse to submit to the majority, and fly to arms for the release of every fanatic. Such has been the history of republican governments in France and other countries in Europe. Every officer of the government, when properly elected, becomes the officer and agent of the people, whether they favored his election or not, and all loyal citizens recognize him as such. Mr. Buchanan, when elected, although I did not favor his election, became my President, and any insult offered to him by a foreign power, or any resistance to his lawful authority by domestic forces, was an insult and an injury to me and every citizen of the United States. Some people there are who are so incredibly stupid as to be unable to see any difference between the government and the mere agents who carry it on for the time. Government is intended to be permanent, while the officers by whom it is administered are ever changing. Washington, Jefferson and Jackson have passed away, but the government they administered still lasts, and I trust will last forever. The men who now control public affairs will, in a few short years, have passed from the stage of action; but we trust the government will survive them. The man who would refuse to protect the government merely because he did not like the man who carried it on, would display as little sense as the inebriate who should refuse to protect his dwelling from the flames because he did not like the agency of water. This is not a war of parties, but of the whole people. The interests involved rise as far above mere party considerations as the heavens are above the earth. The man who stands aloof from the great contest, higgling about his party, is short-sighted, and fails to comprehend the time in which he lives. Parties can only exist in a free government, and when the government falls, they fall along with it. The Democratic, Whig and Republican parties have each sought to administer the government. But if the government should pass away, there would be nothing left to administer. If there is any poor partizan here, to-day, who believes that, after the government has been destroyed, he will have his party left and may enjoy it, I yield him up in despair. The Almighty has enveloped his intellect in eternal night, and foreordained that he should be a fool forever and ever. The charge is made in this county that this war was begun by Lincoln to bring about the abolition of slavery. The man who utters this charge is attempting to commit a fraud upon the people, and treason against the government. Every intelligent man knows that, before Lincoln was inaugurated, the rebels had an army of thirty thousand men in the field; had laid siege to Fort Pickens and Sumter; had robbed the mint at New Orleans of half a million of dollars; and plundered various forts and

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arsenals of two hundred thousand stand of arms and five hundred pieces of artillery; had confiscated the debts due from citizens of seceded States to the people of the North, thus robbing them of hundreds of millions of dollars; had murdered or driven from the seceded States every man of Northern birth, or that entertained a lingering attachment for the Constitution of his country. The object of a falsehood so foul and monstrous is not to be mistaken. It is to distract the people of the North and palsy the hands of the seceders, that it may fall an easy prey to the seceders who are seeking its destruction. This would be its effect, if any it had, and must, therefore, be its aim. But it is said we must have peace, and could have peace if we would. I love peace as much as any man. Its sweets are as delicious to my taste as to that of any human being. But when I say this, I mean peace that is safe, peace that is crowned with liberty and the blessings of an enlightened civilization. I do not mean peace which is the sleep of death; which is purchased by foul dishonor; nor that peace which is but another name for submission to tyrants and traitors. It is utterly folly to talk about peace, without pointing out some method by which it may be obtained. I know of but two conditions now upon which peace can be had. The first is by submitting to the disruption of the Union and the destruction of the government. The second is, by the submission of the traitors now in arms. And I appeal to you, to-day, to answer the question in your hearts, upon which of these conditions do you demand peace? Who are the men that are thus clamoring for peace upon any terms? They are not the Union men of Kentucky, of Missouri, of Tennessee, of Maryland, or of Virginia. But they are small clans scattered throughout the Northern States, who are violently suspected by their neighbors of not being Union men, but men who would flourish most and rejoice most in a period of general anarchy, and social and political dissolution. But we are told that, unless we at once suspend hostilities, and secure peace upon any other terms, an enormous public debt will be contracted, which will be a burden upon our children; and that a large public debt is undesirable calamity; that we are thus incurring calamities. What will it profit a people, if they should gain the wealth of the whole world, but lose their government, and with it their liberty? In my judgment, the man who can deliberately weigh gold in the scale against the existence of this government, and the liberties of this people, is either an idiot or a traitor. If there is such a man in Parke county, may God forgive him, for I cannot. What matters it whether this war shall cost us a hundred millions or a hundred thousand, if we are thereby enabled to maintain the Union, and transmit this government to our children? Considered in a merely financial point of view, it would be the best investment the American people ever made. If the government falls, what becomes of the value of property? What becomes of commerce? of public and private institutions? of prosperity of every kind? The folly of the man who refuses to sustain the government, because it will cost a large amount of money to do so, is only equalled by him who should refuse to purchase a necessary food because it is expensive, and voluntarily starves himself to death in order that he may live to enjoy a large fortune. Financially considered, secession is the greatest misfortune that could befall the nation, and especially the people of these Western States. The Mississippi river would become the property of a foreign government, and we should be cut off from any outlet to the Gulf, except upon such terms as should be graciously vouchsafed to us by the traitors now in arms. The manufactures and agricultural productions of Indiana would not be allowed to float down the Mississippi river to find a market, except on compliance with the conditions and payment of the duties prescribed by the dictatorship at Richmond. The Revolutionary War is estimated to have cost two hundred millions of dollars. How much easier would it have been to have paid the little duty of three pence a pound upon tea! And can you doubt that the men who now urge the cost of this war as an objection to it would, for the same reason, have objected to the Revolution had they lived during that period? But it is said that this war might have been avoided by a compromise, and could now be settled by a compromise. While we were talking of a compromise, last winter, the traitors were robbing, plundering, investing, fortifying, and marshaling armies into the field. What is there to compromise now, but the integrity of the Union and the existence of the government? Do the traitors offer us any compromise? No. On the contrary, their ultimatum is the destruction of the Constitution and the Union. But how would these men go about proposing a compromise to an enemy who has an hundred thousand men in the field, and who spits in the nation's face whenever the word is mentioned; who declares that secession and disunion are the glorious consummation of the toil and sweat of more than thirty years; who affirms that the free institutions at the North are a failure, that the only true foundation for government is African slavery, and that the laboring classes of the North are serfs and vassals, beneath the mental and moral dignity of the slave upon the plantation? It is now well known that the secession movement was inaugurated as early as 1829. Its first effort at the destruction of the government was made in 1833, in the nullification movement in South Carolina, based ostensibly upon the tariff question. Gen. Jackson then predicted that the tariff question would be predicated upon the slavery question, and the prophecy has been fulfilled. From that time forward, secession has been kept alive under the deceitful and specious title of "State's Rights"; and yet these constitutional doctors propose to cure this chronic secession cancer by the application of a mild compromise plaster. But I tell you, No! The only cure for the cancer is the knife. We must cut out the gangrened and rotten parts, and extract the very roots of the devouring ulcer. Compromise roots and herbs are of no avail in a case like this. The Southern Commissioners, sent to Washington last spring, offered no compromise, and would listen to none. Their haughty and traitorous demand was, that we should consent to the dissolution of the Union, and the dismemberment of the government. They said if this government would write its name upon a blank piece of paper, and allow them to write over it the conditions upon which they would compromise this difficulty and return to the Union, they had none to write. A proposition to compromise now is simply a proposition to surrender, and the man who makes it, dignifies it as he may, means that, and nothing else. We are fighting now to preserve what our fathers fought to win. They established a republican government, and we will uphold it. If their cause was sacred, then is ours sanctified by their blood, and should, if necessary, be sealed with our own.

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To concede practically or theoretically the doctrine of secession, upon which this rebellion is based, is to concede the destruction of our social and political institutions. That doctrine is, that any State has the right to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, without consulting the National Government or the other States. This being admitted, it requires no argument to prove that we have no government, but a mere voluntary association, with no higher sanctions than a pleasure party, from which any guest may retire at his own convenience. Carried to its consequences, it does not stop with the destruction of the National Government, but is equally fatal to State and local institutions. Commerce must perish when one party can withdraw from a contract, without the consent of the other. No other war ever involved such mighty interests, comprehending, as it does, the political and social existence of the nation; and if, while everything is thus at stake, we shall suffer ourselves to be distracted and conquered by old prejudices and jealousies, false views of selfish demagogues, the world may well pronounce final judgment, that the experiment of self-government has failed, and that men can be successfully governed only by an aristocracy or a monarchy. Much is being said in certain quarters now about the right of free speech. I allow no man to be a more firm and consistent advocate of that right than myself. I have battled for it many years, and I never uphold it as the very touchstone of liberty. It will be found, on examination, that those who are now making the clamor, mean, by the "freedom of speech," the right to weaken our hands, and strengthen the hands of our enemy, by distracting our councils, by reviling our cause, by ignominious propositions to lay down our arms, and by assailing the purity of all men who are laboring to uphold the honor and integrity of the nation. If any man in the rebellious States should utter, in defence of the North, a title of what men in Indiana are daily saying in defence of the South, he would not be permitted to live long enough to say his prayers. The freedom of speech is exercised by the voice of those who deny the right of secession, and who punish its exercise with death. The men who thus abuse the right of free speech are living monuments of the forbearance of our laws, and of the liberty and security of persons, guaranteed by our institutions. While I admit and will uphold the freedom of speech, it is not improper to state that there are State and national laws defining and punishing the crime of treason, and that infractions of these laws will be searched out and punished with the utmost rigor.

THE DYING TESTIMONY OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

The National Intelligencer has received from a friend of the late Senator Douglas, the following copy of a letter from him on the state of the country, written a short time before his death:— CHICAGO, Friday, May 10, 1861. MY DEAR SIR,—Being deprived of the use of my arms for the present by a severe attack of rheumatism, I am compelled to reply to you by letter. It seems that some of my friends are unable to comprehend the difference between arguments used in favor of an equitable compromise, with the hope of averting the horrors of war, and those urged in support of the government and the flag of our country, when war is being waged against the United States with the avowed purpose of producing a permanent disruption of the Union and a total destruction of its government. All hope of compromise with the cotton States was abandoned when they assumed the position that the separation of the Union was complete and final, and that they would never consent to a reconstruction in any contingency—not even if we would furnish them with a blank sheet of paper, and permit them to inscribe their own terms. Still the hope was cherished that reasonable and satisfactory terms of adjustment could be agreed upon with Tennessee, North Carolina, and the border States, and that whatever terms would prove satisfactory to these loyal States would create a Union party in the cotton States, which would be powerful enough at the ballot-box to destroy the revolutionary government, and bring those States back into the Union by the voice of their own people. All this hope was cherished by Union men North and South, and was never abandoned until war was levied at Charleston, and the authoritative announcement made by the revolutionary government at Montgomery, that the secession flag should be planted upon the walls of the capitol at Washington, and a proclamation issued inviting the pirates of the world to prey upon the commerce of the United States. These startling facts, in connection with the boastful announcement that the ravages of war and carnage should be quickly transferred from the cotton fields of the South to the wheat and corn fields of the North, furnished conclusive evidence that it was the fixed purpose of the secessionists utterly to destroy the government of our fathers, and obliterate the United States from the map of the world. In view of this state of facts, there was but one path of duty left to patriotic men. It was not a party question, nor a question involving partisan policy; it was a question of government or no government; it was a question of country or no country; and hence it became the imperative duty of every Union man, every friend of constitutional liberty, to rally to the support of our common country, its government and flag, as the only means of checking the progress of revolution, and of preserving the Union of States. I am unable to answer your questions in respect to the policy of Mr. Lincoln and Cabinet. I am not in their confidence, as you and the whole country ought to be aware. I am neither the supporter of the partisan policy nor the apologist of the administration. My previous relations to them remain unchanged; but I trust the time will never come when I shall not be willing to make any needful sacrifice of personal feeling and party policy for the honor and integrity of my country. I know of no mode in which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the flag, the Constitution, and the Union, under all circumstances, and under every administration, regardless of party politics, against all assailants, at home and abroad. The course of Clay and Webster towards the administration of Jackson, in the days of nullification, presents a noble and worthy example for all true patriots. At the very moment when that fearful crisis was precipitated upon the country, partisan strife between Whigs and Democrats was quite as bitter and relentless as now between Democrats and Republicans. The Gulf which separated party leaders in those days was quite as broad and deep as that which now separates the Democracy from the Republicans. But the moment an enemy rose in our midst, plotting the dismemberment of the Union and the destruction of the government, the voice of partisan strife was hushed in patriotic silence. One of the brightest chapters in the history of our country will record the fact that, during this eventful period, the great

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leaders of the opposition, sinking the partisan in the patriot, rushed to the support of the government, and became its ablest and bravest defenders against all assaults until the conspiracy was crushed and abandoned, when they resumed their former positions as party leaders upon political issues. These acts of patriotic devotion have never been deemed evidences of infidelity or political treachery, on the part of Clay and Webster, to the principles and organization of the old Whig party. Nor have I any apprehension that the firm and unanimous support which the Democratic leaders and masses are now giving to the Constitution and the Union, will ever be deemed evidences of infidelity to the Democratic principles, or a want of loyalty to the organization and creed of the Democratic party. If we hope to regain the ascendancy of our party, we should never forget that a man cannot be a true Democrat unless he is a loyal patriot. With the sincere hope that these my conscientious convictions may coincide with those of my friends, I am, very truly, yours, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. To VIRGIN HICKOX, Esq., Chairman State Democratic Committee.

WE WANT PEACE.

The National Intelligencer thus ably and earnestly and fairly discusses the "peace" question, and we occasionally hear it put in issue by certain men and papers:— "As early as the 6th of March last, the 'Southern Congress,' sitting at Montgomery, authorized Gen. Jefferson Davis, as President of the Confederate States, to raise a military force of 100,000 men. It was not until the following 15th of April, and after the war 'had been commenced' by the reduction of Fort Sumter, that President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 volunteers. To what ultimate purpose the 'war' might be conducted by its originators was at the same time publicly intimated by Mr. Walker, the Confederate Secretary of War, when, speaking on the eve of Sumter's fall, he held the following language:— 'No man could tell where the war this day commenced would end; but he would prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here would float over the dome of the old capitol at Washington before the 1st of May. Let them try Southern chivalry, and test the strength of Southern resources, and it might float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself.' It is in the presence of such facts, and in the prospect of such threats, sustained, moreover, as the latter were, by the consenting voice of the more violent and inflammatory of the secession press, that we are doomed to hear from certain disloyal parties and prints incessant tributes to the 'blessings of peace.' We concern in all such tributes, but the source from which they proceed does not always inspire us with entire confidence in their sincerity, and their very utterance on the part of some implies a rare degree of effrontery. They who were the first to disturb the peace of the nation are not well selected as the oracles of this divine evangel. We hear much said at the present day by these same equivocal 'peace-makers' in deprecation of 'invasion,' but it is instructive to remark that by this term they mean only the southward march of the national army 'in support of the national authority. The hundred-fold 'invasions' of the Federal Government, as witnessed (long before the seizure of United States forts, the rifling of United States mints, the firing on the United States flag, the capture of United States soldiers, the pillage of United States arsenals, and the appropriation of United States ships and revenue cutters, all pass for no account with these sturdy and vehement denouncers of federal 'invasions' And, reduced to the mere aspect of its territorial relations, and apart from all considerations of relative rightfulness, on which side has the 'invasion' been more 'ruthless' since the war began by the act of the Confederate Government? The events passing before our eyes afford an easy answer. On the one hand, we have the Federal Government 'invading' Virginia only for the sake of defending the National Capital against menaced attack, and of dispersing a hostile force congregated in its neighborhood. On the other, we have seen the loyal State of Maryland 'invaded' by an insurrectionary body of men, and her property 'wantonly' destroyed; we have seen Kentucky 'invaded' and an arsenal within her borders stripped of its cannon and muskets; and while we were, Missouri is 'invaded' for the purpose of forcing upon her people a deposed and self-elected Governor, and of driving out of the Union a State which prefers to maintain unimpaired her federal relations. When, therefore, we listen to fervent adjuration in favor of 'peace,' we are constrained to inquire what sort of a peace it is meant to commend to our acceptance; if it be a plea in behalf of that 'peaceable secession' which vindicates its claim to recognition by a rash appeal to arms, we can have nothing to say in behalf of any such political scheme. Among the last to abandon the hope or to remit unceasing labors for the preservation of peace, we shall be among the first to welcome its return, provided it be such a peace as consists with the safety, honor and integrity of the loyal States and the Union. But for a peace which consults only the interests, convenience and caprices of a revolutionary government, and which leaves to that established by Washington in the field and Madison in the council only the poor privilege of accepting the terms created by insurrectionary scheming, we have no such preference as leads us to espouse with forwardness the cause of political right, as we understand their relations.

SCENE AFTER THE BATTLE OF GREAT RIVER.

The following extract is from the correspondence of a letter-writer in the Cincinnati Gazette. Most graphically does it depict the horrors of the strife in which we are involved, and in thunder tones calls for speedy and condign retribution on those who have, by their unholty ambition and love of power, incited these rebellious movements. In speaking of Gen. Garnett, the writer says:— Not a Virginia crew had fled; when he fell. The whole cowardly crowd had fled; and of all that army of four thousand, but one was with his General—a slight boyish figure, with scarcely the down of a approaching manhood on his face, and wearing the Georgia uniform and button. Bravely he had stood by his General to the last, and when Garnett fell, he fell too. There they lay, in that wild region, on the banks of the Cheat, with 'back to the field and face to the foe.' The one was the representative of Virginia aristocracy and Virginia treason, educated, honored, accomplished, and now fighting against the flag under which he had been reared, the fact that, during this eventful period, the great

and which he had followed to many a field of glory; the other, his deluded follower from another State, evidently from the lower walks of life, and with only a brave heart and a stern determination to stand by the cause he had espoused to the bitter end. And there, on that rugged bank, had come the solemn issue. They met it courageously, and fell as brave men fall.

Returning from the bluff where Garnett lay, I went up to the bluff on which the enemy had been posted. The first object that caught the eye was a large iron rified cannon, (a six-pounder,) which lay half in their precipitate flight. The star-spangled banner of one of our regiments floated over it. Around was a sickening sight. Along the brink of the bluff lay ten bodies, stiffening in their own gore, in every contortion which their death anguish had produced. Others were gazing in the last agonies, and still others were writhing with horrible but not mortal wounds, surrounded by soldiers whom they really believed were about to plunge the bayonet into their hearts. Never before had I so ghastly a realization of the horrid nature of this fraternal struggle. These men were all Americans—men whom we had once been proud to claim as countrymen—some of their natives of our own Northern States. One poor fellow was shot through the bowels. The ground was soaked with his blood. I stooped, and asked if anything could be done to make him more comfortable; he only whispered, "I'm so cold!" He lingered for nearly an hour in terrible agony. Another—just developing into vigorous manhood—was shot through the head by a large musket ball. The skull was shockingly fractured; his brains were protruding from the bullet hole, and lay spread on the grass by his head; and he was still living! I knelt by his side, and moistened his lips with water from my canteen, and an officer who came up a moment afterwards poured a few drops of brandy from his pocket flask into his mouth. God help us! what more could we do? A surgeon rapidly examined the wound, sadly shook his head, saying it were better for him if he were dead already, and passed on to the next. And there, at the foot of the bluff, lay the untold and unnumbered agonies of that fearful death, for more than an hour!

Near him lay a Virginian, shot through the mouth, and already stiffening. He appeared to have been stopping when he was shot; the ball struck the tip of his nose, cutting that off, cut his upper lip, knocked out his teeth, passed through the head, and came out at the back of the neck. The expression of his ghastly face was awful beyond description. And near him lay another, with a ball through the right eye, which had passed through the back of the head. The bloody eye was open, and some of the brain matter was still oozing from the mouth; all were smeared in their own blood, and clammy, with the dew of death upon them.

But why dwell on the sickening details? May I never see another field like that! There were on one spot ten corpses; two more died before they could be removed to the hospital; three died during the night; another was lying when I left.

All around the field lay men with wounds in the leg, or arm, or face, groaning with pain, and trembling lest the barbarous foe they expected to find in our ranks should commence marching and turning them at once. Words can hardly express their astonishment when our men gently removed them to a little knoll, laid them all together, and formed a circle of bayonets around them, to keep off the curious crowd, till they could be removed to the hospital, and cared for by our surgeons.

There was a terrible moral in that group on the knoll; the dead, the dying, the wounded, protected by the very men they had been fighting, and who were as ready then as they had ever been to defend, by their strong arms every right these self-made enemies of theirs had ever enjoyed.

Every attention was shown the enemy's wounded by our surgeons. Limbs were amputated, wounds were dressed with the same care with which our own brave volunteers were treated. The wounds on the battlefield removed all differences. In the hospital all were alike, the objects of a common humanity that left none beyond its limits.

Among the enemy's wounded was a young Massachusetts boy, who had received a severe wound in the leg. He had been visiting in the South, and had been impressed into the ranks. As soon as the battle began, he broke from the rebel ranks, and attempted to run down the hill, and cross over to our side. His own lieutenant saw him in the act, and shot him with a revolver! Listen to such a tale as that, as I did, by the side of the sad young sufferer, and tell me if your blood does not boil warmer than ever before, as you think, not of the poor deluded followers, but of the leaders, who, for personal ambition and personal spite, began this infernal rebellion.

NEVER GIVE WAY TO BUGBEARS.

BY LIEUT. GENERAL T. FERRONET THOMPSON.

Such was the advice of the greatest man in Cambridge when George the Third was King,—and who was not a bishop, because he was supposed to have too strong a head upon his shoulders.

A bugbear is a ferocious, or hobgoblin, put forth by simple or interested people, to keep a silly man or women who are open to be made game of.

The bugbear of the present day is, that if the men whose ancestors landed from the Mayflower touch the hellish "institution" which threatens to cut their throats, there must be deeds and sufferings, in comparison with which the "pigs of Lord Somerville's breed, running wild about the country," and "the clerk of the parish whose wound in the hinder parts" (which are what a clerical wit would call the power of a fortnight's war in England,) are less than dust.

Nobody denies the evils of war; but war begun against us is not to be put down by behaving silly. When it has been worth while to raise five hundred thousand men and five hundred millions of dollars to put down a rebellion, it is worth while to make such a use of them as shall prevent the like rebellions forever, by cutting off their source. And that, not by acts of severity against the defeated rebels, but by doing the only thing which can prevent their being, at no long time hence, the sufferers from their own equity, which the good men and true have now the power to hinder, if they like. What excuse shall the true man make, if he does not cocker up the evil by refusing to apply the high-handed remedy, which God and the Adjutant-General's muster-roll have placed at their command?

Women, it seems, are to be the *cheval de bataille* of the bugbear-makers. In entering the stronghold of the blackest pirate that ever deformed his face with beard, there is nobody that would not desire to take care of the women. But we must not be made fools of on this point, by the colleagues of the companions already sent forward.

Suppose the British West India Islands had broken into rebellion on the first apprehension of a design to put an end to slavery; and this not passively but actively, by privatizing against the commerce of the rest of the country, and storming the forts occupied by the troops of the legitimate sovereign. And when a force, to all appearance competent, is preparing to put down the outbreak, stand forth the anti-slavery men, (for so, no doubt, they would call themselves,) and cry, "Above all things, take care you give no encouragement to the slaves to assist you! Do not invite them to join your work in the sunshine which sends white men to hospital. If you do, remember you will be responsible for all that can come under the four pleas of the law, against every resident, male and female, of English blood."

How the world would laugh at such a threat! It hardly needs proving, that those who could be the dupes of such a miserable bugbear would show fully equal to be equalled in bulk by the knavery of the promoters.

for the future. Vagrants found committing depredations will be sent to a punishment gang." Suppose an English Commander-in-Chief to have the genius to issue such an order,—as why should he not?—and what becomes of the pretended terrorists at home, who affect to be alarmed for the condition of every white female in the Antilles? The whole is plainly a fraud, a delusion,—it may be of weakness of head, or it may be of obduracy of heart. The world is not destined to be finally ruled by either.

One point to be borne in mind, in everything connected with these transactions,—a thing to be written on the bells of the horses, and inscribed on every pot or bowl, lay or clerical, in Jerusalem and Judah,—is, that the defeated rebels have no right to claim compensation for the suppression of their insurrection, when they are offered the opportunity of carrying on their works from this moment in a cheaper manner than before. It is as if the Irishmen, prohibited from ploughing their horses by the tail, set up a demand to be paid for the horse. The answer would be, "Strange mixture of rascal and fool!—the harness way is cheapest!"—Bradford (Eng.) Advertiser.

STARTLING DISCLOSURES.

Southern Secret Service Money in New Jersey.—Treas and People to be Suborned.—Southern Agents Distributing Secret Service Money to New Jersey Newspapers.—The Rebels pay the Expenses of the Peace Demonstrations in New Jersey—\$5,000 Blood Money left in Newark to Aid Treason there.—Their Agents in Our Midst.

The rebels and destroyers of the Union are at work in the Middle States. During the last fortnight, agents of the Southern Confederacy have been visiting various sections of New Jersey, inaugurating movements for systematic peace meetings throughout the State. Individuals have been guaranteed against all expense, and these treason movements have been organized with diabolical shrewdness through dupes or willing tools in the late Breckinridge party, who to gratify their hate, would help to crumble our free institutions for the sake of establishing a Southern monarchy.

The leading Breckinridge Democratic newspapers of New Jersey have commenced a systematic warfare against all the measures of the government to sustain the Union. We have been informed, on what we consider good authority, that \$5,000 was received in Newark recently, from the Montgomery Secret Service Fund, to be applied in supporting secession papers in our State, and to be expended in getting up peace meetings.

This accounts for the treasonable sentiments of those hypocritical papers which are giving aid and comfort to the enemy at the North, and by advocating peace and compromise with armed rebels, endeavoring to dishearten the people and to embarrass the government.

The Newark Evening Journal predicts certain defeat for the North. The editor of that mendacious sheet proclaimed that an army of "300,000 men had been defeated at Manassas," and now traitorously declares that "our enemies are fighting for their liberties." The Hunterdon Democrat contains a long communication, evidently written at the South, in which President Lincoln is alluded to as "an old Northern mud-sill." The True American terms the Southern ideas and rebel sentiments.

Southern Secret Service Money being expended in New Jersey for peace meetings and treason newspapers. These agents are now traversing our State under the advice of certain Breckinridge politicians, polluting the people with gold stolen from the federal treasury, or wrung from their helpless victims at the South.

Beware of these emissaries of the Southern foe! Beware of these agents of treason from abroad and their tory sympathizers here! Mark them well, and remember each one for all time to come. Let the stain of infamy upon the murderer's skin. Know that wherever these peace meetings are held, they are the infernal machines of an unscrupulous foe, and that the secession newspapers of New Jersey are receiving pay from the Montgomery Secret Service Fund—the blood-money circulated by the rebels to seduce weak men and weak presses from their duty to their country in the hour of peril.—Paterson (N. J.) Guardian.

The City Council of Paterson, on Monday night, passed the following resolution, withdrawing all official connection from the Register, an anti-war or secession paper whose articles lately have outraged the community by their treasonable sentiments:—

Resolved, That the Daily Register be no longer authorized to publish the proceedings of this Board, or its ordinances; and that all persons acting by authority in the name of this Board, in printing or advertising to be done in that establishment, be and they are to be considered as having no authority.

We extract the following from the New York Atlas. After alluding to the destruction of the presses in Concord and Bangor, the editor says,—

"Hard usage! say the ultra advocates of free speech and a free press. Hard usage, certainly! But it is usage to burglar to put iron on his wrists and ankles, and to hang up in a dark prison for an indefinite number of years. And if it be considered a rough way of dealing with sneaking traitors, let it be remembered that the Union papers have all been suppressed at the South. 'Stop them all!' cries the New Orleans Crescent, and the advice is followed. Here, there is an immense outcry about the 'freedom of the press' if even the worst of them are touched!"

It is to be deplored that mobs have violently suppressed several secession papers in New England; but it is more to be deplored that there were found men so ready to degrade as to sell themselves to the Southern traitors, and to pursue a course which rendered necessary the suppression of their incendiary papers.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1861.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE WAR.

In the Liberator of June 21st, we copied an editorial article from the London Herald of Peace, in which a violent and most extraordinary attack was made upon the American government for not allowing Jefferson Davis and his traitorous confederates to have their own way, sever the Union through violence and blood, steal whatever they could lay their hands upon belonging to the government, and do whatever might seem good in their own eyes, without resistance or molestation. The American Abolitionists, also, were hotly assailed as recreant to their professions of peace, and to the Anti-Slavery cause for which they have suffered and sacrificed so much, and toiled so long, because they were giving their sympathies to the government on the issue presented by the Southern rebels, whose desperate conduct and devilish purpose as against all free institutions elicited not a syllable of reproof from this "peaceful" (!) London Aristocrat. To that article we made reply, showing its allegations to be false, and its position virtually a pro-war and a pro-slavery one.

In our present number, we copy in full the rejoinder of the Herald of Peace to our animadversions,—though that periodical has not the fairness to imitate our example, and allow our reply to appear in its pages. Though guilty of gross injustice, it takes nothing back, but exhibits the same perverse state of mind as in its first attack—claiming, indeed, to be as innocent as a lamb, and the object of a gratuitous assault on our part! "We, also," it says, "have come in for our share of that pitiless storm of irrefragable invective which is now pouring from the American heavens upon all mankind!" How adroitly the assailant here assumes the attitude of a defendant! But the dodge will not answer. "Our good friends in America," he adds, "insist upon it that they do well to be angry with us, just because we cannot run into the same excess of warlike riot with themselves." This is gross exaggeration and shameful caricature. What does the writer mean by "excess of warlike riot"? Has the American government done any thing in excess? On the contrary, has it not exhibited unparalleled long-suffering and forbearance towards the conspirators against its life? Before moving a finger in self-defence, did it not wait until its forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, post-offices, &c., &c., in the seceding States, had all been perforce seized, and used for treasonable purposes, and a new confederacy formed within its limits for its ultimate overthrow? In its great extremity of danger, has it summoned too many troops, or put forth needless energy, or resorted to a single unjustifiable measure,—judging it from a governmental plane of action? Or has it not, rather, exhibited an almost criminal moderation—an absence of thorough earnestness of purpose—a preposterous leniency of treatment of its murderous foes—and a strong disinclination to push them to the wall, by an active and energetic employment of all the means at its command? The "excess of warlike riot" is language applicable only to the Southern conspirators; and with what regard for the sacred cause of peace, or the claims of the oppressed, or the free institutions of the North, the London censor can allow them to go "unwhipped of justice," and bestow all his censures upon the other side, which now embodies all that is left of true manhood and personal freedom in the land, is too inexplicable. It is the strangest manifestation of "peace" that we have ever heard or read of. It is the ancient deceptive cry of "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." We also believe in peace, as radically and earnestly as the London writer; but how that it is to be promoted by a cowardly truckling of the government to the enemies of every thing that makes for peace, and by granting them all their impious demands, in order that there may be a cessation of conflict, we are unable to see. Other things being equal, in any issue where there is a right and a wrong side, we cannot but desire the triumph of the right.

But, says our reprover, "They won't allow us even to say we are sorry that they are about to be involved in the miseries of civil war." Indeed! Won't they? Is this a truthful statement? Who objects to it? Who at the North, whether of one party or another, is not equally sorry? But sorrow, in itself, is no remedy, and a lugubrious countenance no help. The war has been forced upon the government, even against the most humiliating concessions on its part to avert it; and to bring it to a speedy close, in a right manner and on a true basis, is now a matter of general solicitude. It is not British "sorrow" that gives offence or creates surprise—far from it; but it is the disposition to confound all distinctions between the belligerent parties—to throw the blame upon those who are contending for their homes and firesides, for all that pertains to freedom of conscience and the liberty of speech—and to allow the traitors to escape without condemnation or arraignment.

"Among our assailants," says the editor of the Herald of Peace, "is Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, in the columns of the Liberator. Mr. Garrison is very angry, and, therefore, not very logical."—&c. An assailant is one who commences an attack, not he who repels it. All that we did was simply to deny the justice of certain charges brought by this editor against the American Abolitionists in special, and the people of the North in general, in relation to the war. Whether we were logical or not, angry or not, his readers could form no judgment, because what we wrote was carefully kept from their eyes; while, on the other hand, (in accordance with our uniform practice ever since we occupied an editorial chair,) we printed his long obnoxious article without abridgment—thus allowing the readers of the Liberator to see and judge for themselves as to the strength of the reasoning used, and the quality of spirit evinced, on either side. He pays us a very high compliment for our past fidelity, for which we would return a proper acknowledgment; but what inducement he finds for us to stain our past career by compromising our principles now,—as, inferentially, he seems to imply,—we cannot imagine, and he does not even hint. He sums up the issue between us as follows:—

"The two points in our article that have given the greatest offence are, first, our assertion that this is not an anti-slavery war; and, secondly, our lamentation over what we deemed a departure from principle on the part of those anti-slavery men, who, up to this time, having emphatically disclaimed the use of any but moral means in their conflict with slavery, have gone in for this war with undisciplined exultation and violence."

Let us see. "This is not an anti-slavery war." When or where have we declared it to be an anti-slavery war? Have we not been painfully conscious of the repulsive incongruities with which the war is disgraced on the part of the government, so far as slavery is concerned? Have we not promptly and strongly censured those Generals who have volunteered to put down slave insurrections and restore fugitive slaves? Are we not constantly endeavoring to show the government, and all who are for preserving the government, that in no other way can Southern treason be extirpated, and permanent peace secured, than by abolishing slavery under the war power? And, undeniably, all the signs of the times indicate that this great act of justice and humanity—this master-stroke of public policy—is approving itself to the good sense and sound judgment of the people, without distinction of party. Since our first reply to the Herald of Peace, the slaves of all disloyal slaveholders have been freed as soon as they could place themselves under the national flag; and such fugitives as belong to loyal masters are also to be retained, leaving the question of compensation to be settled hereafter. This is a momentous stride; and an official proclamation of the government to the effect, that slavery is abolished throughout the land, must, ere long, receive the public sanction. There is no other alternative, except national destruction.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The anniversary which calls us together, to-night, is the birthday of our friend THEODORE PARKER. If there was any one feature of his character more prominent than another, it was that he never looked back, except for instruction. The true bent of his mind was to look forward to what he considered his duty. I do not like to look back, and sketch his character or life. If I wanted a monument, I should bid you look round upon this nation, shattered by the sceptre of Justice, and ask you to see the effect of that long life of his, devoted to the prayer that God would execute justice between man and man. I think if he were here to-night, his keen eye would glisten at the sight of what he would see about him. Every plan of his life successful, every prophecy fulfilled, every hope gratified.

He belonged to that class which, without office, has been able, by simple weight of character and thought, to revolutionize this country. He died just at the daybreak of the success of those efforts, and to-day the nation reels under the blows of his mighty right hand. I thank God for it! For us who sympathize with him, we may lift up our heads; for the day of our deliverance is come. The sky is all bright, from the centre to the circumference, with gleams of hope. God has broken up the foundations of the Union, and He will not renew it.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., Delivered at Allston Hall, Boston, on the Anniversary of the Birthday of THEODORE PARKER, August 23.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The anniversary which calls us together, to-night, is the birthday of our friend THEODORE PARKER. If there was any one feature of his character more prominent than another, it was that he never looked back, except for instruction. The true bent of his mind was to look forward to what he considered his duty. I do not like to look back, and sketch his character or life. If I wanted a monument, I should bid you look round upon this nation, shattered by the sceptre of Justice, and ask you to see the effect of that long life of his, devoted to the prayer that God would execute justice between man and man. I think if he were here to-night, his keen eye would glisten at the sight of what he would see about him. Every plan of his life successful, every prophecy fulfilled, every hope gratified.

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THEODORE PARKER, I think, would look upon to-day as the triad-day of democracy in this country. He prophesied this day—what use shall we make of it? What would he bid us do? What is the lesson that his lips, if they could break into sound to-day, would give us? Each one must guess for himself. It seems to me we are passing through the triad-day of democracy. We may perceive, if we don't guarantee that the people are equal to the crisis,—that, while the masses grope more or less blindly, they love justice, they mean liberty. (Applause.) They mean to hold the girde of this country together, and consecrate it to liberty. (Renewed applause.) As we read history, the democracy of Greece fell because leaders and people were both rotten. There was never a voice raised against it, except that of Demosthenes. There was no person in the front rank or in the rear, who had an intelligent appreciation of the liberty. Now, the uprising to-day—the purpose of the million—seems to me to indicate that the people are equal to the emergency.

We know what we want, and we want it with a will; and unless the popular wish is cheated, this Republic will be preserved in its integrity. It will be preserved, as it can only be preserved, on the basis of the Declaration of Independence. To-day the Administration has been six months in office, and what has it done? Six months! The weapons which our people have had placed in its hands, how has it used them? Give two months to root out the public offices, and what has it done? Europe looks across the water, and sees twenty millions of people—their bonds at 90 in the market, their harvest in their barns, and their prosperity on a substantial basis. Europe also looks across the water, and sees eight millions without credit, without food, and without munitions of war. The Congress of the one sits gilded by 100,000 soldiers, and the Congress of the other unassailed. Europe sees the North acting constantly on the defensive, except when she has been twice beaten back like a stricken wound. It sees the weaker portion aggressive at every point. Lask, then, in these four months, what has the Administration done in response to the people? It has done nothing with that immense military array. Has it done anything in response to popular sentiment? Has it set forth any principle, or any avowal of purpose, or any great public opinion which they are to use? Not a line—not a word! The world speculates upon the purposes of the United States. It seems to me so far,—and six months is not a very short time, at a crisis like this,—that the hour has come, but not the man. (Applause.) No man with purpose indicated,—no gallant spirit to gather up the enthusiasm of the people,—that indispensable requisite, personal loyalty, which has carried all nations through like emergencies—none. My view is, that the trial of democracy shows the masses equal to the emergency; but the Administration not equal to it, either in courage, capacity, or statesmanship.

Everything is possible. Even this Administration may be outspoken and energetic; but what fair ground have we to expect it? The commander-in-chief was born in Virginia, and the President was born in Kentucky, and no man gets over his birth-place. The fact is, they look upon the question with State pride and State sympathy, whereas no one should attempt to re-build a nation but upon the corner-stone of eternal justice. Time is slipping away, and how long it may be necessary to educate the President up to the level of efficient leadership, I do not know; but if it takes much longer to move those halting limbs and open those eyes, Europe will take her own course. Whether Treason shall be called Revolution, is only a question of time.

If, on the 1st of March next, this country stands as it does now—the North defensive and the South offensive—Washington threatened and the Southern cities free—every one will expect Europe to stretch her hands across the ocean, and acknowledge the Confederacy. Every month, therefore, is vastly important; for the conquest of the South is not the business of a day. The question lies between secession and hasty recognition. I don't believe that there is a Union man at the South worth minding, except the blacks: There are hundreds, say, thousands of men who have Union sympathies, but they are like men carved in marble—they have not the courage to make themselves felt. The only men to count on the checker board, to-day, are the blacks. Two hundred years of slavery, and the violation of every right man holds dear, and the hoarded vengeance of six generations, make the blacks inevitably and irrevocably loyal. Whoever falls, they remain true to the banner that promises liberty and justice, if not revenge. Let our regiments penetrate the South with that message. Let Fremont descend the Mississippi, and when he falls on New Orleans, he will have half a million of men under his flag. On the contrary, what voice is it that comes from Washington? Why, the inevitable statute of confiscation was wrung from the President by half the Senate on their knees. Bull Run might have heralded him what was to be done. And the New York Herald, which is always well posted, says, "One victory, and then offer such terms as the South never dreamed of asking." Now it seems to be the duty of the hour to show unmistakably, by every channel by which public opinion makes itself felt, that the purpose of the Northern States, if such purpose exists, is to conquer—and conquer in the service of freedom. (Cheers.) There are two reasons for that. One is, should the South dream of compromise—that she may see that the Constitution of '87 is at an end, and that there can be no other, except one based upon equal liberty or manhood.

We are willing to accept the challenge now made to us—A Union for slavery, or a Union without it; and we abide the issue, no matter at what cost of fire, and blood, and treasure. We will make no peace but the peace of justice. (Applause.) Men complain of the London Times. Do you suppose that the writers of that paper took their cue from reporters in these States? Why, they obtain their information from their own Government; and when they say that in this war our Government ignores slavery, they only speak the intelligence they receive from Washington. Lancashire and the Bank of England never base their information upon the speculations of a vagabond reporter. (Laughter.) They base their action upon the best information which the ministers give them. And we receive back from the press of London and Paris, the news of what our Government means.

The Cabinet talk of re-constructing this country as it was, but we mean to tell them that it can't be done. (Cheers.) We are to teach them that this war is the most intolerable abuse of the 19th century, the matchless crime of this generation, unless it means the emancipation of four millions of victims. We are to teach the Administration that thirty millions of people are not to be hurried into the hell of civil war, unless they have such a purpose as will make it the holiest crusade which the annals of the world has ever shown. It shall be a war to cut out the eating cancer which is destroying our leading men, and for which the people are ready, needing nothing but leaders. (Cheers.)

You and I do not often see such a production as Gen. Butler's last letter from Fortress Monroe. It is the noblest document I have seen in this war. Coming from you or me, it would have been called impracticable, fanatic; but the moment it came from a Democratic general—from a general who had led the troops of the North on the sacred soil of Virginia—the whole North cried out, Amen! It crystallizes the sentiment of the North into one purpose. It was a speech and an act. What we want of the Administration is an indication of a purpose—not an argument, but a proposition. Why, the ideas of the gunner are infinitely more important than his cannon. You and I are to load the muskets which we saw pass through our streets to-day with the purpose of liberty, otherwise their charge is empty powder.

Now, if the Administration takes another six months for the education of the Secretary of War in raising regiments, and the Secretary of the Treasury in raising notes, why, then, one or two things happen. Foreign states will no longer leave it a domestic question. They will start to their feet, and make certain demands. What course will the nation take then? Will she yield? Perhaps so—perhaps not. You and I think that the spirit of Cromwellian Republicanism still exists among us, and that spirit, inscribing Emancipation upon its banner, will carry it to the Gulf, in defiance of all opposition, abroad or at home. (Cheers.) But with such changing elements, no man can be sure of this.

I understand that the Minister to Vienna tells England that if she moves but one step forward from her present position, it would free every slave, and destroy every cotton crop for the next three years. I almost believe it; but, by that time, the American people will have had twelve months of war—defeats as well as victories—and may possibly admit that it would be better to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, and try to settle down into two States. I believe that the Union is the Gibraltar of slavery—that the Union out of the way, slavery cannot exist for ten years. Sorry should I be to see that the leaders were wanting, and that the masses were balked of their purpose. I should acknowledge it as the most precious boon of the present generation if the four million of slaves would come before you daily—who you love the Union—and thus induce you to compel the Administration to do its duty.

I know that there is not the first germ of a purpose in the Cabinet at Washington—that you have to create it—that every member of the Cabinet wants some one to relieve him of the responsibility of action,—some even asking God to create an insurrection which would compel them to do what they dare not on their own responsibility. Now, one of the most triumphant, useful journals has closed its lips. All over the free States, the men who should have led their party are silent. I do not arraign them; but when this dead weight of silence settles down upon a people, while we are to be whipped into liberty—that every free press should be silent, while Washington is to be shelled into liberty—there are no men to utter their sentiments boldly, in order that there may be one agglomerate purpose to hurl it on the head of the Cabinet!

You may say that I arraign the Cabinet. I do. Those six months should have witnessed the capture of Charleston and New Orleans, and the landing of 6,000 men on Sullivan's Island. Sixty days after, there would have been a jubilee in every hotel in Carolina. Instead of that, I defy the most sanguine Republican to tell me what his President means to tell me when this war shall be conducted with anything like vigor which a bankrupt public demands. A million a day! Our best blood shed in ineffectual forays! Gen. Lyon—a man worth half-a-dozen victories—sacrificed to the War Department!

It is time that every press should cry out that this inhuman butchery should cease, and vindicate itself in the face of the world. In six months, England and France—the only powers that can force your Cabinet to anything like vigorous prosecution of policy—will interfere. There is one gleam, that this young general summoned, it may be, to supply the place of the general-in-chief—General McClellan—(loud cheers)—may possess the military vigor that will carry us beyond this danger. There may be another, whose name is dear to the people—I mean Fremont. (Cheers.) With Lane on his right and Montgomery on his left, he may pass down the Valley of the Mississippi, and may launch a thunderbolt to announce to the Government that he has freed the slaves of the South-West. (Continued cheering.) Or it may be that the people will take it out of the Government's hands, and deal with it in its own way.

It lies with the masses whether this war is to be made anything but the assertion of empire. The South has cut her own throat. She has gone into the swine—(laughter)—and is rushing down into the sea. (Renewed laughter and applause.) She has consummated her own suicide. But, assembled here as we are to-day—on the anniversary of such a birthday—we remember his deep interest in democracy itself. How proudly he counted always the millions of his countrymen! how grandly he predicted their future! To-day, therefore, we may well ask for such vigor of purpose as will save the empire unbroken, and true to its normal idea, Freedom—as will allow the masses to carry out their purpose, hold all North America, and consecrate it to equal liberty. If the press is silent, where are our Senators? Where are our Republican leaders? Are there no gatherings of Northern men, that Washington may yet know it! There is a better thing that a Senator can do than drill a brigade. He can instruct a Commonwealth. He can teach the North. You should demand this of him. These leaders ought to speak to the millions. Would to God we had one man willing to take an ounce of responsibility! who would speak to twenty millions of the North, and guide them through this crisis!

What made Stephen A. Douglas wield such a power over the people? It was the pluck which he displayed. They were glad to see a man once risk an opinion, and not stop to cipher it out on the slate. We want a Curtius who will leap into the chasm—we want one who will look down from his height of leadership, and see that the people receive no injury—to carry to the President the wishes of the people; and this work must be done in the next three months. (Loud applause.)

BIRTH-DAY OF THEODORE PARKER.

The Birth-Day of THEODORE PARKER was commemorated at Allston Hall, in this city, on Friday evening last, by the "Fraternity Association," and a numerous and choice gathering of the friends of that much lamented champion of mental independence, free inquiry, universal progress, and impartial liberty. The platform presented an embankment of the choicest plants and flowers, profusely contributed and tastefully arranged, as if in grateful remembrance of his lively appreciation of those wonderful specimens of the Divine workmanship in creation. The exercises consisted in singing Mr. Parker's favorite hymn, "While I seek, protecting Power,"—the reading of a prayer made up by him at Music Hall seven years ago, and written down at the time by a member of the Society, with some brief appropriate prefatory remarks by John R. Manly, Esq.—and speeches by Dr. Wellington, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Rev. William B. Alger, Charles H. Brainerd, Esq., Rev. William Lloyd Garrison, and Charles W. Slack, Esq. These, (excepting Mr. Phillips's, which had special reference to the present state of our national affairs and the purposeless action of the Cabinet, and which we give in

another column as reported expressly for the *Free and Fair*) were mainly devoted to grateful tributes to the memory of the deceased, feelingly and eloquently expressed, and to the recital of interesting personal reminiscences. Those charming singers, John W. Hutchinson and family, were present, and sang their usual spirited and effective set. An excellent ode, written by Frank B. Sanborn, Esq., of Concord, was also sung. Such was the interest of the meeting, that the proceedings did not terminate till near midnight. It will be an occasion long to be remembered with pleasure and profit. We regret that we have not a photographic report of all that was said and done to lay before our readers.

THE CASE OF ARTHUR ROBINSON.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, August 29, 1861. When I addressed a letter to you from New Orleans in November last, the people of that city were in the midst of a great excitement. The "irrepressible conflict" was then progressing in a satisfactory manner. About the middle of November, the conspirators and their dupes held a meeting in Irving Hall. An object of that meeting was to denounce Abolitionists residing in the city. Your correspondent received a full share of abuse, and the excitement against him in the post-office brought to the meeting copies of the Liberator, addressed to me, and extracts from the paper were read, much to the edification of the hearers. I hope to imagine the excitement which existed, as the speaker read the paragraph headed, "The Constitution of the United States is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." Such wholesome truths were never before or since, I imagine, read in a public meeting at New Orleans. Several persons were appointed, on this occasion, to inquire into my case and advise proper action. I was closely watched; the "chirality" going so far as to introduce spies into my house, concealing themselves at night between the roof and ceiling, peeping through a hole made for the purpose of watching my actions at home. What depths of meanness does not slavery reduce men! Finally, on November 29th, I was arrested by two or three of the Mayor's police, assisted by some of the vigilantes, and brought before his "honor." The *Pleasants*, of the same date, contained the following:—

"MORE ABOLITION EXCITEMENT. This morning, Arthur Robinson, a man of gentle appearance, education, was arrested by Corporal Dean and the Mayor's special officer, T. H. Dryden, at the request of two citizens, and brought to the Mayor's office, on the charge of entertaining Abolitionist sentiments, and expressing the same in public.

The accused is a native of Ireland, and came to the United States in 1854. He remained in New York until 1856, and has since been living in this city. He stated to the Mayor that he was decidedly adverse to slavery, and wanted to see it abolished; that he did not contemplate anything wrong, but he could not see giving utterance to his feelings. In reply to the Mayor's questions, he acknowledged that he had conversed on the subject with free negroes, but would not state positively whether or not he had spoken to slaves. The Mayor committed him for further examination before the Recorder."

The reporter erred in stating that I had been in New Orleans only from 1856. During the eleven years and upwards I have spent in the United States, ten have been spent in four different slave States, and in them I imbibed anti-slavery opinions, and became "rooted and grounded" in abolitionism. During my imprisonment of nearly four months, I experienced what I had previously witnessed, that the tender mercies of slaveholders is cruelty.

A few individuals, natives of the South, and zealous advocates of the rebellion, were faithful to their professions of friendship for me. One, Thos. C. Campbell, is now in the rebel army in Virginia; he visited me in prison, and otherwise rendered important services, notwithstanding the warnings he received. Another, Alfred Bourge, a creole of New Orleans, went so far as to be on hand at the Recorder's (or committing magistrate's) Court, with friends, to assist in protecting me from the mob. I was not, however, brought out of prison on that occasion; threats of lynching having been freely made, and of the crowd assembled around the Recorder's office on the occasion, many were bent on mischief.

The Grand Jury, however, took the case out of the Recorder's hands, and indicted me, finding a "true bill," comprising five counts,—1. Using "incendiary" language; 2. Bringing into the State "incendiary" newspapers (referring principally to two copies of the Liberator received by me); 3. Bringing into the State a scrap-book of an "incendiary" character; (it contained several anti-slavery extracts, some of which, taken from the Liberator, were laudatory of John Brown; the puritanical character of the compiler, as exhibited by the extracts, was also very distasteful to the authorities); 4. Bringing into the State a copy of "Barnes's Scriptural Views of Slavery." The searching of my house, by the vigilantes, and consent of the Mayor, resulted in obtaining these books, though several other publications, of an anti-slavery and a pro-slavery character, were passed by. The penalties attached to these counts is imprisonment, with hard labor, from five to twenty-one years, or hanging. That infamous enactment, the "Black Code" of Louisiana, was passed by the Legislature of that State in 1832, at a period of great alarm, resulting from rumors of a slave insurrection in the vicinity of Donaldsonville, near New Orleans, where the Legislature were sitting. The penalties attached to violations of its provisions are very unequal,—one year's imprisonment or death, at the option of the judge, in some cases. Last winter, a free colored man was convicted under this act, of using "incendiary" language in the presence of slaves, and sentenced to twenty-one years' imprisonment.

Poetry.

BE JUST, AND FEAR NOT.
Rebels against wrong, not right,
Did our brave old fathers fight.

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM O. S. MURRAY.
FOSTER'S CROSSINGS, WARREN CO., O.,
July 7, 1861.
"Be not deceived"—Be not mocked."

No such time has yet arrived as he was calling attention to and fixing up for such a turning point in political conduct. What has taken place, and been manifested, to make us believe that at once just then our politicians were converted to virtue and honesty—

PEACE AND ANTI-SLAVERY IN AMERICA.
Our brethren in America are in such a state of preternatural excitement that it is scarcely possible to find a man, or of this kind, who shall not be construed into an affront. The intense wrath into which they have worked themselves towards the British Government and nation, appears to us one of the most inexplicable phenomena in the whole range of political history.

It does not say that he intends to set free the slaves. Unquestionably he does not intend it. The war is a war of conquest, not of philanthropy. This appears to us, however, a perfectly fair interpretation of the message.

man, and dishonors God, which is an outrage on reason, a scandal to humanity, and especially a insult to the whole spirit and genius of the Christian religion. But then we say precisely the same of those who are an abominable and accursed thing, which includes all the evils that are in slavery, and many others of its own, if possible, still more malignant and terrible.