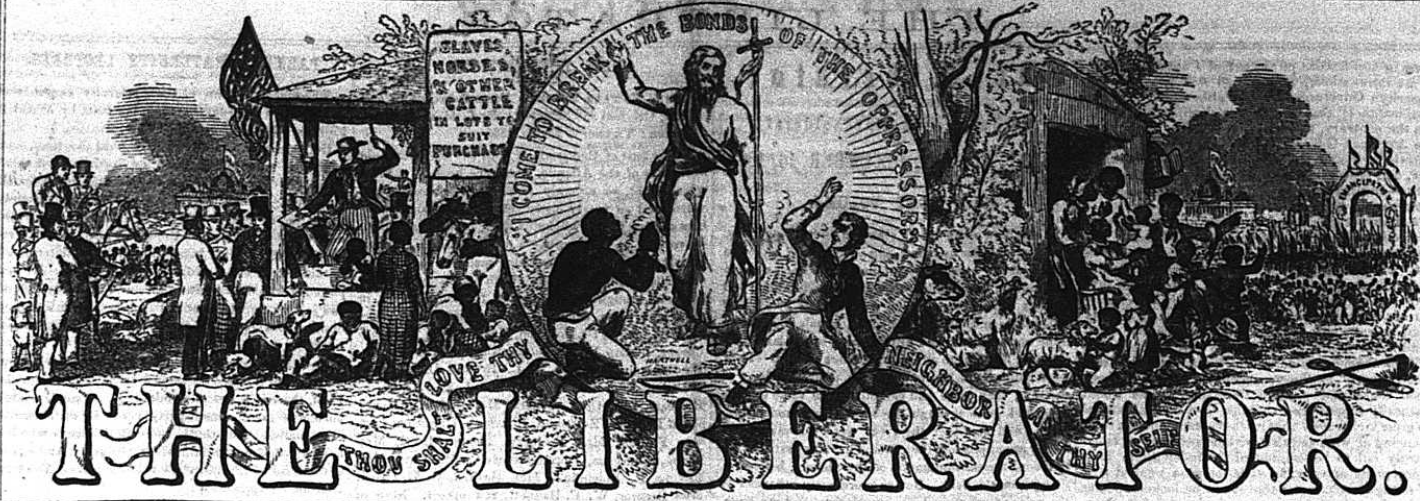


TERMS—Three dollars per annum, in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for the month, if payment is made in advance.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, who are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz.—W. H. PHILLIPS, EDWARD QUAY, ESTER JACOBSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.



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

Selections.

OPINION OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL AS TO THE PAY OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, July 14, 1864.

To the President—Sir—By your communication of the 24th ultimo, you require my opinion in writing as to what amount of pay, bounty and clothing are allowed by law to persons of color who were first enlisted and mustered into the military service of the United States between the month of December, 1862, and the 16th of June, 1864.

I suppose that whatever doubt or difficulty may exist with regard to the amount of pay and allowances to which the soldiers to whom you refer are entitled, has mainly its origin in the several provisions of the act of July 17, 1862, chap. 201, (12 Stat. 293) relating to the employment and enrollment of persons of African descent in the service of the United States.

I do not find, indeed, in the act, any authority to admit persons of African descent into the service as soldiers. It will be observed that the said 12th section enumerates two kinds of employment for which persons are authorized to be enrolled, namely, constructing intrenchments, and performing camp service. The section then contains a more general authority—authority to receive such persons into the service for the purpose of performing "any other military or naval service for which they may be found competent."

It is not necessary to repeat the provisions of these acts of Congress that provide for the pay, bounty and clothing to be allowed to soldiers in the volunteer military service of the United States. It is enough to say that under the statutes relative to these subjects, and in force during the period of time mentioned in your communication, all volunteers, competent and qualified to be members of the national forces, are entitled respectively to receive like amounts of pay, bounty, and clothing from the Government.

In view, therefore, of the foregoing considerations, I give it to you unhesitatingly as my opinion, that the same pay, bounty, and clothing are allowed by law to the persons of color referred to in your communication, and who were enlisted and mustered into the military service of the United States between the month of December, 1862, and the 16th of June, 1864, as are by the laws existing at the time of the enlistments of said persons, authorized and provided for, and allowed to, other soldiers in the volunteer forces of the United States of like arms of the service.

I have the honor to be, Very respectfully, your obedient servant, EDWARD BATES, Attorney-General.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

St. Louis, November 15, 1864.

To the Editor of the Cosmos: Sometime since, an invitation was extended to me by the citizens of St. Charles to address them on political topics. My health, much broken down since last winter, did not then permit me to comply, but a hope was entertained of ability to do so before returning to Washington. In this it seems I am also to be disappointed.

Still, I would do an injustice to my own feelings and to the warm support so zealously extended to me in the long and arduous struggles of Missouri, by those who made this call, if I were to omit a recognition of their courtesy, and also a hearty congratulation upon the noble affirmation radical principles have received in their midst at the late election. Permit me to do so through the columns of the Cosmos—a paper that has ever so fearlessly advocated the advance positions of radical freedom.

The returns, which are as yet incomplete, nevertheless make it sure that Missouri, by an overwhelming majority, has declared in favor of our cause. Governor, State officers, the Legislature, a Convention, all alike have declared in favor of the franchise to be enforced as such in any reorganization. A more absolute, unqualified decree was never rendered by any community upon any matter of great public concern, than has been delivered by the citizens of this State upon the fundamental basis that should characterize the reorganizing of our Constitution.

Let all friends of radical freedom be vigilant, then, in this hour of triumph, to see that full expression is given, by those appointed to the task, to the will of the people that declared. It is the Past, with its slavery, its inhumanity, its retardation, its sterility, its substitution of classes and castes, and masteries of that simple faith of the equality of all men before the law, which is to be obliterated. A future is to be inaugurated that shall be blessed by none of the disgraces of the past. Passions taking the shape of oppressive enactments against the weaker members of society—none of the old prejudices of the slave code founded on color, done up into new idols to be worshipped by the ignorant, and blashed for by the good and brave. Let us have a charter of liberties that will not require to be amended for whenever cited, that will carry on its face guarantees of freedom to all—freedom in its ultimate as well as its surface showings—freedom that is to be a reality and an even-handed justice, not a mockery and a sham.

Without doubt, assuming the abolition of slavery

as settled, the concomitant question of franchise will claim all the faith and the firmness of the friends of radical freedom for its right settlement. That violent prejudices will have to be encountered, and all the weary round of two-facedness and demagoguery and subterfuge confronted, is rendered certain by the attitudes of the conflict of the past three years in Missouri. But that any people forming a new constitution of their liberties, after such experience as ours, should willingly leave to breed other conflicts unjust discriminations against large portions of their population, in the shape of a refusal of any participation in government, is scarcely to be credited. To those who are emancipated, access to the franchise must be opened up, otherwise the boasted freedom conceded to them is a cheat, and their status for the future becomes one of abjectness or else active hostility. Temporary and transitory stages of qualification may be prescribed, if needful—service in the armies is already qualifying thousands for the duties of citizenship; but the primary condition of a right of suffrage must be incorporated into its estate, if the honor and safety and prosperity of this commonwealth for all time are to be consulted.

The same logic that obtains in the absorption of any other or larger class of population into the body politic also controls with respect to those now in a class. Shall we abolish the name, but retain the argument? The most patent evils of slavery flow from caste distinctions reacting upon society. Shall we make a merit of destroying the institution, yet insist on perpetuating the distinctions that breed social disease and death? There surely are considerations of State, that should weigh decisively with a community just emerging from the fierce fires of an unparalleled strife engendered by like prejudices and errors, and should cause it to close the path of safety. But before all such, and higher than any question of profit or peace, is the knowledge that it is right and conforms to God's appointment, whereby all men are created free and equal.

The dangers and short-comings which have attended the exercise of the franchise in the past, and prevented the attainment of that perfect reflection of popular will which is the ideal of Democratic government, have arisen from two or three sources, such as fraud, impairing the purity of the ballot-box, exercise of suffrage as identified with slavery rather than freedom; the casting of moral contradictions fatal to any such public utterance, and the attempts to impose restrictions and limitation upon the privilege of voting that were not founded in any justice; thus seeking to make that the property of the few which is the common right of the many. In addition to this may also be cited the unwelcome provisions which have sought to render difficult, if not impossible, the carrying out of the popular will in matters of constitutional reform. Such obstacles invite harsh and revolutionary modes of redress. They exasperate passion and intensify political crises. They are mainly made to sow distrust and wrong-ful assumptions against the corrections of a bad virtue. And in all their operation they both discredit and embarrass any free or fair exercise of the elective franchise. If, therefore, we are to preserve universal suffrage as the corner-stone of our political structure, any reconstruction should carefully guard against those defects which have so shaken the old edifice as to make its habitation unsafe.

Without undertaking to amplify the positions thus presented, it may be sufficient to state in brief the requirements at the hands of our New Convention on this head. They are:

- 1. Protection of the purity of elections by a registration that shall identify the person and the ballot.
2. Elimination of slavery from the State, not only in its present constitutional guaranty, but in all those recognitions which go to its support, and enable it more or less directly to control the suffrage.
3. Opening up the franchise to the attainment of all save the criminal—among whom must primarily be included those whose sympathies have led them to form a rebellion.
4. Facilitating the modes whereby popular expression may accomplish constitutional reform as its only complete assurance of future progress.

It is upon such points that the friends of radical freedom should be consistent with those representing them, and united in co-operation with each other. They involve the outlines of a reform that must take place in Missouri sooner or later, and those who are disposed to shirk such issues now would do well to reflect whether they are not likely to be agitated with increasing violence if deferred to a time when conservatism shall grow insolent in the arms of peace.

Trusting that our noble State may yet be the first to pioneer the way of deliverance from former afflictions, and that in establishing here freedom as the watchword of our new life, we may be paralyzed with no halting performance, but declare and set forth with undaunted faith the equality of all men before the law, I remain, very truly yours, B. GRATZ BROWN.

LORD RUSSELL ON AMERICA.

Lord Russell has been honored by the scarlet-gowned lads of Aberdeen University, rather for his political than his literary reputation; for, though he has written a great deal—plays, poetry, history, biography, essays, even a novel—he has not been a successful man of letters. His installation address, which was elaborate and long, was a political discourse, into which he dragged the inevitable subject of the war now raging in this country. As Foreign Minister of England, his words have weight, and he is too prudent to utter them without grave consideration beforehand. It is well-known, because he rather ostentatiously proclaimed it, that his sympathies as an individual are strongly with the South; while the policy of the Cabinet of which he is a leading member is to observe neutrality. At Aberdeen he touched upon one part of our question in language which is worthy of a man who claims to act, in public life, as successor to Charles James Fox, who is entitled to credit, amid a life-time of political failures, for the legislative abolition of the Slave Trade.

It is the interest of the master to keep them well fed, happy, and contented. He is quite sure that these animals have no conspiracy against him; but with regard to slaves—to the human being—every slave-master knows that the Almighty has planted a spark of freedom in the breast of every man, and he always suspects, and always fears, that the day may come when the slaves may conspire together against his interest and against his person. [Applause.] For this reason, then, among many others, we must all wish that among future benefits that are to be conferred upon mankind, that kind of African slavery will reach its termination.

These sentences are not merely humanitarian—they also are eminently statesmanlike, for they declare that, happen what may, African slavery—the bondage, in this country, of colored persons—must be considered as annihilated. Nothing can restore it. The relation of owner and slave have terminated. And, if nothing else come of the ordeal of blood and fire through which we still pass, this truth, decidedly enunciated by the Foreign Minister of England, is a result worth all that has been paid for it.—Philadelphia Press.

THE ENQUIRER AND HON. GEORGE THOMPSON.

It is well known that a sprinkling of holy-water will resolve any of the seductive shapes, in which Satan often disguises himself to deceive man and woman, and will expose him in his proper person, horns, hoof, tail and sulphurous perfume, and put him to flight, howling. A poetical version of an ancient legend, which must be true, for it was written by a serious clergyman of the Church of England, relates how the Evil One once tempted the Lay Abbot of the Abbey of St. Nicholas, by claiming, in the guise of a beautiful, distressed, noble maid, protection from a cruel parent who would force her to marry; and how the Abbot, touched by her distress and her beauty, promised her protection, and ordered a sumptuous dinner; and how, as his heart warmed with the cheer:

"He grew less pious and more polite."

And how— "She pledged him once, and she pledged him twice, And she drank as fast as she could drink. And he pressed her hand 'neath the table thrice, And he winked as Abbot ought not to wink."

But St. Nicholas, who saw the goings on and the perilous condition of his Abbot, came to the rescue in the guise of a Palmer, dusty and rusty with travel from Holy Land, who gave a thundering knock at the Refectory door, entered, and after expressing his astonishment at the sight, he pulled a flask from beneath his gown, drew the cork with his teeth, and making over it the sacred sign, he dashed the contents of holy-water over the beautiful maid. The effect we give in the words of the legend:

O! then did she shriek, and squeak, and shriek, With a wail, unearthly scream; And she cried, and hissed, and produced such a din, They were all half-choked by the steam.

Her dove-like eyes turned to coals of fire, And her beautiful nose to a horrible snout, Her hands to paws, with nasty great claws, And her bosom went in and her tail came out.

On her chin there appeared a long Nanny goat's beard, And her teeth and her teeth no man goat's teeth; And her horns and her horns gave infallible proofs, 'Twas a frightful fiend from the nethermost hell.

We are reminded of this metamorphosis by the Enquirer's sudden restoration to its normal condition by the presence of Hon. George Thompson in this city. Since the rebellion broke out, the Enquirer in the midst of the disguise of an advocate of liberty of speech and of the press. It denied that any circumstances of public peril could justify restraint upon speech or press, and it declared that liberty would be unendurable, and the Government fit to be revolutionized, if any restrictions were placed on the agitation of opinions.

But Mr. Thompson appears in our city, and his presence operates on the Enquirer, like the bottle of holy water on the other fiend, resolving it instantaneously to its natural shape, in which it exulted in the destruction of anti-slavery presses, hissed on mobs to brutal violence against anti-slavery citizens, and in which its office was the headquarters of the rioters who assaulted Wendell Phillips and his audience at the Opera House, with missiles both visible and deadly. It declares that the mobs who sought Mr. Thompson's life, when he visited this country, were "a cool and rational people, whose wholesome instincts revolted at the poison with which he was charged," and that in the violence offered him "he received from the people what he deserved," and more than insinuates—it insinuates—that a "cordial reception" should be given him now, that will visit upon him the same responsibility for this Democratic rebellion and all its bloodshed.

It is better so. The normal shape of the other Democrat was not pleasing as his guise of a beautiful maid, but it was better for the Abbot to keep the company he kept. So it is better to have the Enquirer in its natural ugly snout, nasty claws, hoof, tail and unwholesome odor, than in its snaky disguise of a defender of freedom of speech—a thing that a Democrat fears and hates as his forehead fairy does his water.

We rather admire that the Enquirer should so far forget the altered condition of things in this city as openly to attempt to excite violence against any party to our Government. Its venom has temporarily blinded it to the fact that the time has gone by when a pro-slavery mob can reduce this city to terror; and that if a fair of a friend to the Government were harmed by violence of the Enquirer's instigation, it would be held accountable for it.

The head and front of Mr. Thompson's original offence is, that he publicly delivered arguments against man's enslaving his fellow-man. The Enquirer has lately argued that nothing has a right to exist that cannot stand the utmost liberty of speech. At the worst, Mr. Thompson has not spoken worse of slavery than Jefferson did, the father of the Democratic party. Yet the Enquirer would have him mobbed. Is not this Democratic patriarchy? The Enquirer was a "freedom-shrieker" against the extension of slavery into Kansas. This carried the whole principle of abolitionism, and this territorial defeat was what gave organic form to the Southern secessionist elements. Yet it instigates violence against Mr. Thompson for holding the same principle. Is not this Democratic suicide?

The Enquirer is too much tainted with Abolitionism in the blood to feel this hatred to Mr. Thompson for his anti-slavery labors; for long after his first visit to this country, the Enquirer's party declared it the duty of the Ohio Democracy to mitigate and finally eradicate the evil of slavery. But it is virulent because Mr. Thompson has been in England the fast friend of the American Republic, and has devoted his labors to resisting the bias of English opinion against our Government. Hence the Enquirer feels for him the same hatred that it has manifested toward every man, American or foreign, evil or military,

THE DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

Taking the recent returns, and the result so unexpected by many of our people in the interior, of a heavy vote for Mr. Lincoln, we must look matters fairly in the face, and consider them practically. What is our case and the pressure upon us? In the central parts—the bluegrass regions and the Green river country—the heaviest slaveholding portions of the State their condition is deplorable. Our system of labor is utterly demoralized; no family know when they rise in the morning, whether they have a servant to prepare breakfast for them or not. But this is by no means the worst, for a family of any industry may contrive to make their own breakfast, and dinner too, but many of our farmers are almost or quite deprived of their laborers. Some have lost only one or two hands, but some have lost a fourth or a half, and some all of their servants. The important considerations here suggest themselves, how are the farms of such men to be cultivated next season, and if not cultivated, where are our supplies of food to come from? These are practical questions for Kentucky planters and farmers to meet, and they have nothing to do with the result of the rushing tide of uncontrollable events in the prosecution of the war to put down the rebellion. Again, many of the farmers have had the wives and small children of their men left on their hands, a present and prospective burden; and what adds to the perplexity of their position, the active men of every age, and many of the younger and middle-aged women, have been going away, and will continue to go, until, apparently, the institution of slavery will remove itself, and with it will fall loss nearly all our labor. The Government wants the active black men for soldiers; the policy of their enlistment has become settled by legal enactment, and by the same power it is decided that the wives and children of the colored soldiers obtain with the enlisted negro the status of freedom. We are dealing with facts, and not with an argument whether such a policy was wise or politic to ward a loyal State like Kentucky; we want a prompt disposition of the question. It is of all-absorbing interest in our State. We have numerous private letters and communications intended for publication, all asking if something can not be done to prevent these slow catastrophes. They all say they cannot wait the slow processes suggested by our correspondent "D," or by "our progress," they argue that the patient will die before the doctors have their remedies ready. Emancipation, it is urged, may be effected by the Legislature, at their meeting in January, by making compensation; for, as our Constitution forbids the Legislature to emancipate without compensation, the necessary implication is that they may do it with compensation. We have no idea, however, that the Legislature will do this, even at the present nominal value of the slave. When President Lincoln proposed compensation, Congress did not vote the supplies necessary for the compensation, and there is hardly a possibility that it will be offered again. The progress of the war will take our slaves away without compensation, except the bounty for able-bodied soldiers.

The question now is, how shall we save labor, but how shall we raise our bread, and bake it after we have raised it. Where shall we get the labor? We have now neither slavery nor freedom; we have none of the benefits of either system of labor, but are suffering the disadvantages of both, in the midst of the demoralization and anarchy that prevail around us. Shall we let events take their course, and without effort have our bread and meat laid wherever our unguided hand may bring up? Is this the part of wisdom, of statesmanship, or, better than either, of common sense? No one can assert it. We say again, let us meet this question practically; lay aside prejudices, and look to our self-interests. If we will not emancipate at once by legislative act accompanied with compensation, which, as we have shown before, is perfectly constitutional, then there is nothing left, so far as we can at present, to prevent our laborers slowly, yet wholly leaving the State, but a solemn expression of the Legislature of Kentucky at its meeting this winter, that the rebellion has essentially already so demoralized slavery in this State that its restoration is beyond hope, and that we must acquiesce in its termination. This would be but the expression of a matter of fact; it makes no difference whom we blame or whom we do not blame, or whether we are pro-slavery or anti-slavery. This is a concrete, practical question: "to be or not to be." Shall we let things drift along at their own will, or shall we interpose our active efforts to guide results?

It may be objected that we will turn all the negroes loose upon us; but the simple reply to that is, that they are already turned loose, and they will be turned looser still if turning is not done, and that promptly. We will have the old and the blind, the lame and the halt, the mother and her brood to feed and to clothe, without anybody to work to maintain them. This is what we can prevent; and the only way that suggests itself to us is by legislative recommendation and general consent formally, as far as we can, to terminate what is already virtually at an end, and hopelessly beyond restoration. Of course such advice, recommendation, and consent would bind no one who dissented. If any are of different judgment, and can retain their slaves by other means, by all means let them do it as long as they can. We are for abiding by the Constitution, both Federal and State, to the letter. They are the only palladiums of our safety. Lay them aside or evade them, and we are at sea—we are in rebellion. Let us try to keep matters square within constitutional bounds. Let us have no Sovereignty Conventions, no secession, no nullification, no non-resistance, no pound of flesh, by the bond, though it take "the Kentucky, who have no objections to the people of these questions. They can, if they wish wisely, control affairs to their own best interests, or they can plunge our State into social as well as political difficulties; they can, by moderate consent, bring the State safely through the "new order of things" which is upon us, and cannot be escaped or evaded. We ask a calm, patient, and searching consideration of these suggestions. We have given them much thought, and their importance demands that the intellect and experience of our State should take them under deliberation.—Louisville Journal, Nov. 21.

The people of the Northwest propose to hold another great Sanitary Fair at Chicago, to open on the 29th of February, and close on the 4th of March, 1865.

THE OBJECT OF THE REBEL WAR.

The present civil war in the United States is the last frantic attempt of a dying feudal aristocracy to save itself from inevitable dissolution. The election of Mr. Lincoln as president of the United States, in 1860, by the vote of every Free State, was the announcement to the world that the people of the United States had finally and decisively conquered the feudal aristocracy of the republic, after a civil contest of eighty years. With no weapons but those placed in their hands by the Constitution of the United States, the freemen of the republic had practically put this great slave aristocracy under their feet forever. That portion of the Union which was controlled by the will of the whole people had become so decidedly superior in every attribute of power and civilization, that the slave aristocracy despaired of further peaceful resistance to the march of liberty through the land. Like every other aristocracy that has lived, it drew the sword on the people, either to subdue the whole country, or carry off a portion of it, to be governed in the interests of an oligarchy.

A great people or a great people was not plunged into civil war by unfrivolous talking; but by the legislative of the Northern people, or by the accidental murder of Abraham Lincoln as president. Nations do not go to war for hard words or trifling acts of unfrivolous or accidental political changes; although these may be the ostensible causes of war—the sparks that finally explode the magazine. There was a real cause for this rebellion—the peaceful, constitutional triumph of the people over the aristocracy of the republic, after a struggle of eighty years. If ever a great oligarchy had good reason to fight, it was the Slave Power, in 1860. It found itself defeated, and condemned to a secondary position in the republic, with the assurance that its death was only a question of time. It is always a good cause of war to an aristocracy that its power is bridged; for an aristocracy cares only for itself, and honestly regards its own supremacy as the chief interest on earth. This Slave Power has only done what every such power has done since the foundation of the world. It has drawn the sword against the inevitable progress of mankind, and will be conquered by mankind. It is waging this terrible war, not against Northern Abolitionists, or the present Administration, but against the United States, as a whole, and against the progress of the realities of the progress of free society in the world, which have startled us all; but with which a class of men were so well acquainted as Mr. Jefferson Davis and his associates in rebellion.

There has always been a conflict in our country between this old slave aristocracy and the people. The first great victory of the people was in the war of the Revolution. This war was inaugurated and forced upon the country by the masses of the people of the New England and Middle States. The aristocracy of the South, with their associates in the North, resisted the movement to separate the people from the crown of G. Britain, and to extend to the realities of the progress of free society in the world, which have startled us all; but with which a class of men were so well acquainted as Mr. Jefferson Davis and his associates in rebellion.

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THIRTY-FIRST NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was organized for the immediate and total abolition of slavery in the United States. Its labors have been unremittingly prosecuted, without compromise and without intermission, for a period of thirty years, through the printing and circulating of an official weekly publication, the support of an official weekly organ, and other instrumentalities; and to these have been largely due, primarily, that cheering and encouraging change in public sentiment, in opposition to slavery, and in support of free institutions, which has taken place in all the loyal States, and which enables the Government to maintain successfully its position in the conflict with the Southern Slaveholders.

ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Deliberate and reciprocal. Whether it be written or spoken, it is a power which claims absolute respect. The Federal Government has always claimed the right of the Africans on its soil. It put its claim into effect in 1812, when it drafted and armed slaves against English invasion. It therefore has had unquestionable responsibility for any thing inhuman in the legal status of the African race.

THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH THEY SANCTION.

Partial guilt for Southern slavery always rested on the North. The whole guilt will be hers for whatever of serfdom or other unjust degradation she shall permit in conquered districts. Where, as in Turkey, one race carries arms, and another is disarmed, no good intentions of the supreme Government can hinder irresponsible tyranny and national disintegration. Unless the Federal Government can keep in its own hands full control over arms, it is vital to the future of the Union to maintain all hazards the right of colored men to carry them.

GEN. BANKS'S CIVIL POLICY IN LOUISIANA.

On the evening of the 31st of October last, Major Gen. Banks delivered an address in Boston, before the Young Men's Christian Commission, upon the organization of the Freedmen of Louisiana, and their condition. Subsequently, Gen. Banks received the following letter of thanks from the Hon. Gerrit Smith, which speaks for itself:

THE BATTLE OF HONEY HILL.

The N. Y. Herald has an account of the battle at Honey Hill, in Savannah on the 30th ult., from which we take the following: The Thirty-second United States colored troops were ordered to charge the rebel fort as soon as we had got in position at the head of the road. They attempted, but got stuck in the marsh which they found impassable at the point of their assault; and a gallant effort to storm the fort by means of a breastwork, which they were forced to retire.

UNION MOVEMENT IN KENTUCKY.

A meeting of prominent Union men of the Sixth Congressional district of Kentucky was held at Covington on the 30th day of November last, W. W. Trimb of Harrison county, presiding, and A. L. Burke, of Pendleton, acting as secretary. Seven counties were represented.

THE TRIBUNE FOR 1866.

The Military and Naval successes of 1864, with the auspicious result of our Presidential contest, have lifted a heavy weight from the breasts of the Loyal Millions of our countrymen. It is now felt, even by those who have been distrustful and faint-hearted, that the Union is to emerge triumphant from the deadly strife wherein she was so wickedly precipitated by her assailants, and that Slavery, her relentless foe, is to encounter the fate of Haman.

