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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



THE LIBERATOR

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Black and White.

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"They this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all moral institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST: and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 49.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1862.

WHOLE NO. 1661.

Refuge of Oppression.

GEN. MCLELLAN'S REMOVAL.

The face of the Republic is growing darker every day. Some evil genius seems to preside over its destinies in the Cabinet, and over its plans in the field, and irretrievable disaster is the rule of the day. It is legitimately to be thought, that neither Generals nor our Statesmen are competent to meet the demands of the difficulties by which we are surrounded.

A new misfortune has now occurred. The brave General who made the grand army of the North, and who is the idol of the soldiers, has suddenly disobeyed orders from the Commander-in-Chief, and in punishment for the act he has been disgraced.

What splendid fighting can now be expected from our noble, patriotic soldiers? What victories can now be looked for from their valor? The war follows a path that has been so often trodden from first to last. The unpunished Lincoln exposed them to numerous carnages by his interference.

PHILIPPS AND HIS "CELESTIALS."

Phillips has again spoken. Another blow has been given to the wedge dividing North from South. The South is not to be won by force, but by the sword. Not because of the man's power, but because of the man's will.

This, so far as we can learn, is the view taken by all or nearly all of the Republican leaders. Their fixed theory is that the millions of slaves are to be freed, and the South as free men, confined, perhaps, by Northern legislation within the Southern domain, not permitted to set foot, without punishment, upon the soil of any other country.

VERMONT ANTI-FUGITIVE SLAVE-LAW LEGISLATION.

Our readers will observe from the report of the debates in the House at Montpelier, last Saturday, which we give in another column, that the sectional, anti-national and disloyal spirit that has so often perverted and disgraced our Vermont Legislative action, so far from being subdued and worn out by the severe lessons which our present national calamities are teaching us, still lives and rules.

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ABSURDITY OF THE RADICAL PLAN FOR EMANCIPATION.

A Republican editor in New York tells us that all of the millions of slaves in the United States are to be emancipated, and that any scheme of transportation or sending them out of the country is absurd and impossible; that they must, in whatever relation to the whites and to the State and National Governments, remain in the South.

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SELECTIONS.

PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

Report by Mr. Shaw, of Burlington, for the Select Committee, favorably, chapter of Revision. "Of provisions relative to the State of Vermont."

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Booth case, Wisconsin. He thought the same principle was then decided unconstitutional. Mr. Shaw did not recollect the principle then decided. He thought it would be time enough to change the law when it was decided unconstitutional.

Mr. Reed said it was the general opinion of lawyers in this and neighboring States, that this law was unconstitutional. He had pride in the fact that Vermont. He did not wish to see her statute book disgraced by unconstitutional laws.

Mr. Henry favored the amendment. He thought the views of Charles Sumner upon these questions were correct. The President was going to do another very unconstitutional act on the first of January, and he hoped he would.

THE LESSON OF THE LATE ELECTIONS.

The following article, from the Missouri Democrat, says the Lawrence [Kansas] Republican, so forcibly expresses our own views, that we copy it entire. The glorious triumph of the Republican party, under its own name and organization in this State, is a striking confirmation of the correctness of the Democrat's article.

Wherever the Republicans, as such, and under their own proper name, have made the contest in the late elections, they have been victorious. They did in Massachusetts; they did in Michigan; they did in Iowa; and in each of these States their success was everything which could be desired.

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able number of Republicans, in possession of the valuable position of place and power, and enjoying every superiority which organization and political management could give it, entered upon the contest by ignoring the slavery issue. Another party, weak in point of leadership, without organization, without place or power, strong only in the strength of the principle it espoused, entered the field, grasped the banner which the other had abandoned, and fought the battle in view of the slavery issue alone.

Thus would it have been everywhere, had the same course been pursued. Thus will it be everywhere, where the same course is pursued. Let the lesson of the late elections be heeded. Let the friends of Emancipation—the lovers of a free government—the conscientious upholders of the policy of the Proclamation, return at once to the main issue.

LET THE TORIES EXULT!

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LIBERTY AND LIGHT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Continental Monthly, for December, contains an exceedingly instructive and valuable article on "The Union"—crowded with statistics in a comparison of Massachusetts with Maryland, (that is, of free labor with slave labor), from the luminous pen of Hon. Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, and concluding in the following eloquent strain:—

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systems amid the shadowy verges of receding space. His researches are comical upon the earth and the heavens, and all the elements minister to its progress. Sink to the lowest mine, or fathom the ocean's depth, or climb the loftiest mountains, or career through the heavens on silken wings, and it is there also. On—on—on; never—never—still center it moves forever and forever, with accelerated speed, toward the infinite eternal. Such are the triumphs of knowledge; and he who diffuses it, among our race, or discovers and disseminates new truths, advances man nearer to his Creator. He exalts the whole race; he elevates it into higher and still higher spheres.

It is science that marks the speed of sound and light and lightning, calculates the eclipses, catalogues the stars, maps the heavens, and follows, for centuries of the past and the future, the course of the sun, the moon, the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. With geology, it notes the earthquake upheaval of mountains, and with mineralogy, the laws of crystallization. With chemistry, it analyzes, decomposes, and compounds the elements. If, like Canute, it cannot arrest the tidal wave, it is subjecting it to laws and formulas. Taking the sunbeam for its pencil, it pictures man's own image, and the scenery of the earth and the heavens. Has science any limits or horizon? Can it ever penetrate the soul of man, and reveal the mystery of his existence and destiny? It is certainly exploring the facts of sociology, arranging and generalizing them, and deducing laws. It regards man in his social relations, in families, tribes and governments, savage, semi-barbarous, and civilized; beginning with the most simple, advancing to the chief, the patriarch, the king, the feudal military, the regal aristocratic, the pure democracy by popular assemblies, as in Athens and the school towns of Massachusetts, rising higher to the central representative, and to the highest, although necessarily more complex, the federal constitutional republic, carrying out the organic division, and the subdivision of legislative and administrative action—regarding the state, the national, and international policy, and, in the lapse of centuries, the confederacy, fusion, and unification of nations. The constitution of empires, with the legislative, judicial, and executive functions, furnish some of the elements of sociology. But we must take the history of man, past, present and future, note and arrange and generalize the facts, and thence deduce laws and formulas. Sociology, as a science, is not a mere abstract, although far less known than those pertaining to the physical sciences. The work is commenced, and progresses here and in Europe. But, at this moment, at least in administrative action, Massachusetts is ahead of all the world in the science of sociology.

Man, elevated by knowledge in the scale of being, controls the forces of nature with greater power and grander results, and accumulates wealth more rapidly. The educated free laborer of Massachusetts has seen the products of his toil, per capita, as compared with Maryland, and quintuples them (as the census shows) compared with South Carolina. One day's labor of a man in Massachusetts is equal to three in Maryland, and five in South Carolina. So, if we take our savage tribes, with their huts and tents, their rude agriculture, their furs, their few and simple household manufactures, their hunting and fishing, the average product of their annual labor, at four cents a day each, would be \$1600 a year, or more than a fourth of South Carolina (58.3). So that Massachusetts, in material progress, is farther in advance of South Carolina than that State is of the savage Indians. Thus, we have the successive steps and gradations of man: Massachusetts, with free labor and free schools, having reached the highest point of civilization; South Carolina, with slavery and ignorance, (except the few) in a semi-barbarous stage; and the lowest savage condition, called barbarous, but nearer to progress, than the lowest stage of the human race. South Carolina, then, that State to Massachusetts, is to the progress of wealth and science, to literature, to education, to schools, colleges, and universities, to books and libraries, to churches and religion, to the press, and therefore to free government; hostile to the poor, keeping them in want and ignorance; hostile to labor, reducing it to servitude, and decreasing two-thirds the value of its products; hostile to morals, repudiating among slaves the marital and parental condition, classifying them by law as chattels, darkening the immortal soul, and making it a crime to teach them labor and education, to read or write. 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care for. But the assumption that the negroes are to leave their homes and make a rash for the North, or for any other region, is absurd. There will be no general exodus of the colored race from their native soil. Every motive induces them to remain where they are. What was the effect of emancipation in the District of Columbia? Did the freedmen fly to seek refuge in the North, the moment they attained their liberty? Nothing of the kind. There was no exodus from the District. The slaves were treated as freemen. They were not sent to the mountains of their emancipation, and went to their accustomed service with gay hearts than usual. That was all. At the week's close, their masters gave them such wages as they thought proper; if the servant was satisfied, he remained another week; if not, he went where he could do better. So it will be in the revolted States. The change will be harmless as the falling dew. Even now it is being initiated. Already the slaves are becoming accustomed to receive wages, wherever the Union arms have made slavery insecure. There is a complete change in the manner in which the slaves are treated. To them, the past year has brought inestimable ameliorations. The whip and the chain and the stocks have been forgotten amidst the alarms of war. War upon slaveholders and not upon slavery? Impossible. We have been warring upon slavery. It is shaken to its foundations. The proclamation of President Lincoln is only a faint echo to the voice of destiny. We do not expect any immediate startling results of this edict. All we look for is that emancipation should keep pace with the advance of the army—American Bapts.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ANNUAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

COLONIZATION.
Applications have been made to me by many free Americans, of African descent, to favor their emigration with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. Other parties, at home and abroad, some from interested motives, others upon patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments, have suggested similar measures; while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish American Republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories. Under these circumstances, I have declined to move any such colony to any such State, without first obtaining the consent of the Government, with an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all their rights of freemen. And I have, at the same time, offered to the several States situated in the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favor the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equal, just and humane.

It is my duty as yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with the certainty of being received and adopted as citizens, and I regret to say that such persons contemplating colonization do not seem willing to emigrate to these countries as to some others, nor willing to act as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, the opinion among them in this respect is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable emigration to both those countries from the United States.

COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.

On the 22d day of September last, a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted. In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called compensated emancipation.

A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever.

It is of the first importance to consider and estimate this ever-enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to be the home of our national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more.

Its vast extent and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage in this age for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam and telegraphs in intelligence have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

In the inaugural address, I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion as a remedy for the differences between the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve, and which therefore I beg to repeat.

One section of our country believe slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believe it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the African slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps as any law ever was in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself.

The great body of the people abide by the legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This I think cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases, after the separation of the sections than before.

The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately received without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the others.

SEPARATION IMPOSSIBLE.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this—they cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully observed between aliens than laws can be among friends?

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide.

Trace through, from the East to the West, upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find that a little more than one-third of its length are rivers, and that the people of the country are so numerous, or soon to be so numerous, that the South are no more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all of us use cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance.

If, then, for a common object, this property is to be sacrificed, it is not just that it be done at a common charge? and if with less money or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it?

Let us consider it, then; let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if that measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done. If so, the country would save money, and in the war would be able to pay something as it is to pay nothing. But it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay any sum when we are able, than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires them at once. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation of course would be larger, but it would require really no cash nor bondsmen any faster than emancipation progresses. This might not be probably would not close before the end of the thirty-year period. At that time we should have paid the sum of one hundred millions of dollars, and not only so, but the increase of our population would be expected to continue for a long time after that period, as rapidly as before, because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same rate of increase which we have maintained on an average from our first national census in 1790, until that of 1860, we should in 1800 have a population of 108,208,415; and why may we not continue that ratio far beyond

their period. Our abundant room, our broad national homestead is our ample resource. Were our territories as limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away, but such is not our condition.

We have 2,965,000 square miles. Europe has 3,800,000, with a population averaging 13-13 persons to the square mile. Why may not our country receive a million more people? Why may not the soil be more fully cultivated by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If, then, we are at some time to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this may be, we can judge by the past and the present; as to when it will be, it ever depends much on whether we maintain the Union.

Several of our States are above the average European population of seventy-three and a third to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157, Rhode Island 133, New York and New Jersey each 80, also, two others, Ohio—Pennsylvania and Ohio, each 60, and not far below, the former having 63 and the latter 59. The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid ratio since passing that point as ever before, while no one of them is equal to some other points of our country in national capacity for sustaining a dense population.

Taking the nation in the aggregate, and we find its population and ratio of increase for the several decennial periods to be as follows: 1790, 3,929,827; 1800, 5,308,046—35.2 per cent. ratio of increase; 1810, 7,239,814—35.8 per cent. ratio of increase; 1820, 9,638,131—33.1 per cent. ratio of increase; 1830, 12,866,020—33.4 per cent. ratio of increase; 1840, 17,069,483—32.67 per cent. ratio of increase; 1850, 23,191,876—35.87 per cent. ratio of increase; 1860, 31,448,790—35.58 per cent. ratio of increase. This shows an average decennial increase of 3.460 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first to our last census taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these seven periods is either two per cent. below or two per cent. above the average. It is, therefore, reasonable, and consequently how reliable the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, it will give the following results: 1870, 42,233,341; 1880, 56,967,216; 1890, 76,677,872; 1900, 103,208,415; 1910, 138,918,526; 1920, 186,994,335; 1930, 251,680,914. These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe now is, at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory, at seventy-three and one-third persons to the square mile, being the capacity to contain one hundred million more people, and that, if we ourselves relinquish the claims of the soil, and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting wars springing from the only great element of discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge element of secession breeding lesser ones indefinitely would retard the population, civilization and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious. The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With this we should pay all the emancipation cost, together with all other debts, and would be free of all other debts without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per cent. per annum simple interest from the end of our revolutionary struggle till to-day, without paying anything on either principle or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now than each man owned upon it then; and this because our increase of men through the whole period has been greater than six per cent., and has run faster than the interest upon the debt.

Thus time alone releases a debtor nation, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt. The same would be true of a nation delaying the payment for what is justly due, but it shows the great importance of time in this connection, the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number a hundred millions, what by a different policy we should have to pay now when the number is but thirty-one millions. In a word, it shows that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than will be a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan, and then the latter will cost no blood, no precious life. It will be a saving of life and blood.

As to the second point, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them, doubtless, is the property sense, belong to loyal owners, and hence provision is made in this article for compensating such.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

In this view I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:—

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures or Conventions of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures or Conventions, to be valid as part or parts of the said Constitution, viz:

Article—Every State wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein at any time before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit: For every State bond of the United States, bearing interest, at the rate of— for each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by instalments or in one parcel at the completion of the abolition, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual or at one time within such State, and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid and afterward. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and ever introducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

Article—All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free, but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal, shall be compensated for them at the same rates as is provided for States adopting abolition of slavery, but in such a way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

Article—Congress may appropriate money and other property for colonizing free colored persons with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed, without slavery it could not continue. Among the friends of the Union, there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery and the African race among us. Some would abolish it suddenly and without compensation, some would abolish it gradually and with compensation, some would remove the freed people from us and some would retain them with us, and there are others who, in their own minds, because of these diversities, we waste much strength against each other. By mutual concessions we should harmonize and act together. This would be a compromise among the friends and not with the enemies of the Union.

The articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow, at least in several of the States.

As to the first article, the main points are: First, the emancipation; second, the length of time consummating, (thirty-seven years); and thirdly, the compensation.

The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery, but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangements, in fact from the necessity of any derangement, while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but they will not see the period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay and not to receive will object; yet, that the measure is both just and economical is certain.

The plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the thirty-seven years, or any intermediate time, or to degrees extending over the whole of the period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay and not to receive will object; yet, that the measure is both just and economical is certain.

The liberation of the slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired by descent or by purchase, and the responsibility is not theirs. It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are no more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all of us use cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance.

If, then, for a common object, this property is to be sacrificed, it is not just that it be done at a common charge? and if with less money or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it?

Let us consider it, then; let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if that measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done. If so, the country would save money, and in the war would be able to pay something as it is to pay nothing. But it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay any sum when we are able, than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires them at once. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation of course would be larger, but it would require really no cash nor bondsmen any faster than emancipation progresses. This might not be probably would not close before the end of the thirty-year period. At that time we should have paid the sum of one hundred millions of dollars, and not only so, but the increase of our population would be expected to continue for a long time after that period, as rapidly as before, because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same rate of increase which we have maintained on an average from our first national census in 1790, until that of 1860, we should in 1800 have a population of 108,208,415; and why may we not continue that ratio far beyond

for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would only be an advance part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both. This plan is recommended as a means not in exclusion of, but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the National authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan would, I am confident, secure peace more speedily than can be done by force alone, while it would cost less, considering the amount and manner of payment, and time of payment, and the amounts would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war if we rely solely upon force. It is most likely, very likely, that it would cost no blood at all.

The plan is proposed as a permanent Constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of first, two-thirds of Congress, and afterward, three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily include all the States of the Union, and their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their generally adopting emancipation, at no distant day, upon the new Constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever. I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the Chief Magistrate of the nation; nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I in the conduct of public affairs; yet I trust that, in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to display. If, I doubt not, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen the expenditures of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national property, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here, Congress and Executive, can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly or so speedily secure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not, can any of us imagine better, but can we all do better whatsoever is possible? Still the question recurs, can we do better? The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is impelled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Yellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We are ourselves to be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The breeze that blows through which we pass, will light up in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say that we are for the Union. The world will not forget that while we say this, we do not know how to save the Union. The world knows how to save it. We even here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or we shall surely lose, the best hope of the earth. Other means may succeed; this cannot fail. This is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

(Signed), ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
Washington, December 1, 1862.

FRATERNITY LECTURES.
The eighth lecture of the Fraternity course was given, Nov. 25th, by Hon. Owen Lovejoy of Illinois. His subject was, "The Death of Slavery the Salvation of the Republic." Among the gentlemen on the platform were Wendell Phillips, Senator Wilson, and Collector Goodrich. On being introduced by the President of the Fraternity, with the remark that the Post of that morning had declared it an insult to present him to a Boston audience, Mr. Lovejoy was received with prolonged applause.

He said that for many years he had maintained everywhere, in public and in private, that freedom is the inherent right of the slave, and that justice and humanity demand the concession of this right by the nation. Now, however, this action is required of us not by duty only, but by self-preservation. Emancipation is now essential to the safety and perpetuity of the Republic. It has become a national necessity. Various other slaveholding nations have found it a necessity. How can we avoid it? We must meet it. Freedom and Slavery, mortal foes, have now met face to face in a path so narrow that neither can evade the other, neither can turn, neither can retreat. The struggle is not for victory only, but for life. One of these two must perish.

The fundamental theory of our government is the equality of mankind. The practical denial of this equality is antagonistic to our government, injurious alike to its character and its action, and necessarily tending to its overthrow. Equality means that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty, and the fruits of their honest toil, and it is indispensable to the success of our system that this equality be maintained. We can neither afford to deny this principle and trample it under our feet, nor to let a part of the nation do so.

Putnam knew better than to content himself with killing, every year, a whelp or two of the wolf's litter. He knew that there was no safety for the flocks until the old wolf was destroyed, and he wisely took the risk of attacking her in her den. We must learn from this old her. Rebellion is Slavery's whelp. Let the old wolf die! (Tremendous applause.)

Of course, an attack upon this source, inspirer and main-spring of rebellion, will be resisted with the intensest vehemence by those proud, and chivalrous, and magnanimous Southerners who live by stealing babies. (Let the reporter for the Post make note of that.) Nevertheless, let us thoroughly extirpate slavery, root and branch.

Numerous facts have shown slaveholding to be utterly incompatible with the safety of this Republic. That atrocious system interferes injuriously with every one of the purposes specified in the Preamble to the U. S. Constitution. While that system lasts, we can neither "form a more perfect Union," nor "establish justice," nor "insure domestic tranquillity," nor "provide for the common defence," nor "promote the general welfare," nor "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." In every one of these particulars, slavery impairs or defeats the purpose for which our fathers founded this government. May God hold the President firm in his determination to wipe it out. (Loud applause.)

Is it necessary to make specifications to show the infamy of a system under which men earn their living by the sale of their own children? Among the articles of produce exported from Virginia, slaves amounted to \$12,000,000, while all other articles of export combined were only \$8,000,000.

Slavery interferes with the freedom of white as well as black, of North as well as South. We of the North have always been limited and hampered by it. I wish no stop to this combat until I, as an American citizen, can safely travel over every foot of American soil. (Applause.)

Slavery breaks down religious freedom. Of course it breaks down civil and political freedom.

Slavery interferes with the circulation of my frank, requiring each of its petty officials to stop and destroy the matter I send through the post-office to my constituents and friends. Shall I help reconstruct the system which does that? Never. I never have bent the knee to this infamous system, and I never will. Let the Post take note of that.

Slavery interferes with a free press. According to the confession of its own organ in Richmond, it "hates everything with the prefix free." Here Mr. Lovejoy made an affecting reference to the murder of his brother in Alton, Illinois, in 1837, blood shed in maintenance of the rights of a free press, the blood of the innocent shed for the guilty.

Our Declaration of Independence was framed to secure the rights of man as man. Our nation must continue to suffer till it is willing to recognize that truth. Those who deny it, and maintain that certain circumstances of color, race or condition, authorize the enslavement of the human being in whom they appear, must settle the matter with God, who made man, and with Christ, who redeemed him.

I am morally and physically superior to most of the pro-slavery men with whom I am acquainted. But that gives me no right to enslave them.

The latest born justification of slavery is that the race enslaved never invented anything. I never invented anything. The great majority of men of all races have never invented anything. What have the modern advocates of slavery invented? Only the pro-slavery theory; and even that they stole—from their father, the devil.

It has been made a question whether black men may even fight. Surely every one who is willing to fight for his liberty should be free. Loyal black men are at least good enough to kill disloyal white ones. I said in Congress that I was in favor of employing any muscle that would fight in this war, and I think so still. In this particular, not only does common sense point out our right policy, but precedent authorizes it. Negroes fought, and did good service, both in our revolutionary war and in the subsequent war with England.

Robert Smalls is one of the greatest heroes of this war. The government has done well to give him half the prize he captured. It ought to have given the other half to his brave companions. But the theory of slavery is that Robert Smalls' former master owns that prize money.

But, say they, slavery exists in the Union. So Satan was in heaven. But we do not hear that Jehovah had any constitutional scruples against his expulsion. It is worse than folly to say that the Constitution prevents us from saving the life of the nation.

We want the Union for the purpose for which our fathers originally launched it, the maintenance of human rights. Among these the right of enslavement does not exist. I deny the very existence of a right of property in man.

How many of our best and noblest men have already been sacrificed by this war. Ellsworth, Baker, Winthrop, Lyon, have died for their country. Is slavery sacred, more precious, better worth, than the lives of these men? Is it not costing? It cannot be. I am a radical, it is said, and I admit it. There was a radical 1800 years ago, who laid the axe at the root of the vices growing in his time. The conservatives crucified him for it. Look now at where he stands and where they stand. Search all the sepulchres, and you will find no monument raised to a conservative.

With these convictions, I hail with joy the Emancipation Proclamation of the President. I have trusted in Old Father Abraham more than some of my friends in this State. I trust in him still, and believe he will still bring us to victory through freedom. I believe it is written that the gates of hell (that is, the Border States) shall not prevail against the President. On the 23d of September came John the Baptist, preparing the way. On January 1st will come the Messiah of freedom.

After an eloquent apostrophe to the approaching Genius of Liberty, Mr. Owen closed by saying—Live the Republic, and let slavery perish.

At the close of the lecture, Mr. Phillips was loudly called for, and said a few words to the audience. He expressed his high gratification at Mr. Lovejoy's election, and said, in testimony to the faithfulness of that gentleman at home, that when he (Mr. Phillips)

spoke to Mr. Lovejoy's constituents, they thought him not radical enough! (Laughter.)

The first speech he ever made on an anti-slavery platform was when the news of Mr. Lovejoy's death at Alton came to Boston. He thanked God that he now saw the surviving brother laboring in the same work.

The audience next urgently demanded a speech from Mr. Wilson, who said—

I know not why you call upon me, unless that I may say ditto to Mr. Lovejoy, which I do with all my heart. If it be radicalism to insist on the utter extinction of slavery in America, then I am a radical. Slavery has caused the war. I wish to see the war ended by the utter extermination of slavery on this continent.

I go to Washington to-morrow full of faith and confidence in a prosperous future. No day for twelve months has seemed to me so hopeful as this.

The President will stand by the Proclamation. I am sure of it. He will save the country.

The ninth lecture of this course was delivered last Tuesday evening, by Gen. Richard Bateed, of New York. Its subject, to the disappointment of many who had hoped to hear him speak upon matters of absorbing interest at the present moment, was "Knowledge, its Sources and Uses." He represented the principal sources of knowledge to be travel, books, the pulpit, the press, and the school. In connection with the department last mentioned, he spoke strongly upon the direct obstructions to the diffusion of knowledge in the laws and customs of the States where slavery exists. There, he said, they not only forbid schools to the slave, but prevent him from reading the Bible, lest he should learn to say "Our Father." The combined meanness and wickedness of this policy were sufficient, he thought, to authorize the expression that slavery thrusts a dagger into the back of knowledge. Yet the slaveholders, having scored the wind, now have the assurance to complain that they are reaping the whirlwind.

After the lecture, an urgent call (in which the lecturer gracefully joined) being made for Wendell Phillips—

Mr. Phillips said—What can I add to a treatise so exhaustive as the lecturer has given to his subject? Perhaps one thing remains—the mention of the firm and characters of great men among our sources of knowledge. This day is the anniversary of the death of John Brown. How much has this nation learned, how much more might she learn—from that glorious deed at Harper's Ferry; from that gallows, sharply cut against the clear blue sky of Virginia!

The message of the President is a matter to-day in the thoughts of us all. He postpones freedom till the year 1900. That is a matter for freedom to settle, not for us. But we like the Proclamation better.

A fellow-voyager with me, at the time when "Graham bread" was under discussion, used to say—"White bread is good enough for me." Between the President's Proclamation and his message, I must say—"The Proclamation is good enough for me. (Loud applause.)"

The next lecture of the course is to be given by Mr. Phillips—c. x. w.

A MALIGNANT SPIRIT.

The editor of the *Courier* continues to mistake bitter personal defamation for fair criticism. Take the following specimen:—

"Mr. Owen Lovejoy delivered the eighth Fraternity lecture on Wednesday evening. From the reports we have of it, we judge it to have been very poor performance, made up of cheap commonplace and rapid generalities—the same old scraps and patches from the anti-slavery rag-bag which every big ear and pauper of that persuasion tried to pick up for intellectual nakedness within. We are not surprised at this, and indeed, we should have been surprised if it had been otherwise. We do not suppose that Mr. Lovejoy was selected to pronounce this lecture because of his genius or his learning, for his high thought or the grace of his style, but solely because of his strong anti-slavery principles, and a course as abusive of uttering them. He is one of the best persons in public life, outside of Massachusetts, who Republicanism is strong enough to be called Massachusetts' prof; and as a Queen Anne farthing, though worthless in itself, has a value because of its rarity, so this circumstance may have secured to Mr. Lovejoy a distinction which he otherwise could never have attained."

Our valuable contributor, "c. x. w." has given in another column, an excellent synopsis of the speech thus basely misrepresented by the *Courier's* speech that was highly appreciated and warmly applauded throughout, for its ability and patriotism, by the large audience of the season, whose intelligence and critical discernment will not be questioned by any but habitual libelers.

A QUESTION ANSWERED.

The *Courier* makes the following sneering personal allusion:—

"A correspondent of the London *Times*, writing from Richmond, under date of October 8th, asks:—Why does not Wendell Phillips take the field? Another than he is sure serving by dozens in the Southern ranks. There is Charles Sumner's musket! The Senate could do no better, in no wise Mr. Sumner's inferior in intellect; and it were a noble answer to the South, which sneers at non-dualism, if want of courage, to show how one of that class can comport himself upon the perilous edge of battle. The inquiry is clearly pertinent after these views of the heroism of our countrymen in the North, which has sent its cherished inmates to the bloody field—Why are not Phillips and Sumner there? Alas! they are the heroes of lecture-rooms; much more likely to comport themselves with assurance at the perilous edge of political quackery, when they flatter in safe seats, than to risk anything upon fields bloodstained through their infernal trumpeting of frothy fanaticism."

Is there any more obligation resting upon Mr. Sumner or Mr. Phillips to enlist for the subjugation of the rebels, than upon Mr. George Lunt, of the Boston *Courier*? And, if not, had he not better do the example, before making his flag at others, incomparably his superiors, and whose loyalty, unlike his own, is beyond doubt or suspicion?

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

December, contains the following articles:—

1. Waiting for the Children.
2. Poland Overground and Under-ground.
3. A Withered Flower.
4. Gas and Gas-Making.
5. A Man's Life.
6. The Stamp Act Congress.
7. Love by Nihilism.
8. Roll-Call.
9. Romola.
10. Adam Bede.
11. Orley Farm.
12. A Camp Meeting in Tennessee.
13. Mistress and Maid.
14. A Household Story.
15. Miss Malock.
16. A Search for a Place.
17. The Small House at Allington.
18. My First Semmon.
19. Monthly Record of Current Events.
20. Literary Notices.
21. Editor's Easy Chair.
22. Editor's Drawer.
23. Fashions for December.

The present number commences the twenty-eighth volume of this Magazine. It will retain its character as an Illustrated Family Magazine, containing papers upon History, Biography, Travel and Adventure, Fiction, Poetry, Popular Science, Arts, Manufacture, and Criticism, carefully selected from contributions furnished by the best writers in America and Europe.

In the January number will be commenced a series of papers, by Mr. J. Ross Browne, describing a Journey to Iceland, to be profusely illustrated with Sketches of Character, Incident, and Scenery, from Original Drawings by the Author.

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IT IS REPORTED THAT ANOTHER CRAFT SIMILAR TO THE ALABAMA HAS SAILED FROM LIVERPOOL TO CAPTURE AND DESTROY ANY VESSELS SAILING UNDER AN AMERICAN FLAG, AND ANOTHER, IT IS SAID, WOULD SOON FOLLOW.

The Liberator.
No Union with Slaveholders!
BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1862.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

We have given, in preceding columns, all that portion of the President's Message which relates to the question of emancipation and the war. Of course, it will be read with the deepest interest, and doubtless the greatest diversity of views will be elicited, through the press and in private intercourse, concerning it.

We shall express our own very briefly. In the first place, we maintain that, whatever may be his natural ability, the President is not competent to write his own official papers. It is evident that they are all from his pen; for they bear the same marks of crudeness, incongruity, feebleness, and lack of method. There is no parallel to them among the State documents to be found in any nation. The *Tribune* says, "It is easy to criticize his rhetoric"; but there is a fitness in all things, and where there is not the ability to write in a style required by the dignity of the position, good sense and a respect for the critical judgment of the world suggest the propriety of employing some one who is competent to put the wishes and opinions of the President into well expressed language.

But this is of minor importance. The paramount object of concern is what the President submits as his method of bringing the rebellion to a close. And here, while conceding to him all the "honesty" of purpose ever claimed for him, and also a sincere desire to see slavery some day or other banished from the country, we cannot refrain from expressing our astonishment at the folly and infatuation evinced in his plan for buying up Southern treason "in lots to suit purchasers," and ending the rebellion by a shrewd regard for pecuniary considerations! In the midst of the most tremendous convulsions, and the fiercest civil war that the world has ever seen, with all the colossal forces of the government in battle array, the President—instead of proclaiming the duty and necessity of carrying on the war with a vigor not yet shown, and suppressing the rebellion as indispensable before any new proposition can be entertained—goes into a homily about the evils and disadvantages of disunion, treats the war as a matter of dollars and cents, recommends to Congress to chaffer with the traitorous money-lenders for the purchase of all their slaves at the expiration of the present century, and expresses the hope that they will signify their approval of his scheme before the first of January, so that his Proclamation of September 22d may be rendered null and void, the Union restored, and all the old pro-slavery guarantees of the Constitution rigorously enforced! And this, too, in the face of the uniform and unanimous declarations of the tyrants of the South, that no consideration will they ever desert from slaveholding—that they regard slavery as paramount in importance and value to any other institution, and to be extended and perpetuated to the end of time as the normal condition of the laboring classes, black or white—that they have succeeded expressly to make slavery the cornerstone of their confederacy—and that they hold in measureless contempt and scorn the very idea of free institutions and a democratic form of government! (The President is demoted—or else a veritable Rip Van Winkle, who, for the last thirty years, has been oblivious to everything going on in the country!)

To enable Congress to bribe the traitors, and buy up the treason, the President gravely proposes an amendment to the Constitution, (which will require the approval of three-fourths of all the States,) giving that body the necessary authority, and the rebellion and slavery (the latter he admitting to be the sole cause of the former) till the introduction of the twentieth century to be metamorphosed into loyalty and freedom! This is something more deplorable than freedom of common sense: it closely borders upon hopeless lunacy. It will assuredly excite the astonishment of all Europe, the derision of the Southern traitors, and the pity of every true friend of freedom. It would, in our judgment, warrant the impeachment of the President by Congress as mentally incapable of holding the sacred trusts committed to him.

We need scarcely say, that we hold in abhorrence the renewed proposition of the President for the colonization of the colored population to distant shores. This is the same old plan, and their labor is of immense value, and indispensable to the South in the cultivation of cotton, rice and sugar, as free laborers; they have as good a right to remain here as the President has, and to propose their expatriation is both to insult and outrage them, and to stimulate popular prejudice to wreak its spite upon them.

Poetry.

THE SOLDIER'S MOTHER.

It is night—almost morning—the clock has struck three;
Who can tell where, this moment, my darling may be?

"THE TRUE SOUL KNOWS NO REST"

Tide of the river, welling up forever;
Wave of the sea, whose motion ceases never;

HOME.

Home in the wilderness; green trees are waving;
There stands the wigwam in Freedom's wild air;

THE WATER DRINKER'S SONG.

I drink with a goodly company—
With the sun that dips his beams;

MELANCHOLY.

Alone—alone—upon a mossy stone
Until her drooping feet forgotten be;

The Liberator.

MATTERS AND THINGS.

Had the nation observed the axiom, "The laborer
is worthy of his hire," and treated the colored man as
a human being, this judgment of a civil war would
never have been visited upon us; and nothing is more
natural than that every colored man's presence should
bring home to the thoughts of all—WAR, and its
cause, SLAVERY.

A young colored man of some weeks since at-
tacked and beaten by a gang of Irish ruffians, who
on Monday intercepted him near the Charlestown (Mass.)
Navy Yard. He had but one arm which he used to
defend himself, having lost the other while serving a gun
on board the Florida, in an engagement with the rebel
forces below New Orleans.

The outpourings of the Southern press over Walker's
pamphlet prompted the following toast, at an anni-
versary dinner in Boston, by Domingo Williams, a
well-known colored citizen:—

"May the slaveholders of the world be like the
whale in the ocean, with the thrasher at their back,
and the sword-fish at their belly, until they rightly un-
derstand the difference between freedom and slavery."

This was pronounced a "horrible toast" by a New
Orleans paper. Had Mr. Williams lived till this day,
he would have beheld its fulfillment; for between the
armies of the North, and the black soldiers of the
South, the monster must soon sink beneath the fiery
waves of a world's indignation.

One of the most impressive utterances of Mr. Sum-
ner, in his recent Faneuil Hall speech, was where he
alluded to "the slave as the humblest and grandest
figure of our times."

The People's Party in Massachusetts was heralded
by a caricature of Mr. Sumner conferring favors upon
a colored child, while a white one stood beside, whose
appeal for alms was neglected—the ridiculous plea-
sure put into its mouth—"I'm not to blame for being white,
sir."

That colored man at Faneuil Hall who shouted,
"God bless Charles Sumner," as Mr. S. mounted the
rostrum, and which gave an impetus to the cheering,
making the welkin ring, probably remembered Mr.
Sumner's exertions for the equal school rights of col-
ored children in Massachusetts. He remembered those
electric words in that same Faneuil Hall in 1850,

when denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law—"I was a
man before I was a Commissioner." He remem-
bered his entire brilliant record as a statesman and
philanthropist, and by that shout gave expression to
the heart emotions of every colored man, woman and
child throughout the country. Every colored voter ral-
lied at the polls on election day, pledged against every
candidate who was not unalterably in favor of return-
ing Mr. Sumner to the United States Senate. They
knew their calling, and rejoice to-day in having helped
to make his election sure.

It will be remembered that, during the summer, the
colored citizens of Cincinnati were subjected to a se-
ries of mobocratic outrages, perpetrated by adopted
Irishmen, and instigated by pro-slavery Democrats;
and then, soon afterward, were forcibly compelled in
a barbarous manner, by the city authorities, to defend
the city from threatened rebel assaults. Here is an
extract from a letter from one of the victimized:—

"September 28, 1862, was a day long to be remem-
bered by us of this city. The July riots were magni-
ficent in comparison with the indignities of that day.
The trouble arose from the temporary dependence
of the martial upon the civil authorities. The latter,
who had never been accustomed to exercise their har-
dness of us, improved the opportunity of their double power
to oppress us—first, by refusing to have us understand
that the call for assistance included us who had once
been indignantly rejected, and then by arresting us as
only rebels should be arrested, where we were, and
where we were collected in gangs to be driven like so many
beasts, whose very sight was loathsome. I had often
reasoned upon our utter helplessness as a class; but
the events of that time reduced to practice what had
been theory. I am sick, yet, of the realizing sense,
and believe nothing in the power of the authorities
will ever wipe out the effect of our treatment."

Another friend writes:—"I confess, I am not patriotic enough to fight or dig
trenches for the Union as it was. The Constitution
as it is, and the negroes as they are; and so, for the
time being, change my base of operations."

We apprehend that no one can successfully controvert
the argument put forth from this standpoint of
our friends, but we feel moved to place on record here
the opinion that colored Americans are inspired to
rally for the nation's defense, in this its trial-hour,
from the threefold motives of patriotism, magnanimity,
and hope predominant. All they ask is, fair play,
an equal award for services rendered, personal protection
against brutal outrages, and humane treatment.
We were disposed to trace the history of those men,
throughout the United States, who have by mobs and
otherwise persecuted the colored man and his friends,
the result would go far towards proselyting them to
the theory of a special providence; for signal retribu-
tion seems to have overtaken at least a majority of the
most prominent thus far. For instance—of the actors
in the mob at Alton, Illinois, where Lovejoy was mur-
dered, John Francis was afterwards sentenced to the
Missouri penitentiary a term of forty years for attempt
to murder; Dr. Jennings was killed at New Orleans in
a bowie-knife fight; Dr. Beals was killed by the Can-
nache Indians at Santa Fe; Dr. Hope is now under
arrest for treason. When the record is made up of the
promoters of pro-slavery mobs in New York, Phila-
delphia, Cincinnati, Boston, and elsewhere, it will be
seen that Nemesis has been faithful to her vocation.
They are all doomed men.
In concluding this summary of events, (which could
be greatly extended,) it seems to me appropriate, Mr.
Garrison, to append two stanzas from your poem on
Universal Emancipation, published in the first num-
ber of The Liberator, January 1, 1831. The first is
prophecy of events now at hand—the other, an ex-

REMARKABLE SPEECH BY A FRESH CON-
VERT TO THE REBELLION.

Gen. Pemberton, who was in the service of the
Union when the Rebellion broke out, but who
turned traitor, went into the rebel army, and has
superadded Van Dorn, recently made a speech, of
which the following is a copy. His reference to
Lovell, formerly of New York, as a street scavenger,
is pungent:—

"Soldiers!—In assuming the command of so brave
and intelligent an army as that which President
Davis has assigned me, I desire at once to win your
confidence by frankly declaring that I am a North-
ern man by birth; but I have married, raised chil-
dren, and own negroes in the South, and, as such,
having no common sense to see my daughters eating at
the same table, or intermarrying with the black
race, as the Northern teachers of equality would
have them. I take command of you as a soldier,
who will not fear to lead where any brave man can
follow. I am no street scavenger—no Gen. Lovell.
(Cheers.) If any soldier in this command is ag-
grieved by any act of his superior officer, he must
have no hesitation in applying to me personally for
redress. The doors of my headquarters shall never
be closed against the poorest and humblest soldier
in my command."

"In regard to the question of interference by
Europe, we want no interference in our private
quarrel. (Great applause.) We must settle the
question ourselves, or fail entirely. The moment
England interferes, she will find us a united people,
and she will have to meet with the armies of the
South as well as of the North. (Cheers, and cries of
'Yes, yes, yes,' from every quarter. 'No interference.
Let us settle it between us.' I am glad to
see you thus united on this question; and with a
reliance on ourselves, and a firm trust in the God of
Battles, in a few days your General will again find
your banners to the breeze, and march forward to
retrieve the recent disasters we have suffered in
this Department.")

THE REBEL WOMEN OF THE SOUTH.

To persons acquainted with the South, the fact of
its being a great shanty in its assumptions of culture,
generosity, elegance and chivalry, has long been
familiar. Still, there are many of our officers who
had no knowledge of Secession until they had "in-
vaded its sacred soil"; and it is amusing to hear the
surprise they express at what they have seen. So
much had they been imposed upon by the profes-
sions of Southern people and the Southern press,
that they had expected to find beautiful and intel-
ligent women, and a cultivated and hospitable
people. They were disappointed. They found a
broad and sunny, felds, charming and hospitable
towns, this side of Mason and Dixon's line.

They have looked in vain for the seductive groves,
the murmuring fountains, the fascinating divinities
in crinoline, they had conjured up to their excited
fancy. But in their stead, they have found dreary
forests, stagnant pools, and homely, sauff-dipping
females, whose no poet's imagination could idealize
into loveliness, or soften into grace.

Last Sunday, I attended three of the churches in
La Grange—the Methodist, Presbyterian and Episco-
palian—on a religious visit. One of the best
feminine societies of the town, of the latter denom-
ination, the number I observed was privately en-
gaged in that peculiarly Southern avocation of
"dipping," which prevails hereabout to a most
disgusting extent.

Indeed, the custom is almost universal. The poor
whites and the rich whites vie with each other in
this aesthetic habit, and have suffered greatly and
complained bitterly of the lack of snuff in the South
since the breaking out of the war. Poor creatures,
how are they to be pitied!

Nearly all of the women I have met in Tennes-
see—the public houses, in the streets, and in
church—are unmistakable evidences of their attach-
ment to this great social evil. Some of them ex-
portate like a tobacco-chewing sailor, and nauseate
the shocked sense that beholds this degradation.

What hope can there be of Southern beauty and
Southern refinement, when the delicately-reared
women of Secession persist in a habit which must
disgust every man of feeling, deal a death-blow to
the sensibility of a kindred sympathy, and strain
the gallantry that every gentleman entertains for
a cultivated woman?

In this part of Tennessee, the most rabid of the
Secessionists are men originally from the North, not
a few of whom are in the "Confederate" army,
outdoing the Rebels in their active prosecution of
the Rebellion, and earning for themselves the unenvi-
able title of the most traitorous of the traitors.
One of these was captured the other day, at Lamar.
His name is Cloud. He holds a Captain's commis-
sion in the Southern army, and was formerly a
resident of the small village in northern Vermont.

He went to Mississippi seven or eight years
since, in the capacity of a school-teacher, and soon
captivated the affections of a young woman who
possessed a very bad education and a number of
negroes, (by the way, the Yankees seem to be par-
ticular favorites with the Southern women,) and
married her plantation, including her among the
incumbances.

At an early day he assumed the attitude of a
violent and uncompromising Disunionist, and was
one of the first persons in his adopted State to raise
a company of cavalry for the war. Since then he
has obtained an extended reputation for skill, energy
and daring—has fought two duels, and led a number
of gallant charges, losing in one of them two-thirds
of all his men.

The Southerners laud him to the skies, and do not
hesitate to pronounce him as brave a fellow as ever
drew a saber. It is singular that Northern men,
when they do go South, and the Southerners in all
their own boastful achievements—drinking more,
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