EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

221 WASHINGTON STREET, BOOM No. 6. HOBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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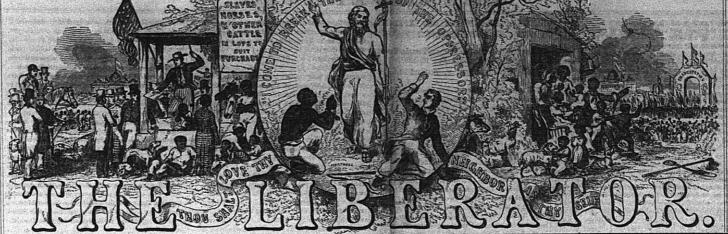
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennyitania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the ager, viz:—Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Ackson, and Wendell Phillips.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

the inhabitants thereof." "Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

VOL. XXXI. NO. 51.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1617.

The EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

We have declined to publish among our advertisements a notice of an Address to be delivered by Excludion. Boutwell, before a certain body of persons called of the latter. They are real traitors to the Constitution. Had they minded their natural vocating themselves "The Emancipation League." Not constitution as a local exception of the country would now be in peace. Our ethnological chicaners should take this just view of the country would now be in peace. Our ethnological chicaners should take this just view of the country would now be in peace. Our ethnological chicaners should take this just view of the country would now be in peace. Our THE EMANOIPATION LEAGUE.

We have declined to publish among our advertisements a notice of an Address to be delivered by Exfor. Boutwell, before a certain body of persons calling themselves "The Emancipation League." Not long since, we called special attention to this set of associates, and urged the formagion of a Union League, the necessity for which becomes every moment more apparent. We do not know that this refusal to publish an advertisement, in the way of business, or that its' publication, would have any effect upon such as constitute the "League" in question. But we keep it out, as we would any pestiferous announcement, not choosing to receive the wages of inspirity, since we look upon the whole project with unatterable dislike. And we will not aid it, even by the sanction of a formal publication under protest, because we feel a sober, deliberate, resolved hostility to it, and mean to resist it with all the powers at our command. For this "League" is nothing more nor less than a scheme of Disunion. Mr. Boutwell does not expect to emancipate the slaves; but to push the theory of emancipation, which is an impossibility, up to the point which shall make the complete division of the States unavoidable and final. And thus, while the colored race would be doomed to perpetual bondage; and slavery be deprived of all alleviating influences which could result from intercourse between the slave States and the free, in Union,—the North and the South would be doomed to perpetual border strife and open war, and to all the renewed horrors of barbarous times.

Such is the scheme of the "Enzancipation League," and a slight intelepation of the results of its successful organization and operation. To this end, free brained zealots and political demagogues, in Congress and out, are weaking on the country the foam of their frothy madness. To this end, New England las been secretly stirred up by the busy emissaries of the "League," and we doubt not a goodly number of weak-uninded men and women are alreadly engaged in it. Bu

inded men and women are already en But we shall know better when we get of Ex-Gov. Boutwell, what mischievous Ircss of Ex-Gov. Boutwell, what mischefvous skallow speculations they have allowed them-o indulge in. Comparatively weak in num-d influence, we know they must be; and that ill appear still weaker, whenever the array forces is put to the test. It will then be seen will appear still weaker, whenever the array ir forces is put to the test. It will then be seen are the traitors in this country, and which the hen. We do not yet know what help they exrom Congress; but we cannot help feeling that fees itself stands on slippery ground, if it pretto give countenance to their designs in the of the army we can judge by the declaration? Stevens of Penn., confirmed also from other seed of the confidence of the feeling that the feel of the army we can judge by the declaration? Stevens of Penn., confirmed also from other seed of the feel able, into a scene of disorder and lawiess con... But we know that there are men enough in
England alone, of its best and bravest, and not
a rms, able to arrest and avert the plans of
evil-disposed men, and to turn to folly all the
e of the "Emancipation League."—Boston

It occurs to us, that some one of the compara-vely few members of Congress who are fit to be in-should neet the whole series of fantastic proposi-ons now before that body in relation to slavery, a saking for the passage of a resolution, namely—

"That each and every State of this Union shall be tirely free to the residence and citizenship of all franchised negroes, anything in the Constitution d laws of such State to the contrary notwithstand-

At present, as is suggested by our correspondent, tain States at the East, would be overburdened he this sort of population, since Pennsylvania will have them, nor Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, or a Kansas. In all these States, we think, and haps in others, laws are in force excluding cross from equal privileges, and in some of them one unjust than to liberate the slaves, and subtractions than to liberate the slaves, and subtractions in the properties of the states in which no such laws exist to such an asion of pauper population. No, let us have it tal, if at all. To be sure, Congress would have no trop to the to pass any such resolution or act, should it turns that shape; but no more basit to pass the ter propositions before it, affecting this subject. fact, emancipation is the stump, against which is wheels of government have now stuck hard; there they will stick, until it is completely got government have how successively will stick, until it is complete behind. Then, and not till the pathway will be clear. - Boston Courier.

pathway will be clear.—Boston Courier.

Sustain the President. It is beginning to be time for the conservative men in the country to demonstrate their adherence to the conservative of President Lincoln. Already, for a week, the Abolitionists have been filling the air with their war cries. Petitions for abolition, slave armings, and all sorts of philonegroism have been poured in on Congress. The President seems to be left in the midst of the storin to sustain himself. We are told that there is a conservative majority in Congress. Perhaps it is designed to let the gale blow itself out. But the country should make its voice heard. New York City could send a petition with the names of 50,000 voters at least, and we think it sale to say, with 65,000, against the pet schemes of the Abolitionists. We have said that the President might one day find his firmest supporters in the Democrats. The day seems to be at hand. Conservative Republicans and Democrats must rally to the support of the President, the Constitution and the Union. It may be desirable to have some Union meetings in New York, and express the sentiments of the loyal people of this city on the side of the old Constitution.—X. Y. Jour. Com.

Y. Jour. Com.

The noble stand taken by President Lincoln, in regard to the abolition proclamation of Fremont has done much to discomfort the Abolitionists, and engender in the public mind of the North such sentiments as alone can save the Republic from utter run and destruction. We long to see the day once more when the Abolition element will be repudiated by all parties, and the finger of seor pointed at them by all who love peace, order and good will among the different sections of the confederacy.

Could these pests of the country, with the leaders of the rebellion, all being traitors alike, be buried in one common grave, the people, both North and South, would rejoice at it.—Brookside (Ind.) Republican.

tion to slavery, viz.—that a negro was "as good as himself." This is the abolition idea; but they have

MORE MISCHIEF AFLOAT. Michief is still afloat in Congress. Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, as if there were not already sufficient food for ex-citement and exasperation, is making an effort to abolish the Supreme Court. Nobody but himself

Bir Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, who, we infer, is not

The Germans of Cincinnati turned out in large numbers on Saturday night last to attend a meeting held at Turner Hall, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with Gen. Fremont, in the course lately pursued towards him by the Administration. The meeting was called to order by Dr. A. Bauer. Frederick Werner was appointed Secretary. Judge Stallowalth Bay. M. Eisenblox addressed the assemblage. good. As they are now proceeding, they are pro-claiming their own foolishness.—Boston Pilot.

Garrison's Linerator, last week, was tre-mendously severe on Mr. Lincoln and his Message, as we night expect, from a paper that earries the motto—"The United States Constitution is a cove-nant with death, and an agreement with bell." It says the Message is weak and common-place to a pitiable degree—feeble, rambling, and ridiculous as a State paper. Of the President personally-sit says.—"Everybody says Mr. Lincoln is an honest man; but it is equally certain that he is very weak in the joints, and wholly unqualified to lead or in-spire." In regard to his colonization, it coolly sug-gests that President Lincoln may colonize himself if he chooses, but it is an impertinent act, on his part, to propose the getting rid of those who are as good as himself.

This is as much as we could expect from that source in relation to Mr. Lincoln. They have as-sumed that Mr. Lincoln held to their views in rela-tion to slavery, viz.—that a negro was "as good as himself." The is the addition, slowed her her heads and the state of the paper.

Selections. FREMONT DEMONSTRATION.

Judge Stallo has alluded to me as a Virginian who can answer for the South. I certainly have lived there long enough, and felt the heavy hand of slavery enough, to know that this Government is not strong enough to preserve the Union and African slavery also. And whilst this Administration is now bending itself to that impossible and undesirable work, the people will be in this conflict like Issachar of old, a strong ass crouching between two burdens; between an imbecile Administration on the one hand, and a gigantic robellion on the other. Both, Issachar cannot bear; and such an assembly inspires me with the hope that he will not much longer crouch, but bravely bear on to the "goodly rest and pleasunt land," with the burthen of liberty on his shoulders—no longer a strong ass for the Government to crush with its wretched pro-slavery pack, but a strong man with the blood which defied George III, throbbing in his heart.

Now that the standard of Lurgery has been un-

mistaken their man; they mistook him when they voted for him; and it is impossible that he should sympathize with them while in power.—Newbury-

wretened pro-savery pack, but a strong man with the blood which defied George III. throbbing in his heart.

Now that the standard of Liberty has been un-furled by Fremont over the contending parties—a higher standard than stars and stripes, or stars and bars—how wretched and despicable appear the stand-ards raised by the pigmy Generals who have gone out warm from the wing of the Administration!

What think you, my countrymen, of Sherman tak-ing our young men from the classic shades of our col-leges, and from their free homes, and offering them to the "proud and höspitable citizens of the Sover-eign State of South Carolina" as the patrol of their negroes! What think you of Dix, down in Wise's district, proclaiming that his army is under strict or-ders to guard slavery even to the treasonable extent of refusing to take into their lines—whether belong-ing to traitors "or any other man"—those black citement and exasperation, is making an effort to abolish the Supreme Court. Nobody but himself will vote for it, but the mere introduction of such a measure will be used with effect at the South, to show that the Constitution is thrown aside, and an-archy rules in our national councils. In the House, Mr. Lovejov, of Illinois, proposed, and very nearly carried through, a resolution requesting the Secre-tary of War to revoke the order of Gen. Halleck, commander in Missouri, excluding negroes from his lines, and the Senate has actually decided, by an almost unanimous vote, to go into a general inquisialmost unanimous vote, to go into a general inquisition of military catastrophes and blunders of the
war. Worse disasters than those of Bull Run and
Ball's Bluff await the national cause, if there is not
a check to these insane proceedings in Congress. It
will not require more than three months of this tit
to demoralize and scatter the volunteer armies of
the Union.—Springfield (Mass.) Repub.

almost unanimous vote, to go into a general inquisition of military catastrophes and blunders of the war. Worse disasters than those of Bull Ran and Ball's Bull' await the national cause, if there is not a check to these insane proceedings in Congress. It will not require more than three monts of this stuff to demoralize and scatter the volunteer armies of the Union.—Springfeld (Mass.) Repub.

Atrocious. The resolutions of Mr. Stevens, introduced into the House on the first day of the session, after resolving that the "President be requested to declare free, and direct our Generals and officers in command to offer freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters," conclude as follows.

"And be it further Resolved, That the United States pledge the faith of the nation to make full and fair compensation to all loyal citizens, who are and shalr remain active in supporting the Union, for all the lost they may sustain by virtue of this resolutions.

We have no language with which to express our abhorence of the injustice which is contemplated by these resolutions. They do not propose to emancipate the slaves of rebels alone, but all slaves, those of loyal men, and not only to do this, but to induce them to leave their loyal masters by offers of freedom. How will these resolutions, if passed, be received in Maryland, Kentucky, Eastern and Western Virginia, North Carolina, East Tennessee, and Missouri? Will men continue loyal to a Government which entices their property away from them, and refers them to the slow and doubtful generosity of Congress for compensation? Will they continue Unionists if these resolutions we will strip you of your property, and let you look to Congress for compensation? Will they continue Unionists it these resolutions we will strip you of your property, and let you look to Congress for compensation? Will they continue the oppose the Government. They say to him, "When we pass these resolutions we will strip you of your property, and help him to drive our troops back to the free States, th

pc Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, who, we infer, is not a very wise man, talks of "stripping the epaulettes from the shoulders of the commanding Generals"—an expression generalized, we take it, to avoid individual application. Certainly, he is not so wise as the Roman officer, who replied to his Emperor, that he did not care to argue with a person who commanded twenty legions. The fact is, Congress had better behave itself. Nothing could be more ridiculous, nothing more indecent than the conduct of some of its forth-putting members, in rushing headlong after one and another outrageous proposition, on the first days of the session, even before the Message was delivered. If they regard their constitutional duties, attend to whatever properly belongs to them, and then quietly adjourn, they may do much to promote the legitimate objects of the government, and to retain the necessary public respect for the several bodies of which they are members. But if they should attempt to carry out any of the silly and mischievous propositions referred to, nothing is more likely than that they will make Congress contemptible—that their resolutions and their acts on these points will be totally disregarded, and that they will soon see the difference between those who have, and those who have not, the trearly legions at their command. Still, we apprehend nothing of the sortforward of the propole will faithfully stand.—Boston Courier.

Every army officer has a right to throw up his old one had been so faithfully copied that the new one had a patch ingeniously made on the elbow, and a tare under the arm, and a big grease-spot that must have taken an hour in making on the fine, new cloth! Such is the Government's idea of restoring cloth! Such is the Government's idea of restoring this Union. The South having forced the nation to put on a new coat, this grand Cabinet cross their legs, take their goose, and aim to bring us the new coat with the patch, the tare and the grease spot, because of which it was that we needed a new one, because of which we elected Lincoln instead of Breckinridge or Douglas!

Mr. Conway then proceeded to show that a military conquest over the South, preserving slavery, would be a subjugation of ourselves as much as the South. From thenceforth the country must leave the peace-

ge conquest over the South, preserving slavery, would is a subjugation of onselves as much as the South. From thenceforth the country must leave the peace-ful progress of its destiny to sit and hold the rebellious States—turning into a military Government, doing nothing but watching the monster whose soul is slavery, and see that it doesn't poke its mgly head out again, and coil about our States again.

He concluded by assuring the Germans that many thousand native Americans were appreciating their devotion to liberty, and would join them when the thour came to root up, whatever be the obstacle, the root of bitterness in our land. The policy of the Administration will be swept away, or else the Administration itself, just so soon as the real truth; apprehended in all its full powers, that it is only the interest of a pitfull \$50,000 of our people—this number of slaveholders—who, after keeping us in hot water for \$5 years, now precipitate us in civil war; and that it is only because of the servility which fears to touch the impudent claims of that handful to scourge and own men and women, which makes civil war possible. A decree that this Government ignores the relation of slavery, ends the war. There is no army in the South but a home-guard from that moment.

One thing the war will teach, that slavery ends in military despotism; that liberty ends in equality to all, black or white. The moment which decides between the two has arrived to this nation.

MORAL CHARACTER OF THE REBELS.

Oak of the most remarkable effects of this rebellion is seen in the loss of moral character among the rebels. Most what is the private relations of life, are gentlemen who have a high sense of honors, who have maintained an unsullied character, by the rebellion seem to have been torn from their former moorings, clothed with a panoply of faction, and sent to sea upon the uncertainties of civil war. Oaths of allegiance have been violated with impunity, property has been seized as the robber would take his spoils at midnight; sacred trusts put in officers of the United States have not only been abandomed, but have been used to destroy the power of the Government which conferred the trusts; the most unblushing falsehoods have been perpetrated to deceive the Southern mind and influence Southern sentiment, and this, too, not by the smaller satellities of robellion alone, but by its boasted chivalric lead-rs; the hospital and green sash of the surgeon have not been respected by the bullets of the enemy; pickets are shot down as by the hands of the assassin, in complete violation of the rules of civilized warfare; picket guards have met, exchanged courtesies, and pledged the faith of soldiers that the practice should be discontinued, and immediately upon parting, that pledge has been violated; Virginia has been dragoomed into secession, and all the powers of State sovereignty seized and used for secession purposes before the act establishing secession has been completed; the soil of Kentacky has been invaded, and they have attempted to force the Government of the Confederate States upon the people has been completed; the soil of Kentucky has been invaded, and they have attempted to force the Government of the Confederate States upon the people against their consent, while pretending to act upon the fundamental principles of the right of self-government in doing this act of invasion and tyranny. With secession, all distinctions between right and wrong, between honor and dishonor, between public fidelity and private virtue, are confused and confound. Those sentiments of honor between man and man, wrong, between honor and dishonor, between public fidelity and private virtue, are confused and confounded. Those sentiments of honor between man and man, of fidelity to important trusts, have been abandoned, and the will to accomplish the destruction of the Government has seized the whole man, destroyed his moral faculties, and sent him headlong to his ruin. Secession can be nothing less than a monomania, an insanity, or else why could all those principles of civilized warfare, of honor among enemies, principles that the savages will respect, be so utterly abandoned by masses and the leaders of the movement alike? The policy is worse than Machiavellian, it is savage. History turnishes no greater parallel of villainous duplicity, save in the persistent falsehoods of Philip the Second, of Spain, and the Duke of Parma, his minister to Elizabeth of England, who, while he was preparing his armada to invade England, protested, and protested again, that he had no intentions of hostility to England, but desired peace. It looks too much like a war of petty revenge against the prosperity of the North, like a determination to stab at all vulnerable points that prosperous friend whom she chooses to make an enemy, and whom she knows she cannot conquer. Secession by this abandonment of moral character cannot hope to succeed, can hope to gain nothing save the execuation of mankind. An honorable enemy we must respect, although we deny the right of his cause. To raise this war into the

must recognize the dictates of their better reason, or their possible success will be purchased at the price of all honor, or their defeat embittered by the most abject humiliation and remorse.—Boston Post. SERVILE REVOLT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

honorable enemy we must respect, although we deny the right of his cause. To raise this war into the dignity of a civilized civil war, the Confederates must recognize the dictates of their better reason, or

We are permitted (says the Philadelphia Inquirer of Nov. 30th) to copy the following letter, written to a lady in this city, from a relative in Charleston, South Carolina. The statements made therein may

be rehed upon as an accurate description of affairs in that city at the present time:—

** Disguise the truth as we may, all thinking men here feel their position peculiarly unsafe; and those who are surrounded by female relatives have their anxiety increased a thousand fold. We do not fear for the clash of contending armies, though that is sufficiently terrible to excite much apprehension; but even amid the carrange of war, the veriest boor within the armies would respect women; though traitors try to teach us that the Northern war-cry is "Beauty and Booty," but we do dread lest at midnight the fearful sounds of servile insurrection shall salute our cars. You know the negroes are far superior in number to the whites, and now that so many are absent in the army, their majority is greatly increased. If they rise, we are in their payer. Do you know what that means? Remember the history of all servile insurrections, and recall the horrors enacted by the race whom oppression has helped to brutalize. Of course, the masters would fight desperately; but how could the small number of male whites defend their helpless wives and daughters against a tenfold force of maddened slaves, whose strength and ferocity are well known?

No maneal insurrections has taken above the well in the control of the course of t

MORAL CHARACTER OF THE REBELS. | TRIBUTE OF MR. SUMNER TO THE MEMO-

TRIBUTE OF MR. SUMNER TO THE MEMORY OF HON. E. D. BAKER.

In the U. S. Senate, on the 11th inst. Hon. Charles Sumner paid the following eloquent tribute to the memory of the late Senator Baker, of Oregon, who fell at the fatal battle of Ball's Bluff:—

Mr. PRESIDENT—The Senator to whom to-day we say Farewell, was generous in funeral homage to others. More than once he held great companies in rapt attention while he did honor to the dead. Over the coffin of Broderick he proclaimed the dying utterance of this early victim, and gave to it the fiery wings of his own eloquence. "They have killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery and a corrupt Administration," said the dying man, and as the impassioned orator repeated these words, his own soul was knit in sympathy with the dead, and thus at once he endeared himself to the friends of freedom, even at a distance.

"Who would not sing for Lycidias? He knew."

Himself to sing and build the lofty rhyme.

There are two forms of eminent talent which are kindred in their effects—each producing an instant present impression—each bodding crowds in suspense, and each kindling enthusiastic admiration: I mean that of the orator, and of the soldier. Each of these when successful wins immediate honor, and reads his praise in a mation's eyes. Baker was orator and soldier. To him belongs the rare renown of this double character. Perhaps he carried into war something of the confidence inspired by the conscious sway. Of great multitudes—as he surely brought into speech something of the ardor of war. Call him, if you please, the Prince Rupert of battle, he was also the Prince Rupert of debate. His success in life attests not only his own-remarkable genius, but the benign loopitality of our institutions. Born on a foreign soil, he was to our country only a stepson; but were he now alive. I doubt not that he would gratefully declare that the country was never to him an ungenopen expanse of the prairies—now sought on the shores of the Pacific, saying in spirit-

There again his genius was promptly recognized. A new State, which had just taken a place in the Union, sent him as her Senator, and Oregon first became truly known to us on this floor by his elo-ment lins.

No general insurrection has taken place, though several revolts have been attempted; two options of the general apprehension. A generation had been exposed with the states were subclued. Then came retalisation of the most fearful character. At any time we when servants assail or murder white persons, speedy and severe ponishment is administered; but no do the most fearful character. At any the whole servants assail or murder white persons, speedy and severe ponishment is administered; but no white interior of the State, most of the servants who participated were either shot in the conflict or as so captured, and two of them were burned to death.

To say they were burned to death seems a simple sentence, devoid of any special horror; but the sentence, devoid of any special horror; but the

though shining. At a disastrous encounter near Ball's Bluff he fell, pierced by nine balls. That brain, which had been the seat and organ of such subtle power, swaying great assemblies, and giving to this child of obscurity place and command among his fellow men, was now rudely shattered by lead, and that bosom which had throbbed so bravely was rent by numerous wounds. He died with his face to the foc, and he died so instantly that he passed without pain from the service of his country to the service of his God. It is sweet and becoming to die for one's country. Such a death, sudden, but not unprepared for, is the crown of the patriot soldier's life. But the question is painfully asked, who was the author of this tragedy, now filling the Senate Chamber, as it has already filled the country, with mourning? There is a strong desire to hold some body responsible for a disaster where so many perished so unprofitably. But we need not appoint committees to study testimony in order to know precisely who took this precious life. The great criminal is easily detected.—The guns, the balls, and the men that fired them, are of little importance. It is the Power behind them all, saying.—"The State—it is 1"—which took this precious life; and this Power is Slavery. The nine balls which slew our departed brother came from Slavery. Every, gaping wound of his laccrated bosom testifics against Slavery. Every The nine balls which slew our departed by came from Slavery. Every gaping wound a lacerated boson testifies against Slavery. E drop of his generous blood cries out from the graganet Slavery. To hold others responsible is hold the humble agent and to dismiss the giant cipal. Nor shall we do great service if we meriticise some local blunder, while we leave touched that fatal inactivity through which weakness of the rebellion is changed into strea and the strength of our armies is changed weakness.

and the strength of our armies is changed meweakness.

Let not our grief be a hollow pageant; let it not spend itself in funeral poup. It must become a motive and an impulse to patriot action. But patriotism itself, that commanding charity, embracing so many other charities, is only a name, and nothing clse, unless you resolve that slavery, the barbarous enemy of our country, the irreconcilable foe of our Union, the violator of the Constitution, the disturber of our peace, the vampire of our national-life, sucking its best blood, the assassin of our children, and the murderer of our dead Senator, shall be overturned. The just Avenger is at hand, with weapon of celestial temper. Let it be drawn. Until this is done, the patriot, discerning clearly the secret of our weakness, can only say sorrowfully—

"Bleed, bleed, poor country!"

"Bleed, bleed, poor country! Great tyranny, lay thou thy basis sure, For goodness dares not check thee!"

GERRIT SMITH ON THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MESSAGE.

The Message is marked with the characterist sincerity and patriotism of the President. Neve theless, its treatment of the question of slavery—the great and all-controlling question in the war—such as to confirm my apprehension that the count is lost. With all his desire to save it, he has nev yet welcomed, if indeed he has ever yet conceive the idea of saving it at whatever cost. The savin of the Constitution, and of all the rights enjoyed it does not be a saving the saving the control of a saving country. But could we come occurion of a saving country. But could we come occurrent of a saving country. But could we come occurrent of a saving country. But could we come occurrent of a saving country. But could we come occurrent of a saving country.

spot he came from, and into exactly his former relations. He would not allow one line or letter of the Constitution to be disturbed by the necessities of war. If, in ordinary times, he might make the very best of Presidenta, nevertheless now, when a mighty and relentless Rebellion is threatening the finition with overthrow, such a President will make the overthrow sure unless he be radically changed or sternly overruled. Who can read the Message, and see with what twattle and trash the President has filled the space which should have been devoted to such great words on the great question in conducting the war as would have met the demands of the hourwho, I say, can do so without feeling that the President is not the man for the hour? Were he that man, he would not be expending words, last of all kind words, upon that utterly atheistic topic of "homes for white men." Were he that man, his talk now would not be of "colonization." It would not be of expelling our friends from the country, but rather of arming them that they might help us expel our foes. Black friends no more than white friends can we spare just now from the country. In the right time and circumstances, colonization is a good thing; but it is not an adequate cure for the ills wo are now suffering. How impertinent and arrogant is this everlasting inquiry on the part of the whites as to what they shall do with the blacks! There is room enough in our broad country for white men, and black men, and red men, if only they will recognize each other as God's children, and thus dwell together in mutual good-will. But if any one of these varieties of the human family revolts at this condition, that is the very one which should leave the country, and which is fit for no other country. He is a monster rather than a man, who denies that our black brethren have carned a home in this had which they have wet like the rain with their aweat, and tears, and blood. It is pre-eminently their land: they may leave it when they will. But the God of the oppressed will not

sion. Under that policy, there will be n unto the horse-bridles."

wirtual expulsion. Under that policy, there will be "blood—even unto the horse-bridles."

I spoke a moment since in favor of arming the blacks. I do not forget the often expressed opinion that, inasmuch as there are whites enough to fight for us, we need not arm the blacks. But if for no other end than to advertise the blacks of the whole country that, we are their friends, and that ours is the side for them to flock to, there should be black regiments. A few such moving down from Canada and the Northern States, at the beginning of the war, would have had the effect to bring it to a very speedy end. But, instead of such a judicious and indispensable advertisement by this or similar means, we have, by employing the Army in sending back fugitive slaves, told the blacks of the whole country that we are their enemies, and that ours is not the side for them to flock to. Was there ever such infatisation as that which has characterized the action of the Government respecting the blacks?

The President has laid his destroying hand on the best part of Secretary Cameron's Report, as he did on the Secretary of the Treasury, concerning the employment of negroes, I fancied that I saw the same dreaded hand in that also; for I could not believe that this accomplished Secretary, whose lead is as clear as his heart is honest, would himself

same dreaded hand in that also; for I could not believe that this accomplished Secretary, whose head is as clear as his heart is honest, would himself be in favor of recognizing slaveholding rights in the Gulf States. Surely, no slavery in those States is any longer legalized by laws which the nation is bound to recognize and enforce. Such laws, so far certainly as the nation could be held by them, were all abrogated some nine to twelve months ago. And to say that the nation is held by laws enacted or revived by Confederate States would be as absurd as to say that it is held by the rules of the pirates of the seas. But, on a second and more careful reading of the Order, I find no liberty to infer that the Secretary looks upon "persons held to service for life under the State laws" in the Gulf States as still slaves, or to be-recognized by the anation as such.

that the Secretary looks upon "persons tent to service for life under the State laws" in the Gulf States as still slaves, or to be-recognized by the anation as such.

The President was chosen to save the nation. But it turns out that, with all his merit, he is, nevertheless, the very one to kill it. What is worse, the people will probably let him kill it. For it is not easy to unsettlesuch deep confidence as they reposed in the man of their 'choice; and it is not easy to face the shame of confessing that a choice so confident and enthusiastic was nevertheless unfortunate. I am not disposed to underrate the President. I admit that he is more intellectual than nine-tenths of the politicians, and more honest than ninety-nine hundreds of them. I admit, too, that he would have made a good President had he not been trained to worship the Constitution. And I also admit that Constitution-worship is not peculiar to him. It has long been our national folly; and hence it is that it is now working out our national roin.

Slavery creates many and aggravates more of our evils. If it is not true that our Constitution-worship originated with slavery, it is nevertheless true that this vice, like so many others, is "set on fire of that hall." The Constitution, being the popularly acknowledged protector of slavery, the great work for slavery to do was to deepen and spread this worship of the Constitution. Perhaps on no mind has this had work been done more successfully and fatally than on the ingenuous and receptive mind of the President. So that now, when he is in a positiony to save it, his education, nevertheless, comples him to kill it. Taught to confound the Constitution with the country, and to regard slavery as the pere-emiment care of the Constitution, he necessarily believes that, in saving slavery, he is saving the country. That slavery is the deadly enemy of the country can have no place in a mind educated to look upon alavery as the pet protego of the Constitution, and the Constitution, and the Constitution and the Co

ruling in the Constitution, and the Constitution ry ruing in the Constitution, and the Constitution being one with the country) made it necessary? What, too, but the same answer to the question—why he can similarly employ his Generals? And what also but the same answer to the question—why he suffers (for without his sufferance it would not be) the Washington city prison to be crowded with scores of these bapless ones? That accursed prison! Among the most pleasant remembrances of my brief Congressional life was my success in getting out of it the black man, Noah Hanson. Warm were my thanks to Governor Alkin and Colonel Orf for the help they gave me!

I said that this Constitution-worship is not peculiar so the President. Read yesterday's speech of with the country) made it necessary

for the help they gave me!

Leadd that this Constitution-worship is not peculiar so the President. Read yesterday's speech of Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, for proof that he is no learned that he is no learned to the help that he had been the President. Fully do I agree with him that the provisions of the Constitution are ample in war as well as in peace, and that its infraction is at no time necessary. I am soc an opponent of the Constitution. I have probably made a dozen speeches for it where the Senator has made one, and written adozen pages for it, where he has written soc. But when he says, "While fighting this battle in behalf of Constitution all liberty, it behooves us especially to see to it that the Constitution receives no detriment at our hands"; and when he also says, "We will have gained but little in suppressing the insurrection, if it be at the expense of the Constitution,"—when he says this, he ascribes to the Constitution,"—when he says this, he ascribes to the Constitution from detriment, or even from destruction. I deny that our object in the war is to save the Constitution from detriment, or even from destruction. I deny that our object is the uninteresting and little one of saving a Paper which not one American in one housand give his mind and much less his heart to—and a better one than which, ten thousand men in the country are capable of writing. On the contrary, we are in a struggle to sace the country, and to save it, too, at whatever hazards to the Constitution or to aught else. We are to save from conquest, and from the most hateful threatened dominon, that which interests the lighest and the humblest—her fields and forests, her waters and mountains, her temples and schools, her loved homes of the living, and her scarcely less loved, and even more screed, homes of the dead. All these we are to save from dishonorable transfer:—and the remainder of the great elements which go to make loved bomes of the usung and even more sacred, homes of the dead. An unexame are to save from dishonorable transfer:—and the remainder of the great elements which go to make up a country—the people and the genius and principles of their Government—we are to save from a barbarous and ruthless destruction. These, are the barous and ruthless destruction. barous and ruthless destruction. These, are the things for which we are waging this war with stupendous and unmitigated crime. These are the sources from which we draw our inspiration: and the Senator is poorly employed in attempting to turn us away from them to the dry breasts of the Constitution. The Constitution has its value—its great value. In the present crisis, it is to be used as a meant to save the country: and the country inust not the same to save the country: In the present crisis, it is to be used as a means to save the country and the country must not be involved in even the slightest danger for the sake of saving the Constitution. Our great underlying principles of Free Government will reproduce Constitutions as often as there shall be occasion for their reproduction. Yes, and, if we are only true to those principles, every new Constitution will be an improvement upon its

Yes, and if we are only true to those principles, every new Constitution will be an improvement upon its predecessor.

I would always consent to fling away the whole Constitution rather than retain it, if it necessarily operates to the loss of any of the possessions, or the damage of any of the rights or interests which are sessentially comprised in the true definition of the word country. I had rather lose ten thousand Constitutions than let the Cataract of Cataracts pass from out our national limits. Aye, I would rather lose them than lose little Minnehaha. None would consent to lose the "Father of Rivers" at any price; but I would not retain the Constitution in exchange for the least river that waters precious American soil. Not only that highest peak of the Rocky Mountains where the intrepid "Pathfinder" planted our national standard, but even the humblest hill which easts its shadow upon that soil, is far dearer to my patriolism than any Constitution. Yes, and I had rather the Constitution were all blotted out than to see it used, (if it permits such use.) to rob the least black haby of its least rights. Infinitely dearer to my patriotism, as well as to my humanity is that baby than any Paper. The Constitution is here to-day, and supplanted to-morrow—and, probably, by a better one; but the sacred rights of that baby are enabnined in the Great Heart of Heaven, and are unchangeable and eternal.

Oh, no! the Constitution is not the country. It

before as they did after. It will not be said that it was the timid and dull "Articles of Confederation" which so wrought upon their spirit. But, perhaps it will be said that it was the "Declaration of Independence." I admit its power over them; and I would that it had such power over us. We would not have been in the straits we are now in, had that Paper been to us, as it was to then, the supreme Constitution—the Constitution of Constitutions. But were we to admit that the Revolutionary Fathers fought for a Constitution—the Declaration of Independence being their Constitution—yet there is no comparison between ours and theirs—ours which but furnishes machinery for the working of Government. And theirs in whose principles lies the very soul of all free and righteous political government.

Nothing can be more shrivelling to our patriotism than to call it away from the love and inspirations of country to this exagerated importance of a mere Paper. The Swiss will peril all to save the dear mountains and valleys and homes of Switzerland. But to no such pitch of enthusiasm can they be wrought by a call to keep themselves within the prosise limits of a Paper in which, if they have one like ours, there is neither soul nor sentiment, and nothing but a collection of the driest political rules. "Patherland" is dear to the German, not because of this or that set of such rules, but simply because it is "Fatherland." And that the inspiring thought of

or that set of such rules, but simply because it is "Fatherland." And that the inspiring thought of dear America, with or without her Constitution, is in the esteem of our statesmen insufficient to stir American blood, shows to what a miserable pack of statesmen we are reduced.

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead, Who never to himself hath said, This is my own, my native land?"

These familiar lines were not written with a Paper before the eyes, but with a country in the soul, of the

"In every clime the magnet of the soul, Touched by remembrance, trembles to that pole." or was it to a remembered Paper, but to a remem cribes this power:

cribes this power:

" ___moriens reminiscitar Argos.

Nor was it to a mere Paper, but to his beloved country, that this dying man turned his last thoughts.

GERRIT SMITH.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1861.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

Now that Congress is in session, and various ropositions have already been submitted to it on the subject, let there be no unnecessary delay in forwarding emancipation petitions to that body. Send then directly to the proper Senators and Representative from the various States and Districts. They will, of course, go free of postage. Already, large numbers, numerously signed, from various parts of the country, have been presented in both houses of Congress, and promptly referred to appropriate committees. gregate promises to be commanding. Send them in

A petition for emancipation has been received at this office, headed by C. M. ALLEN, without the me of the town from which it came. Will any on give us the residence of the signers?

GOV. ANDREW AND THE TRAITORS IN BOSTON HARBOR. Some days ago, the New York Evening Post noticed the tender and affectionate care which was taken of the traitors imprisoned at Fort Warren which was brought to the attention of Gov. Andrew and elicited the following reply :-

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, ecutive Department, Boston, Dec. 11, '61.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

Executive Department, Boston, Dec. 11, 61. }

Educard Russell, Esy., New York:

My Dear Sir,—I thank you for your note of the 7th, enclosing a slip from the Evening Post condemning the numerous manifestations of misplaced sympathy by some citizens of Boston with rebel prisoners confined at Fort Warren. I fully appreciate your feelings in this matter, and share with the writer of the Post in his condemnation of that sympathy with traitors, which makes men, in comparison with whom Benedict Arnold was a saint, comfortable in their confinement, while our own brave defenders of liberty and Union and the rights of man are cut off from all such sympathy, by the rigorous despotism of the Southern Oligarchy—but I do not know of anything that I can do to prevent it. I very well reuember Mason's insolent, overbearing demeanor in that memorable interview between himself and old John Brown, and can truly rejoice with you that, if he does not in all respects receive all the compensation far, his baseness, through a long public career, in the few days which yet remain to him in this life, his power for mischieft's forever abridged, and that all the luxuries which Boston sympathisers with treason and with traitors gan bestow cannot defeat the purposes and the plans of infinite justice.

Very truly and faithfully yours,

Very truly and faithfully yours, JOHN A. ANDREW.

Governor Andrew has written a most earnes letter to Secretary Cameron, narrating the arrest of two alleged fugitive laves by direction of Lient. Col. Palfrey, of the Mass. 20th, by order of General Stone and protesting against the employment of Massachu-setts troops for that purpose, the more especially when there is no pretence of legal proceeding, Secretary Cameron promised that he would write to General ecting him not to issue such orders in future It is said that two slaves were sent back to the robels, (!) under a flag of truce. The robels, suspecting that a trap lay concealed under the act, sent them back agive them up, and they were retained by the Confederates, to further the work of treason! Such gratuikidnapper a storm of popular indignation, and lead to his being immediately cashiered. True to its satanic nature, the Boston Courier hotly and abusively assails Gov. Andrew as an impertinent intermeddler, but says nothing, of course, in censure of Gen. Stone's high-handed wickedness. It delights in such acts the more of them the better, and the greater its de-light—they gratify its pro-slavery malignity and help to accomplish its secession designs; for it wears the mask of loyalty solely to give more effectual aid to Jefferson Davis and his rebellious crew. the more of them the better, and the greater its

The ingredients of the editorial columns of the Cou rier, daily, resemble those of which the "hell-broth' of Macbeth's witches was composed, as they gathered

around the seething cauldron:-"Fillet of a fenny snake, In the cauldron boil and bake; In the eauldron boil and bake; Bye of news, and too of frog, Wool of bat, and tongue of dog, Wool of bat, and tongue of dog, Adder's fort, and blind-vorm's sting, Lizard's log, and owlets wing. Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf, Witches' munmy, maw and gulf of the ravin'd sali-sea bark, Root of bemlock, digg'd i'the dark, For a charm of powerful trouble, "Like a hell-broth boil and bubble."

Such wormwood bitterness, such personal vitupers tion, such rattlesnake venom, such measureless cor celt, such ludicrous pomposity, such oracular empti-ness, such mobocratic stimulation, such brutal negro phobia and pro-slavery scoundrelism, as it exhibits admit of no parallel in modern journalism.

day, and supplanted to morrow—and, probably, by a better one; but the sacred rights of that baby are enshined in the Great Heart of Heaven, and are unchangeable and eternal.

Oh, no! the Constitution is not the country. It is comparatively a petty thing. And if, in this hour of their country is deep danger, the people are to be rallied by no other or no stronger cry than to save the Constitution, then, beyond a doubt, both country and Constitution, then, beyond a doubt, both country and Constitution will be lost. It was not for a Constitution will be lost. It was not for a Constitution will be lost. It was not for a Constitution in the country, that our Revolutionary Fathers fought. They had a country before they had a Constitution; and they loved it as well

EMANCIPATION : ITS JUSTICE, EXPEDIEN-OY AND NECESSITY.

A Lecture delivered at the Tremont Ter on Monday Evening, Dec. 16, BY HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL,

The inaugural address before the Emancipation League was delivered on Monday evening last, at the Tremont Temple, by Hon. George S. BOUTWELL, whose theme was announced as "The Justice, Expediency and Necessity of Emancipation." A very large audience was in attendance, (the hall being crowded in every part,) who heard the speaker throughout with profound attention, broken, however, throughout with profound attention, broken, however, by frequent applause. On the platform, we noticed Rev. Dr. Cheever, Rev. J. M. Manning, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Hon. F. W. Bird, Hon. Eliphalet Trask, Hon. Z. K. Goodrich, and several gentlemen onnected with the State Government.

connected with the State Government.

At 7½ o'clock, the meeting was called to order by
Rev. A. A. Minne, who made a brief statement in
regard to the object of the League, viz: To further
in the hearts of the people the measures which will
promote the freedom of the slaves, and to encourage
the Government to use whatever opportunity the progress of our armies shall afford to carry liberty with
those armies, and suppress the rebellion by removing
its cause. At the conclusion of his remarks, he introduced, as the Chairman of the meeting, Dr. Samuku G. Howk. EL G. HowE.

Dr. Howe said he thought the orator, whom it wa task to accomplish—to prove the justice of emancipation, which was about as hard to demonstrate as to show that two and two make four to an individual who disputed it. It seemed to him that our Govern-ment is continually blundering and stumbling over axiomatic truths such as this. The ownership of a slave is a pretence, a sham and a lie, (applause,) and yet the Government says that we must respect it. The policy of the Government, thus far, to respect the institution of slavery, has been too plainly shown by the treatment of fugliives, "contrabands," (or whatever called,) found in the District of Columbia, who were shut up in the common jails of Washing ton and Alexandria, (as the speaker had witnessed,) and treated like the worst of felons while doing Un-cle Sam's work. Yet, though thus abused, these fucle Sam's work. Yet, though thus abused, these fu-gitives declared that they would on no account go

back to bondage.

Dr. Howe then introduced the orator of the evening tho was received with hearty applause. After a fe preliminary remarks, he entered upon the considera tion of the important question ann nced as his sub ect, speaking as follows :--

In speaking of the justice, expedie of emancipation as the only speedy means of crushing the rebellion and restoring the Union, I impose on my self three limitations, and desire you to co with all that I may say:

1st. That a military necessity exists for doing wha

proposed : and that I shall undertake to prove 2dly. That this necessity does not require us to take

any action in reference to the loyal States. 8dly. That I always and everywhere contemplate

ompensation to loyal men.

And I first inquire, what constitutes a military ne cessity? I assume that a military necessity does no depend upon the exigencies of the army in the field but the great military necessity is to save the Government, and whatever is necessary for the salvation of the Government is clearly within the right and the duty of those who administer it, and control the mili tary department thereof. (Applause.) I think our Constitution has clearly indicated what a military ne cessity is in that provision which declares that the right of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. And what do we see to-day? That all o us are here deprived, by the exigencies of the times of the security which from the days of Magna Chart has been, with here and there an exception, the curity of all Englishmen, and of all men who inherited the rights and the privileges of Englishmen. And why? Because it is believed by those entrusted with the administration of public affairs, that the public safety requires it. And we have given up the security which we had, that whenever our liberty taken from us, we had a right to an inquiry as to reason therefor; and that right has departed, at the hidding of the Government, because, in the eye of the

requires the emancipation of the slaves, here or there anywhere, then we have demonstrated that a mili sembled with anxious countenances to consider ho the country shall be saved; and you instinctively trace our peril backward to the institution of slavery, and are convinced without argument that had slavery no existed on this continent, there would not be a State no, nor a county, nor a parish, nor a man in all thi Republic to say that this Union ought not longer to exist; therefore we charge home, with instinct and logic, the responsibility of the whole matter to the in stitution of slavery. And if by the emancipation of the slaves we can hasten by one day the return of the the slaves we can hasten by one day the return of the power of the Union and our lost prosperity, does no a military exigency exist! "Yes!" "Yes!" "I

And I hear a suggestion made in many quarters which means, if I understand it, substantially this that South Carolina and her ten associates in this re bellion are still entitled to the protection of the Con stitution of the United States, and therefore we are bound to treat those States as we treat the States tha are still loyal to the Union. If we yet labor under that delusion, then God save us! for not to the hands of man is intrusted the salvation of this republic—i we still indulge in the delusion that South Carolina and New York, that Florida and Pennsylvania, that Mississippi and Illinois, that Texas and Minnesota, are

sion; and in all that relates to the subjugation of the territory and of the people of the rebel States, we mus treat them as enemies, as belligerents. Are we to as The We are indebted to the Journal for the reports of the lectures of Hou. George S. Boutwell and Rev. Dr. Cheever, as given in our present number. Both speakers must have been gratified by the numbers in attendance, and the all-abounding enthusiasm which their most radical sentiments elicited. Absence from the first process of the constitution applies. The rebels have no right to complain. We secure their most radical sentiments elicited. Absence from the first process of the constitution applies.

of war light up the horizon on every qu stop now, to inquire whether, in South Carolina, or in Georgia, or in Tennessee, there may be men who would if they could be loyal to the Union. (Applause.)

would if they could be loyal to the Union. (Applause.)

Now we have, my friends, abored under two or three delusions. First, we did not believe, twelve intree delusions. First, we did not believe, twelve months ago, when the nucleus of the "Confederacy" (as it is termed) separated from the old Union, that a great conspiracy existed. We could not believe that men entrusted with important duties—Senatous and Representatives in Congress—officers of the army and the navy, who had been supported in luxury from the treasury of the Union—Judges of the Supreme Court—men high in authority throughout the fifteen slave States of the Union—lad conspired criminally, traitorously, with perjury upon their lips and in their hearts, against a government, which, so far as we knew, had never pressed too harshly upon a single citizen of the Republic. We could not believe it. It was not strange that we did not believe it. But now, slave States of the Union—had conspired criminally, traitorously, with perjury upon their lips and in their hearts, against a government, which, so far as we knew, had never pressed too harshly upon a single citizen of the Republic. We could not believe it. It was not strange that we did not believe it. But now, after a year's experience, we find that for thirty years this emissiracy had existed; that it covered the whole slave territory of the Union; that it had given birth to the an exation of Texas, to the compromise measures of 1850, to the repudation of the Missouri compromise of 1854, to the dissolution of the Democratic party at Charleston in 1860; that it had entered systematically upon the scheme of destroying the best government which the world had ever seen! It was

whom we proposed to separate from the great body of the people and dispose of. But we have found, as the war has gone on, that it either included originally in the conspiracy all the chief men of the South, or that they have been drawn, unwillingly or willingly, into it, so that now I hold that there is no excuse for any man of the Union, in favor of maintaining the Union, than they are in favor of breaking down this Government and disgracing free institutions in the presence of the world and before posterity.

Let us no longer indulge in the delusion that there is a want of unanimity in the South.

And another delusion in which we have indulged, to

as a matter of experience, during the last twelve months, that they have exhibited no evidence of a want of resources. Have they not put men enough into the field? Haven't they, so far as we know, equipped them sufficiently for the service? Haven't they had enough o eat, to drink, and to wear?

And, then, so far as the year's experience goes,

we have been laboring under a delusion as to the power of the South.

the causes of the rebellion, as developed in the institution of slavery itself. And the proposition I have
to make is, that the institution of slavery is of such a
character that hostility to this Government. table, sure to come at some time or other.

A change of opinion has been going on in the slave
States, which perhaps I may well illustrate by a short
chapter from my own experience. In 1857, in the
month of November, I was at Lexington, Kentucky,
and on Sunday-I attended church at what I understood
to be the addest Methodist Episcopal church. I listenunesse of an increase in your circulating medium, who tenance of three propositions, which, as far as I could judge, were accepted by that congregation; they were, first, that Jesus Christ never said anything in favor of common equality; secondly, that he never said anything in favor of universal education; and thirdly, said the preacher, what we need is authority

Do you not see, that if those propositions be taken as indicating the public sentiment of the South, slave-ry has worked two radical changes in the people, both of which are antagonistic to free institutions, and upon which free institutions cannot long be maintain-ed? One was the denial of the equality of man; the other was the denial of the right of individual opinion in matters of religion.

And next I have to say, that the Constitution of the Union having been established for the purpose—as declared in the preamble—of securing liberty to the men who framed it, and to their posterity, was inadequate to meet the wants of the slaveholders.

We have in the Constitution a provision giving to the government authority to put down insurrection. But do you not think that they foresaw that the time would come when the slave population might rise upon the plantations of the cotton districts, and in a single night the white inhabitanta be swept away t And how powerless would then be the provision of the Constitution, even if the government were wielded by themselves! So we see, that since the revolt con menced, they have steadily marched toward the estab-lishment of a military slaveholding oligarchy; be-cause it is the necessity of the institution of slavery that it shall be maintained by a stronger government than that for which our Constitution provided. And, in the next place, I do not propose to discuss it; but, quire new territory, because it exhausts that on which it fastens. Now, then, these, as I believe, were the causes of the rebellion. There were pretexts for the rebellion, such as agitation in the North but they

white man at the South, who ignorantly believed it to be the height of human ambition to own a negro, was inspired with a hope that at some future day he might become a slaveholder, if the rebellion could

fugitives to these border States, and the border States, by State legislation, would return fugitives from the will the rebellion exhaust itself ! Consider the ex

tent of the territory that it includes. Consider the resources of that country in soil and climate. Consider the fact that, in consequence of the existence of slavery, they can put in the field, and equip—allowing the institution of slavery to remain—one-tenth, or even one-eighth of their entire white population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the ports, so that it had its origin in the institution of slavery. And ought not the judgment of this country to be visited upon that institution as a part of the retribution for this foulest of human crimes? (Applause.)

Another delusion, my friends, was, that we did not believe in the unanimity of the South upon this matter. We thought that this movement was instituted—and which, I trust, is not in store for usmatter. We thought that this movement was instituted—and which, I trust, is not in store for usmatter. We thought that this movement was instituted—and which, I trust, is not in store for usmatter. We thought that this movement was instituted—and which, I trust, is not in store for usmatter. We thought that the persons, whom we proposed to separate from the great body of the records of the scene and discovered to separate from the great body of the scene and discovered to separate from the great body of the scene and discovered to separate from the great body of the scene and the second through the statement of the scene and though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population and there entire white population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the population and there entire white population and though, with the blockade, we close up the population and though, with the blockade, we close up the population and though, with the blockade, we close up the population and though, with the blockade, we close up the proper and the pro applause.) It was the estimate of Napoleon that no nation could keep more than one in forty of its popu-lation in the field. The State of Indiana has put one in twenty of its entire population into the army States one in twenty-five; one in thirty; one in oulation into the army; other one in thirty; one in thirty who believes that there is any lack of unanimity in the eleven second States. We are not more unanimous in this hall, or in this State, or in the free States in thirty of the entire population, our army will not in thirty of the entire population, our army will not consist of more than about 730,000 or 740,000 men, and, if you will allow the institution of slavery to renain, the three and a half millions of men and in the revolted States continue upon the plantations— guarded by white women, aged men and children, all armed—if you allow the three and a half millions to And another delusion in which we have indulged, to this very hour, is, that they had not resources sufficient to carry on this war, and that very soon they would be exhausted. I shall have occasion to discuss that matter further, as I go on. But we have found, people, do not you see that a portion of the men who are in the army of the South must go home to produce supplies? Therefore the effect of allowing the institution of slavery to remain is to give them are equal opportunity with us in every contest. But it we deprive them of the support they derive from their slaves, then a portion of their army must return to the plantations, and they would be reduced to 150,000 to 200,000 men, and the war would be at an end. (Cheers.)

> lic debt on the 30th of June, 1803—a year from next June—will amount to \$900,000,000. If it shall hap-pen in consequence of the check that is given to the well to consider whether, if you have no regard for the black man, it is well for the merchants of Boston and New York, the men who have four million tons of shipping on the ocean—a million in the East Indies to consider whether you are willing to involve yourselves in a common bankruptcy, rather than to strike, while you have the power, at the foundation on which this rebellion rests. (Prolonged applause.) I say, then, it is a necessity that this war shall be

speedily closed. We have tried blockading. It has been to a good degree effectual. But do you not see that it is powerless with reference to producing that which we expected from it-the quelling of the rebellion? Though our ships line the whole coast, from Galveston to the Chesapeake; though we keep out foreign supplies of every sort; though we cut off the You may say we can, by one decisive battle, this matter. We have had 100,000—150,000 settle this matter. for aught I know, 200,000 men on both sides of the Potomac for the last sixty or ninety days. Possibly by battle we might settle this matter; but we run a great risk. We thought when in July our army went forth with banners and trumpets, they were marching to victory. Our soldiers fought well, victory seemed within their grasp, and yet defeat-temporary defeat When there are other means to settle advantage ? this matter, will we risk the existence of this republic—risk freedom, and its name and fame in all the nations, and throughout all time—on the capacity of Generals on the Potomac ! I say no, if it can be The life of the nation is involved in this contest, to say nothing of the men. All of us have sent our friends, brothers, kindred—those who are dearer to us than our own lives; and shall we peril them on the North would not act unitedly and energencially for the suppression of the rebellion. And I may say here, friends, and neighbors, and townsmen are to night—noistitution. (Applause.)

We have not thrust them out of the Union; they without communication of secretary upon the Peace Congress was rests upon slavery, and will go down when slavery removed on the last day of the session, I may say—ceases to support it! (Applause.) Have you yet not for the purpose of arraigning any man before this assembly, or before this country—that in that Congress a representative from a free State, a State that and equal patriotism, with names unknown, have gone

the threat is a commission of the people of the rebel States, we must be the control of the people of the seed by the control of the people of the seed by the control of the people of the seed by the control of the people of the seed by the control of the people of the seed by the control of the people of the seed by the people of the seed by the people of the seed by the people are not to be treated as enemies, then the destruction of the country is near. We must treat them as enemies, when they came into the Union, the first people are not be the country is near. We must treat them as enemies, when they came into the Union, the people are not to be treated as enemies, they gave to the Union putchliction over their territory; that jurisdiction to the treit people the people of the south. The people, with great unanimity, have not as almost people of the South forward in the repulsion. Not first, although I shall not hesitate to say before I close for the receivable into the Union, or the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the Union, or the receivable into the Union putched to the people of the South forward in the receivable into the Union will be people of the South forward in the receivable into the property of the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people of the South forward in the receivable into the people in the people in the people in the people in the p

ling? Not we—not we are responsible for what hap-pens in South Carolina between the slares and their masters. Our business is to save the Union (cheers); to reestablish the authority of the Union over the rebels in South Carolina; and if between the masters rebbls in South Carolina; and it between the masters and their slaves collisions arise, the responsibility is upon those masters who, forgetting their allegiance to this Government, lent themselves to this four con-appracy, and have thus involved themselves in the spiracy, and have thus involved themselves in the ruins. (Applause.) As a warning, let South Carolina be the first of the States of the Republic in which emancipation to the enslaved is proclaimed, (cheers,) as a warning and a penalty for her perfuly in this business, which began at the moment that her delegates penned their names to the Constitution when it was formed. Treachery was in their hearts then and they have adhered to their disloyalty through evil report and through good report; but I trust the day is now near when, by the reconstruction of South Carolina society, we shall there have a State which in process of time shall be loyal to the Constitution and the Union.

Next Florida. Impotent in her treachery, with less than 150,000 inhabitants; with property, I sup-pose, not of equal value to that which might be found pose, not of equal value to that which might be found in a single ward in this city, purchased with the money of the people—she has undertaken to lend breself to this conspiracy. Emancipate the slaves that are then and invite the refugees from slavery in the South, for and invite the refugees from slavery in the South, for the moment, to assemble there, if they desire, withthe moment, to assemble there, it may usure, whit-out compulsion, and take possession of the soil. (Cheers.) If that is not sufficient, let the penalty upon South Carolina be increased by dividing her soil mong those whom she has heretofore held in bond-

among those whom she has heretofore held in bond-age. (Renewed cheering.)

The next in this work of emancipation I name
Texas; because, if we read the history of the last
twenty-four months aright, these people have gone
out of the Union because they see they cannot extend
slavery in the Union. It was not because a few Abolitionists in the North hated slavery; it was not beaists in the North hated slavery; it was not because some of us went to Chicago in June, 1860, and ominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and then elected him; but it was because men of all parties and all persuasions and all ideas, in the North, had come to the conclusion that slavery should not be extended. It was the doctrine of churches, the doctrine of homes and hearthstones, that slavery should not be extended. earthstones, that slavery should not be extended, and they went out of the Union. Which way do
they expect to extend slavery! Southward—through
and over Texas, into Mexico, and into Central America, thus cutting us off from the Pacific, separating us from our possessions west of the Rocky Mountains, and rendering another division of the Union, by the line of the Rocky Mountains, inevitable. Now, then, let us teach them, by emancipation to Taxes that in the Line. no. Now, then, let us teach them, by emancipation in Texas, that in the Union or out of the Union, slavery is not to be extended. Emancipate the slaves in Texas; invite men from the army, invite from the North, invite from Ireland, invite from Ger friends of freedom, of every name and of every na-tion; bid them welcome in Texas, where we have 175,000,000 acres of unoccupied land—or shall have, when we confiscate it to the Government of the United States (applause)—and we shall have a barrier of freemen, a wall over which, or through which, or beneath which, it will be impossible for slavery to pass. (Cheers.)

I do not pursue the subject of emancipation further. These three States will be sufficient for warning and penalty, for refuge and for security against the extension of slavery; but I certainly would have it pretty distinctly understood, that by the next anniversary of the birth of the Father of his Country, we should emancipate the slayes in all the disloyal and rebellious States, if they do not previously return to their alle

giance. (Applause.)
"What will you do," says one, "if you emancipate
the slaves?" My friends, what will you do if you don't? (Laughter and cheers.) What are we do now, when we have not emancipated the slaves? I want to tell you what Jefferson thought, more than sixty years ago, and I ask you if that which he feared is not in process of completion to-day? He says in a letter to St. George Tucker, dated Aug. 28, 1797:—

"Perhaps the first chapter of this history which has begun in St. Domingo, and the next succeding ones, which will recount how all the white were driven from all the other islands, may prepare our minds for a peaceable accommodation between justice, policy and necessity, and furnish an answer to the difficult question, whither shall the colored emigrants go? And the sooner we put some plan under way, the greater hope there is that it may be remitted to proceed peaceably to its ultimate object. But if something is not done, and soon done, we shall be the nurderers of our own children."

Tarrible prophetic words! Tarrible in the possi-

Terribly prophetic words! Terrible in the possibility of their fulfillment!

What will you do with the negroes if you emanci-nate them? As between what we may or can do with them and the salvation of this country, it ought not to weigh a moment. They are but four millions; and though in their weakness they plead, here are five-and-twenty millions of men who ask a country; all the coming generations of this continent rise now and demand sacrifices of us all, that we may secure and preserve a country for them. Mankind everywhere gaze with anxious eyes upon this contest, lest the last hope of liberty should go out in this our land; and if—I do not hesitate to say—if the salvation of the country de manded the sacrifice of four millions on this continent, black or white, slave or free, North or South, it would be a sacrifice well made for so great a cause. on a sacrinee weil made for so great a cluse. But, my friends, it demands no such sacrifice. These four millions of people are able to take care of themselves (Applause.) Have you considered what it requires to take care of one's self! Pdo not mean, when I say that these four millions and the same self-self. that these four millions are able to take care of the elves, that they can build cities, that they can set afloat a vast commerce; I do not say that they can immediately become proficients in the arts and sciimmediately become proficients in the aris and sciences—I do not know that they ever can; but do you not see on the face of things, that the slaves of the South have to day possession of those industries, are accustomed to the exercise of those physical and mental faculties on which society first and primarily de cy are able to take care of themselves.

I should like, my friends, to spend a moment in stating some facts in regard to the British West Indies, use I believe that the public mind has great extent, deceived by the representations that has been made, through the agency of slavery in refe ence to the results of emancipation in those islands. If you will pardon me a moment, I will read you a w statistics, which, in their results, show what been accomplished by the black population of the West Indies, emancipated by the British Government five-and-twenty years ago. I venture to anticipate what I have to say, by expressing my belief that-with the exception of Greece, where thirty years ago there was hardly a house with a roof on it—there are no people on the face of the earth who have made more progress than the emancipated slaves in some of the British West Indies. What have they done! Take, for example, Barbadoes. They have opened schools, and with a population of 140,000 they have more than 7000 children in the schools; and they have over 3000 landholders. In Antigua, with a popula of 35,000, they have more than 10,000 children in the day and Sunday schools; and 5000 landholders among se who were slaves five-and-twenty years b In Tobgo there are 2500 landowners, with a population of 15,000. In St. Lucia, with 25,000 inhabitants, there are more than 2000 landowners. But in Jamaien, which is the exception to the West India. Islands in the matter of prosperity

Islands, in the matter of prosperity since emanora-tion, in a population of some 400,000, they have 60,000 freeholders.

So, then, if you test that people who came from slavery and barbarism seven-and-twenty years ago, by the two tests of primary civilization, cultivation of the soil and education of the children, they have made great progresss. But it is well worth while to rememsoil and education of the children, they have made great progress. But it is well worth while to remem-ber that Barbadoes is one of the most populous per-tions of the globe. Of the 106,000 acres of last, 100,000 are under cultivation, and the price of the ca-ll vated land is from four to five hundred dollars as acreIf we show that in one single instance emancipated slaves have been able to take care of themselves and make progress, though there may be twenty instances of failure, still, the one instance of success demon-strates their capacity, and their failures are to be at-tributed to misfortune and the influence of circum-

In the next place, (although I do not in In the next place, (although 1 do not intend to go into the financial aspect of the question,) I will read the results of the cultivation of sagar, which is the great article of export in those islands; and I know very well that the commercial community is interested in whatever relates to exports and imports. The dependencies of Guiana, Trinidad, Barbadoes and Antigua, previous to emancipation, produced 187,000,000 pounds of sugar, and in 1856-7, they produced, snapsly 295,000,000—showing a gain of nearly 78,000. ally, 265,000,000-showing a gain of nearly 78,000. nually, 25,000,000—showing a gain of nearly 78,000,000 a year; and their imports went up from \$8,840,000 to \$14,600,000 a year. And the present Governor-General of Jamaica, Mr. Hincks, whom some of you may remember as the former Attorney-General of Canada, who was here in 1851 at the railway celebration, as it was called, states from his own knowledge and observation, that on an estate in Barbadoes, ninety blacks performed the work formerly done by two and the produce since-emancipation of each laborer is 3600 annually. He also states that the cost per hoga-hyad under slavery was £10 sterling, while in 1858, it was produced at a cost of £4 sterling. So we see, whether we test the black population of the British West Indies, by the fact that they have established schools, by the fact that they have become landholders, or by the fact that they have become landholders, or by the fact that they export of their main staple more than they did formally, they still have demonstrated their capacity to take care of them-

ter for argument, but within the range of the com-monest observation, that the time is approaching when the emancipation of the slaves in this country must take place. It is inevitable; and we have now, it think, only a choice of ways. Emancipation may take place by the efforts of the slaves themselves; it may take place by the Government of the United States; it ay take place by the action of the slaveholders the sideration, and I will not, as a matter of justice to the these gentlemen have told you is the legitimate and natural result of apprenticeship to slavery—if they are ever to be prepared. I say, then, justice to the slaves demands emancipation. I will not make for myself, though others may for themselves, the nice distinction which you remember Mr. Croswell made when he wrote a letter endorsing and explaining the speech of Col. Cochrane. He says, "The difference between the Abolition and the Union defenders is this—that the Abolitionists are in favor of emancipa-tion because it would be a benefit to the slaves. We are in favor of emancipation because it would be an injury to, or diminish the power of the rebel masters. me of what Macaulay says of the Puritansthey were opposed to bear-baiting, not because they had any sympathy for the bear, but because they were religiously hostile to all kinds of anusements. (Laughter.) Whatever your opinion may be, if you are in favor of emancipation, I do not greatly care whether you favor it as a matter of justice to the slaves or to punish the masters. And we must agree, my friends, to the Declaration of Independence. The fundamental difference on which the Forth and South have divided for thirty years is on that part of the Declaration of Independence which says, "All men are created equal." They have denied it; we have undertaken to maintain it. We ought to consider (if you will allow me a moment by way of explana-tion) that the Declaration of Independence was pre-pared as a political document. It did not relate to those differences among men which we see, which we recognize, which are natural, which are divine, which are not to be complained of. But Jefferson meant when he penned that provision, that no person was by person. (Cheers.) That is what he meant. Not that we are of equal hight or weight, equal moral influence that no one is born under any subserviency, po-Brically, to his fellow-man. Let us maintain the doctrine now. These slaves are men; Jefferson did not hesitate to call them "brothren." In a letter to M. de Munier, explaining the reason why neither Mr.i. Wythe nor himself had proposed to insert a clause for emancipation into the slave code of Virginia, he

"There were not wanting in that assembly men of virtue enough to propose and talents to vindicate this clause. But they saw that the moment of doing it with success was not yet arrived, and that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivery to this oppressed description of man. But we must await with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these, our suffering bettern. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance s world, and that they are not left to the guidar a blind fatality."

These slaves are men. The declaration concerning the equality of all men applies to them as to us; and now that, in the progress of events, the South have relieved us from responsibility in regard to eleven dis-loyal States, let us stand forth as a nation in our origloyal States, let us stand form as a nation in our original strength and purity, maintaining the ideas to which our fathers gave utterance, but which, under the circumstances, they were not able always and everywhere to enforce. Let us declare, in the presence of these slaveholders and rebels, in the presence of Europe, that we may have ground on which to stand and defend ourselves in this contest, that we proclaim the equality of all men. (Loud applause.)

liency, still furth r: Have you ever considered—[I see one gentleman, Mr. Atkinson, upon the platform, who has considered the subject of the cotton culture of the South, and written a work upon it which is worthy of consideration by everybody) it which is worthy of consideration by everybody)— but have you all considered that these men of the South have taken possession, by circumstances and by skill, of the best territory, in soil and climate, upon this continent? This territory has been given up to slavery, and the men of Massachusetts, of the North, have not the power to go there in the presence of slavery, and develop the natural resources of that ex-tensive country. We have taken possession of the fertile lands this side the Rocky Mountains, and it is a necessity of our existence that freedom should s South. Therefore it is a necessity that slavery should disappear. Have you considered, merchants—have you considered, merchants—have you considered, manufacturers, that the 700,000 ne groes of the South, engaged in the cultivation of cotton, have a monopoly of the best cotton lands on the surface of the globe, and that their interest is to the surface of the globe, and that their interest is to produce just as little as possible! What is your interest is to have these lands developed so that they shall produce as much as possible. This is a war in which we can take no part. By produce just as little as possible! What is your interest is to have these lands developed so that they shall produce as much as possible. From 1845 to 1857, the supply of cotton in all the markets of the world, diminished 900,000 bales, and the price went up from the producing price of five or six cents to len, twelve, fourteen and sixteen cents a pound in the markets of the world, diminished 900,000 bales, and pound in the markets of the world—the manufacture six cents to len, twelve, fourteen and sixteen cents a pound in the markets of the world—the manufacture served to be something. She has her traditions of the Revolution and of the War of 1812; her governing classes of by statisticians that the whole population of the globe. Produce cotton by free labor upon the productive land of the South, her manufacturered desire the raw material, and paying famine prices. We are told by statisticians that the whole population of the globe. Produce cotton by free labor upon the productive land of the South, her manufactured cotton goods has never's exceeded to manufactured desired that the cotton of a few loyal duct of manufactured cotton goods has never's exceeded to manufacture the series of manufactured cotton goods has never's exceeded to the correlation of the Revolution and of the War of 1812; her governing classes of bouth per manufacturered desire the raw material; her manufacturered desires the raw material; her manufacturered desires the raw material; her merchants now urge the government on, and guide it too, in a policy which looks either to the restoration consists in emanufactured to the productive land of the result, with equal sagacity. They see very plain that here is a breach between the North and South Her under the control of a few loyal duct the result, with

and, in France, will double and treble the amount of goods now produced.

Is it not a matter of some consequence to manufacturers, to the people, to laborers everywhere, that we should take these fertile and productive cotton lands out of the control of these 700,000 slaves, make them free men, stimulate them by wages, invade those cotton lands, which can be worked by while labor, as one-cieth of the cotton lands, everywhere the control of the cotton lands. eighth of the cotton lands of the country are now worked by white labor, and thus increase the product of cotton 25, 50, 75, and, in a few years, 100 per cent. and stimulate the industry and increase the comforts and conveniences of all mankind?

If you look at this matter merely in a commercial point of view, will you allow slavery to retain the best cotton lands, and remain in possession of these

slaves 1

I heard a suggestion just now, from the other part
of the hall, to the effect—if I understand it correctly of the hall, to the effect—if I understand it correctly—
that if we emancipated the slaves, a great many of
them would come this way. Have you ever thought,
my friend, that if you do not emancipate the negroes,
they will, in consequence of the disturbed condition
of affairs, escape and invade the free States, and that
you will have them here whether you will or not?
But if you emancipate the slaves in the South—if you
believe what Mr. Yancey said in Faneuil Hall last
year—the negroes of the North will go South, for he
said they enjoyed nothing so much as basking in the year—the negroes of the North will go South, for he said they enjoyed nothing so much as basking in the sun, with the temperature at 110. If the slaves be emancipated, what with their own natural ability and such aids and appliances as the Government and twenty millions of people in the North can fernish, I do not believe but that they will get employment, get pay, get subsistence. (Applause.) Another consideration that ought to be taken into

account by the commercial men of the North is, that ncipate the slaves and dedicate this co to freedom, this process of bankruptcy and repudia-tion will come to an end, instead of your being called every year, in ordinary years, to contribute one, two, or three millions to the support of the South. The time has come, after sixty, seventy or eighty years of experience, when it is a right which we may demand, that the people who occupy the best portion of the North American continent shall earn their own living

will search long and be disappointed often when you will search long and be disappointed often when you seek for a slaveholder who is in heart desirons to support free, democratic, republican institutions. (Loud applause.) If you would take security for the future peace of the country, it must be by dedicating this territory to freedom. Nothing else will give this country security for the future, or freedom to the States that are now engaged in the rebellion.

Emancipation is inevitable, first, possibly, by the act of the slaves themselves. I sak whether you.

act of the slaves themselves. I ask whether you.—I do not ask whether the people of Charleston, S. C., with their city in flames, with the power of the slave population in some way or other felt, in this their great calamity, I do not ask whether they prefer the emansipation that took place in Jamaica, or that which took place in St. Domingo, but I ask you if he will be service, every seat in that vast hall was occupied; and now, after the sacrifices you have made in the service will be hundreds were compelled to stand all the even-of slavery, the expenses in which you are involved, of slavery, the expenses in which you are involved, the just and righteous hatred you have for these leaders in the rebellion —I ask you if, after all this experience, you ought not to choose an enancipation such as took place in Jamaica, rather than reserve this question of slavery until emancipation takes place as "And Pharon's servants said unto him," How long the vary of the surprise of the whole of the vast congression joined, a sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Cheever, from the text—"And Pharon's servants said unto him," How long the vary of the v question of slavery until emancipation takes place as it did in St. Domingo? You cannot hesitate, whether you look to your own interest, to your own comfort, the or whether you regard the interest, the comfort, the not yet that Egypt is destroyed?" welfare, and the safety of the slaveholders themselves. insurrections occurred in the century preceding eman cipation, the last of which involved the destruction of eight millions of property, and was only put down at an expense of \$600,000. Since emancipation, there has not been an insurrection of the blacks in that island; and it is a contradiction of all human experience to assume that when these people are emancipated, they will turn round and cut the throats of their masters; and if the United States shall lead in the emancipation, even at the head of the army, they can so control the emancipated population, that they shall not commit those excesses which have characterized conflicts between the oppressor and the op-pressed in other countries and other ages.

But I made a suggestion, which I propose to consider for a moment, and that is, if we do not emancisider for a moment, and that is, if we do not emancipate the slaves, or if they do not speedily take the
matter into their own hands, the probability is, that
they are to be emancipated by the rebels themselves.
You think, possibly, that it is absurd to suggest that
when they bave involved the country in war, when
they have staked everything on the institution of
slavery, they should, under any circumstances, destroy
it themselves. But have you considered there are
ten thousand men in the South, perhaps, in civil positions and in the army, who, if the rebellion be put
down, and the government of the Union be re-established over the revolted States, have only the choice
between hanging and exité? Do you bellere, when between hanging and exile? Do you believe, when you consider the sacrifices they have already made, when you consider that on the coast of Carolina they apply the torch to their own property, that in the ex-treme exigency to which they may be reduced, if we shall be successful in the prosecution of the war, they will not emancipate their slaves, and claim the re-cognition of France and England, and the alliance of

a loreign war; and nothing, I believe, can avert that calamity within a few months, except emandpation of the negroes in the South, so that we can say to the people of England—to the people of France—If you make war against us, it is in the interest of alavery, I do believe a through I was the mon board, or will attempt to ride over them—an (Loud cheers, I I do believe a through I was the mon board, or will attempt to ride over them—an thought the will those use the same that we can say to the track of our country's destiny. We cannot set the track of our country's destiny. We cannot set the track of our country's destiny. (Loud cheers.) I do believe, although I was educated in that school which had but little faith in English politics, or in the political principles of Englishmen, that if we write emancipation on our banner, there is yet remaining in the heart of the English nalish politics, or in the political principles of Englishmen, that if we write emancipation on our banner, there is yet remaining in the heart of the English matter is yet remaining in the heart of the English matter is yet remaining in the heart of the English matter is yet remaining in the heart of the English matter is yet remaining in the heart of the English matter is yet remained the project of the project against color, so that they ever their desire may be, You shall not interfere to re-establish slavery where it has been struck down. (Applause.) I believe also that the French nation, which, in 1777 and '78, were in alliance with matter is the project of the project which, in 1777 and '78, were in alliance with us, which regarded the extremity of Greece, which fought for an idea in Italy, and restored the unity of that ancient seat of power and of majesty in the affairs of the world,—I do believe that the millions of France would say to the Emperor, if he were otherwise disposed:

This is a war in which we can take no part. By emancipation we shall be left to ourselves; but if we do not precify strike a blow somether. It was a Savannah captured, and a proclamation issued to the complex of the transfer of the rebellion than of our own soldiers' lives. Why was not the victory at Hatteras followed up to the conquest of North Carolina, when the whole State was known to be ripe for the Union? If John Brown had commanded that expedition, he would not be completed in the conquestion of the rebellion than of our own soldiers' lives. Why was not the victory at Hatteras followed up to the conquest of North Carolina, when the whole State was known to be ripe for the Union? If John Brown had commanded that expedition, he would not be completed in the conquest of North Carolina, when the whole State was known to be ripe for the Union? If John Brown had commanded that expedition, he would not be completed in the conquest of North Carolina, when the whole State was known to be ripe for the Union? If John Brown had commanded that expedition, he would not have come home to be screaned by his friends as a hero. (Great applause.) Why are not Charleston and Savannah captured, and a proclamation issued

grees cotton can be raised at five or six cents a pound, and pay the producer a good profit, and your manufactures in New England, in the free States, in England, in France, will double and treble the amount of goods now produced.

Is it not a matter of some consequence to manufacturers, to the people, to laborers everywhere, that we should take these fertile and productive cotton lands should take these fertile and productive cotton lands out of the coutrol of these 700,000 slaves, make them

Then there is a seeing, not only in England, but throughout Europe, that we are advancing too rapidly. Conscious as we have been, boasting as we have been, it is possible that, after all, we have not estimated the prosperity and greatness of the republic as it has been estimated abroad. Extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande—from the

Therefore, I say, that, in reference to the future, we are in the greatest peril; unless we place ourselves, and that speedily, in a position where we can defend ourselves as the supporters of freedom, and appeal to the yeomanry of England, to the peasintry of France, and ask them to keep the peace, while we restore to its fair proportions a government such as the world has never before seen, and start our country in a career of prosperity which shall know no limits in this generation, if we escape from the perils in which we are inon, if we escape from the perils in which we are in-

volved by slavery. (Loud applause.)
Our interest and our duty require us to avert the calamity of foreign war by any sacrifice save that of justice and honor,

One word my friends, and I leave this subject: In the exigency in which we are placed, we must sup-port the Government itself. We may maintain our opinions, believing that in due time those opinions will possess influence; but the Government, that must for it is the only means by which the rebellion is to be put down—from day to day, with the highest wisdom and on principles of established justice, execute all th

rinciples and provisions of the Constitution.

This contest is between slavery on the one side and the government on the other. Both cannot stand, Either slavery will go down and the government stand, or the government will be destroyed and slavery triumph over us all. For slavery it is that we have made which I invite your attention, is this: Having been involved as we are by slavery and a rebellion and conspiracy, based on slavery, we have a right to take security for the future, that there shall be no other rebellion, they there shall be no other war at the shall be no other rebellion. the living that are perilled on the battle-field and in the camp; remember your friends that have gone out to fight the battles of the Republic, and say whether you can lie down upon your pillows and feel that you have done your duty to them, to your country, and to your God, unless you exert such influences as you have to bring to a speedy termination the cause of all our trials (Loud and prolonged applause.)

of New York, was to preach in Tremont Temple, on shall this man be a snare to us? Let the men go that

This, he said, was the remonstrance of the people of Egypt against an unrighteous government, whose career had brought the country to the verge of destruction. If this chapter had been delivered especially for us, it could scarcely have been more appropriate It was remarkable that the subjects of a ent could thus speak to their rulers; and it does not appear that they were called traitors for so doing, or that they were in any fear of the Fort Lafayette of their time. They did not see any reason why Moses and Aaron should keep silence, and it is not right for our ministers of the Gospel to do so now; but they should demand immediate and entire emancipa-tion. If the voice of justice and God is silenced in the world, then it should be spoken more loadly from the pulpit. We are told to stand still, and see the operation of God's will, and if it is His will that als very should continue for a hundred years, we must submit. But this is not God's will. Silence against sin is always disobedience to Him. It was thus that the Egyptian magicians threw dust in the eyes of the people, and thus Pharaoh's obstinacy was supported

by the co-operation of the clergy. In Egypt there were two parties, as there are with us—the emancipationists and the anti-emancipationists—and the anti party prevailed, and the death of the first born ruined the country. Before this, there had been a kind of Harper's Ferry insurrection, and Moses been a kind of Harper's Ferry insurrection, and Moses would have been hanged, as John Brown was, if Pharaoh could have caught him. God will not be mocked by us any more than he was by Pharaoh. "Let my people go," was his command then, and he says the same now to us, and the same results will follow our disobedience to His mandate. God does not tell us, "Let the slaves of rebels go, while those that are loyal may keep their chattels." What right have loyal men to keep slaves more than rebels? Is the United States Government the great protector and upholder of slacognition of France and England, and the alliance of foreign governments, which alliance we see will be but too readily accorded?

My friends, I have not been startled by the intelligence from England to-day, because I have seen for months that we were drifting steadily and certainly to a foreign war; and nothing, I believe, can avert that calamity within a few months. them on board, or will attempt to ride over them—ar attempt that will throw us from the track the momen

our best blood for the sake of slavery. We have been more tender of the rebellion than of our own soldiers' lives. Why was not the victory at Hatteras followed

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the Annual Subscription Anniversally again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and curcouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their care, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNUAL SANDERS ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNUAL SANDERS ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNUAL SANDERS AND SANDERS AND

meed of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, usen, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever

cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do. All those who have faith in the principles of free-dom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child. Mary Willey, Ann Rebecca Bramhall, Mary May, Sarah P. Remond, Louisa Loring, Henrietta Sargent Mary E. Stearns, Sarah Russell May, Sarah J. Nowell. Helen Eliza Garrison, Elizabeth Von Arnir Anna Shaw Greene, Anne Langdon Alger, Eliza Apthorp, Sarah Blake Shaw, Caroline C. Thayer, Sarah Cowing, Sarah H. Southwick, Abby Kelley Foster, Lydia D. Parker, Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Sarah C. Atkinson, Augusta G. King, Abby Francis, Mattie Griffith, Mary Jackson, Mary Jane Parkman Evelina A. Smith. Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephen Elizabeth Gay, Abby F. Mc Katherine Earle Farnum. Abby F. Manley,

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. January, 1862. Boston

This number (we quote from the Bos opens with the beginning of a series of articles on "Methods of Study in Natural History," by Professor Agassiz. It is an admirable introduction, and will allure many who have hitherto deemed the subject dry. "Jefferson and Slavery," by Prof. White, suffidry. "Jefferson and Slavery," by Prof. White, suffi-ciently indicates the subject of a very readable article. Mrs. Stowe's story and the "Story of To-Day" are continued. Mr. George S. Hillard contributes an ar-ticle on "James Fennimore Cooper," which is deci-dedly the best portrait of the great novelist as a writer and a man that we have ever met with. "Love and Skates" is the first part of one of the dashing stories left by Major Winthrop. Mr. Hawthorne has a delightful "Pilgrimage to Old Boston," which every lover of our Boston will appreciate. Dr. Windship begins the "Autobiographical Sketches of a Strength-Secker," full of interesting matter on this topic. His account of his "fainting fit" at his first attempt at lecturing is decidedly rich. Mr. Dorsheimer's "Frelecturing is decidedly rich. Mr. Dorsheimer's "Fre-mont's Hundred Days in Missouri" will have a gen-Gen. Fremont's staff. "Birdofredum Sawin" has revived! This announcement, to all the lovers of the "Bigelow Papers"—and who are not the lovers of the "Bigelow Papers"—and who are not the lovers t—is sufficient; unless we may add that this contribution shows the same old fire, shrewdness and fun. Mr. Emerson closes the body of the number with a wise and genial discourse on "Old Age." It will thus be seen that the Atlantic opens the new year in a syle most auspicious to the great and increasing public of readers whom it has wen and held.

Particular, Pa., Dec. 16.—The English news was received here with indignation. The protection of the honor of the country is the only sentiment here.

Particular, Particul

RELIEF OF FUGITIVES IN CANADA. An Associa-tion has been formed in the town of St. Catherine's, Niagara District, Canada West, to relieve such fugi-Nagara District, Canada West, to relieve such fugi-tive slaves as may be suffering from sickness or desti-tution. It is called—" The Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catherine's." The officers are the following:— Charles H. Hall, President; Benjamin Fletcher, Vice President; Christopher Anthony, Secretary; H. W. Wilkins, Assistant Secretary; William Hutchinson, Committee: Harriet Tubman, Mary Hutchinson John Jones, Wm. H. Stewart.

This Association may be relied on as worthy of confidence by those who wish to help the fugitives in Canada, many of whom are undoubtedly in need of such aid. Contributions, either in clothing or money, may be sent to ROBERT F. WALLUT, Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, Boston, or to Rev. Witter 221 Washington Street, Boston, or to Rev. WILLIAM BURNS, St. Catherine's, Canada West.

The meetings already held in Easex County, in relation to the War and Slavery, by Mr. Pills-nux and Mr. REMOND, have been very encouraging, we learn, in attendance and spirit; and those which yet remain to be held by them and others, should secure the presence of the lovers of impartial liberty and of their country, beyond ordinary times. [See notices in another column.]

That department of pro-slavery blackguard-ism, malignity and rufflanism, the "Refuge of Op-pression," is particularly note-worthy at the present time. For loathsome proof, see our first page.

WARLIKE INTELLIGENCE FROM ENGLAND.

the proved against the Trent, consequently the seizure of state four persons dragged from her decks was entirely illegal.

The Shipping Gazette believes there is a possibility, but a remote one, that the Federal Government may disavow the acts of Captain Wilkes, and even go the length of releasing the Southern Commissioners; but if the demand is not complied with, a declaration of war on the part of England is inevitable. If the Federal Government is resolved, at all hazards, to force a quarrel upon England, they have certainly a good opportunity, but they must be actuated by something little short of madness to avail themselves of it.

The export of saltpetre and warlike stores is formally prohibited. It was stated that one ship with a large cargo of saltpetre for America had been stopped, and that the relanding of the warlike stores already shipped had been required.

The naval volunteers were offering to come forward to protect the honor of the British flag.

At a banquet at Rochdale, Mr. Bright made an elaborate speech on American affairs. He declined to give a decided opinion on the Trent affair, but be lived, if illegal, America will make fitting reparation. He strongly condemned the warlike feeling exhibited, and scouted the idea that the American Cabinet was resolved to pick a quarrel with England. He made an eloquent peroration in favor of the North. A letter was read from Mr. Cobden, of a pacific tone, urging a suspension of judgment. A letter from Gen. Scott favored the maintenance of friendly relations with England.

Scott favored the maintenance of friendly relations with England.

American affairs attract much attention. The export of arms, ammunition and lead is prohibited.

The English journals generally were very hostile in their remarks, and continue to treat, the matter as an insult which cannot be tolerated, Lord Lyons's instructions, on which the Cabinet were unanimous, are explicit and determined.

Letters from France state that the news of the American Hilliculty caused an immense sensation in Paris, and at first the general impression was that ample reparation must be made to prevent a collision. Communications have taken place between the English and French Governments, and a good understanding on the subject was believed to exist, as already it does on the question of the policy to be carried out with reference to the American question generally.

The Paris Patrie has an editorial foreshadowing the disposition of the French Government to recognize the Southern Confederacy, if England sets the example.

the Southern Confederacy, if England sets the example.

The French journals universally look at the Trent affair in the interest of England.

The Paris Patrie maintains that the American Government had no right to arrest the Southern Commissibners while on a British mail steamer, and asserts that the British Government immediately prepared to send reinforcements to Canada. The same journal also gives a report that Admiral Milne, commander of the British Weet India squadron, on hearing of the San Jacinto affair, forthwith detailed three war vessels to escort the steamers between Havana and St. Thomas, for the protection of Southerners travelling that route.

The Paris Pays and Constitutionnel censure the action of the commander of the San Jacinto.

Baltimore, Dec. 16.—The effect of the foreign news here has been to call forth warm Union sympathy, while the rebel sympathizers are rejoicing. Nearly all the Irlsh have been secessionists, but they are now strong Union men.

PRILADELPHIA, Dec. 15.—Stocks declined under the foreign news, especially the fancies.

DETROIT, Dec. 16.—The foreign news created a deep feeling. Our Government will be sustained by the people at every sacrifice.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Dec. 16.—The sentiment his that our Government must sustain its dignity rights, regardless of British bluster.

honor of the country is the only aentiment here.

Harrorn, Conn., Dec. 16.—The European nergused great excitement in this city for a time, but it unanimous feeling was that England's demand for M son and Slidell could not be listened to for a momer The sober second thought is that our Governme should be firm but conciliatory, and if the alternati

St. Louis, Dec. 16.—The secessionists here openly avow their joy at the prospect of a war with England, while the Unionists seem generally to hope that the Administration will formally adhere to their already proclaimed position, and not deliver up the rebel Ambasadors.

NEW YORK, Dec. 17. The Herold's Washington despatch says the Cabinet has been in special session several hours to-day, during which our difficulty with England was discussed with great calmness. Whatever the demands from England may be, our government is resolved that Mason and Slideli shall never be given up.

GEN, CASS ON MASON AND SLIBBLE. An article has just appeared in the Detroit Free Frees, understood to have been written by Gen. Cass, which not only justifies the arrest of Mason and Slidell, but shows that it was in strict accordance with the position of the Government upon the right of search question, as maintained in the correspondence with the Bestian Government in 1858.

GREAT FIRE IN CHARLESTON, S. C. A fire broke out in Charleston, S. C., on Wednesday evening or last week, which raged with attense fury for severa hours, making a clean asset through the city, and destroying from five to even million dollars' worth of property. The number of buildings burnt is stated to have been 57% among which were five churches three hotels. **O. newspaper offices, nine bank buildings, and **Or fire preventile houses. The fire originated the factory of a Mr. Russell, who thinks it we caused by an incendiary, or by the negligence of agroes employed there.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 14.—A special despatch from Cheat Mountain to the Commercial cays:
Yesterday, one of the hardest and best fought battles of the war was fought at Allephany Camp, Pocabontas county, Va., between Gen. R. H. Mulroy, commanding the Union troops, and Gen. Johnson, of Georgia, commanding the rebels. The fight insted from day-light until 8 velock, P. M.
The Union loss is about 20, and the rebel loss over 200, including a Major and many other officers, and 30 prisoners. Gen. Johnson was shot in the mouth, but not fatally. The 12th Georgia regiment suffered the most. Gen. Mulroy's force numbered 750 men from the 9th and 13th Indiana, and the 25th and 23t Virginia.

"We learn by a letter received last evening from Parkersburg, that a desperate fight took place a day or two since in Wirt county, between Capt. Simpson's company, Eleventh Virginia Regiment, and a much larger number of Moccasin Rangers.

company, Eleventh Virginia Regiment, and a much larger number of Moccasin Rangers.

Capt: Simpson's men were in a house getting something to eat, and the house was surrounded by the Moccasins, who demanded a surregder. Capt. Simpson declined, and a fight ensued. Some eight or ten of the Moccasins were killed, and they were driven back into the woods. Among the number killed of the Moccasins is the notorious Pat Connolly, who has boasted of having in his possession thirty-one scalps of Union men. The fight lasted about one hour."

Union men. The fight lasted about one hour."

The war in Missouri is becoming sanguinary. Information has been received that Col. Jennison's force, sationed near Fort Independence within a few days have burned a hundred houses of secessionists, who had not come in according to his proclamation to take the oath of allegiance. One of the rebels, named Pitzpatrick, was captured and shot. He was accused filling a Federal officer, and of shooting a Methodist minister who was standing guard over him. He died game, shouting for "Jeff. Davis and the South," as he fell pierced with the bullets of the soldiers.

Doe of the rebel prisoners named Coleman died at Washington on Thursday. He was shot in the head, the ball entering his left eye. He was the ringleader in the acts of cold-blooded atroctics committed upon the scouts taken some six weeks ago, beinging to Bank's division. One of his feats was placing a head on a pole, and carrying it down to Drainesville.

A Federal surgeon captured at Bull Run, who recently returned on parole, reports that the rebels who took him bound him to a tree, and then deliberately shot him in the leg to prevent his escape.

ately shot him in the leg to prevent his escape.

37 The Louisville Journal says that Southwestern Kentucky is in danger, as the rebels are increasing in numbers in the vicinity of Camp Hoskins, at Somerset, near the Cumberland river. There are 5000 to 8000 rebels there, and it is not improbable that Collockins will have to retire before them. The rebel are committing all kinds of depredations in Wayne and Clinton counties, which they have in undisputed possession. They have wantonly butchered many sick Union men in their beds, and stolen and destroyed much property belonging to loyal citizens. Many of the Unionists in that region are deserting their homes and making their way to the Bluegrass region for safety. safety.

salety.

A despatch from Chattanooga, East Tennessee, to the Memphis Appeal, states that on the 28th ult. a souting party of 500 rebels returned from an expedition in which they captured fourteen horses and took 100 Union men prisoners, some of whom were found concealed in the caves of the mountains.

The number of lives lost on the ill-fated Key-stone State, in the recent gale on Lake Huron, was thirty-three, all told.

No TRADE WITH SOUTH CAROLINA. The government has decided that, for the present, there can be no trade with South Carolina through the port of Beaufort.

Col. Baken's Successor. A letter from Salem, Oregon, Nov. 5, says that Benjamin Stark, who has been appointed to the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the death of Col. Baker, has been an extreme secessionist!

an extreme secessionist!

No SLAVE-CATCHING AT ANNAPOLIS. Col. Lee, of the 27th Massachusetts regiment, has taken the first opportunity offered to decline to go into the slave-catching business, by which some of the national officers have dirtied their fingers to no purpose. A young negro, who had just suffered a cruel beating, sought refuge in his camp at Annapolis the other day, and was received. His master afterwards came with several men, and demanded him. Col. Lee declined to assist in the recapture of the negro. The master then began to threaten and bluster in the plantation-style, when Col. Lee coolly informed him that if he thought he could take the negro, he had better try; whereupon the master and his posse left the field, and the negro maintained his sovereignty. Good for the Colonel of the Twenty-seventh!—Springfield Republican.

The classical Charles (Sumner) has surely gone nigger-mad. He can't even visit the grave of a friend without lugging a nigger along with him.— Providence Post.

Troutines Post.

The chaste and beautiful enlogy which Mr. Sumner ronounced over the grave of his friend, the late galant solder and Senator, Baker, is given on the first age of the Spy this morning. The readers of it will page of the Spy this morning. The readers of it will not be at a loss how to characterize the assaults which are made upon him, of which the above from the Post is an example.—Worcester SpyFDec. 16th.

AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the Ameri-Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at

Milton, N. Y., Friday, Dec. 28.
Poughkeepsie, "Sunday, "22. Milton. F. G. B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., will speak

in East Princeton, Sunday, Dec. 22, on "The Church and Ministry of the Future," and "The Chisis—Its Cause and

ESSEX COUNTY NORTH.—There will be an Anti-Slavery meeting in Georgetown, on Sunday, 20th inst., to be continued through the day and evening, at the usual hours. In the present position of our national affairs, no argument can be required to induce a large attendance of the genuine lovers of liberty, not only of Georgetown, but all the contiguous towns. Some of the cidest and ablest advocates of the Anti-Slavery cause will be in attendance, whose names will be announced in next Liberster. STONEHAM.—CHARLES L. REMOND and PARKER

PILLSBURY will address meetings in Stoneham, on Sunday afternoon and evening next, (22d inst.) at the usual hours. Subject: The War—Its Mysteries and Meanings.

ETING IN HAVERHILI sury will lecture in Music Hall, at Havethill, on Wodnes-day evening, 25th inst., at 7 o'clock. / Subject: The War—Its Mysteries and their Meanings.

EF WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., will address the citizens of Milleons, (Mass.) in the Town Hall, on Frinar vening next, Dec. 27th, at half-past." a block, on Slavery and the War, in their relation to the success of the Governent, and the triumph of the cause of freedom.

EF MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 35 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Par-icular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4. P. M.

DIED-In Cambridgeport, Nov. 28, Mrs. MARY Buck, ged 82.

PRIVATE TUITION. Thaving been deemed advisable to surpend, temporarily, the Hopedale Home School at the expiration of the recent term, amountement is hereby made, that Mrs. B. HAYWOON, one of the Principals, will be pleased to

recont. term, amouncement is bayely made, that Mrs. A. B. HAYWOOD, one of the Principlas, will be pleased to eccive a few Young Ledies into her family for Instruction in the English, Brenche, French, Denseny and Passes, inc., and Music. The term will common on Windsman Ay, Jan. 1, 1862, and constitue Figrams Winner, For particulars, please address. ABBIE B. HAYWOOD.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and Mas. MARGARET B. BROWN, Accor

H AVE opened an effice at 374 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above sitemans.

Office Hours, from 10, A. E., to 4, P. E., Boston, Cet. 4, 1861.

Boetry.

MAIZE AND TOBACCO. The Indian Corn looked over the fen And what do you think he spied? A field of Tobacco, just ready to blo

To the broad-leaved neighbor at once he called, In accents loud and clear, "I thought you belonged to a summer clime; Pray, what are you doing here?"

So, then, with a haughty air, replied That plant of power and pelf,
'You are pleased to ask of my business, sir—
What do you do yourself?"

"I feed the muscles and blood and bone That make our farmers strong, And furnish bread for the little ones."

That round their table throng."

"I move in a somewhat loftier sphere," The foreign guest rejoined,

"As the chosen friend and companion dear
Of men of wealth and mind.

"I'm the chief delight of the gay young spark;
O'er the wise my sway I hold;
I lark in the book-worm student's cell— In the dowager's box of gold.

"Thousands of hands at my bidding work; He ceased to speak, and in angry mood Responded the tasseled Maize:

"You're in excret league with dyspeptic ills— A merciless traitor band:
With clouds of smoke you pollute the air,
With floods of slime the land.

"You tax the needy laborer sore; You quicken the drunkard's thirst; You exhaust the soil—and I wish you'd go To the place whence you came at first."

THE YOUNG ARTIST.

She sat, her wavy tresses folded back, Where one might say the sun's last golden tint Slept in the evening shadow, soft and brow Oh, where has wealth so rich an ornament As those all unadorned and graceful locks As those all unadorned ana-graph.

That on her brow ingenuously part,—

Those hues and shades, whose changeful beauty mocks

The chosen tints and skilful touch of art!

The while she drew, her features changed, and wrought Her eyelids dripped with light, as if it were Dissolving diamonds shed their lustre there. Dissolving diamonds seed their instructure.

And as she worked and sweetly talked the while,

Still played about her mouth the summer smile;

So his warm light some furtive sunbeam throws

But the best charm is still unsaid—unsung; The dawning thought that o'er her beauty flung My spirit's pencil vividly would trace seen tablet of my mind he mellow tinting and the shade refined.

And what a study !—as the spirit came To the fair body's surface, all on flame With inspirition, not yet quite unsealed But in her future to be all revealed; Whose artist hand already has foretold The touch of Midas, which turned all to gold, Was poverty to what that hand may do, no nign-source truth and virtue, that look down.
With pure contempt upon the great world's frawn.
Then will she know what triumphs art may win.
When the great Source of beauty dwells within—
When the ideal grows real in lucent brightness,
and heaven clother area; thought in clear tre And heaven clothes every thought in clear, tr

MUSIC AT A DEATH-BED.

BY MISS M. REMICK. Over the hills was fading in night; Days and weeks had the sufferer lain Restless and wan on her couch of pain; Past her low window the bluebird flew, Soft through the valleys the west wind blew, And the purple crocus meekly shed. Its bloom o'er her little garden bed.

Ab ! but a little year agone, She trod the hills in the April morn ! The wood-flowers shone in her eager hand, Her looks were stirred in the breezes bland; She heard the song of the swaying pines, The brook that to-day in its fulness winds And, the glossy evergreens how bright A wreath they wove but a year to-night!

"Sing to me, Alice !" A happy straincong to me, Alice!" A happy strain— How they who have parted meet again! They wait me there on the other shore, The silent friends who have passed before. I catch a gleam, through the parting veil, Of faces which Death no more shall pale. "Sing to me, Alice!" A triumph strain— How all who have parted meet again! Gently before me the great season. Gently before me the green sward spreads, Crimson and gold the sunset sheds Orimson and gold the sunset sheds
Over the river so smiling and still,
Over the heights of the pine-crowned hill,
Over the homes where busy feet
Husband and father are swift to greet,
All down the street, and the village way,
The golden lines of the sunset lay.

Sing to me, Alice !" How sweet the strain Sing to me, Alice! "How sweet the star Rose on her ears in the hull of pain, Raising her heart from her broken youth, From its beautiful dreams of love and tru To the blowed rost of the spirit clime, Where come not the cankering cares of time— Where sorrow, nor parting, nor tears are known, And the fruit is reaped that in grief was sown.

AT THE LAST! "Man goeth forth unto his work, and to his labor, until the evennig."—Ps. 104: 23.

The stream is calmest when it nears the tide, And flowers are sweetest at the eventide, And birds most musical at the close of day, And saints divinest when they pass away.

Morning is lovely, but a holier charm Lies folded in the evening's robe of balm; And weary man must ever love her best, For morning calls to toll, but night brings rest

She comes from Heaven, and on her wings doth be A holy fragrance, like the breath of prayer; Footsteps of angels follow in her trace, To shut the weary eyes of Day in peace.

All things are hushed before her as she throws O'er earth and sky her mantle of ropose; There is a calm, a beauty, and a power, That morning knows not, in the evening hour

"Until the evening" we must weep and toil, Plough life's stern furrows, dig the weedy soil; Tread with sad feet our rough and thoray way, And bear the heat and burden of the day.

Oh! when our sun is setting may we glide, Like summer evening, down the golden tide; And leave behind us, as we pass away, Sweet starry twilight round our sleeping clay!

But there's a light that from earth departs,
And a flower wept o'er in vain;
And a star of the life that sets in the heart,
Which never will rise again.

The Liberator.

SUMNER AND PREMONT.

SUMNER AND FREMONT.

There is an old piece of advice, frequently used to check the free, open-hearted utterances and disclosures of innocent childhood, that "the truth is not to be spoken at all times"; and it is too often the case that such counsel is given by those who are the unwilling victims of exposure in acts or things which are not exactly right or proper. So in regard to the present civil war or rebellion, we find editors and politicians, who, though professing to be as pugnacious as possible to put down rebellion, disavow any agreement with those who would strike boldly at the very foundation or root of it, and at once make an end of the trouble for all time; who cannot deny that slavey is the primeval and sole cause of the rebellion, yet who would ignore the truth to fight the mere rebel, but disdain to follow those who would combat both the rebel and that which makes a rebel, under the plea that if the Federal Government confiscates or sets free the slaves, the border slave States will be offended and go over to the Southern Confederacy—when, who can doubt, that of those who sympathize with secession in these very States, nine-tenths at least are directly interested in slavery? The larger towns and cities, where there are but few slaves, remain loyal; but in the country, the slave masters are for secession described one of their own liberty, white events of the country, the slave masters are for secession described one of their own liberty, white directly interested in slavery? The larger towns and cities, where there are but few slaves, remain loyal; but in the country, the slave masters are for secession almost to a man; and it is under the hypocritical cover of "neutrality" that they have worked against the Government, and assisted their more open and decided Southern neighbors to perfect their traitorous plans—to steal all the national property within Slave. plans—to steal all the national property within Slave-dom, (the Norfolk Navy Yard and Harper's Ferry certainly being not the least of our losses,) by hood-winking and wheedling our government not to take efficient and timely measures of prevention, until now it has grown its shoulder the prevention, until now it has upon its shoulders the more arduous, the more expensive, the more bloody task to subdies a side-spread revolution; and the "peaceful neutrals" those who were Union men before will be Union men now; those who were secessionists before will yea or nay in their hearts, and they will now act it out: as for our better understanding and comprehen-sion of the status, and the consequent prevention of our early laggardism and detriment in securing im-portant if not vital points, they should have been com-pelled to unfold themselves at the very start, instead of degrading ourselves by sending commissioners to meet theirs (many of whose breasts were already swelling with treason) in "Peace Conventions," to our better understanding and comprehenlisten to plans of compromise, when we had violated no law nor infringed upon any of their rights to compromise about; to listen to infernal propositions to mutilate the Constitution by making it a clearly de-fined and expressed pro-slavery document; and final-ly, under a mere superficial plea, actually to change the free into slave States.

If, then, from the most reliable accounts, from per that, as a whole, the people are most carnestly united in their cause, is it not most reasonable to conclude that the slave-owners, above all others, are fore-most in helping it on? Of the 400,000, would not at least 380 000, or nineteen-twentieths, be thorough going secessionists, willing to use or sacrifice every thing rather than to fail? This, then, is a slaveholder's rebellion, and nothing else; a war waged entirely on their part to demolish free, republican institutions, which are entirely inconsistent with the slavery sys-tem, which is despotism itself, and therefore cannot tem, which is despotant near, and inter one govern-peaceably exist in the same country under one govern-ment with freedom. If, unprovoked on our part, they wage a war to destroy freedom, we, in being forced to accept the challenge for our own salvation, in duty to ourselves, for the good of all coming generations, by the terms of the conflict, and as in fairness and by the terms of the column, an ought to do no less than utterly and totally to demolish slavery. They who have "sown the wind must reap the whirlwind." They should be allowed to take the consequences of their own acts. We should destroy it, if we would not be destroyed by it.

Lincoln, when a private citizen, in his first are. Lincoln, when a private time, and a speech in the Senatorial contest with Donglas, after quoting the Scriptural proverb, "A house divided against itself cannot stand," said—"I believe that this against itself cannot stand, "said—" Deen'te that many against itself cannot stand, and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fail—but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other." This prophetic uterance of an honest conviction now seems about to be realized, as the two opposite forces of Monarchy and the usages of nations, so plainly construed and illustrated, without dispute, by John Quincy Adams in the U.S. House of Representatives, in 1842, "not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves." Mr. Lincoln, now the President, has the power in his hands of choosing the alternative of his once freely spoken prediction, and of convert ing into a truism the Declaration of Independence, now so practically false and inconsistent, by proclaim-ing freedom to all men, wherever in this land the starspangled banner shall hereafter wave. By such an open proclamation, executed by the advancing Federal armies, justice can be administered on every hand,—the slave receive his rightful birthright, of which for no crime he has been most unchristianly de-prived,—the rebellious slave-master have his property confiscated, but a mere merited and retallatory desert —the loyal slave-master (if there be any such) have his human property paid for; and, finally, the true reded, Slavery, the only clog to our country's harmony from the very beginning to its present rupture—the only libeller of her fair fame and blot upon her escutcheon—be utterly and totally annihilated. We are told that Garibaldi, the here of Italy, takes a deep interest in the struggle between the "Union and Slavery," and that his many generals cather than the same control of the benefit of the large law in the field in the cause of treason, his slaves have also been employed for the benefit of the Slavery," and that his many generals gathered around him, and offered to accompany him to America, where they supposed a great field was to be opened for their loved chief in the "abolition of slavery, and the salvation of the destinies of the great American Revalue of the their large that their bases, were in the salvation of the destinies of the great American Revalue of the salvation of the salvatio public"; that their hearts were in the contest; and they felt that there, as well as in Italy, they would be fighting "the universal battle of civilization and hu-manity." If it had not been for the pressure of his

Missouri, at the time of its issue, now many of revoked by the President, condemn the policy of Senator Summer—which, in fact, amounts to the of Sept. 19th replies to the objection of the Louisville paper—"the turning loose of confiscated negroes"—paper—"the turning loose of confiscated negroes"— Senator Summer—which, in fact, amounts to the same thing—as advocating the extension of Fremont's proclamation into all the slave States, which policy would confiscate and set free the slaves of all rebels or secessionists, and pay for and set free the slaves of all rebels or secessionists, and pay for and set free the slaves of all unionists. He (Summer) is wrougfully called an "opposer" of the Administration, because he is not only in favor of crushing the rebellion, but would crush to death the undeniable true source of the rebellion, so that when ligs once crushed, no germ may be left behind to take root and revive a rebellion herest for. He would no only root out the weeds, but also destroy the seeds from which grow weeds. He would clean the carpet and clear the kitchen of the red pets of our national health and unity. Mr. Sumner is not our national health and unity. Mr. Sumner is not further in urging the use of the military power in giving to all rebels their true and just desces, by confiscating, not only slaves used in rebellious acts—

"The term 'confiscated' is utterly inapplicable. To confiscate, say the dictionaries, is to transfer private property to the Government of real of the kind is to be done in this case—for who imagines that the Government of this case—for who imagines that the Government of this case—for who imagines that the Government of the kind is to be done in this case—for who imagines that the Government of the content of the kind is to be done in this case—for who imagines that the Government of the content of the close that it is assemble to the kind is to be done in this case—for who imagines that the Government of the content of the close the kind is to be done in this case—for who imagines that the government of the content of the close the kind is to be done in this case—for who imagines that the Government of the content of the close the kind is to be done in this case—for who imagines that the Government of the content of the close that the property to the close the kind is

which is a very hard thing to discriminate and prove but all the stares of all rebels, which is much me easily done; thus giving to the guiltless bondman least an equal consideration with dumb vessels a

better hand," &c.

The Boston Journal, in opposing and protestin against the policy of Hon. Charles Summer for adve cating the carrying out of the Fremont proclama as regards the emancipation of slaves in all the slave States, seems now to be one of the papers which take for their motio—"The suth must not be spoken at all times." In the Journal of September 7th was the following paragraph :--

all times." In the Journal of September 7th was the following paragraph:

"There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—'Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, to our speak of the Union of the tendency of the ten

The Journal then quotes John Quincy Adams's construction of the President's military power respecting universal emancipation, and says—"Gen. might have gone that far consistently with the laws of war and the usages of nations." It also remarks-

remarks—
"In connection with the sword, General Fremont's proclamation will prove admirably promotive of that able officer's peculiar campaign in Missouri"—"In this instance, Gen. Fremont appears to have made no startling announcement"—"The recept act of Congress forfeits the slave which has been in any manner employed agaidst the Government. Gen. Fremont merely applies the inference, that where a slave-owner has been active in the field in the cause of treason, his slaves have also been employed for the beneft of the same cause—on inference that would probably hold true in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. If martial law has no more rigorous features than this, there will be few to complain, except the rebels, who have made it necessary, and who can avoid its penalties by returning to their duty. We trust this proclamation will tend to that result."

If the Journal will apply such views in relation to

If the Journal will apply such views in relation to oughly rebellious? If the inference can be drawn, the ninety-nine slaves out of a hundred of rebels are employed in their cause, in Missouri, can we not as aptly infer that as great a proportion, if not the hundred, are employed by the rebels in the seceded States in their unholy work? Mr. Breckinridge, in a speech which the Journal quotes, says in relation to the confiscation bills passed by Congress—

to the connectation than passed by Conjecture.

"This law, if carried into effect, was a sweeping conflication of all the property in the eleven Confederate States, as every species of property is used, side directly or indirectly, in aid of the defensive war of the South, and would therefore free every slave, and for feit every species of property."

If such would be the tendency of a faithful exec tion of the Confiscation Act, why does the Journal oppose Charles Summer for proposing a more unquivocal, less complex, more certain way of accom-

plishing the same end?

Again, the letter of instructions of Secretary Car ron to Gen. Butler, in relation to the fugitives con ing within the lines of the Federal army, seems to have met the approval of the Journal. In its issue of August 13th, it says—"We are at a loss to see lary (1) return to their masters, yet rather facetionsly admitting it, after all, to be rather dangerous, as they might give information; and so much discretion must be used about this—(and now that Gen. Wook has ordered the men to be paid 88 per month and the women \$4 per month, there seems to be little danger on that score.) As fugitives from loyal masters are to be retained and employed, subject to future equitable provisions, and those of dialoyal masters (employed as

Is not Gen. Wool, the successor of Butler, treating such quondam slaves as have already come within his lines as freemen, by paying them wages, and is it not strange and inconsistent for the Journal to remanity." If it had not been for the pressure of his friends at the last moment; and especially the urgent letter of the King, he would have gone to take command in any position the President would have placed him. His whole soul is in the cause of the Union.

Thus he considers liberty to all identical with Union.

Newspapers that favored Fremont's proclamation in Missouri, at the time of its issue, now that it has been revoked by the President, condemn the policy of

CASE OF REV. HENRY FOWLER.

About three years ago, Rev. Henry Fowler was settled as pastor over one of the Presbyterian chirches in Anburn, N. Y. He was a Professor in the Rochester University, had spent most of his life in literary parsuits, was a man of much native genius and fine culture, gifted with fluent speech, and holding the pen of a ready writer, and had already attained considerable success and reputation in the various literary labors which he had undertaken. With a heart glowing with gratitote to God, and love and good-will to men, he desired to devote his life to doing good, and resolved to become a minister. He went through with the theological course at the University where he was a Professor, and was settled in his first pastorate

About three years ago, Rev, Henry Fowler was settled as pastor over one of the Preshpirrian chirches in Auburn, N. T. He was a Professor in the Rochester University, had spent most of his life in literary parsule, was a man of most native genits and fine of a ready wither, and head arredy attained considered able success and reputation in the various literary labors which he had undertaken. With a heart glows in gwith graditude to God, and love and good-will to men, he desired to devote his life to doing good, and resolved to become a minister. He went through with the theological courses the University where he was a Professor, and was settled in his first pationtal at Auburn.

His fine talents, essay and graceful address, attractive social qualities, and not work wonders in his church and congregation, when it was discovered that he was of anti-shaver tendencies I A man with such a heart and brain could not, of course, be olderwise; but dire was the dismay among the leading men of his church and congregation when so black a stain was a heart and brain could not, of course, be olderwise; but dire was the dismay among the leading men of his church and congregation when so black a stain was a heart and brain could not, of course, be olderwise; but dire was the dismay among the leading men of his church and congregation when so black a stain was a heart and brain could not, of course, be olderwise; but dire was the dismay among the leading men of his church and congregation when so black a stain was a heart and brain could not, of course, be collerwise, but directly before him and provided to the difficulties which were impending was caused by 4 John Brown and the country. The first public indication of the difficulties which were impending was caused by 5 John Brown and the country of the country and the country of the season of the country of the season of the country of the season of the season of the country of the season of the country of the season of the country of the country of the country of the country

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THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

ing of this harbor should be signalized by an effort at kidnapping and slave-trading. A ferryboat, built at New York for Havana, named Nulstra Senora de Regla, left about the same time with the fleet, was exposed to the gale and ran into Charleston. It is said an effort to seize her by the Rebels to turn her into a punboat was only defeated by the energetic efforts of the Spanish Consult, and that afterward \$50,000 was offered and refused for her. After the victory she came into harbor, and has been derever since, for what purpose no one seemed to know. Only a few days since, one of her boats was discovered on the shore endeavoring to kidnap some of the negroes remaining on one of the plantations, and a subsequent examination of the steamer herself disclosed the fact that she had already on board a considerable number, stowed away in the bold, and destined for Coha and a market. Her captain was arrested and put in irons, and the steamer now lies under the gust of a sloop of war. So one more effort at the Christianization of the blacks has been put a stop to.

Port Royat De a

Many of the negroes in camp arrived at this point, and more are constantly coming. There is among them all the undoubting conviction that this is a war for their defiverance. No statement concerning them

salany of the negroes in camp arrived at this point, and more are constantly coming. There is among for their defiverance. No statement concerning them that I hear is so nearly universal as this, and Colonel Hawley assures me that in numerous conversations he has not found an exception. "We've been a waitin' and a prayin' for you, Massa, day and night, and we praise the Lord that you are come, and halvyour views"—that is, have been successful.

There is at the Point an old negro named Launace, by far the most interesting contraband of whom any account has yet been given me, but I haw been able to gather only enough to excite rather than to gratify curiosity. He is more than 15 years old, came or was brought from St. Domingo, where he was free, and where, for six years, he served in what are called the revolutionary wars. He knew Toussaint Christophe, and Petion, and has many interesting stories of those men still fresh in his memory. When asked if he remembered Denmark Vesey, the name for a moment seemed to puzzle him, but instantly his face brightened, and he answered, "O, yes, Massa, you mean Wesey. I knew him in Charleston, knew him yery well:" and he went on to speak of the number of negroes who were murdered in consequence of the plot.

The evidences of inhuman treatment of the slaves by their masters and overseers are painfully abundant. I select one story, in which the names have the air of being adapted to the character of the man and the facts; but it comes from a source that leaves no chance for question or cavil. A number of negroes crossed over from Savage Island, whose master was Mr. Joseph Cruel. They were examined by Dr. Bacon, and certain deep scars, evidently of burns, on their backs, were discovered. Being questioned as to the origin of these, they said that as a means of punishment, their master was in the habit to dropping melted sealing wax in a blaze, on the bodies of his victims. Their description of him was too pungent in some respects to be quoted. "He was the meanest man God ever pitch