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THE LIBERATOR.

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

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal 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. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

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Refuge of Oppression.

A PURE GOSPEL.

We are not surprised (says the Louisville *True Presbyterian*) at seeing in some of our exchanges from Ohio, that the Christian people there are calling for ministers who will preach the gospel, and not the *blasphemous political cant* to which they have been compelled to listen for two years past, if they entered the church at all. It is well known that Democrats have been preached at, and prayed at, in many of the churches in the Northern States, until they have ceased to attend church at all.

The following appears in the *Crisis*, a paper published in Columbus, Ohio:

GOV. MEDARY—*Dear Sir*:—Will you oblige us by giving notice in *The Crisis* that, at an early day, the undersigned will move for a State Convention for the purpose of devising some plan for a new Church organization, in which Democrats may enjoy the privilege of hearing preached the pure Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ *unmixed with Abolition fanaticism*, and without being insulted and denounced from the pulpit as disloyal for believing that the Constitution as it is should be maintained, and the Union as it was should be restored.

Democratic papers throughout the State will further the cause of Christianity by calling the attention of their respective communities to the importance of an early move in the premises.

EDSON B. OLDS,
VIRGIL E. SHAW.

THE ABOLITION PROGRAMME.

We pollute our columns, this morning, with a speech of Wendell Phillips, that our readers may see clearly stated and boldly advanced, the next step in the abolition programme, which first embroiled a nation in war, then prostituted a war for Union into a war for abolition, and now demands for the negro not merely emancipation, not merely political and social equality with the whites, but also the confiscation of the southern lands, and their division among the blacks. "The North," says Mr. Phillips, "has conquered the South; let her divide it among her nobles, black and white, and we are safe." "Confiscate the land of the South, and put it into the hands of the negroes and the white men who have fought for it, and you may go to sleep with your parchment. All will be well." "This nation owes to the negro not merely freedom, but land and education. It is a debt which will disgrace us before the world, if we do not pay it. This is the first longing of the negro. His instincts are better than our laws."

Emancipation, abolition, confiscation, southern lands for landless negroes! This is the programme. The *Tribune* will, as usual, wait six months, and then follow Wendell Phillips's lead, face foremost. The *Times* will wait about ten months, and then follow, as usual, back foremost.—*New York World.*

—The New York *Commercial* says, "it seems to be impossible for Wendell Phillips to be moderate in anything. His hatred and his love are as fierce as the torrid zone. To no living man can Dryden's famous lines be more truthfully applied:—

"Railing and praising are his usual themes,
And both, to show his judgment, in extremes;
So over violent or over civil,
That every man with him was God or devil."

FAULT-FINDING AS A FINE ART.

Generous praise is rare. Carping criticism is common. The luxury of fault-finding is indulged in on all hands to satiety. Even friends deem it essential to qualify commendation by a remark to enforce the doctrine of human depravity. In speaking of men, in the absence of perfection, some element of grossness, some indication of fallible humanity, is always supposed; but hearty praise may be rendered discreetly and properly without thrusting this into the foreground. If the American people do not grow into a nation of the most caustic, unsparing, universal critics, it will not be for the lack of example or of practice. The *Atlantic Monthly* and Henry Ward Beecher have put Wendell Phillips at the head of American oratory. The characteristic of his speech is searching analysis to seek out matter for fault-finding, and scathing denunciation of that which displeases. He deals heavy blows; but he strikes as hard to kill a flea as to destroy an anaconda. He is a master of objurgatory eloquence, and the faculty of censure is so well trained that it is called into play on the slightest pretext.

One who knew Wendell Phillips and his life-long battling against slavery, would have anticipated that the recent message and proclamation of the President would have called out from him the heartiest approval; and that in jubilant tones he would have commended the sturdy pledge that slavery shall end, and no slave be returned to bondage. But Mr. Phillips would be at a loss on an occasion where praise should outrun censure. It would be like learning a new language, like playing upon a new instrument. When Arthur's knight entered the lists, it was the thrust and the blow that were expected,—and so when Mr. Phillips mounts the rostrum, men have come to expect the verbal blow and the eloquent thrust, and he strives hard not to disappoint them.

So when, on Tuesday evening, he spoke in New York, he began by announcing that he was "going to criticise the message and proclamation of the President;" and the task he assigned to himself was to find whatever fault was possible under the circumstances. Whatever of commendation is incidental, secondary, a sort of conjunction to connect and enforce the epithets and the complaints. It will be in history the glory of Abraham Lincoln that, possessed of power beyond any other earthly ruler, he sought only to carry out the national purpose, and to embody in action the highest sentiments and aspirations of the people. Mr. Phillips is so apt at censure that this marked excellence of character serves him only to turn a paragraph, and to wing an arrow. Instead of one strong word of eulogy for his services, a transition clause announces that "Mr. Lincoln has done such service in this rebellion, has carved himself a niche so high in the world's history, that he can well afford to have all his faults told." Nor would the auditor know from any direct, hearty declaration that the President has dared much and done much for liberty; this is to be inferred from such passages as imply that he is yet behind the morning star who speaks. Thus Mr Phillips declares: "with the President pledged to my purpose, with the government inevitably on my side, I will neither give rest nor silence until I see the Stars and Stripes mean inevitably, totally, unconditionally, immediate freedom." The connection shows that the speaker rather sneers at the President, for refusing with all the cares and responsibilities of government, to join in a race for trial of more speed. The identity of the sentiments of Mr. Phillips with those of the President, is demonstrated by the remark: "I would save the State alive for them by an action that should enable them to bring it back in their own method and their own time. Meantime all that devolves upon me is so to shape the Constitution, that when they come back, they cannot come back except on one point in our shape, and that is, Free States." To be sure, the orator goes farther than the President; but the former has no clear statement and exposition of the point up to which they agree. He slurs over these to exaggerate differences, and to intensify adverse criticism. So he demands the division of the lands of the rebels among blacks and whites, and after censuring Chase and Seward, as well as the President, proclaims, naming Butler and Fremont, "until such men man the guns, or hold the helm, no man with justice to himself, to his character, to the negro, and to the Union, can give rest to his eyelids, or silence to his lips."

Certainly, this is far from generous towards one who has so steadily and so wisely served the cause of liberty, as President Lincoln. It is, however, characteristic of Mr. Phillips, who is, with all his eloquence, nothing if not censorious. It is more; it is the prevalent tone of popular comment, not so much on the message and the proclamation, as generally on all subjects. We are inclined to believe that the spleen is getting unnatural growth in our people. They are working up fault-finding as a fine art. Now, we question whether confirmed grumbling makes either an individual, or a people, better or happier. And generous thought will be more general when kindly and generous speech becomes more frequent and more popular.—*Utica Herald.*

GREAT DINNER AT THE LIBBY.

The Yankee officers at the Libby Prison will, we understand, celebrate their captivity the present week by a splendid dinner, served up on the *table d'hote* of the prison, and embracing a bill of fare unequalled in Richmond or the South since this cruel war commenced. The viands for this *recherche* "reunion" have been put up in the North expressly for the great occasion, and are now being received by every flag of truce steamer. New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore are vieing with each other in their lavish of money, and the richness and extent of their gastronomic contributions. The Confederate authorities have kindly seconded the generous movement, and will act as chief cook and bottle-washer on the stupendous occasion. A few outside invitations have been extended to the "lean and hungry" Richmond officials, not including the Commissioner of exchange, the commandant of Libby Prison post, the President, members of Congress and the Cabinet.

Brigadier-General Neal Dow will preside at the head, and Colonel Streight, at the foot of the table.

After the "removal of the cloth," toasts, wit and sentiment—all at the expense of the Confederacy—will be the order of the day.

We have been favored with a glance at an advance proof of the bill of fare, and print its items, notwithstanding we are sure it will aggravate the feelings of our soldiers in the field, and the feelings of Confederate prisoners North, when they compare this sumptuous living with their own poor and scanty fare.

Among the epicurean viands named in the bill is sugar-cured ham, spiced beef, round of beef, beef tongue, chickens, oysters in cans, pickled tripe, ditto tomatoes, peaches, marmalade, soda crackers, cheese, potatoes, "onions," cabbages, butter, lemons, extract coffee, condensed milk, chocolate, apples, preserved peaches, preserved quinces, pound cake, fruit cake, wine, cordials, and a variety of entrees, side dishes, etc.

Each consignment from the North, and designed for the feast, is put up *a la Fulton*, stamped with his signet seal, "C. C. F.," and distinctly marked, "From the office of the Baltimore *American*." So there can be no mistake as to whom we are indebted, if any of the crumbs of the feast should fall to our lot.

We understand the fragments of the feast, if any are left, have been generously tendered to the poor of Richmond, who are suffering from the effects of the rigid blockade enforced by the Lincoln Government. This is exceedingly generous in our prisoner-guests, for which we are profoundly grateful.—*Richmond Examiner.*

THE LEAGUE WOMEN AND SLAVERY.

The Women's Loyal League, which is only the Garrison Anti-Slavery Society under another name, is circulating petitions to Congress for a law to abolish slavery throughout the Union. Congress will not of course entertain the proposition, because there is no member of that body who does not know that they have no power in the case. Somehow our radical friends, who have been denouncing the Constitution for the last quarter of a century as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell," seem to have got the idea that the war has abolished the Constitution.* The rebels think so too. Both are mistaken. The Constitution still lives, and will not only survive the war, but bids fair to stand for some blessed centuries of national peace and prosperity yet to come. And it will stand all the firmer and the more ardently loved and reverenced for that it has withstood alike the assaults of friends and enemies of liberty through this time of darkness and tempest.

But why do the League women agitate for what they know is impossible? Do they suppose that the government, now that it is achieving its final triumph over rebellion, and seeing the consequent and inevitable death of slavery at hand by means accordant with Constitution and law, can be induced to pass an unconstitutional act, that can have no other effect than to make its authors forever infamous? Doubtless these women, and the men who are in the plot with them, expect no such thing. But they have their own purpose to accomplish. They have hitherto been in the van of progress, as they suppose, and now seeing the object they had only talked and scolded for, accomplished by the labor and blood of practical, working and fighting men, so leaving them without an irritating theme, they must even take what they absurdly call "an advanced position," and demand impossible and absurd things, so as to keep ahead. They may be well and beneficently intentioned, though it is sometimes hard to see it, but we must believe that it is this feeling that events are taking from their stock in trade which leads them to make new and preposterous demands upon the government.—*Springfield Republican.*

* Their idea is that slavery, by rebellion, has outlawed itself from the Constitution, and may thus be *constitutionally* executed.

The Liberator.

THIRD DECADE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

FRIDAY MORNING, Dec. 4.

The Society assembled promptly, and in the absence of the President, J. M. McKIM was called to the chair. It being announced that the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER was present and could remain but a few minutes, (being under the necessity of returning immediately to New York,) he was invited to address the meeting. Upon coming to the platform, he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

SPEECH OF REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

It gives me great pleasure to meet you this morning, and none the less because we meet in circumstances of peace and of prosperity. After a long battle, with weapons not carnal but spiritual, it seems as if at last a victory was beginning to dawn upon us. I have lived for more than twenty-five years on faith, and have learned to subsist upon it tolerably well, though I confess that a little sight now and then helps one's faith very much. But there are a great many who have not been able to live on this diet of faith, and now that they are being fed on sight, they are falling into line and beginning to train in the great anti-slavery army.

I do not stand here this morning so much to go into any analysis or measurement of shades of opinion, as to recognize the great services that, for a long period, without weariness, against every human discouragement, have been rendered to the cause of patriotism, of religion, and of humanity, by those that are represented in this Association. There have been, of course, all this time, differences of opinion among the friends of freedom; but I think that all honest men will agree that, for sincerity, profound conviction, heroism, and moral courage, the members and adherents of this Anti-Slavery Society have stood preëminent. And when the history of this struggle shall be written, no inconspicuous place will be given to those that shall then have passed away; and we shall see in every age of the world, men mobbed when they lived, but splendid tombs built for them when they are dead. But you care little for that. The spirit in which you have worked, is one which works for the sake of the work, for the sake of God who inspires it. I doubt not you have taken your remuneration as you went along, and could have afforded to die with your testimony on your lips, without having seen the sight, or, like Moses, having seen it only at a distance. But better things are in store for us. All the signs of the times look as though God meant emancipation in earnest, and meant it now. Whatever may have been men's ideas in respect to immediate emancipation, as the term is usually employed, I think that war has but one doctrine upon the subject, and that we are coming to it—that we, if we live a few years longer, shall see our country disembarrassed and uncursed by this monstrous evil, this gigantic iniquity.

Last night Gov. Curtin said that the doctrine enunciated in my remarks, namely, that we had no right to lay down the sword, having taken it up, until we had utterly exterminated the cause of the war, Slavery, was the doctrine of Pennsylvania. Undoubtedly he has been in circumstances to know the pulse and the feeling of this people. North of Pennsylvania I think I may say I know it to be the doctrine of the people. It seems as though, in the Providence of God, the underground work having been done, and the foundation having been brought up to the surface, and the building going up in the sunlight, its proportions of beauty becoming more and more apparent, we can have workmen now whom we could never have invited into the trench underground. My wish is, more and more, that we should, for the sake of the great cause, lay aside the things in which we differ, and work together for the things upon which we are agreed, God working in us to will and to do of his own good pleasure.

For myself I have vowed that if a man will now set his face towards emancipation, I will never look an inch behind him to see what he thought yesterday or the day before. I will not scan his record unless he becomes a critic of mine. But I will put my shoulder beside the shoulder of any man that will march in the ranks now. I will not ask who shall be leader; only that there shall be a leader, and that he shall lead in the right direction. I only ask to be in the ranks, to work as every other man works, not for himself, not for any party, but for the sake of God and the country, for the cause of Christ as it is embodied and represented in this era of our national history, for the sake of those that are in bondage, and must be in bondage as long as there is a slave in this land; for you are slaves as long as there is a slave; you are bound as long as others are bound. According to the apostolic injunction, every man is in fetters as long as one man is fettered.

I congratulate you this morning. On my return from Europe, after an absence of a few months, I looked for growth, but I hardly knew where were the buds and where the branches. I find the buds branches, and the branches fruit. It is as if, in the month of May, one should be carried a month to sea, not knowing that he had been gone an hour; when he returns, he finds himself in the bosom of summer. Things are germinating, and everywhere springing into marvellous growth and fruitfulness.

The last time I was in Pennsylvania, I was escorted into the Hall between files of policemen, who defended my right of speech by the municipal power of the city. Last night it was not necessary to have policemen. I find myself accepted now by the men that, three years ago, would not have opened their doors to me, nor uttered my name except as an offence. They say I have changed. Very well; let it be so; I am content; I am entirely changed; I have abandoned my old doctrines; I have become conservative; I have smoothed off all the hard edges, and rounded all the corners! They are steadfast and immovable; they have always been right. Let it go so; I am quite content. I will be considered as having changed every week, as much as you please; only take the principles, only work for the slave, and work in good practical earnest, it is very little matter what men say of you, where they put you, what they call you. It is the cause, and not men, that is important. It is the incarnation of God in our time, the reappearing of Christ in his own providences, the shaking the foundations of things, that they may be moved, which is important. All our personal matters, however strenuous the opposition to us may be, are but chaff, which the wind should drive away. If now the men of wealth, of intelligence, and of standing, in Pennsylvania, are willing to lay one hand on the Bible and the other hand on the charter of their liberties and say, "Let the oppressed go free," they may call themselves Moses and Aarons from the beginning, and I will never say nay to it.

So, too, in New York, and so in Boston; the leaven is working. Let us then give thanks to God; thanks for the past, that we were permitted to live to see the consummation which we expected to see over pearly battlements, but now shall see in the land of the living.

During my visit to England, it was my privilege to address, in various places, very large audiences; and I never made mention of the names of any of those whom you most revere and love, without calling down the wildest demonstrations of popular enthusiasm. I never mentioned the name of Mr. Phillips, or Mr. Garrison, that it did not call forth a storm of approbation. It pleased me to know that those who were least favored in our country were so well known in England. And the name of President Lincoln was never pronounced without a torrent of approbation, even in the stormiest meetings. It is true that a man is not without honor save in his own county; and I felt that I had never had before me, in an audience here, such an appreciation of the names of our early and faithful laborers in this cause as there was in that remote country, among comparative strangers.

I am thankful for the privilege of looking on so many noble and revered faces, and so many young and enthusiastic persons, united by so sacred a bond as that which unites you. I feel, not that I agree with you in every thing, but that I am heart and soul with you in the main end. Toward that end we may take different paths, very likely, but when we come together at the end, we shall all be there. It is the end that crowns the beginning, rather than the beginning the end. I therefore feel that I am honored in being permitted to stand before you this morning, to utter these few words of sympathy and of greeting. Your cause is dear to you—just as dear to me. Your names, honored among yourselves, will never lack some wreaths, if I may be permitted to pluck any to place upon them. I thank God that he called you into existence. An uncanonical Church you are, a Church without ordination, but in my judgment a Church of the very best and most apostolic kind, held together by the cohesion of a rule of faith and an interior principle. Your ordinances are few and simple, but mighty through God. Your officers are not exactly elected. Whoever has the gifts, and the inspiration behind those gifts, he is your teacher and your leader. That is the truest form of the Church. I stand here in the midst of a part of God's great spiritual, earthly Church, happy to be in your midst, asking the privilege to call myself a brother only, asking the privilege of calling you that are advanced in years fathers and mothers, and asking the privilege also to work according to the light that is given me, and where I differ from you, having still your confidence that I mean right. I will never work against you, as I never have. I will work with you as far as you will let me; and we shall all be supervised by a higher Love and a diviner Wisdom, and where mistakes are made, they will, after all, work together for the good cause. We shall meet, if not again on earth, in that land where no struggles are needed, where we shall rejoice and give thanks to him who called, and guided, and crowned us with victory.

On motion, by Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., a Committee was appointed to superintend the publication of the Proceedings of this Third Decade Meeting, with authority to incorporate therewith such documents as should seem to them appropriate. The Committee was subsequently named, as follows:—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Mary Grew, Oliver Johnson, Samuel May, Jr., John T. Sargent.

On motion of STEPHEN S. FOSTER, in view of the large number of persons who desired to address the meeting, speakers were requested not to occupy the floor more than fifteen minutes at a time; and the President was requested to remind each speaker when his time should have expired.

ORSON S. MURRAY, of Ohio, one of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments, occupied fifteen minutes in reading part of a series of resolutions, written by himself, upon which he said he neither asked nor deprecated the action of the meeting. No action was taken upon them.

On motion of EDWARD M. DAVIS, the Hon. HENRY WILSON, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, was invited to take a seat upon the platform. He was greeted, as he did so, with hearty applause.

A Committee on Finance was appointed, as follows: James N. Buffum, Thomas Garrett, Mahlon B. Linton, Abby Kimber, Aaron M. Powell, Wendell P. Garrison.

SPEECH OF STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

It gives me great pleasure, fellow-citizens, to be with you on this occasion. It is one of the most interesting of the whole period of my life. I love to look into the faces of my old and early anti-slavery friends. I have new friends, but they are not like the old friends, the friends of my youth and early manhood. There is no gratification I ever received, or ever expect to receive in this life, so great as that of meeting those with whom I have stood shoulder to shoulder through many a hard fought battle in this and other pro-slavery States of this Union. And yet the pleasure of this meeting is marred by one consideration; and that is, that there are two or three million of our countrymen yet clanking their heavy chains. While we are happy, they are sad and sorrowful. While we are free, and protected by the government of our country, they are still struggling in chains! Their fate is yet all uncertain. Their sky of hope is brightening. They are sustained by the faint promises of hope; but still all is uncertain.

I have feared, since I have been with you upon this occasion, that we have become over confident in regard to the success of the movement with which we have so long stood identified. The conviction seems to have become fixed, in the mind of every man in the ranks of the Anti-Slavery Society, that this war is the end of slavery, that we have already given it its death-blow. But so thought the friends of freedom in the Revolutionary War. They settled down in the confident belief that they had given the system a fatal stab, and that they should live to see it quickly pass away; and therefore they thought it unnecessary to incorporate in the Constitution of the country a provision forever prohibiting the toleration of slavery. How much more are we secure now of the abolition of slavery, upon the heels of the war, than were our Revolutionary fathers in their day? Is the country in a better state upon the question of human liberty than it was then? Are we more deeply penetrated by a sense of the sinfulness of slavery than were our fathers? [A VOICE—"Yes."] Why, then, are slaves dragged from the Capital of your country back to their masters in the loyal States of this Union? Why is Abraham Lincoln to-day holding the military and naval power of this land, and shaking it in the very teeth of the slaves of the loyal States of this Union, telling them that if they rise and strike for freedom, they shall be crushed with the iron arm? ["He isn't doing it."] Not doing it? Has not he sworn, according to his own idea, to maintain slavery in the loyal States? ["Exactly the contrary."] Has not Hon. B. Gratz Brown told you that the people of Missouri would have abolished slavery but for Federal interference? Where is that sacred regard for constitutional obligation which for years was talked of on this platform? Has Mr. Lincoln said to his agents, "In case the slaves strike for freedom in the loyal States, join them against their loyal masters?" Has the military protection of the slave system in the loyal States been withdrawn?

We assume too much, far more than our *political* friends assume in this matter. The Hon. Senator from Massachusetts on my left (Hon. Henry Wilson) would tell you, if you were to ask his opinion, that Abraham Lincoln to-day, holds himself constitutionally bound to maintain the institution of slavery in every loyal State of this Union, as he was in all the States prior to the rebellion; and to the execution of the Fugitive Slave law in the District of Columbia, to-day as much as ten years ago. The Bench of that District, every member of which was appointed by Abraham Lincoln, has allowed slave after slave to be arrested in the District of Columbia and sent into slavery in the State of Maryland.

It seems to me that, in this state of the case, we have no reason to be very confident. If the nation is anti-slavery, why does it not say so? In the name of common sense, when the whole civilized world would applaud the declaration, why do they not say, by some authoritative act, that there shall be no slave on American soil henceforth? Nothing would be easier, nothing better for our cause; nothing would save so much the shedding of human blood as that simple declaration. How can you say the nation wants it done, when the nation will not do it? The President has set free a portion of the slaves—he has abolished slavery nowhere. Where he had not power to give liberty to the slaves in fact, he gave them liberty by law. Where he had power to give them liberty in fact, he did not give them liberty by law. He thus shamefully marred that act, which, if properly done, and placed upon moral grounds, would have sent his name down to posterity beside the name of William Lloyd Garrison. But he has declared, from beginning to end, that he has emancipated slaves, in no single instance, because he had any regard for them, but always out of regard for the white man, and for the perpetuity of the Federal government. I would not trust my own, I would not trust anybody's liberty, in the hands of such a government. Never, until I hear the government of the United States pronounce authoritatively in all its departments, executive, legislative, judicial, the fiat which dooms slavery to everlasting perdition, will I lay off my armor. Lay off yours, if you are tired of fighting, if you are weary and care-worn, and feel that you cannot longer carry on the warfare; but I am a veteran soldier; I am here to-day to re-enlist for the war; and, God being my helper, not one particle of my armor will I lay aside until the last fetter is broken. Not one jot or tittle of my stern demand for justice will I abate until the nation, as a nation, declares that slavery is forever abolished in this country (applause.)

I feel that I ought to speak more strongly to-day than ever before, because the nation is more guilty to-day than ever before. According to their interpretation of the Constitution, never had the nation, until recently, the constitutional power to abolish slavery. To-day it has it, and is therefore the more guilty for not doing it. Never before was the question put directly to the nation, whether it should set free the slaves, and thereby promote universal liberty and end this war, or whether it should hold the slaves still longer, and cause the shedding of oceans more of human blood; for all admit that a proclamation of freedom would help the loyal cause, and bring the war the quicker to a close. There is a double guilt resting upon this Administration; first, for holding the slave in his chains, and secondly, for taking your sons and mine, tearing them away from the peaceful pursuits of home life, to go down to the South and meet the bristling bayonets of Southern rebels. The war might be ended at once by an act of justice. The nation refuses to perform that duty, but chooses rather to murder your sons and mine, and to prolong the bloody strife. The guilt of the nation accumulates every hour that we hold a slave in his chains. God is demanding every day that the oppressed shall go free; and the government says, "No, we will try a little longer; we will not give up yet; we will have more plagues yet before we will let the people go." And we shall have them. Proclaim emancipation to the slaves, to the men whom God appoints as the true soldiers of this land; then, if they fail to do the work, I will volunteer, non-resistant as I am; and I will go down to Carolina and face the rebel armies; with the sword of the spirit, however, and not with the sword of steel. I will lead your armies, if you want them led, unarmed. I will not shrink from my share of the danger. Place me between you and the enemy. Only let me have an army of Liberators, and that is all I ask. I will do all in my power to swell the ranks of the Union army, if you will make the war a war for freedom; but so long as, by the Constitution and the laws of the country, the Executive is compelled to use the army to put down an insurrection in any loyal State of this Union, God forbid, that I should enlist, or invite anybody else to enlist. For one, God being my helper, I shall go forward, whoever may falter.

SPEECH OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said: I doubt not that I speak the sentiment of every friend of our cause when I say, that we are all determined to go forward, and not to falter until the last fetter is struck from the limbs of the last slave (applause.) It seems to me that the error of our friend Foster is in assuming that his position is actually different from ours upon this point. We agree with him in purpose, and we agree with him mainly in regard to the propositions which he has stated, but dissent from some of the inferences which he draws. When he would exhort us not to be over-confident, we would say amen. It is a danger which should always be guarded against. But when he holds up to us, as a reason why we should not be over-confident, what all impartial observers will regard as an exaggerated and disjointed view of the facts of the case, rendering the picture darker than the truth, and making it therefore exert a discouraging rather than an encouraging influence, we dissent from the course which he pursues, and doubt the wisdom of his recommendation. We say, "Do not despair," as well as "Do not be over-confident." We say, Do not regard the difficulties more than they are, nor the progress made less than it is; lest the effect should be to deter some from further effort, from the apprehension that it is altogether in vain that we labor. Looking back upon a thirty years struggle of Abolitionists, who have wielded the weapons of truth, the sword of the spirit, sharper than the two-edged steel, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, what would they say, if they were to be told that we are in a worse position than when we began; that we have not advanced towards the attainment of our great object; but on the contrary have receded and are farther from the end than at the period immediately following the Revolution? Far, very far from that is the truth. We are far in advance of the Revolutionary period. In the first place, accepting the premises upon which all moral enterprises proceed, we should infer that we must have advanced, from the very fact that a handful of faithful men have been laboring for thirty years past, by argument, appeal, persuasion, remonstrance—all the weapons of the moral armory—earnestly and diligently. But what is the fact? Just after the revolutionary period, the best and most clear-sighted anti-slavery men of the country would not have dared to advocate immediate emancipation, would not have dared to inscribe upon their banner immediate and unconditional freedom to the bondman. Is it nothing that we have converted the very best intellect of the country to that doctrine? Is it nothing that, whereas not even the wisest and most just of our fathers imagined it to be practicable, it is now conceded on all hands to be demonstrated as the best course, except by those who are determined to uphold slavery, and the continually diminishing class of conservative politicians, who have been left in the dark because, groping by candle-light before the sun rose, they turned their backs upon the growing dawn, and have forgotten that it is mid-noon?

Moreover, at the time immediately succeeding the Revolutionary period, even those who called themselves anti-slavery men recognized, not the absolute justice of slavery it may be, but a certain sort of right in the masters still to retain their slaves. I wish that I could have foreseen the course of this argument, that I might have slipped into my pocket a pamphlet containing the proceedings of the Abolition Societies of the period immediately following the Revolutionary war; for I would have compared their doings with those of this gathering to-day, and then asked you, if such a handful of the choice men of that day dared to go no further than they did, and if to-day our Declaration of Sentiments can receive the applause of this assembly, which is only the representative of multitudes of people all over the land, have we made no progress? (Applause.)

Our friend alludes to the fact that the government still sustains slavery in the loyal States. True; and the more shame to the government. Every word he says against the pro-slavery position of this government, I heartily respond to; but how could he have had an opportunity to find fault with the government for not making a clean cut, if it had not made a jagged one? The government in the olden time never abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, never issued a proclamation of freedom to more than three million slaves, never recognized the black man, in any of its measures, even so far as Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed have already done. He has been recognized as a citizen, in defiance of the Dred Scott opinion, by the Attorney-General of the United States. Yes, we have official authority, from a Missourian Attorney-General, for the doctrine that the black man is a citizen of the country.

We have been told of the efforts of the government against the Emancipationists of Missouri. Then I say, the more shame to the government for that. But at the time just after the revolution, there could have been no act of interference needed by the Federal government, to prevent the abolition of slavery in any slave State of the Union. Let me also, in justice to the man whom I have criticised, perhaps as freely as my friend Foster, remind you that if he went against the Radicals in Missouri, he went in favor of the Radicals in Maryland (applause.) We have a man at the head of the government who is not altogether according to my taste, or in accordance with my feelings or my policy; but let us do him justice all the more assiduously, because we do not like his position.

I hold, then, that we have reason to be encouraged. The very ground we take is that of our friend Foster, that we will not give up until the work is accomplished; but we will labor all the more earnestly and with all the more energy because we see the signs around us of the progress we are making. We see the black man recognized among the defenders of the country, and see him regarded as a citizen, allowed as a citizen to appropriate the lands of the West, as well as to defend his newly acquired liberty. Even States which we regarded as incorrigible slave States—even Border Ruffian Missouri—tread upon the very verge of emancipation, and at the next step are likely to go over. Shall we not thank God and take courage, not laying down our arms as if the victory were won, but shouting with all the more vigor, in the language of the great Captain of Scotland, when he saw the wavering of the foe:

———"Press on, brave sons of Innisgall,
The foe is fainting fast,
One blow for children, and for wife,
For Scotland, liberty, and life!
The battle cannot last."

IMPARTIAL ENGLISH TESTIMONY.

The following is an extract from a letter written by an English Surgeon with the Army of the Potomac, published in the London *Medical Times and Gazette* of August 8. It is one other, and necessarily an impartial testimony to the different methods in which wounded prisoners have been treated by us and by the rebels:—

"The rebel wounded in our charge have fared, so far as comfort and attention went, as our own men fared. Before our supplies came up, they made no complaints; after their arrival, they declared they had not had such a gay time since the confederacy commenced to exist. The surgeons, in bringing their cases to the table, never examined previously if a man wore blue pants or gray, but looked simply at the nature of the wound. Had they been within their own lines, they could not have been so well attended to. I have seen Confederate wounded in the hands of the Unionists, and Union wounded in the hands of the rebels, and I cannot but say that in acting the Good Samaritan, the North bears off the palm. At Chancellorsville battle, the rebels removed their wounded to be cared for at Richmond, leaving the 1,200 Northern wounded to lie upon the field. The rebel soldiers near them gave them what help they could, but the rebel government did nothing—but confiscate the captured surgeons' cases and hospital knapsacks, looking upon them as government property. On the misery being represented to those in authority, sugar, flour, bacon and hard bread were plentifully issued to the wounded. This was all, they said, they could give, because it was all they had. Still, they could have done more; they could have removed these 1,200 men to Richmond along with their own wounded, to fare as they fared; they could have sent a detail of surgeons from their army at Fredericksburg to attend them: and, from Richmond—only a couple of hours away by rail—straw, at least, might have been sent for them to lie upon. What would have been said had the Unionists acted similarly at Gettysburg?—had they removed their own wounded by rail, and left ten thousand rebels to lie upon the field with simply hard bread, bacon, sugar and flour, to sustain them, and with no surgical assistance save the dozen medical men whom Lee sent over to take care of them? Had this been done, God help the Yankees!—we would never have heard the end of it!"

NEW FRENCH VIEW OF THE REBELLION.

Reply of Agenor de Gasparin, Edouard Laboulaye, Henri Martin, Augustin Cochin, and other Friends of America in France, to the Loyal National League of New York.

GENTLEMEN—We would have thanked you much sooner but for the prolonged absence of one of our number. It would have been painful to us to have lost the collective character of this reply; for the blending of our four names is a proof of that great unity of sentiment upon all that concerns the cause of justice, which, by God's favor, manifests itself here below, in spite of political and religious differences.

Yet we are careful not to overrate our personal importance. The League does not address us as individuals; it speaks to France, who cherishes, as a national tradition, the friendship of the United States. It speaks to European opinion, which will rise up and declare itself more clearly as it recognizes that the struggle is between Slavery and Liberty.

You have comprehended, gentlemen, that neither France nor Europe has been free from misapprehensions. Light did not at first dawn upon the nature of the salutary but painful crisis through which you are passing; it was not plain to all at the outset, that the work inaugurated by the election of Mr. Lincoln, yielded nothing in grandeur to that which your fathers accomplished with the aid of Lafayette and under the guidance of Washington.

Europe has had her errors, her hesitations—for which we are paying dearly to-day on both shores of the Atlantic. What blood would have been spared to you, what industrial suffering avoided by us, had European opinion declared itself with that force which you had the right to hope for! There is a protest of the universal conscience, before which mankind necessarily recoils. Moral forces are, after all, the great forces.

The revolted South, which needed our aid, which relied and perhaps still relies upon us, would not have long dared to affront the indignation of the civilized world.

I.—Why has this indignation been withheld? Why has a sort of favor been granted to the only insurrection which has had neither motive nor pretext—to the only one which has dared to unfurl the banner of slavery? What has been the merit of this insurrection? By what charm has it conciliated the sympathy of more than one enlightened mind? This is a question humiliating to put, but useful to solve.

In the first place, Europe doubted whether slavery was the real cause of conflict. Strange doubt, in truth. For many years slavery had been the great, the only subject of strife in the United States. At the time of the election of Mr. Buchanan, the only issue was slavery. The electoral platforms prove this fact; the manifestoes of the South were unanimous in this sense; her party leaders, her Governors, her deliberative assemblies, her press, spoke but of slavery; the Vice President of the insurgent Confederacy had made haste to declare officially that the mission of the new State was to present to the admiration of mankind a society founded on the "corner stone" of slavery. Lastly, it would seem that to all reflecting minds the acts of Mr. Buchanan and other Presidents named by the South were proof enough of this truth. The South thinks only of slavery. In her eyes all means are right to secure to slavery its triumphs and boundless conquests.

But it is objected that Mr. Lincoln and his friends were not abolitionists. That is certain. Their programme went no further than to stop the extension of slavery, and shut it out from the Territories. Was this nothing? Was it not, in fact, everything? Who could have foreseen that, on the appearance of such a programme, of a progress so unexpected, of an attack so bold upon the policy which was lowering and ruining the United States, the friends of liberty would not all have hastened to applaud. Was not this the time to cheer and strengthen those who were thus entering on the good path? Was it not due to urge them on in their liberal tendencies, so that the first step taken, they should take the second, and go on to the end? Ought not that which terrified and dismayed the champions of slavery to rejoice the hearts of its adversaries?

Your letter, gentlemen, puts in bold relief the reasons which hindered Mr. Lincoln from adopting at the outset an abolition policy. The President could disregard neither his oath of office nor the Federal Constitution; he had also to keep in mind the opposition which a plan of emancipation would encounter in the loyal States. The head of a great government cannot act with the freedom of a philosopher in his study. In simple truth, Mr. Lincoln should be accused neither of timidity nor indifference.

Your letter recalls the measures of his Presidency; abolition of slavery in the Capital and in the District of Columbia, the proclaiming of freedom to fugitive slaves, the principle of compensated emancipation submitted to all the loyal States, the death penalty actually inflicted on captains of slavers, the treaty with England admitting the right of search, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the black republics of Liberia and Hayti, the arming of free negroes, and at last, when the length and gravity of the war sanctioned an extreme exercise of the powers of Commander-in-Chief, the absolute and final suppression of slavery in all the revolted States.

We, gentlemen, are abolitionists; and we declare that we have never hoped nor wished for a more steady, rapid and resolute progress. We have understood the difficulties which surrounded Mr. Lincoln. We have honored his scruples of conscience with regard to the Constitution of his country, which stopped his path. We have admired the courageous good sense with which he moved straight on, the instant he could do so without danger to his cause or violation of the law.

Wonder is expressed that slavery is abolished in the revolted States and yet preserved in the loyal States. In other words, there is wonder that he who has sworn to obey the Constitution should respect it. Let no one take alarm at this. There is no danger that the "domestic institution," crushed in the Carolinas and Louisiana, will long survive in Kentucky or Maryland. Already, as you have stated to us, a solemn proposition has been made to all the loyal States; already one of the most important, Missouri, has set the example of acceptance. To be thus uneasy about the maintenance of slavery in the North, argues to our minds quite too much tenderness for the South. We look with suspicion upon the pretended abolitionism whose unfriendly exactions were first put forth on the very day illumined in America by the dawn of abolition.

We frankly say we could never have foreseen that the election of Mr. Lincoln and the several acts which we have just enumerated, would be an endless cause of complaint, and distrust, and unworthy denunciation from so many men who plume themselves in Europe upon their hatred of slavery.

And since, to destroy the Northern public opinion, it was not enough to accuse it of too much favor for slavery, another grievance has been found. The North oppressed the South! The struggle was of two nationalities! The South had risen for independence!

Its independence! These were then subject provinces in the heart of the Union. Doubtless these provinces had no part in the government of the country—the South had not the same right as the North? Of course the South was held in this state of inferiority and subjection by numerous federal garrisons? Not at all.

All the States enjoyed the same rights, took like part in elections. If any section was favored, it was the South, to which a further suffrage was granted in proportion to the number of its slaves. If any advantage had been enjoyed, it was by the South, which had given the majority of Presidents and chief officers. Yet in this free country, a country without an army, and whose material means as well as laws were a sufficient barrier against oppression, in such a country we are told of a province claiming independence.

We are of your opinion, gentlemen, that independence and nationality are words too noble to be abused. In their abuse things are compromised, and the more noble and sacred these things, the more careful should we be not to confound them with what is neither noble nor sacred—a revolt in the name of slavery, a fratricidal revolt which would destroy a free constitution and tear asunder a common country, for fear lest there might be interference with the internal slave traffic, the continued breeding in Virginia, the sale and separation of families, and lest perchance some Territories should be shut out from the conquest of slavery.

In vain we seek in the United States for a nationality striving to regain its independence. Not only has independence been nowhere assailed, but there is absolutely no trace of a separate nationality. Nowhere, perhaps, is there a more thorough national homogeneity. North and South the race is the same; faith, language, history, and, we boldly add, interests are all the same. All these States have struggled together, suffered together, triumphed together. Their glories, their defeats, are common. Their Constitution sprang from the free consent of all; all pledged themselves alike to remain faithful to its obligations.

This pledge is no empty word with which caprice may idly sport. Among the inventions of our epoch there is none more extraordinary than the right of secession. Those who discover it will no doubt teach us where it should stop.

If each section has a right of secession from the country as a whole, why not each State a right of secession from such section? Why not each county a right of secession from the State? Why not each town a right of secession from the country? Why not each citizen a right of secession from the town?

The truth is, that, but for slavery, the South would not talk of its suppressed independence, nor of the right of secession. Slavery has brought the two sections to strife. The extinction of slavery will restore unity. The North and the South will some day wonder that they could have failed to appreciate the most complete and homogeneous of nationalities.

A last resort remains. That we here may not see the great struggle on the subject of slavery, an attempt is made to present the struggle as one for domination.

But this latter struggle is the very life of free countries. It is not surprising that the North and the South each strove actively, energetically, noisily for the triumph of their candidate and policy. But when one of them, losing the battle of the ballot, plunges without hesitation into another kind of battle; when it resists, arms in hand, the result of a regular election; when on the very day that it ceases to rule, it tears into fragments the common country, it is guilty of a crime for which it is difficult to imagine an excuse.

II.—You will crush the revolt, gentlemen. You will succeed—such is our belief—in re-establishing the Union. It will emerge from the bloody trial stronger, more free, more worthy of the noble destiny to which God summons it.

It has been demonstrated to us, it is true, that the re-establishment of the Union was impossible; but was it not also demonstrated to us, and by irrefutable argument, that you would be always and of necessity defeated; that you would never know how to handle a musket; that recruiting would become impracticable; that your finances would be exhausted; that your loans would not be taken; that you would become bankrupt; that riots would ravage your cities; that your government would be overthrown? You have given to all these oracles the simplest and best answer. You will reply in the same manner to those who assert that the re-establishment of the Union is impossible.

What seems really impossible is not to restore the Union. Where draw the line between North and South? How maintain between them a state of peace, or even of truce? How shall slavery and liberty live side by side? How, moreover, restrain the South from European protectorates, and by what means arrest the frightful consequences of such protectorates? Geographically, morally, politically, separation would create an unnatural situation, a situation violent and hazardous, where each would live arms in hand, waiting for the hour of conflict.

We have full faith, gentlemen, that such a trial will be spared to you. It is not that we overlook the difficulties which still remain for you to overcome; they are great—greater, perhaps, than we imagine. War has its vicissitudes, and you may perhaps be yet called upon to pass through periods of ill fortune.

Yet one fact always remains, and shows on which side the final triumph will be found—supposing that there be no foreign intervention. The flag of the Union has now for two years never paused in its advance. It floats to-day over the soil of every revolted State, without exception. The South has had its victories—it has never gained an inch of ground. The North has had its defeats—it has never fallen back. Master to-day of the entire course of the Mississippi, master of the border States and of Louisiana, all that remains is to stifle the revolt in the narrow territory where it first burst forth, and back to which it has been driven. We believe that you will succeed in this; for Europe, the only hope of the South, seems now little disposed to give her aid.

In short, the rebellion is already reduced to such narrow proportions, that should it ever become a distinct Confederation, accepted as such from weariness of war, the Confederacy thus created will not be born with the functions of life. Neither European recognition, nor your own, could give it a serious chance of duration. It would end in a return to you. But we delight to believe the re-establishment of the Union less distant. And, in the presence of that prospect which thrills our hearts with joy, permit us, as your friends, to offer you some sincere advice. The dangers of victory, you are aware, are not less than those of the combat. We give you, therefore, our loyal, frank opinion, sure that in the main it will agree with your own, and feeling, also, that these communications between us have an aim more serious than a simple exchange of words of sympathy.

We hold it to be of the first importance that the cause of the war shall not survive the war; that your real foe, slavery, shall not remain upon the field. We have often asked ourselves these last three years why God permitted the prolongation of this bloody struggle. Was it not that the real issue might present itself with perfect clearness? Conquering earlier, the federal government would, perhaps, have been led to make concessions, to enter anew upon the fatal path of compromise. To-day all eyes, not willingly blind, see clearly. The New York riot, breaking out at an appointed day to aid the invasion of Lee, and falling instantly upon the negro in a way to show to every witness of its cowardly ferocity what kind of spirit animated certain friends of the South—the New York riot was a supreme warning to your country. Your line of action is clearly traced. So long as anything of slavery remain, there will be a cause of antagonism in the bosom of the Union. It must be so ordered and settled as never to return. An amendment to the Constitution to this end must be proposed and adopted before the return of the States.

The condition of the free blacks must also be secured against the iniquities which they have so long endured. No more plans of colonization abroad, no more disabling laws, no more inequality. Those whom you have armed, who fought so bravely before the walls of Port Hudson and Fort Wagner, can never be other than citizens. Leave the problem of the races to its own solution—the most natural solutions are always the best. Under the rule of the common law, the free blacks of the South and of the North will find their legitimate place in your society, of which they will become useful members, honorable and honored.

In thus ordering, in a definitive manner, all that relates to slavery and the colored race, you will have done more than is generally imagined for the lasting pacification of the South. What remains for you to do on this point, may be stated in three words—moderation, generosity, liberty.

There can be no question, as you have often said, of an occupation of the South, of a conquest of the South, of reducing the Southern States to the condition of provinces, where the conqueror will maintain his garrisons, and the public life will be suspended. Save in the districts yet ravaged by guerillas, and in the heart of which the Federal troops must finish their work, victory will everywhere bring, with the reëstablishment of the Union, the reëstablishment as promptly as possible of constitutional rights.

You hope, gentlemen, that those whom you conquer to-day, will to-morrow meet you in debate, and you will accept in all their truth the struggle of the press, of the legislative hall, and of the ballot, which will replace the strife of the battle-field.

We all feel that it is much better that you should have to encounter difficulties fruitful of liberty, than that you should seek for yourselves the deceitful advantages of a dictatorial regime. To apply to the South an exceptional rule would be, alas! quite easy. It would be easy, also, to pronounce the death penalty, to outlaw, to execute confiscation bills; but in treading this path of vulgar tyranny, you would sacrifice two things—your high renown in the present, a lasting union with the South in the future.

But if, on the other hand, you show the world the novel spectacle of victory without reprisals, of liberty strong enough to survive civil war; if your Constitution remain, and slavery alone fall in such a conflict; if, on the morrow of the struggle, the law remain supreme; if elections for the Senate and House of Representatives be again open, as in the old time; if the representatives of the Southern States re-appear at Washington; if, taking the oath to be faithful to the Union, and to support the modified Constitution, they find themselves on a footing of perfect equality with the representatives of the North; if it be permitted to them to attack and to embarrass the government, you will have won the most glorious of victories, and assured to your country the best chance of prosperity and greatness.

Accept, gentlemen, in the advice which we tender to you, a proof of our esteem. It is not of every government, it is not of every people, that such things can be asked. Protracted civil wars tend to arbitrary customs, stir up passions and hates, and at last engender a development of military power and irresponsible authority which generally hinders a return to control, to free opinion, and to the strict letter of the law. We honor the United States enough to believe that they will be capable of setting this, too, after so many other examples.

The moderation which we hope for from you at home, we look for also from you abroad. Assuredly, on the morrow of the submission of the South, there will not be wanting a class of persons eager to recall to you wrongs, real or fancied, suffered at the hand of this or that power.

They will point to your armies and disposable fleets. They will prove to you that a foreign war is perhaps the surest way to draw together the two sections so lately hostile. They will tell you that a common enmity, common dangers, are the cement needed to strengthen your shattered edifice.

You will not believe them, gentlemen. You will feel that after these jars, it is needful before all else to restore to America peace and liberty. You will not seek new adventures, and thus lengthen the temptation of dictatorships, the peril of exceptional rule.

You will fear a return to the aggressive policy which, with its invasions and turbulence, the influence of the South forced upon you, the day, when to assure the extension of slavery, it awakened in your hearts a wicked covetousness, and pushed you almost to the violation of the laws of nations. Your glory will be to take the opposite of those violent declarations, of those fillibustering expeditions, of those unscrupulous ambitions.

The temptations which a great army excites are of the class most difficult to repress. May you not hesitate to reduce your forces after peace. Not only your material prosperity, but your very liberty is involved in disarming, in a reduction of your expenses, and a return to the old idea of small armies and small budgets.

But we do not deceive ourselves. Your small armies, do what you may, will be large, compared to those of three years ago. Your military education is completed; you have replied but too well to those who smiled at the recital of your battles in 1861. You have learned but too quickly to face death, and to kill; and what you have learned you will not unlearn. You will not return to your former situation.

But while we do not expect again to see your effective force at ten thousand men, we do hope that effective forces which are now numbered by hundreds of thousands will not long be witnessed on American soil.

III.—Courage! You have before you one of the most noble works, the most sublime which can be accomplished here below—a work in the success of which we are as interested as yourselves—a work the success of which will be the honor and the consolation of our time.

This generation will have seen nothing more grand than the abolition of slavery, (in destroying it with you, you destroy it everywhere,) and the energetic uprising of a people which, in the midst of its growing prosperity, was visibly sinking under the weight of the tyranny of the South, the complicity of the North, odious laws and compromises.

Now, at the cost of immense sacrifices, you have stood up against the evil; you have chosen rather to pour out your blood and your treasure than to descend further the slope of degradation, where rich, united, powerful, you were sure to lose that which is far nobler than wealth, or union, or power.

Well, Europe begins to understand, willingly or unwillingly, what you have done. In France, in England, everywhere your cause gains ground; and be it said for the honor of the nineteenth century, the obstacle which our ill-will and our evil passions could not overcome, the obstacle which the intrigues of the South could not surmount, is an idea, a principle. Hatred of slavery has been your champion in the Old World. A poor champion, seemingly. Laughed at, scorned, it seems weak and lonely. But what matters it? Ere the account be closed, principles will stand for something, and conscience, in all human affairs, will have the last word.

This, gentlemen, is what we would say to you in the name of all who, with us, and better than ourselves, defend your cause in Europe. Your words have cheered us; may ours in turn cheer you. You have yet to cross many a dark valley. More than once the impossibility of success will be demonstrated to you; more than once, in the face of some military check or political difficulty, the cry will be raised that all is lost. What matters it to you? Strengthen your cause daily by daily making it more just, and fear not; there is a God above.

We love to contemplate in hope the noble future which seems to stretch itself before you. The day you emerge at last from the anguish of civil war,—and you will surely come out freed from the odious institution which corrupted your public manners, and degraded your domestic as well as your foreign policy,—that day your whole country, South as well as North, and the South perhaps more fully than the North, will enter upon a wholly new prosperity.

European emigration will hasten towards your ports, and will learn the road to those whom until now it has feared to approach. Abandoned cultivation will renew its yield. Liberty—for such are her miracles—will revivify by her touch the soil which slavery has rendered barren.

Then there will be born unto you a greatness nobler and more stable than the old, for in this greatness there will be no sacrifice of justice.

AGENOR DE GASPARIN.
AUGUSTIN COCHIN,
EDOUARD LABOULAYE,
(Member of the Institute of France,)
HENRI MARTIN,

Paris, Oct. 31, 1863.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 8, 1864.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston, at the TREMONT TEMPLE, on Thursday, Jan. 28th, (day and evening) commencing at 10 o'clock A. M.

Let the members and friends of the Society assemble at the approaching annual meeting in even unusual numbers, and, bating no jot of heart or hope, address themselves to the COMPLETION of the work to which they have been so long consecrated. Come one, come all. Let not Massachusetts alone, but all parts of the land be represented.

As hitherto, an additional attraction will be presented in the holding of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL, at the MUSIC HALL, on the evening (Wednesday, January 27th,) preceding the opening session of the Society.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., and others are expected to speak at the Thursday morning's meeting.

By order of the Board of Managers.

EDMUND QUINCY, *President*.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, *Recording Secretary*.

☞ In consequence of a severe domestic affliction, and also of personal debility, the editor has not been able to attend to his ordinary duties the past week.

☞ A nice specimen of the honesty of the *Post* in matters of politics and morals is found in its report of Mr. Manning's lecture on Republican Manhood. Where the speaker said—"I would have called it Democratic manhood, but that term has been so dragged through the mire of partisan politics as to seem well-nigh incapable of cleansing,"—the *Post* reports, "I would have called it American manhood, but the claim to that proud title is yet disputed."—C. K. W.

THE ONE THING NEEDFUL.

In this period of "The Great Transition"—and especially in that trying portion of it which is yet to come—the great necessity of our country is a leader. Our exigency demands a man competent to lead, and not content merely to follow the shifting indications of the popular will. If, in combination with this regal quality, we could find a clear discernment of the great danger and the great duty of the present hour, and a steadfastness of character which would apply itself unflinchingly and persistently to the avoidance of that danger and the fulfilment of that duty, we should have found the right man for the arduous duties of the next Presidency. It is true that we might easily find a worse President than Abraham Lincoln. Nevertheless, it is highly desirable for the crisis through which we are now passing to find a better.

Mr. Lincoln has a strong tendency towards agreement, or the appearance of agreement, with his interlocutor for the time being. This characteristic explains the great diversity, almost contrariety, of his statements respecting the same object at different times. This diversity, however, does not prevent us from understanding his real feeling on the negro question, since he has given two expressions of that feeling so perfectly consonant with his whole character and history that they may be properly applied as tests to the interpretation of anything ambiguous in his present language or conduct.

In reply to certain questions which he felt it needful to answer, Mr. Lincoln said—"If I can put down this rebellion without the least interference with slavery, I will do it." This sentiment, no doubt, is a genuine utterance of his heart. It shows the influence of his Kentucky birthplace. The man still feels what the unreasoning boy felt, that the respectable, courteous, friendly slaveholding neighbors of his father's family had a sort of *right* to hold slaves. He still holds that sympathetic fellow-feeling with them.

Then, when Mr. Lincoln found himself required, by "military necessity," to proclaim freedom to the slaves of certain enemies of the government and the nation, he proposed at the same time that the negroes thus freed should be sent out of the country; compulsorily banished from the land of their birth, the land where reason shows that they have a *right* to live, the land where facts prove that they *desire* to live. This sentiment, equally a genuine utterance of Mr. Lincoln's heart, shows the influence of his later life among the negro-haters of Illinois. He can tolerate the continuance of this race in Kentucky and Maryland as slaves. He strongly objects to their continuance there, or in any of the States, as free men.

These two feelings, I say, namely—an indisposition in the President, other things being equal, to interfere with slavery, and an aversion to the residence and citizenship of free negroes in the United States—are clear and fixed facts, which may throw light on new facts, otherwise of doubtful interpretation. Let us cast this light on the Proclamation of Amnesty, and on the Oath of Allegiance, the sole condition on which pardon is proffered to rebels now in arms against us.

This Proclamation of Amnesty is addressed to all the rebels except a very few hundreds. Of course, this includes almost all the landholders of the slave States. These landholders are now offered the immediate restoration of the estates which they formerly gained by robbery and held by the right of the stronger, and which they have since forfeited by treason, on condition of their taking the Oath of Allegiance. Let us look a moment at this point—the offer of restoration of nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the Southern soil to its former holders.

Why should it not be restored to them? Do we want vengeance? After conquering the rebel slaveholders, are we bent upon ruining them?

Not at all. We do *not* desire vengeance. We heartily agree to a proper declaration of amnesty, pledging to all repentant *followers* of the rebellion (not to the leaders) pardon for their enormous crime, remission of the penalty of death which the laws of civilized nations allot to them, and liberty to earn their living henceforth as good citizens, without liability to impeachment as traitors, rioters and murderers.

But why should not their lands return to them as part of this reinstatement, or in addition to it? This is the reason:—

Not only were those lands held by robbery and the rights of the stronger, not only did the slaveholders *never* have a *just* claim to them, but the real owners in equity, the persons who come nearer having a just claim to the ownership of those lands than anybody now in existence, the negroes who have tilled them for half a century past, are there, waiting for the legal and governmental annunciation of their rights; and they are to be provided for, in some way, by this Government, alike on the score of duty and interest. The men and women who were formerly slaves form an important part of the population of the United States. The government owes to them, on general principles, the vindication of their rights, and further owes them reparation for the enormous injustice of its direct partnership, up to the time of the rebellion, with their oppressors. The Government *must* do something for the present subsistence of this vast destitute population, and *ought* to make this help conducive to their power of self-support in the future.

The lands of the South belong, in equity, more nearly to the laborers who have tilled them all their lives without wages than to anybody else. Those laborers are now in a destitute, uncertain position, asking where they shall go and what they shall do, and specially desirous to help the United States against the rebels. Just at the same moment, the cotton, sugar, tobacco and rice lands (upon which their compulsory labor has been spent) fall into the possession and under the control of the U. S. Government, and fall there legally and equitably so far as the relation of the Government to the rebels is concerned. What is plainer than the coincidence of interest and equity in deciding that these Southern lands should be given to the Southern negroes, whose sweat has made them productive?

A word upon the question of interest. The country needs a loyal population in the States which, for three years past, have been in armed rebellion. How does the President propose to get this loyal population? His first offer is made to persons whom *we* know to be robbers, and whom *he* knows to be traitors, liars and murderers, proposing to them to swear to be henceforth loyal men, and thereupon to resume the possession of their justly forfeited lands.

In the absence of the vast population of freedmen of which we have been speaking, perhaps he could have done no better; since it *is* important to throw out inducements tending to separate the followers of the rebellion from its leaders. But since the four million ex-slaves are there—and *must*, in some way, be provided for—and are favorably distinguished from the rebels by having always been loyal—and are further favorably distinguished from the rebels by having a better right to the soil than they—it seems to me that *they* should have had the first offer, and that the best way to insure a prosperous future to the country would be to make that offer to them now.

Yes! the ex-slaves, of all men now living, have the best right to the lands which they and their fathers have compulsorily tilled. But two other classes have claims for land-allotments, both upon the duty and interest of the United States, prior to any claim of the rebel slaveholders, namely:—first, the Northern soldiers who have been called from their regular employments to defend their country, and next, the colored people all over the land, who have been sufferers, next after the slaves, from our national sin of slaveholding. These two classes, being made landholders in the South with the freedmen, would form the best possible commencement of a truly loyal population in the Southern States.

I pass now from the President's concession to the rebels in regard to land, to his concession to them in regard to slaves. The Proclamation of Amnesty offers each of them a full pardon, "with restoration of all rights of property except of slaves." This amnesty is to be purchased by taking the "Oath of Allegiance," specified in the same document. I make no inquiry whether the oath of a rebel slaveholder is of much value, in a case in which he is to make money by swearing. Charitably conceding that the oath will firmly hold him to something, it is still a matter of the first importance to inquire precisely to *what* he pledges himself? Whether he makes any agreement to give up what he has been accustomed to call his "property" in slaves? Whether the very terms of the oath do not suggest to him the possibility of still claiming and holding such "property"? Let us examine this oath of allegiance:—

"I, ——, do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress, passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so far and so long as not repealed or modified, or held void by Congress or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President, made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by the Supreme Court. So help me God!"

It appears that this oath neither binds nor was intended to bind the rebel taker thereof to relinquish slavery, any further than the action of the Supreme Court shall confirm the anti-slavery action of Congress in its laws, and of the President in his Proclamation. The Supreme Court, as every one knows, is as strongly committed, theoretically and practically, to the support of slavery, as the rebel Congress or the rebel Cabinet. The very phraseology of the oath, therefore, most plainly intimates to every slaveholder who takes it that the President gives him one more chance to hold on to his human chattels, and to refer the matter, as the President does, to the Supreme Court for ultimate decision.

Recognizing many indications of a want of firmness as well as want of thoroughness in the President, the Abolitionists have nevertheless taken comfort from his repeated declarations that he would never recall his Emancipation Proclamation. Does "Honest Abe" really mean to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope? Whatever he may *mean*, this is what he has *done*. He has said to the Supreme Court, by the very terms of this carefully prepared oath of allegiance—"*You* may break the Proclamation if you will, and I hereby signify my assent to your action." Is this worthy of a President? Is it worthy of an honest man?

What we need is a President who, in such a crisis as this, shall not recognize even the possibility of the reversal of a righteous act which he has done in the legitimate exercise of his official function. If Abraham is afraid of the Supreme Court, he is not the man for this place, nor for this hour. If he cares more for the wishes and interests of slaveholders than of slaves, he is not the man for the next four years of Presidential office. This last act of his has brought back a danger which we seemed to have safely passed. If the President has no back-bone of his own, it is in vain that we try to support him. Abolitionists, Republicans, and War Democrats, a vast majority in the nation, now want a President who will end slavery and the rebellion together, without a single *if* or *but*; without a single loop-hole of evasion. There are such men in the nation. A step like this on the part of Mr. Lincoln may well set us to looking about for them, and preparing the way before them.—C. K. W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"AMERICAN BIBLICAL QUARTERLY. Jan 1, 1864. No. 1. On Daniel. By Leicester A. Sawyer, Translator of the Scriptures, &c. Boston: Leicester A. Sawyer, at Walker, Wise & Co.'s, 245 Washington street."—pp. 144.

This Quarterly is designed to be independent and unsectarian, and to deal mainly and freely with fundamental and radical questions. It will contain translations and discussions of the sacred books, both of the Old Testament and New. No II. will commence the examination of the New Testament. Each number will be as far as possible complete in itself.

This first number of the Biblical Quarterly contains a new translation of the book of Daniel. The translator states that this book, as found in the Hebrew Bible, is written in two languages, Hebrew and Chaldee. In its completed form, as it appears in the Septuagint, and was generally accepted by the Hellenic Jews of the time of Christ, it had also additions in Greek. These have been newly arranged by Mr. Sawyer, in accordance with the different languages in which they are written, and the translation is followed by an elaborate critical disquisition upon the contents, character, authorship, date and value of the book.

Mr. Sawyer, who seems to have studied his subject with great thoroughness, represents that the book makes no declaration as to its own age or authorship, and that Daniel makes no claim to be its author. Its title (which is simply "Daniel,") is by the Jewish canonists, and is no part of the book. There is no sufficient evidence, internal or external, that Daniel was the author of it, but much tending in the opposite direction. It appears not to be historical, consisting of narratives of fact, but seems rather a series of moral tales, parables or religious fictions, designed to illustrate and enforce moral and religious lessons. The canonical character of the book of Daniel has been very strongly contested; at various periods, and by the most orthodox commentators, and they had good reasons for their doubts.

The American Biblical Quarterly gives promise of great usefulness in the field of critical investigation. Its terms are $2 per year in advance; single copies 63 cents. Those who wish to examine a subject long obscured by the systematic misrepresentations of interested parties cannot do better than subscribe for it at the commencement.—C. K. W.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for January offers the following table of contents:—Retrospective, by Rev. Dr. Henry; Sketches of American Life and Slavery, by L. D. Pychowska; Reason, Rhyme, and Rhythm, compiled and written by Mrs. M. W. Cook; "Our Article;" The Lesson of the Wood, by Geo. W. Bungay; Diary of Frances Krasinska; The Great Struggle; American Finances and Resources, by Hon. R. J. Walker; The Decline of England, by S. L. Bayard, Woodbury, N. J.; Temptation, by Count Sigismund Krasinski, translated by Prof. Podbielski; Madagascar, by W. H. Whitmore; A Vigil with St. Louis, by E. Fonton; Union not to be maintained by Force, by Hon. F. P. Stanton; Was He Successful? by Richard B. Kimball; The Great American Crisis, (Part Two,) by S. P. Andrews; The English Press, by Nicholas Rowe, London; The Conscription Act of March 3rd, by L. M. Haverstick; Literary Notices; Editor's Table.

The paper by STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS in this number, and its predecessor by the same author, are two of the most able which the rebellion has evoked. They deserve to be widely read, and we shall endeavor hereafter to reproduce as much of them as possible, in the columns of the *Liberator*.

THE LADY'S FRIEND.

This is a new periodical edited by Mrs. Henry Peterson, and published by Deacon & Peterson, Philadelphia. It is embellished with a beautiful Frontispiece, with Fashion Plates, and the usual variety of wood cuts for embroidery, &c. This is the first number and promises well. The subscription price is $2 00 per annum.

PROGRESS. In the course of an article on the Amnesty Proclamation, the *National Intelligencer* says:

"If the Proclamation of January 1st, 1863, was constitutional and proper at the time of its promulgation, *there is no slave legally held to-day in the State of Alabama.*"

FRATERNITY LECTURE.

The tenth lecture of the course before the Parker Fraternity was delivered on Tuesday evening last, in the Tremont Temple, by Rev. Jacob M. Manning, of the Old South Church.

Mr. Manning said that the subject of his lecture, though looking before and after, respects chiefly the present exigency of our nation. He differed with those who tell us that it is our duty to furnish men and money for the war, without concerning ourselves about its method or its result. We shall deal more wisely by exercising the right of a master to look after his servants, and by scrutinizing carefully the course of policy pursued by our agents. It is a matter of the greatest importance to us whether this rebellion shall crush liberty or slavery in its fall.

He proposed to speak of Republican Manhood; of its idea, its early growth, its subsequent captivity, and the struggle now going on for its deliverance. Manhood implies growth, steady effort and self-discipline. Not what God made us, but what we make ourselves, constitutes our glory or our shame. No man can inherit manhood, or have it thrust upon him, but every man can achieve it.

There are two leading ideas of manhood, the Exclusive, prevailing in the old world, and the Inclusive, trying to prevail in the new. According to the former, the many were made for the few, the mass were to be sacrificed to the individual, and the Gentile world to "the chosen people." The idea of self-sacrifice as a rule of life had not then arisen. According to the latter rule, each man was made for his neighbor. The idea of Republican Manhood is expressed in the life of the noble farmer of Elba, who went down to Virginia to risk his life for the welfare of the oppressed. I would have called it Democratic Manhood, but that term has been so dragged through the mire of partisan politics as to seem well-nigh incapable of cleansing.

The true man will extend his sympathy beyond any privileged class, and will extend it to all that need. He will recognize truth in its depressed and persecuted forms, and worship it even when nailed to the cross. Those men represented the highest type of manhood who went from the North and East to the wild prairies of Kansas, there to endure hunger and privation, and to meet the warfare of "border ruffians," not with the aim of private advantage, but to give the school, the Bible and the free ballot to the persecuted people of that territory. Of like sort have been the volunteers in the present war. But above all these must we rank the nobleness of our negro soldiers, who seem to be led forward by a voice from the sky, conducting and inspiring them.

This type of manhood is the distinctive idea of the new world. It asserted itself in the revolution that severed us from England, and again in the formation of that Constitution which makes us a Republic. The document of '87 echoes the spirit of '76. The friends of freedom kindly phrased their organic law so as to spare the feelings of their slaveholding partners, but provided (as they thought) for the predominance of free institutions in the future. They did not anticipate the cotton gin. With the rise of slavery to prosperity and power came up a course of treachery in our public servants, undoing in the Capitol at Washington what had been done in the caucus at home. The original intent of the Constitution, every word of which was written in the interest of freedom, had been grossly perverted.

Against this perversion the Abolitionists took a firm and vigorous stand. They were the true conservatives, for they maintained the real principles upon which our government is founded. Their opponents were true only to the enactments of a pro-slavery Congress. In behalf of the slave, the Abolitionists encountered every form of threatening and peril. The truly good man does right even when it is unsafe to do so. The lives of such men were the springs that sought to undermine slavery, and that swelled to a stream which swept it away in the election of Mr. Lincoln.

In the course of this contest many new ideas naturally came up for consideration. Woman asked that her rights might be granted. The worshipper questioned the authority of the priest. Small minorities were earnest in various measures of reform. But the mass of the people did not maintain that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty. Slavery held the balance of power, and had rewards for its servants in the Senate, the market and the pulpit; and the people, to their shame, allowed this growing power to make more and more infringements upon liberty. Many popular leaders prostituted their powers to aid this apostacy. "Morality must go to school," said the man who had already stigmatized the principles of the Declaration of Independence as "glittering generalities." He meant by this, that Francis Wayland ought to sit at the feet of Jefferson Davis, and learn of him.

From this general subserviency a remnant was saved. Whigs and Democrats were conservative back to the Constitution. The Abolitionist was conservative back to the foundation of American institutions. He held to the original purpose of the Union. He exposed the treason of the pro-slavery parties, taking upon himself the ungracious office of censor, for the public good.

On the election of Lincoln, the obstructions to the progress of freedom were swept away. We are still repelling those who would restore them. This war is the Red Sea, and the dreary wilderness, through which we are *returning* to the ideas and the principles of our fathers.

Worst of all the political classes among us, less pardonable even than the sordid devotees of self-interest, are those who, to secure present quiet, would make slavery national. These are the Copperheads. They would have refused to join Adam in defending Abel against Cain.

I see only peril to the Republic in the scheme for restoring the seceded States "with or without slavery." Loyal people have already shown themselves in Louisiana and North Carolina, and I claim that the loyal blacks shall have a voice in the decision whether those States shall be restored on the old footing. If the rebels see a door of return always open before them, with the possibility left of bringing back *slavery*, we may have fifty years of strife to live over again.

First, let slavery perish, then let the States return. Their return with it would be our ruin; and separation would be a new lease of life for slavery. Of two fatal courses, take neither. There is a third course, alike of safety and rectitude, along which the lights of the Proclamation of Freedom stream, down which the glories of the new heaven and the new earth seem to be breaking, that which makes the freedman a cherished member of the new Union. The pathway of duty is also the pathway of Providence.

Thank God for the President's slowness. He moves slowly, but he never moves backward. He moves slowly towards a position of justice for every human being. That is to be the work of his second term of office. [Immense applause.] He means it, the Proclamation of Amnesty notwithstanding. No result less than that would requite us for the sacrifices of the war.

We should strive for this grand result not only for its main purpose, but for the ennobling influence of that purpose upon ourselves. Progress is the true conservatism. Let us dedicate ourselves to justice. Let us resolve that this war shall exalt the character of the nation. "Before everything, Liberty," let us say with Selden. Let us beware of sacrificing right to peace. A determination to advance until liberty is gained should be our pillar of cloud and pillar of fire, guiding us on to victory.

Mr. Manning's admirable lecture was heard by a large audience, and frequently interrupted by applause.

The final lecture of this course will be delivered on *Thursday* evening of next week, Jan. 14th, by Henry Ward Beecher, at the Music Hall, preceded by music from the Great Organ.—C. K. W.

THE THIRTIETH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Managers of the THIRTIETH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY hereby announce to its numerous friends and patrons, and to the friends of liberty and emancipation universally, that it will be held, as hitherto, in MUSIC HALL, Boston, on Wednesday evening, January 27, 1864; and they confidently anticipate not only the same liberal patronage and thronged attendance that have hitherto been extended to it, but a cheering increase of both, in view of the wonderful change which has been wrought in public opinion, on the subject of slavery, since the rebellion broke out, adverse to the longer continuance of that "sum of all villanies."

The special object of this Anniversary has been, from year to year, to replenish the treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and thus enable it to keep in operation those potent instrumentalities whereby the public conscience has been aroused, the public understanding enlightened, and the public heart softened, in regard to the pitiable condition of the millions of bondmen and bondwomen whose deliverance, though manifestly approaching, yet remains to be consummated. To that Society is the whole country most deeply indebted for its unfaltering, courageous and invincible opposition to slavery as a system, and to the slave power as inimical to every element of Democracy and Christianity, through a long period of years; and it is now widely and magnanimously conceded that, if its solemn warnings, powerful appeals, and prophetic asseverations had been duly heeded, the present awful tragedy of rebellion and civil war might have been averted, and the abolition of slavery secured without violence or blood.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has recently celebrated, at Philadelphia, its THIRD DECADE, or thirtieth anniversary since its formation. The occasion was one of thrilling interest and stirring remembrance,—calling, in the retrospect of the past, for devout thanksgiving to the God of the oppressed for what had been effected by the power of His truth, and inspiring to new labors to secure the liberation of every slave in the land. While the great concourse of "the tried and true," who were present, were made jubilant by all the signs of the times, and while they expressed the confident hope that the monster Slavery had received its death-wound, through its treasonable revolt against the General Government, still, there was entire unanimity in the conviction that the Society should not think, for one moment, of retiring from the conflict until liberty is "proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Judge CONWAY, of Kansas, in a letter read on the occasion, regretting his absence, said—"I recognize in the American Anti-Slavery Society the primal agent in the regeneration of the American nation which is now in progress. The ultimate triumph of liberty is assured. Thank God, the future is ours! But this assurance should in no wise inspire us with indifference to the progress of events. We must not suppose that our part of the work is finished. *The American Anti-Slavery Society must not think of retiring from the field for many a long day.* The future is ours; but we must do the work necessary to perfect the results."

On the same occasion, Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts, in the course of an eloquent speech, said—

"By years, by epochs alone, can we measure the progressive advancement of a movement so grand and comprehensive as the anti-slavery movement in America. What mighty changes have been wrought in the condition of the anti-slavery cause in the United States since the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized by representatives of ten States in 1833! Then a few unknown and nameless men were its apostles; now the most accomplished intellects in America are its champions. Then a few proscribed and hunted followers rallied around its banners; now it has laid its grasp upon the conscience of the nation, and millions rally around the folds of its flag. Then not a statesman in America accepted its doctrines or advocated its measures; now it controls more than twenty States, has a majority in both houses of Congress, and the Chief Magistrate of the republic decrees the emancipation of three millions of men. Then every free State was against it; now Western Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and Missouri pronounce for the emancipation of their bondmen. Then the public press covered it with ridicule and contempt; now the most powerful journals in America are its organs, scattering its truths broadcast over all the land. Then the religious, benevolent and literary institutions of the land rebuked its doctrines and proscribed its advocates; now it shapes, moulds and fashions them at its pleasure. Then political organizations trampled disdainfully upon it; now it looks down in the pride of conscious power upon the wrecked political fragments that float at its feet. Then it was impotent and powerless; now it holds public men and political organizations in the hollow of its hand. Then the public voice sneered at and defied it; now it is master of America, and has only to be true to itself to bury slavery so deep that the hand of no returning despotism can reach it.

"Nevertheless, I say to you, and to the anti-slavery men of the United States, who have rejected the subtle policy of concession and compromise, who have repudiated the guilty delusion that the sin of slavery belongs to past generations and repentance to posterity, who have perpetually sounded into the ear of the nation the sin of oppression and the duty of repentance, go not home with the conviction that your work is done, but go home cheered by the assurance that the battle is going on for you; that you have stormed battery after battery, carried position after position; that you have only to be as true in the future as you have been in the past, to secure a permanent and enduring triumph. If the nation had accepted your doctrine of peaceful, legal, Christian action, this bloody war would never have come upon us. The crimes of two centuries have brought this terrible war upon us; but if this generation, upon whom God has laid His chastisements, will yet be true to liberty and humanity, peace will return again to bless this land, now rent and torn by civil strife. Then we shall heal the wounds of war, enlighten the dark intellect of the emancipated bondmen, and make our country the model Republic to which the Christian world shall turn with respect and admiration."

When such are the convictions and assurances of distinguished public men, not connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in regard to the value and magnitude of the work it has accomplished, and the further need and importance of the Society in perfecting what remains to be done, surely it is no time to think of disbanding, or of cherishing the pleasing illusion that the victory is won, and therefore we may safely trust to events to shape our national destiny.

Ever since the rebellion broke out, this Society has been thoroughly in earnest in sustaining the Government, and all those measures of emancipation which President Lincoln and Congress have deemed it necessary to adopt to suppress the rebellion, and to give unity and stability to republican ideas, institutions and interests, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The Managers of the SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY, therefore, feel that they may properly call upon all loyal men and women as well as upon all those who "reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man," in every part of the land, to contribute liberally to its funds on this occasion, and, as far as practicable, to be present at its commemoration at the place and time designated. Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to William I. Bowditch, Esq., 18 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. These will be gratefully received, duly acknowledged, and faithfully expended.

Mary May,	*Ann Rebecca Bramhall,*
Ann Greene Phillips,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Lydia D. Parker,	*Caroline R. Putnam,*
Louisa Loring,	*Mary Willey,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Abby H. Stephenson,*
Sarah Shaw Russell,	*Sarah J. Nowell,*
Sarah Russell May,	*Elizabeth Von Arnim,*
Helen E. Garrison,	*Eliza Apthorp,*
Anna Shaw Greene,	*Sarah Cowing,*
Sarah Blake Shaw,	*Abby Kelley Foster,*
Caroline C. Thayer,	*Mary E. Stearns,*
Mattie Griffith,	*Mary Elizabeth Sargent,*
Mary Jackson,	*Sarah C. Atkinson,*
Evelina A. Smith,	*Abby Francis,*
Caroline M. Severance,	*Georgina Otis,*
Elizabeth Gay,	*Katherine Earle Farnum.*

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

A tea meeting, in connection with the Union and Emancipation Society, was held in Glasgow, (Scotland,) on Thursday evening, Dec. 17th, in the Cobden Hotel, as a farewell meeting with Mr. George Thompson, prior to his embarking in a few days for a visit to the United States. Amongst those present were James Smith, sen., Esq. in the chair; Councillor Moir, Councillor Burt, Councillor Thomson, Councillor Martin, Mr. David Gilmour, Mr. William Smeal, Mr. Andrew Paton, Mr. James Wilkinson and others. After tea,

Mr. WM. SMEAL rose, and read letters of apology for non-attendance, which had been received from the Rev. David Russell, Rev. H. Calderwood, Rev. R. Niven W. Govan, Esq., Bailie Govan, J. Y. Bogle, Esq., Councillor Brown, Rev. Dr. Massie, R. Reid, Esq., Rev. William Scott, Councillor Allan, John M'Gavin, Esq., Alexander Dick, Esq., John Miller, Esq., G. C. Dick, Esq., Councillor Alexander, &c. He then said it must be gratifying to them all to have an opportunity of again seeing their friend Mr. George Thompson. For his part, he must confess that, when he first learned of Mr. Thompson's intention to visit America for the third time, he had strong doubts as to the propriety of the step, as he thought that Mr. Thompson's services would be of great use in this country to the cause of emancipation. No doubt, however, their friend had sufficient reasons for his present views on the subject of his going to America, where he would be received with open arms by his beloved friend, William Lloyd Garrison, and the other abolitionists with whom he had had the pleasure and the privilege of laboring for the abolition of the accursed system of American slavery. (Applause.)

The Chairman then introduced

Mr. THOMPSON, who, on rising, was received with loud applause. He said that it would be readily imagined that it was with peculiar feelings that he contemplated a third visit to the United States of America, and these feelings were intensified by such a meeting as that which he now had with them. In regard to what Mr. Smeal had said, he might say that he left this country with the firm persuasion that nothing would divert the Government of this country from the policy they now pursued of an honest and impartial neutrality. (Hear, hear.) He also thought that some one was wanted in America to remove from the minds of the people there, the impression that all Great Britain was with the South and inimical to the North, and he knew that that was not the case, that the great masses in Britain gave their sympathies as warmly as ever to the cause of emancipation. (Applause.) In the prospect of going to the United States of America in a few days, he might be permitted to compare the state of things he would find there in 1864, with the state of things which he found existing there in 1834, when, commissioned by Glasgow and Edinburgh, he went there as an humble abolition missionary, and by doing so they might draw from the comparison encouragement in those labors which they wished to see prosecuted throughout the world. When he went to America in 1834, he found that, with a few exceptions, the country was universally in a state of absolute indifference on the question of slavery, or else in direct antagonism to such efforts as were then being made to expose the evils of slavery. So much was this the case, that when a petition was presented to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, there was a discussion lasting three days whether the man who presented it should not be expelled. (Hear.) That was the state of affairs when he was there in 1834. Well, when he returned in 1850-51, he found a very much altered state of things. The labors of the last twelve or fifteen years had not been in vain, and he was received in Faneuil Hall by an audience of three thousand persons; and all throughout the States he received a most cordial reception. He then referred to the number of votes polled for Mr. Fremont, as a candidate for the Presidency in 1856, against Mr. Buchanan, (1,300,000,) and the number which had carried the election of Mr. Lincoln, as evidences of the strides of the anti-slavery party;—not that all those who voted for these candidates were of the true anti-slavery type, but they were all of an anti-slavery character. How had the politics of the country been thus changed from the time when, in 1840, they first started a candidate for the Presidency who only got 7,200 votes recorded in his favor—how had that number swelled in to the more than 1,800,000 in 1856? The reason was, a series of events had occurred between 1852 and 1856 which convinced the North that, unless they made a firm and resolute stand against the encroachments of the South, it would not be long before the North would be in fetters almost as degrading as those in which the slaves of the South were. The South had extorted from the North the Fugitive Slave Law; they had squandered the public money in paying the debt which Texas had contracted in the invasion of Mexico; they had demanded from the Bench of the Supreme Court an opinion that the Constitution carried slavery into every part of the country, and with the view of bringing the question to a test, they had invaded the territory of Kansas. These were the causes which led to the formation of the Republican party, who ran Fremont in 1856, and Lincoln in 1860 for the Presidency. He then reviewed Mr. Lincoln's opinions on the slavery question, and said that Mr. Lincoln had no power constitutionally to abolish slavery, nor did he intend to, but the Southern States brought it upon themselves by their secession. In regard to that secession, Mr. Spence had talked a great deal about the abstract right of secession, but Mr. Spence knew perfectly well that, until the year 1830, the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the States was never shaken off; and when South Carolina attempted to nullify the laws, General Jackson soon put a stop to that. There was, however, one way in which States could be permitted to withdraw from the Union, and that was by the permission of a national convention of the people, such as that by which the Constitution was framed for the purpose of a more perfect Union. At the time the Constitution was framed, some of the Northern States wished to have power to withdraw, and it was the Southern States who insisted that there should be no such right. (Applause). And he would ask them if they thought that any of the acts of a national character that had been done in the United States would have been done had it been supposed that the Union was other than perpetual, such as the purchase of Louisiana by the national money. Mr. Thompson then referred to the administration of Mr. Buchanan, and said that during the whole of that administration, the South and the Cabinet were preparing for secession; in proof of which he would point to the sending away of ships of war, the dismantling of the forts of the South, the stripping of the Northern arsenals, and the tampering with the army. The South, however, had miscalculated in supposing that the Border States would stand between them and the North, that the Western States would be neutral, and that France and Britain would prevent a blockade for the sake of cotton. Although our working population had suffered severely from the want of work, yet they had done so patiently—and more, they had sympathized throughout with the cause of freedom; and now, at the close of two years from the outbreak of the war, it was calculated that we were nearly independent of the Southern States for cotton, that we would have more cotton than our available hands could work up, and we had found other markets for our produce, so that even the *Times* could say that we were independent of the South for the raw material of manufacture. (Applause) He thought that the end of the war was fast approaching, and quoted from the *Times'* American correspondence to show that was likely to be the case, and he thought that the war would have done great good even to America. He then referred to the address from the clergymen of this country to those in the Southern States, which he understood had been drawn up by Dr. Candlish, and which had already received one thousand signatures, fifty of whom were Glasgow ministers, and concluded by saying that when slavery should be abolished in America, he should ever feel proud in remembering that the Glasgow Emancipation Society had taken a good part in laboring to the end. (Applause.)

Mr. BURT then moved the adoption of the following resolution:—

"That this meeting rejoices in the opportunity of again welcoming to Glasgow their long-tried and faithful friend and coadjutor in the cause of universal emancipation, Mr. George Thompson. Glasgow has long enjoyed the privilege of hearing Mr. Thompson's eloquent and stirring appeals on behalf of the slave, not only while held in bondage in our colonial dependencies, but also in reference to American slavery, 'the vilest,' in the language of John Wesley, 'that ever saw the sun.' Here it was that Mr. Thompson overthrew the champion of the West India planters, Mr. Peter Borthwick. He afterwards successfully debated with Dr. Breckinridge, a notorious pro-slavery American minister; and of recent time he has done good service in enlightening the public on the true position of slavery, as involved in the fearful struggle now going on in the United States. Thirty years have nearly elapsed since Mr. Thompson left Glasgow on his first mission to that country. He was subsequently in America for some time, advocating the cause of human freedom, and his labors in that capacity on both occasions were highly appreciated by the abolitionists. This meeting, in once more parting with their esteemed friend on the eve of his again setting out for the United States, desires most cordially to assure him of their fervent aspirations for his preservation, commends him to the Divine guidance and blessing, and trusts the day is not far distant when, with his beloved friend William Lloyd Garrison and other valued associates, he may have the privilege of seeing freedom established, not merely to the extent of President Lincoln's proclamation, but when 'liberty shall be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.'"

Councillor THOMSON seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

After a few remarks from Councillor Moir and other friends, Mr. Thompson returned thanks, and the meeting was closed.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

LOWELL, Dec. 28, 1863.

MR. GARRISON:—

DEAR SIR,—Although your columns are at present so interestingly crowded, I know you will be glad to learn of a meeting of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society held here yesterday, and attended by the veteran Parker Pillsbury, Rev. W. H. Hayward, and E. H. Heywood. The President, Samuel Barrett, of Concord, was in attendance, and although the auditory was comparatively small, I think it was deemed by many one of the most interesting meetings ever held in our city. Mr. Pillsbury very modestly occupied but little of the time, and that in his usual searchingly criticising manner, especially of the Government, leaving most of the time for his younger assistants, who, through the day and evening, presented the great principles of eternal justice and absolute right with such logical and unanswerable arguments, such clearness of illustration and apostolic earnestness of manner, that it seemed to me not one of the very attentive hearers could leave the place without feeling deep down in their heart of hearts that the "wisest political economy was bound up in the maxims of Christ."

Very cheering, surely, must it be to you, in your declining years, to see your children (both of natural and spiritual origin) so nobly going forward in this great work, with all the youthful ardor and glowing zeal of its first martyrs, arming themselves in the panoply of Heaven which you and your coadjutors have proved, to a gazing world, to be so mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. We cannot but believe the same spiritual weapons must eventually, not only root out every vestige of human slavery, but forever "finish transgression, make an end of sin, and bring in everlasting righteousness."

Yours, most truly,

SARAH CLAY,
Secretary pro tem.

The following resolutions were adopted by the meeting, and a copy of them voted to be sent to the President of the Nation:—

1. Resolved, That as members and representatives of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society, we desire to record our sincere belief, that slavery is and has ever been the sin and crime of this whole nation; and the present fearful war is its just and legitimate retribution, shared alike, as has been the cause of it, by both North and South.

2. Resolved, That the only escape from the terrible penalty under which the nation now reels is by repentance and righteousness; not only letting *all the oppressed go free*, but doing them justice for past wrongs, so long inflicted, and providing for them in the future with a liberality in some degree proportionate to those wrongs.

3. Resolved, That liberating and arming a part of the slaves as a "military necessity," while we still hold a million and more of them in bonds, enforcing plantation order with our armies, and returning fugitives to pretended loyal masters under the infamous edict of 1850, is not justice nor decency, but a solemn mockery of both, and an impious defiance of the laws of nature and of God.

4. Resolved, That while rejoicing in every escape from slavery, as well from Border States and loyal masters as any others, and in every indication of improved public sentiment towards the oppressed race, we must still earnestly protest against the unparalleled meanness of the Federal Government, which asks the race it has so long spurned, and still is willing to enslave, to come to its aid, fight its battles, die miserably in its ditches, without a dollar of bounty, on only part pay, and always under white officers, and against all hope of preferment or promotion.

5. Resolved, That the President's recent amnesty proposal to the seceded States is a reproach to his administration, periling his proclamation of January 1st, 1863, and the Confiscation Act of Congress, by subjecting them to the decision of Judge Taney and his compeers on the bench of the Supreme Court; and still worse, offering to receive back into the Union all the rebel States, with their old boundaries, with their immense landed estates undivided, with their former constitutions and codes of laws, and ignoring all the colored race, the most loyal of the whole population; thus essentially laying again the old foundations of slavery; and then offering a free and full pardon to almost all the murderers of unknown multitudes of the very flower of the population of the North.

6. Resolved, That while the President still falters before the slave power, and proffers conditions of reconciliation so disastrous to liberty and dishonorable to the national character, we rejoice to behold a braver and better spirit in Congress, and also on the part of many officers in the army, high in command; and while Massachusetts has her Sumner and Wilson in the Senate, and her Butler in the field, all of them the champions of universal emancipation, and while the God of Truth and Justice holds his throne, we will not abandon the hope that out of the carnage of blood and battles, there shall yet rise at least the remnant of a nation, redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, and prepared to begin the world's millennium!

☞ After the close of the Parker Fraternity lectures, now in progress, a supplementary course of four lectures will be given in the Music Hall, on successive Tuesday evenings. Three of the speakers of this new course will be Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, and the distinguished English abolitionist, George Thompson. Tickets admitting a gentleman and lady will be $1.50. Four hundred tickets have already been disposed of.

[Reported for the Boston Journal.]

THE NEW NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY.

MEETING AT TREMONT TEMPLE.

The first anniversary of the taking effect of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was appropriately celebrated on Friday, by a meeting at Tremont Temple, which, though not largely attended at its morning session, was marked by great sincerity and a very considerable degree of enthusiasm. The absence of numbers may have been accounted for in the fact that both the weather and the state of travel out of doors were intolerable, none but the most healthy and hardy choosing to venture out.

An organization was effected as follows, all the officers being colored men: President—Rev. L. A. Grimes; Vice Presidents—Thomas Dalton, John C. Coburn, Lewis Hayden, Robert Johnson, John J. Smith, Rev. Wm. Thompson, George Ruffin, George Washington, Rev. G. A. Rue, Rev. Elijah Grissom, Joshua B. Smith, William Logan, Jos. J. Fatal, J. T. Sydney, Rev. Peter Randolph, Rev. John T. Raymond, John T. Hilton.

Secretaries—E. M. Bannister, Rev. T. A. Davis, Charles Douglass, F. T. Boaz, Frederick Lewis, G. H. W. Stuart.

On taking the chair, Mr. Grimes made a brief congratulatory address, after which there were religious exercises conducted by Rev. Messrs. Butler and Thompson.

The chairman stated that the gentleman who had been expected to read the President's Proclamation of Emancipation had not, up to that time, arrived, and that Mr. Wendell Phillips had found himself unable to attend the meeting.

Rev. Henry H. White, (colored,) minister of the Joy street religious society, was introduced, and said the present anniversary was but a short remove less in importance to the colored people of America, from that which beheld the resurrection of our Lord; and that those who had not contributed in some measure to bring it about, ought properly to hide their deformed faces on each of its recurring suns. The speaker went into a review of the progress of anti-slavery sentiment in the nation, eulogizing Wendell Phillips and the President to a most flattering point. The day is not alone to be celebrated as a national jubilee, but as the day of the Lord, and it is to God that the glory thereof shall be ascribed, while at the same time we magnify the works of his true servants who have aided so materially in working out the plans of Heaven. He urged the doctrine of the brotherhood of man in its broadest scope, and in its fullest details.

Mr. James Francis, (colored,) at this point read the Proclamation of Emancipation. The reading was followed by three cheers for the document.

Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D. D., took the platform and said the day was not less of religious than political consequence. It is eminently a day of joy and thanksgiving, and there can be no cause for disturbance at any defects in the details of the plan of emancipation, so long as the tendency of the people is upward. Therefore the day is equally important to the white as to the black, and God is to be thanked by all, that the President has attained to the summit of political wisdom in the respect that he understands the everlasting foundations to be judgment and justice; and that he is watching the pillar of fire and the pillar of cloud which are guiding this nation by day and by night. He did not believe that the proclamation of emancipation nor that of amnesty covered all our wants, but when he remembered the progress made in the right direction since 1861, he thanked God for such a marvelous work as had come to pass. The hands of the oppressor, and the spirit of despotism, of pride, of cruelty, have kindled a hot fire in which the chains of the slave are melting, and they soon will all be burned up. The "Union as it was" is an absurdity, just as much as it would be to have "Boston as it was" fifty years ago. We can't have it; the Back Bay has been filled up, the splendid churches and residences on Arlington street and Commonwealth Avenue, all remonstrate against such a reproduction. We are, therefore, to look for a new dispensation of political economy, one built on morality and the laws of God; and this we are rapidly tending toward. He quoted from Dr. Channing, who said—"Politics as a science is noble, but as a trade base;" and said among other striking things, that "God bless father Abraham" has now become the liturgy of the South, and that the millennial day would never have been perfect without the occasion which gave rise to this anniversary.

At the conclusion of Rev. Dr. Kirk's address (which was most extatically received,) the chairman alluded to the booming of the guns from the Common, and spoke in a very eulogistic manner of Gov. Andrew, at whose instance the salute was ordered. The plan of proceedings for the remainder of the day was announced, and after the singing of "John Brown," at 12.20 the meeting adjourned till afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The attendance in the afternoon, was larger than in the morning. Capt. Lewis Gaul's company of colored citizens, to the number of about fifty, were present in citizens' dress, and occupied front seats. After singing by the Sabbath School children, prayer was offered by Rev. G. A. Rue, (colored.) The children next sung "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," which excited great enthusiasm among the audience, who gave three rousing cheers for "the President, the Proclamation, and the Downfall of Slavery."

Wm. Wells Brown was the first speaker. He said that when the rebellion broke out, the most unpopular mention was that of the black man in its connection, notwithstanding the desire of many among them here to enlist. He then said the time would come when the nation would be glad to welcome them on the battle-field. The first year was one of disaster. By and by it was seen that the colored man had distinguished himself, and the Boston *Post* and *Courier* and New York *Herald* were dotted over with heroic exploits of the contraband. Jeff. Davis employed them, and the final result was the Proclamation of Emancipation. The speaker next spoke of the military capacity of the negro as demonstrated during the past year, and read the testimony of Secretary Stanton to this effect. The black man had now reached a position of respectability in the opinion of the whites.

Rev. Wm. Hague, D. D., was next introduced. He could say in all solemnity that this was one of the happiest days of his life, for it had been for years past his life's prayer that he might live to see such a day as the present signalized before the world—the greatest event of the 19th century. The President adhered to his proclamation, and that was what stamped this day as peculiarly significant throughout this country and Europe. The course of Rev. Sella Martin in England was especially complimented. The speaker saw the hand of God in the present movements, and rejoiced greatly. The report of the recent convention in New Orleans to which blacks were admitted, and the remarks of Thomas J. Durant in reference to the blacks as citizens, were styled the culminating point of moral progress of the country in this direction. The words, "I am an American," were more powerful ten years ago, as evidenced in the case of Kosta in the harbor of Smyrna, than "I am a Roman citizen" in ancient days. It shall be so again, and more glorious still. American citizenship shall again invest men, black and white, with power to go through the world protected, and all his rights acknowledged.

A beautiful song entitled "While Truth and God inspire you," was very finely sung by Miss Georgie Washington, the children all joining in the chorus.

Edward Atkinson, who was sent by the Governor to investigate the condition of the contrabands at Port Royal, gave the result of his observations there in reference to the capacity of the freedman to support himself. Government had made money by the operation. The crop of cotton raised by them paid all expenses, and placed a large amount in the treasury. Mayor Brown, of Baltimore, said free negroes were the best laboring population.

The speaker gave some accounts of the profits and success in cotton raising by free labor. His friend, Mr. Philbrick, carried on eleven plantations, with the disadvantage of having no able-bodied men, and raised 75,000 pounds of Sea Island cotton at as cheap a rate as it has been by slave labor at any time within five years. It cost 30 cents a pound, and sold for $1,30. That settled the question of labor. A colored servant, with no live stock but himself and an old horse, cleared, on a small plantation, $1000 on a single crop, paying for the land and all other expenses. He feared more for the colored population, after peace was secured, by being ruined by high wages, than anything else. Permanent guardianship will be needed. The speaker was entirely confident of the success of freed slave labor.

Mr. John Parker, a colored man, formerly a slave and in the rebel army, detailed some of his experience in a very amusing manner.

Rev. Gilbert Haven next addressed the audience. He said that the proclamation answered one of the standing arguments against the earliest and most constant cry of the abolitionists. It was the work of God. It could all have been done by peaceable means, if we would have had it so. The speaker advocated the breaking down of the distinctions of color in the army, and said that the government should take another step forward, and allow all to enlist without regard to color, wherever they chose. The man who raises a company should command it. We should take a step in the social work, and unman our prejudices. The speaker hoped the House of Representatives, which soon meets, would elect Rev. Mr. Grimes to the office of Chaplain.

Another song was sung, after which announcements were made for the evening exercises, and the meeting adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The attendance in the evening was larger than during the day, the hall being nearly filled. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Wm. F. Butler, which was followed by "the President's Hymn," sung by the children.

Edward G. Walker, Esq., (colored) of Charlestown, was first introduced. He said he was glad to congratulate his hearers that the beginning of the end of their oppression was at hand. At the time liberty made its appearance in the North on the landing of the Pilgrims, slavery appeared at the South in the landing of twenty slaves at Jamestown. The negro commenced his existence here as a slave. He had not risen to the dignity of his God-given manhood—not because of inferiority in intellect or courage, but solely from inferiority of numbers.

[At this point a telegram from colored citizens assembled in Pratt's Hall, in Providence, R. I., sending greeting to the meeting in the Temple, was read, with the following sentiment: "Now thanks be to God who giveth us the victory." The Secretary was directed to prepare a despatch, and forward it in return. The sentiment was, "God bless Father Abraham!"]

The speaker then proceeded to argue the proposition advanced by historical examples of their love of country, courage, and intellectual capacity. The progress of the anti-slavery agitation was reviewed up to the time of the present party in power, which, it was said, sought at first to benefit the poor whites only; but the interest of the whites could not be protected without partially promoting the interests of the blacks. For the first eighteen months of the war it was resolved not to meddle with slavery. Public opinion had changed. The black man should now ask to go into the army in the same way as other men go—with the same pay, chances for promotion, and in everything equal to the white. Already the standard of the black man has been raised so high that it can never be put down. The speaker, who was repeatedly cheered during his eloquent remarks, closed by urging the black man to work and fight until the last chain was broken.

A letter from Mr. C. L. Remond was here read.

Rev. Mr. Carswell, of Canada, was the second speaker. He said that every man in Canada who sympathized with the South was a pro-slavery man, and every Union man was opposed to slavery. The speaker earnestly and eloquently advocated the cause of the black man, and the laying aside of prejudice.

Robert Morris, Esq., was next introduced. He said if any people had a right to rejoice, it was the blacks. But the matter was only partially done, for the emancipation proclamation did not cover every bondman on the continent. Mr. Morris demanded equality between negro and white troops, and equal chances for promotion. Black men with shoulder straps would be the best recruiting agents at the South. Prejudice against color was deprecated, and the idea advanced that it will cease when the Government does its duty. Perfect equality of the races was the only thing required.

Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., was next called upon. He announced himself in sympathy with the occasion, and the events they came to celebrate. You can wrong a people, he said, for a day, a year, a generation, or a century, but there are preparing all through that period forces which will carry away the barriers and break over the foundations of society, if need be. We had begun the work of repentance. The nation had said "no more slave States," and that is our salvation under God. The ideas advanced of the preceding speaker were, in the main, endorsed. Formerly, he urged duty and principle against what men thought their interest. Now it turns out that duty and interest run together. We have got to a stage where we see it. It must not be overlooked that we are in the first year of this experiment of employing colored men to fight our battles. The black man will fight his way up to a commanding position.

A brief closing speech was made by Mr. F. T. Boaz. After singing "John Brown," an adjournment was had at ten o'clock to the Southac street church, where festivities among the colored people were prolonged to a late hour.

GEN. GRANT'S CONGRATULATORY ORDER TO HIS ARMY.

The following is Gen. Grant's congratulatory order to his army:—

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, IN THE FIELD, CHATTANOOGA, Tenn, Dec. 10, 1863.

General Orders No. 9. The General Commanding takes this opportunity of returning his sincere thanks and congratulations to the brave Armies of the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Tennessee, and their comrades from the Potomac, for their recent splendid and decisive successes achieved over the enemy. In a short time you have recovered from him the control of the Tennessee river from Bridgeport to Knoxville. You dislodged him from his great stronghold upon Lookout Mountain, drove him from Chattanooga Valley, wrested from his determined grasp the possession of Missionary Ridge, repelled with heavy loss to him his repeated assaults upon Knoxville, forcing him to raise the siege there, driving him at all points, utterly routed and discomfitted, beyond the limits of the State. By your noble heroism and determined courage, you have most effectually defeated the plans of the enemy for regaining possession of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. You have secured positions from which no rebellious power can drive or dislodge you. For all this the General Commanding thanks you collectively and individually. The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you. Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy rebellion are with you daily. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered. You will yet go to other fields of strife; and with the invincible bravery and unflinching loyalty to justice and right which have characterized you in the past, you will prove that no enemy can withstand you, and that no defences, however formidable, can check your onward march.

By order of Maj. Gen. U. S. GRANT.
T. S. BOWERS, Assistant Adjutant General.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM. The first anniversary of the President's Proclamation was appropriately observed in Concord Hall, on Friday evening, by the Union League of Ward Eleven. The hall was tastefully decorated with Union flags and ensigns, and the audience, which completely filled the hall, was very enthusiastic. Mr. Cadwallader Curry presided, and the exercises were opened by prayer by Rev. George H. Hepworth, after which the Emancipation Proclamation was read by Charles W. Slack; and then, after singing of the President's Hymn, an eloquent and fitting oration was delivered by Rev. Wm. S. Studley. The meeting was closed by the singing of the national anthem, "My Country, 'tis of Thee," by the quartette of Rev. Mr. Hepworth's Church, in which the audience joined.

☞ A salute of one hundred guns was fired at noon on Friday, upon Boston Common, in honor of the Emancipation of all persons held as slaves in the rebellious States and Districts of the Union, promulgated by the proclamation of the President, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, of the United States, on the first day of January, 1863. The salute was fired by a detachment of the 11th Battery, Captain Edward J. Jones, by order of Gov. Andrew. The cannon's voice appropriately celebrated the enfranchisement of large masses of persons heretofore held in bondage.

☞ UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.—NEW HAMPSHIRE CAMPAIGN.—STEPHEN S. FOSTER will lecture in New Hampshire as follows:—

Canterbury,	Friday,	Jan.	8.
Concord,	Sunday,	"	10.
Loudon,	Monday,	"	11.
Chichester,	Tuesday,	"	12.
Pittsfield,	Wednesday,	"	13.
Gilmanton,	Thursday,	"	14.
"	Friday,	"	15.
Hill's Corner, Canterbury,	Sunday,	"	17.

Also as above; A. T. FOSS and W. A. JACKSON, (Jeff. Davis's coachman,) will lecture in

Newport,	Wednesday,	Jan.	13.
Claremont,	Thursday,	"	14.
Charleston,	Friday,	"	15.
Springfield, Vt.,	Saturday,	"	16.
"	Sunday,	"	17.

☞ The Parker Fraternity will be addressed at their Rooms, No. 554 Washington street, by JOHN PARKER, a colored freedman, on Friday evening, Jan. 8, at 8, P. M. Admittance, (for the benefit of Mr. Parker,) 25 cts.

☞ The following notice was read in the colored churches, Sunday, Dec. 27:—

NOTICE.—Disregarding the misrepresentations which certain persons have circulated, and though prepared for their celebration, yet, in view of the fact that another evening meeting has been organized for Friday, January 1st, and feeling that two celebrations for a similar purpose, under the circumstances, would not be an agreeable spectacle; the Union Progressive Association withdraw their Programme, believing their motives and position will be fully appreciated by their friends and the public.

WM. C. NELL,	GEO. TRAMOH,
J. HARRISON SHAW,	CHARLES FRANCIS,
E. M. BANNISTER,	HENRY JOHNSON.

Boston, Dec. 24, 1863.

☞ ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. The invaluable Tract, by Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, entitled "The Right Way the Safe Way," can be had at the *Liberator* office, wholesale or retail. Price—$4 per hundred; ten cents, single. The name of the writer is a sufficient guaranty of the book, both as to style and argument.

☞ INTERESTING, IMPORTANT, INSTRUCTIVE. PHRENOLOGY—The Nations, Races, and Tribes of Men—their Origin, Present Condition, and Probable Destiny. PHYSIOLOGY—Functions of the Bodily Organs—their "Uses and Abuses." PHRENOLOGY—Our Social, Intellectual and Moral Nature. PHYSIOGNOMY—"Signs of Character, and How to Read Them"—Ears, Eyes, Nose, Mouth, Chin, Hair, Skin, Complexion; their Language and Meaning. PSYCHOLOGY—the "Science of the Soul," including Man's Spiritual Nature, and his relations to this life and the life to come. The whole comprising a complete system of ANTHROPOLOGY, with numerous Portraits and other Engravings, given in the PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL AND LIFE ILLUSTRATED. Single number, 15 cents, by first post. The January number begins a new volume, at $1.50 a year. Subscribe now. Address, FOWLER AND WELLS, 308, Broadway, New York.

Dec. 11—3t.

☞ IMPORTANT LECTURES PROPOSED.—The subscriber proposes, if desired, to lecture before Literary Societies, etc., on either or all of the following subjects:—

I. The Colenso controversy, and the character and age of the early Hebrew sacred books.

II. The book of Daniel, its character and age, and the history of the times to which it refers.

III. The New Testament, earliest notices of it as a whole, its compilation and canonical authority, and the division of its books into authentic and unauthentic, with some of its remarkable results.

LEICESTER A. SAWYER.

DIED—In this city, Dec. 23, Miss MARY JANE PARKMAN, daughter of the late John Parkman, Esq., aged 38. [Obituary notice next week.]

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, December 8, 1863.

GENERAL ORDER, No. 42.

In reply to many inquiries, the following Order is promulgated, being condensed from previous Proclamations and Orders:—

I. Veteran soldiers, (that is, discharged soldiers who have served at least nine months,) will receive from the United States Government the veteran bounty of $402, whether they enlist in any regiment or company now in the field, or in either of the following organizations, viz:—2d Regt. of Heavy Artillery, Colonel Franklin; the 56th Regt. of Infantry, (1st Veterans,) Colonel Griswold; the 57th, (2d Veterans,) Colonel Bartlett; the 58th, (3d Veterans,) Colonel Richmond; the 59th, (4th Veterans,) Colonel Gould; or in the new Battalion of Cavalry now forming at Readville, to be attached to the 1st Regiment of Mass. Cavalry Volunteers, Colonel Sargent; or in the other new Battalion now recruiting at Readville, to form part of the 4th Mass. Cavalry Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Arnold A. Rand. Such veterans will receive the bounty of $402 from the United States, and the full State bounty of Massachusetts, in the manner set forth in the Proclamation of the Governor, of November 18th ult.

II. All raw recruits (i. e.) those not veterans) will receive the full State bounty, who enlist in either of the organizations, new or old, now in the field, or now being raised. Such new recruits will not receive $302 from the United States, but instead thereof $100 only from the United States. If they join one of the *old* regiments or companies *now in the field; or one of the Cavalry Battalions named above*, they will receive $302 from the United States. By Special Order of the Secretary of War, those two Cavalry Battalions are parts of old regiments now in the field.

New recruits have, however, the right to *join any regiment or company* not already full, whether new or old, if they choose to do so, and to accept the smaller United States bounty instead of the larger one.

III. To recapitulate. The United States does not pay recruits who are not Veterans of nine months' service any bounty exceeding $100, unless they join one of the old organizations already in the field, including in the term "old organizations," &c., the two Cavalry Battalions above mentioned.

It pays nine months' Veterans joining any organization, new or old, $402 bounty.

It pays new recruits $302, who go into old organizations, including the two Cavalry Battalions aforesaid.

The Commonwealth pays her full bounty to all classes of recruits, allowing them to join any regiment or company they please, if there is room to receive them.

IV. The United States officers do not offer any bounty to *men of color*, nor do they pay them the full wages of a soldier. They pay $10 per month, of which $3 may be in clothing.

This Commonwealth pays the full bounty of $325 in hand on being mustered into the United States service as a Massachusetts volunteer, to ALL soldiers, *irrespective of color or extraction*; or the soldier may, if he prefers it, receive $50 in advance, and monthly State pay, by way of bounty, $20 per month.

V By Act of November 16, 1863, this Commonwealth, out of its own Treasury, makes up to the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Volunteers the deficiency in their pay, and a paymaster has already gone to those regiments for the purpose of their payment.

VI. *Volunteers now in the field*, authorized under orders from the War Department to re-enlist as Veteran Volunteers, and who do re-enlist in Massachusetts Volunteers, (see General Orders, Nos. 33 and 34, from these Headquarters,) receive the full bounty offered by the United States, and also the full bounty of Massachusetts, of $325 in advance, or of $50 in advance, and $20 per month, at their own election (see Governor's Proclamation of November 18, 1863, and General Orders, Nos. 32, 33 and 34.)

VII. *Such Volunteers re-enlisting will be credited to their towns against present quotas under the last call.*

By order of His Excellency JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

WILLIAM SCHOULER, *Adjutant-General.*

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The whole narrative of the long captivity, attempted escapes, sufferings and sorrows, of these heroic soldiers, is told with a graphic power that at once rivets the reader's attention. Nothing in history is more startling than this adventure, or more heart-touching than its portraiture by the pen of the gifted author.

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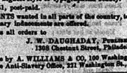

ALL interested in Phonographic Shorthand should send for the PHONOGRAPHIC VISITOR, No. 1, seven cents; Nos. 1 and 2, twelve cents. No. 2 explains the Phonographic Alphabet, given above, and all the more general principles of the Art. Address

ANDREW J. GRAHAM,

Dec. 11. 1y

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A. FOLSOM, S. P. FOLSOM,

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

NIGHT UPON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

All day the heavy roll of musketry
Resounded on the air. Peal after peal
The angry cannon's mouth discharged, and vale
And distant hill would echo back the sound,
Like thunder loud, until the sunset hour.
The parting beams of that descending orb
Shone through the smoky haze with lurid light,
Commingling with the cannon's vivid flash.
Then twilight's dusky shadows stole o'er earth,
And all was hushed, save where along the lines
A sound distinct, on the still evening air,
Falls like the raindrops when a shower has ceased;
Or rolling through the willow vale beyond,
A few last volleys end the dreadful day.

Now one by one the stars, bright jewels set
On Night's dusk brow, gleamed forth upon the field,
Disclosing by their calm and holy light
Sad scenes of horror to the anxious gaze
Of those, who, as the night is closing in,
Go forth to aid the heroes lying there—
Whose feeble life-pulse yet may faintly throb:
The flames of burning buildings light their way,
And on the hill-sides green the camp-fires shine.

A blessing on the noble hearts engaged
In mercy's work. 'Tis one redeeming trait
Amid such scenes of darkness; and we feel
Earth is not wholly lost, but, springing up
From arid wastes, Affection's flowers still bloom.

Ah! lying on the ground are thousand forms
Of men who, but with morning's light, went forth
Buoyant with life to meet the conflict dread.
And now, at day's decline, some wounded lie,
While farther on are brother comrades brave,
On whose young brows rest the chill dews of death.

Ah! who may know the thoughts that thronged their minds,
As slow the ebbing tide of life ran out?
Bright visions of the happy past arose
Distinct before the mental eye, and home,
That dearest spot of earth, was dearer still,
Now that their failing sight should nevermore
The inmates loved behold. The deep-drawn sigh
Mingled with dying groans which rent the air,
And eyes unused to weep o'erflowed with tears.

No mother's loving hand shall soothe their pain,
No father's blessing fond thrill their sad hearts;
But, far from home and friends, they bleed and die—
Martyrs in Freedom's pure and holy cause.
Amid this stricken group of soldiers brave,
One noble youth, with last thoughts fixed on home,
Lay in Death's cold embrace. Upon his breast
A letter fond, penned by his father's hand,
Was found, praying his safe return at close
Of war. How many parents thus have prayed!
This missive, with his well-worn Testament,
Told how the fleeting moments had been passed
By one about to cross the river dark,
That separates the known and unknown land.

While mourning ones, bereft
Of all that makes life dear, now weep their loss,
Shall all this suffering, all this woe be vain?
Forbid it, mighty God!

In mercy grant
This lesson stern may to us wisdom teach!
Too long have we contented basked in rays
Shed by a prosperous sun on our life-path—
No darkling cloud on our horizon seen.
Thus have our hearts become encrusted o'er
With selfishness, and we neglectful grown
Of others' wrongs and sufferings.

Yes, we
Have gathered up the glittering dust; have filled
Our coffers with the gold that perisheth;
And this while thousands of our fellow-men,
Whom God created brothers, equal, free,
Possessing equal rights, were held as slaves!

A fearful curse has rested on this race,
Because their birth was 'neath the fervid rays
Of a more Southern sun, which gave their skin
A darker shade, a deeper tint than ours.
And, but for this, they've been enslaved—deprived
The sacred boon of liberty—and forced
To toil for us, captives in servile chains!

What wonder that the awful voice of war
Is heard throughout our land? This wrong must be
Redressed—this evil be avenged. Let now
No peace of nature hollow, false e'en to
Its core, be yet proclaimed.

No, give us War!
With all its horrors dread—its awful woes!
Until the last link from the iron chain
Drops from the fettered slave—and *All are Free!*

Alas! what pen can paint, what power portray
The grandeur of this scene in all its gloom?
The limner's art is weak—and language fails
A picture of this carnage-field to draw.
Now, lost to sight it lives in Memory's halls,
One record sad of War—forevermore.

For the Liberator.

LYRICS OF FREEDOM.

BY REV. THOMAS L. HARRIS.

I.

Axeman, Ploughman, Smith and Tanner,—
Craftsmen of the North,—unite!
Freedom waves her heaven-starred banner;
Freedom leads you to the fight.

Poise the rifle, draw the sabre;
Clasp the battle as a bride!
This the holy war of Labor,
Else, for ages, crucified.

Hearts, arm-knit as Northern granite,
Strong to bear and quick to feel;
Onward, as the mighty planet,
Flaming through her bars of steel!

Lo! the Heaven of Heroes o'er us!
Stand we where our braves have bled:
Drive the flying foe before us;
Else the living shame the dead.

Madman, traitor, knave may palter—
Strike the parricidal blow:
Ours to dare for hearth and altar,
Conquering peace for friend and foe.

Once for man and once for nation,
Open the great delivering time;
For the land's great renovation,
Strike, with will and deed sublime!

II.

Peace with her lilies blooms
For the true-hearted;
Risen from martyr-tombs,
Shine our Departed.
Peace laughs at Freedom's board;
Kneels at her altar;
Worships in Freedom's Word;
Chants from her psalter.

Peace! 'tis All-Father's gift,
Equal and holy;
Stooping, in love, to lift
Lofty and lowly.
Peace leans on Freedom's hand—
Owns her embraces;
Peace reigns in Freedom's land—
Knits her glad races.

Peace comes by Freedom led—
Judge and Redeemer;
Bowing each haughty head—
Chief and oppressor.
Peace, where the Southland smiles,
Wreathed with fresh roses,—
Peace, where, in Freedom's aisles,
Valor reposes;
Peace, where, from Egypt's night,
Moab and Edom,
Labor [illegible] light,
Lifted by Freedom.
Peace for a people, won
Thus, or found never;
Peace for an Age begun;
Freedom 's forever!

War, till God's peace comes forth,
Holy and lawful,—
War, as God's fire on earth,
Piercing and awful,—
War in the lifted prayer,
"Save and deliver!"
Swords for the smiting bare,—
Strength from the Giver!

War without stint or stay,
Sparing no treasure,—
War, though years roll away,
Dead to all pleasure!
War with the foes who sell
Brethren as cattle;
Storming their earthly Hell,
Storming with battle!

Wassaic, N. Y., Dec., 1863.

The Liberator.

PLANTATION PICTURES.

BY MRS. EMILY C. PEARSON,
Author of "Cousin Frank's Household."

CHAPTER XIV.

HYMENIAL.

It was one of those glorious spring mornings, when, holy with baptism of dew, woodland, field and lawn greeted the sun. Strawberry time in the garden, wild rose and laurel-bloom in the woods, and bobolink festival among the songsters,—the rejoicing season of all the year, and the day fixed for Lelia's wedding.

She had weighed the subject for long months, at times almost crazed with conflicting thoughts. In the hush of night, in her moments of calm contemplation, she feared to take the step. It seemed to her that unseen agencies warningly beckoned her away, and early impressions would revive, and the counsels of those she mourned,—then she would weep and pray, and decide to give Mr. Nelson a prompt refusal, and at once return North.

But when morning came, her engagement with him appealed to her by a thousand attractions, and when she met her lover in the parlor or at breakfast, her doubts grew less and less, and she reproached herself for indulging them. He was so respectful, kind, affectionate, so constantly evincing his devoted regard for her, and in ways most touching and expressive, that she accused herself of ingratitude, if she did not, in a measure, reciprocate his love. And once yielding the affections of her heart, and listening to his earnest words, it was easier and easier, until giving up to the witchery of his presence, she felt that he was necessary to her happiness, that she could not live without him.

On this May morning, she sat by her window finishing a sketch, her face lighted with a calm happiness.

Amelia came bounding in, and exclaimed, "Why, cousin, what alive are you doing? If you haven't composed yourself into an industrious mood! Drawing, as I live!"

"And why not?" asked Lelia.

"O, it's all very well if one can," replied Amelia, "but the *why* not with me would be, because I *could* not. You have that subdued repose of manner on great occasions. As uncle says, you are like yourself and no one else. It's all bustle with everybody in the house, excepting you."

"The more need of my being composed, then," replied Lelia, smiling.

"I reckon so, if only you can," rejoined Amelia. "Here I've been married these three months, and yet I'm as nervous at the thought of being your bridesmaid, as when I stood in Valehead church, at my own marriage, but you seem perfectly self-possessed."

Lelia answered not, save by a pleasant smile, and went on with her drawing, and Amelia continued,—

"Well, as I'm your bridesmaid, I'm trying to carry myself in a manner befitting the occasion. I've been studying anew the old portraits of those faultless ladies in brocade, to get hints for the general effect of our dresses. Uncle thinks you cannot be improved by ornament, but I make sure he'd be proud to robe you like a queen for all that." The rose of Lelia's cheek took a deeper hue, and Amelia went on,—

"Cousin, your hair is superb this morning! I never saw your tresses so beautiful. They seem instinct with life, as if they were circling about your face and neck to make you too lovely for anything on earth!"

"O, Amelia, how dare you talk so!" said Lelia, rising to put by her drawing. "You make me ridiculous with the romancing of your tongue!"

"I am in earnest, cousin," replied Amelia; "but I know you think it idle talk, and I'll desist. It's time we dressed, too. We can help each other and have a good chat meanwhile. I haven't had a genuine visit with you since my removal to Wyatt Hall. I'm all ready but the white satin, and I'll help you first. I regard it as quite an honor to adjust such an elegant outfit. I really am afraid you do not realize what a great day this is for you. Not but what you are every way worthy of it, but I tell you, cousin, it's no common honor to win the hand of my uncle!"

"I am fully conscious of it," replied Lelia, blushing; "and no one can be more surprised than myself, that it is mine."

"Do you know," added Amelia, "that uncle has been inaccessible to the ladies for years and years,—they followed, coaxed, and worshipped all to no purpose, and he has been given up as hopeless, and you, witch of the North, have drawn him from his retreat, and borne him off captive!" Then, as she fastened Lelia's dress, she added, with a gay laugh, "Come, confess, how did you do it? How did you walk into uncle's good graces so easily? You conquered,—*veni, vidi, vici*, like. It's marvellous! Uncle is so proud of you that you'll shine in jewels like a queen. He is to bestow the family jewels on you. He has one famous diamond that he calls the 'Mountain of Light,' worth thousands. Stars pale before it. That will adorn your head, fastening your bridal veil. I cannot begin to enumerate uncle's jewels. But he has shown them to you?"

"O, yes, some time since."

"Aren't they splendid?" said Amelia. "Do you know," she went on to say, "I wanted his jewels. Brother Hubert and I were heirs apparent, until you came. See now what I lose in gaining you!" and she laughed lightly. "Ah, me, you are too beautiful for anything on earth, in your satin bows and rose-wreaths white, and orange flowers," as she looped the dress. "How beautiful! I shall only serve as a plain back ground to set off your beauty.

"I am no prophet, but I predict that you will one day be the Lady of the White House. Uncle's ambition is indomitable, and he aims for nothing less than the highest honors. He is already talked of as the candidate of his party, and I'm anxious to have you realize the greatness of this occasion. I beg you not to treat it as an every day occurrence!"

"Ah, no indeed!" said Lelia, with a merry laugh, as she went on with her toilet.

"And I want everybody and everything in keeping. I want this entire house a fairy arbor. I've forgiven Miss Forsythe's training the multiflora in the colonnade,—you see it's just the thing for this wedding celebration. I wish we had one trained and in bloom in every room in the house. The parlor does very well for ordinary occasions, with the parlor ivy and the rose-sprays that Frink smuggles in at the windows; but now we must make it a festal arbor. Miss Forsythe and I were up half the night helping Frink arrange the festoons and bouquets. O, what loads of flowers have been sent in. Everybody is so delighted that uncle is really going to be married, and the expressions of kindness, the congratulations, are ushered in with presents of flowers.

"Only you to see, Lelia, the company that is pouring in! There is the Rose Gill carriage, there is the Amblethorpe carriage, and others way down the avenue. Who can they be? There, there, do you see that ponderous ancient carriage, with outrider in orange and blue,—that is king Brownlee's. I'm glad he's on hand, with his substantial views of things. And I wouldn't wonder if Miss Forsythe welcomed him, too. Ah, Lelia, it's a joyful time; such events do not come every day, and we must enjoy it as much as we can. I make sure I enjoy your wedding all the same as if it were my own,—its such an event getting uncle married off, and every body far and near is so interested and excited about it, that it really is the greatest event of the season.

"Doesn't Miss Forsythe behave beautifully about it, though? She seemed so happy in making arrangements for the wedding. I used to think she angled a little for uncle. But she is as resigned as possible, and has been superintending cake baking and everything else for the last month, as if you were her daughter. I confess to being puzzled when I see her in the society of king Brownlee. One would think that they had been intimate friends all their lives, so perfectly do they agree, and understand each other. I make sure they have corresponded for years, and perhaps are reviving some old love affair.

"You'll have dutiful servants, I make sure; they are all delighted at the thought of having you for a mistress. See, it's holiday for them, and, rigged in their best, they are coming up from the quarters.

"As for Frink, he is an out-and-out idolater of yours. He outdoes himself in polishing and adorning in his diocese; and dressed in uncle's late suit, he is the most genteel article in the house. O, isn't he handsome! I cannot blame him for being a little vain, can you?"

"O, no indeed," replied Lelia.

"All ready at last, are we not?" asked Amelia.

"All ready!" echoed Lelia, with a calm survey of herself and bridesmaid, "and now it lacks one hour to the time. Let's go down to the parlor."

"O, yes," replied Amelia, "we might as well be lookers on, as others. Uncle Hugh will be there entertaining the king, and we shall feel easier than if we remained here till the last moment."

King Brownlee was in the midst of an interesting account of the habits of some of the birds that frequented Mount Pleasant. After the customary greetings, as Lelia and Amelia were presented to him, he said in his kind way, "We were talking of birds, young ladies, can you tell which of the birds is most of a fairy?"

"I know so little about birds," replied Amelia.

"Isn't it the humming bird?" asked Lelia.

"I think so," replied king Brownlee. "Some one calls it 'a glittering fragment of a rainbow,' another, 'a living blossom of the air.' It is the most graceful, light, and airy of birds. See here," he added, pointing out the window near which he sat, "here is a ruby-throated humming bird on this Bignonia."

"O, yes," said the young ladies, going to the window; "there are two, busy with the flowers."

"They are often seen on the Bignonia," said Mr. Nelson, as he joined Lelia by the window.

"Yes," said king Brownlee, "I have noticed that the humming bird greatly prefers tubular flowers. I allow the presence of the Trumpet flower, and in obscure corners even the Datura, out of respect to the bird-fairies. The honeysuckle and the balsams please them, too, and I do not know that they refuse any flower."

"But what do they eat?" asked Amelia.

"Mostly insects," replied king Brownlee; "small beetles and flies are often found in their stomach. They search the flowers for insects, and are very serviceable on this account. They drink the nectar or honey in the flower-cup to quench thirst.

"As soon as the sun causes plants to bloom, the little ruby-throat comes on humming, airy winglets, carefully visiting every flower-cup, and removing the injurious insects that would otherwise blight the flower. Have you ever examined the nest of the humming bird?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Nelson, "and it's fitting for a fairy."

"Please tell us about it," said Lelia.

"With pleasure," said the king. "The nest of the ruby-throated humming bird is one of the most delicate nature, the external parts being formed of a light grey lichen found on the branches of trees, or on decayed fence rails, and so neatly arranged around the whole nest, as well as to some distance from the spot where it is attached, as to seem part of the branch or stem itself." And here the king produced a nest from his pocket, nicely wrapped in tissue paper. "Here is a nest."

"O, see!" exclaimed Amelia, "how pretty this light grey lichen is, on the outside!"

"Yes," added Lelia, "how skilfully it is attached!"

"And the bits of lichen are glued together with the saliva of the bird, I conclude!" said Mr. Nelson.

"Yes," said king Brownlee, "it's a wonderful piece of mechanism." Next to the lichen is a cotton-like coating, and last of all a silky one, the soft fibres being obtained from various plants. But see," added the king, "look without on the trumpet flower, behold ruby-throat's courtship. See how he swells his plumage and throat, and whirls round his lady love; and asks after her health, and whispers, 'Isn't the morning beautiful!' Now he dives into the heart of a flower, and returns with a loaded bill and presents it to her; she smiles, dances in the air, assures him that she is very well, and that the morning is very beautiful. How ecstatic he is, as he sees that his suit is likely to be successful."

"Ah, yes, he's a happy bird," said Mr. Nelson, "see, see his little wings fan her, as they are wont to fan the flowers. There he is putting in her bill the insect and honey he has been toiling to procure; and little Miss Ruby takes it in good part. Her consent to the union makes a bold, courageous bird of him. Now he is chasing the blue bird and martins to their boxes, and now he returns to ask for the twentieth time after the health of lady Ruby, and to remark that the morning is lovely."

"I've no doubt," said king Brownlee, "that ruby-throat is in this process, making earnest vows of constancy, courage and devotion, while building their nest and rearing their young. And he's a *bird of his word*,—you'll find him true to little Ruby. A lesson for thee, friend Nelson!"

"And one, I trust, will be engraven on my heart," he replied. "No trait of the birds is more noteworthy than their constancy. I have, of late, called my Lelia's attention to a love affair going on between two mocking birds."

"Ah," replied king Brownlee, "I have within the week been studying the habits of a pair in my garden."

"The mocking bird ought to have some sentiment and poetry about him," said Mr. Nelson, "as he is the acknowledged king of song."

"Sentiment!" echoed the king. "He is enthusiastic. He's as graceful as the fairy ruby-throat, and light as a butterfly, as he flies round his mate. Mounting a little in the air he sweeps around in a circle, and alighting, pours forth his love song in exulting ecstasy. He tells his love in his own dialect, over and over, each time with more softness and richness than before. Then he sways upward still higher, glances around to see if any intruder is near, dances through the air with delight, and as he returns to his beloved one, he renews his protestations of love in the language of the different songsters, choosing the most impassioned strains."

"The very bird of love," exclaimed Mr. Nelson.

"So far as exuberant promises are concerned," returned king Brownlee, "but he may not be any more constant than those less gifted with utterance. Still, I have no reason to complain of him.

"For some time the happy pair enact these love scenes; days and nights pass, joyous with vows, expressions of admiration, and bridal songs, when a peculiar note from the female warns him that there is a practical phrase to life, and at once he ceases singing, and accompanies her on her little expeditions of rent-hunting. I've spent hours watching my mocking birds," continued the king. "When the song ceases, and they are busy on these excursions, you may know that a nest is to be made ready. And as it is a family secret, they whisper as they mutually consider the matter. They search the hawthorne hedges, the fig bushes, the pomegranate, and pear tree, and, finally, after close inspection of all other suitable places, choose the holly under my widow!"

"The beautiful birds," said Lelia, "how you must delight to watch them!"

"I do so, my dear young lady; they contribute much to my happiness."

But the hour and the company had arrived, and Mr. Nelson and Lelia stood forth, and, as the marriage service was read, plighted their vows. "And what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

Then came the benediction-prayer; and, as the guests were about offering congratulations, there was a surprise: King Brownlee led up Miss Forsythe, and again the marriage service was read, and vows plighted. After receiving congratulations of their friends, and partaking of a sumptuous entertainment befitting the occasion, the Powhatan bridal party, with a gay procession of horses and carriages, escorted Mr. and Mrs. Brownlee to Mount Pleasant, where the wedding festivities were continued one week longer.

LETTER FROM CAPT. DANIEL FOSTER.

NORFOLK, (Va.) Dec. 29, 1863.

DEAR GARRISON—The year 1863 is near its close; and what an eventful year it has been! For two years the war had been prosecuted without an avowed anti-slavery purpose on the part of the Government. Consequently, God had not prospered our arms. We were thwarted and defeated by the slave-monger's rebellion. 1862 closed in gloom. The defeat at Fredericksburg following the triumph of the Copperheads in the elections of the previous autumn, seemed to render the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by England and France a certainty, and our prospect of final success dark and doubtful indeed. The new year opened with the Proclamation of Freedom to three millions of slaves. Then for the first time did our Government make this a war for Justice and Right, as well as for the unity of the nation. The events of the past year and the action of public opinion in Europe have clearly shown us, that this great measure of justice has saved us from foreign intervention and complication of our difficulties fearful to contemplate. From the moment this policy was adopted, our fortunes have advanced and our prospects have brightened. I need not recount the events of the past year; they are engraven on the grateful hearts of the American people; and all can see the success of this glorious year as the immediate fruit of the anti-slavery policy which the President announced one year ago as thenceforward his purpose and inspiration in the conduct of this war.

But my object in this letter is to call your attention to the *great* advantage we have gained by this new policy of Justice. I refer to the colored soldiers we have thereby rallied to our standard, and the fact now well assured that the four millions of colored people in the South are to be forevermore our allies and friends. This simple fact that the whole colored population of the South is won to our side by the anti-slavery policy of the Government renders the slave-holders' cause hopeless. Let proper provision be made for these men; let them have land from the confiscated estates of rebel slaveholders; and let them be protected in their rights as free citizens of the United States, and we shall not only get rid of slavery in the suppression of this rebellion, but the fearful social evils of slavery will disappear, and the South will be renewed and renovated into a pure and progressive life.

It is officially announced that we have 150,000 colored soldiers in the field, and provision is made for the enlistment of as many more. I have now been out on two expeditions with colored troops. The last, which Gen. Wild in person commanded, has just returned from Elizabeth City. I presume the General's report of his expedition will be published, and I will not, therefore, go into the details; but I want to call your attention to a few important facts which demonstrate the immense advantage to the Government of employing colored troops in the Southern country. And, first, it releases from the war just so many from the North. If 200,000 colored men are enlisted and employed as soldiers in the South, 200,000 young men are left at home at the North, who must have come into the field but for the presence of these men. It *elevates* the slave to put him into the army. It gives him discipline; it gives him self-respect; it gives him a country and a flag of which he is proud, and for which he will fight and die bravely; whereas the young men of the North go into the army at a great sacrifice—go far from home, and incur perils from the climate which the colored man does not; hence every Copperhead at the North who opposes the use of colored soldiers is guilty of forcing into the army thousands of his fellow-citizens, who must go and fight, if his policy prevails, but who need not do it if our loyal friends at the South are welcomed to the ranks.

Secondly, the presence of colored troops in the rebellious South exerts a most salutary influence. The rebels are filled with fear when they see their slaves armed against them as soldiers of the United States. As proof of this, I would state that Gen. Wild has succeeded by the exhibition of a small force of colored soldiers in three counties of North Carolina, viz: Camden, Pasquotank and Currituck, in scattering the whole guerrilla force, and bringing the people to a sense of their situation, so that by hundreds they are coming in to take the oath of allegiance, and get papers of protection. Even noted guerrillas, whom all men thought incorrigible enemies, have voluntarily come forward and taken the oath. And here I would ask, what can the slaveholders of the South do with the able-bodied colored men enfranchised, and armed as soldiers and citizens of the United States! They must recognize the fact that these men can no longer be oppressed and trodden under foot, and they must treat them with respect.

Third, another fact which I have seen with great delight is the disposition on the part of these colored men to forgive past wrongs, and rest satisfied in present and future prosperity won by their own toil, and secured by the protection of the Government. They do not forget the cruelties they have suffered, but they feel that God has avenged them on their oppressors, and they cherish no hatred and lay up no bitter revenge. I have no doubt the true Christianity of this nation is found to-day, by far the larger part of it, in the enslaved men. How Christlike is their characteristic affectionateness, trust, and readiness to forget and forgive, and, above all, their patient waiting for God's promised deliverance from cruel oppression!

Let me say, in conclusion, that the slaves will make *good* soldiers. They are obedient, patient, attentive, and anxious to do well. Their bravery under brave leaders is written now on too many battle-fields in imperishable characters to need an argument or an eulogium. I will not waste a word on that point, but only state that I have gladly taken a captain's commission, well knowing what the slaveholders promise to the officers of colored soldiers, if taken prisoners. I am greatly pleased with General Wild. He is in his right place, and that he will do a great and a good work for his country in his present position, I am fully persuaded. God grant to him, and to all who labor for the freedom and unity of our country, honor and success, is the prayer of

Your brother, DANIEL FOSTER.

☞ Tom Carlyle says that the hanging of negroes by the New York rioters is "the grimmest joke of all the ages." Somewhere in his writings Tom remarks that "there are depths in man that go the lengths of lowest hell," and it should seem that he wrote from self-knowledge when he made the remark.—*Boston Traveller.*

☞ The total of our dead and disabled in the war is put at 278,101, including those who have died of disease, these latter being much more numerous in all wars than those who are slain in battle, or die from wounds there received.

MISS DICKINSON AND THE CHICAGO FAIR.

In a scurrilous notice of the admirable lecture by Miss Dickinson, at the City Hall, the *Argus* says:

MISS ANNA E. DICKINSON, who charged and received $600, for making two addresses on the occasion of the great Western Fair, at Chicago, for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission, delivered her abolition tirade at the City Hall, last evening. * * * In connection with the fee received by this woman at Chicago, we are fain to believe, that she is probably the only one in the country, who would take money for rendering a service to sick and wounded soldiers.

This copperhead slander of a patriotic, whole-souled, sacrificing young lady, which is repeated in the *Argus* for the half-dozenth time, has been explained by the Chicago *Tribune*, so that only the meanest creatures that walk the earth—*those who are willing to strike a woman*—continue to retail the foul aspersion upon her philanthropic spirit. The facts are simply these, as given in substance by the Chicago paper, and as confirmed by Miss Dickinson herself, while in this city.

The Committee of the Chicago Fair wrote to Miss D. to know what price she put upon her lectures, and to engage her for the Fair. She replied that she had but one price for her lectures—*one hundred dollars*—but that she could not visit Chicago, as her time was all taken up during the season of the Fair. The Committee wrote again, insisting that she should fix a price for lecturing before the Fair. She again replied that the thing was out of the question, as, in order to go to Chicago as desired, she would be obliged to cancel appointments for *ten different places.* The Committee, not satisfied, voted to appropriate *one thousand dollars* to secure her services, then wrote her accordingly, and made an urgent appeal for her to yield to their solicitation.

Seeing the action of the Committee and the urgency with which they pressed their suit, she withdrew her appointments, for which she would have received one hundred dollars each, went to Chicago and gave two lectures. The Committee generously offered her the $1,000, but she declined to receive over $600, thus, instead of "taking money for rendering a service to sick and wounded soldiers," as charged by the *Argus*, she cheerfully sacrificed the opportunity to earn $400, which sum, by every fair-minded person, will be put down to her credit as a contribution to the Sanitary Commission. One fact more: the two lectures of Miss Dickinson netted the Fair *eleven hundred and forty odd dollars*, after the expenses and her allowance were paid. During the first six months of the war, Miss D. contributed her personal services, as a volunteer nurse in the hospitals of Pennsylvania, for which she received no salary or compensation. Such are the ways in which this noble young woman has "taken money for rendering a service to sick and wounded soldiers." When the editor of the *Argus*, assisted by the entire cabal for which that paper is the mouth-piece, shall have done half as much for the benefit of the Union cause; when they shall have individually or collectively sacrificed the opportunity to put half as much money in their own pockets, for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers, then they can assail her with a fraction more show of propriety. But so long as they do nothing except to growl at all attempts to restore the Union, and to defame all who are laboring for the sick and wounded soldiers; so long as they head a simple notice of a course of lectures for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission with the word "Advertisement," and charge for it accordingly, they have no right to complain of lack of benevolence in others.

We have no idea that the *Argus* will make atonement for its attack upon a talented and philanthropic lady by giving the facts; it will prefer the unenviable reputation of having, cowardly and ruffian-like, *dealt a blow at a woman*, whose only shield is her virtue; whose only defence is her spotless purity and good works. But the blow, though dealt by a cowardly hand, and in an assassin spirit, falls harmless. Miss Dickinson will live in the memory, the affection and the christian prayers of those who listened to her eloquent and pathetic pleadings on Wednesday evening last, when the names of those who basely assail her shall fester in the dishonored grave of utter forgetfulness.—*Portland Press.*

☞ The Worcester *Spy*, in speaking of the lecture given by Miss Anna Dickinson in that city, on Thursday evening of last week, says she has a peculiar and impressive manner of illustration, compelling you to accept her convictions and to think her thoughts by the touching simplicity with which she connects them with incidents almost too sad for speech. The story of the slave at Rodman's Point, who said, "Somebody must die to get us out of this, and it may as well be me,"—and then perished, and her application of the incident to the heroic suffering of the race to which he belonged, produced an effect which cannot be reported, and brought tears into many eyes. She closed her lecture with an appeal to the young and strong, to listen now to the clear call of duty, and to come once more with hearts earnest and true to the help of their brothers, who wait for them in the field. The lecturer was listened to throughout with deep interest and attention, interrupted only by frequent expressions of approbation and applause.

THE GREAT CRISIS AND THE GREAT CHANGE.

It is more than gratifying to all who believe that in tracing the cause of this war, we find, under various pretexts, it originated in the curse of slavery, to see the readiness with which so many of our political opponents now admit that the peculiar institution is at the bottom of all our troubles. Within the past six months we have found very many, who were wont to hint at the abolition tendencies of the North as justification for Southern outrages, expressing a very different belief. Thousands upon thousands have overcome their prejudices, buried their partizanship beneath their patriotic impulses, and are now unmindful of slavery and indifferent to its fate. Others go a step further, and express the hope that slavery will be wiped out. They see, as the war has developed the skeleton, that, sad and painful as have been the results of the strife, the day of rebellion could only have been postponed, where men became tainted, corrupt and overreaching by their connection with a system of involuntary labor, which implanted in their hearts a contempt for honest industry and a hatred for a race of men who developed a new country, and added new States so rapidly to the Union, that they saw the power which they had wrongfully exerted slipping so rapidly from their grasp, that they read the handwriting on the wall which predicted their fate. The Southerners are better politicians than the Northerners, for they make politics a profession, and they knew before we were aware of it of the inevitable tendency of our surprising growth. The day for threatening the North had passed. A new race of unterrified statesmen had come forward. The game of rascality which had been attempted in Kansas failed, and unwilling to see their institution decay, unwilling to admit that the time had come for the North to offer no more guarantees to a corrupt system, they attempted to develop the grand hope which had for years been so carefully nurtured at the South as the *dernier ressort*, and sought to weaken the Union by dividing its territory and creating for themselves a confederacy in name, but in reality a domain where there should be a privileged class, which would soon have ripened into a despotism.

It is gratifying to hear of the indifference which is felt by those who have all their lives been members of the great "conservative" parties, in regard to this disputed point. It is more than gratifying to hear the outspoken words of men who have been slow to see the truth, but having found it, now express, regardless of the sneers of those who are still blind, their candid convictions that no permanent peace can be secured, no glorious future for this country can be expected, until there is no task-master holding the whip over a single human being on the soil which is protected by our flag.

This harmony of thought is worth in its moral effect almost an army of men. The leaders at the South know this change in public opinion. A year ago there was a diversity of opinion, and men who to-day endorse the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln were then openly opposed to it. They adopt it in one sense as a war measure, but the justice of this decree is in reality the chief element which is appealing to the understanding of the thinking men of all political creeds. The negroes have shown themselves worthy of our sympathy, and they have sacrificed their lives willingly that their race might be elevated, and hence it is that thousands who thought them only fit to be boot-blacks, now readily recognize in them the germs which are capable of development. It is an inherent trait in the American character that as a people we are ready to give everybody what we call "a fair show." We sympathise with foreign nations which are oppressed, because they are not having "a fair show," and to-day we are forgetting the color of men, in our respect for their deeds.

Had any one told us ten years ago that the sentiments we have expressed would one day be entertained by us, we should have regarded such a person as a lunatic, but what we believed was a conservative spirit then, would, if entertained now, be so near akin to the belief of the copperhead faction that it is a cause for thankfulness that we have been permitted with others to progress. There are some who agree with these ideas when they reflect, but they still hold back. There is some stubborn or stupid "Sir Oracle" in their little circle from whose scowl they must get emancipated before they will dare to confess and join the ranks of the unqualified loyal men. Some hold back fearful that some thin-pated friend will ejaculate, "So you've turned abolitionist, have you?" Others hesitate because there is a bugbear that goes round frightening timid men by whispering "inconsistency." Shake these myths of straw to the wind, and come out from behind your lukewarmness and your studied silence and swell the number of men who see but one path of duty, but one course to adopt, to secure for their children a heritage worthy of the name.

Let the sore-heads of dead parties galvanize themselves into a few more spasms without your presence giving them encouragement, and join the millions who intend to stand by the administration till this war is over, and as much longer as the leaders deserve. Thousands of men, native and adopted citizens, have taken the bold leap, if such it can be called, and why should you delay? You may perhaps cherish the idea that the time will come, when you can say with pride; "I never deserted the Democratic Party." One might as well expect to see the little monitor which found an ocean grave, suddenly rise from beneath the sand in which it is embedded and sail into port, as to expect the resurrection of that organization. When there are two powerful parties again in this country it will not be the memories of Breckinridge, Vallandigham and the Woods, that shrewd politicians will adopt as a basis for one of these, and the term Democrat will be as obsolete as Federalist. The true spirit to-day that represents our institutions and the principles of our Government is found in the Republican party, and it will only be through rashness that it can lose this prestige.

The proclamation which gave freedom to four millions of slaves, and dignity to the labor of every white man in this country, approaches its first birthday. The events of the year have given it a significance which is felt more heavily at Richmond than at Washington. It has been endorsed by millions, and it cannot be protested while we exist as a nation. It is the harpoon which has buried itself in the leviathan and must prove fatal. We only require men enough to hold the rope, sailors enough to man the boats till the monster, rising and falling, spouting blood and creating an ocean of foam, as if life was inexhaustible, shall at last float lifeless alongside of the old Ship of State.

"Irrevocable the mighty words BE FREE!
The land shakes with them, and the slave's dull ear
Turns from the rice swamp stealthily to hear.
Who would recall them, now must first arrest
The winds that blow down from the free Northwest."
—*Boston Saturday Evening Gazette.*

THE FREEDMEN OF LOUISIANA.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Rev. Thomas Calahan, missionary to the freedmen from the United Presbyterian Church, dated Goodrich's Landing, Carroll Parish, Louisiana, Nov. 10th. The letter was written to our former fellow-townsman, Captain James A. Ekin, now quartermaster at Indianapolis, Indiana. We quote:

"You have no idea of the state of things here. Go out in any direction and you meet negroes on horses, negroes on mules, negroes with oxen, negroes by the wagon, cart and buggy load, negroes on foot, men, women and children; negroes in uniform, negroes in rags, negroes in frame houses, negroes living in tents, negroes living in rail pens covered with brush, and negroes living under brush piles without any rails, negroes living on the bare ground with the sky for their covering; all hopeful, almost all cheerful, every one pleading to be taught, willing to do anything for learning. They are never out of our rooms, and their cry is for 'Books! Books!' and 'when will school begin?' Negro women come and offer to cook and wash for us, if we will only teach them to read the Bible. Their offer is equal to ten dollars a month. And think of people living in brush tents gathering for prayer meetings that last far into the night. Every night hymns of praise to God and prayers for the Government that oppressed them so long, rise around us on every side—prayers for the white teachers that have already come—prayers that God would send them more. These are our circumstances.

"No man not on this field can comprehend the immense moral importance of our work. It is certainly true that they are very low in the moral scale. God pardon us their sins. What have we done to better their character? They are tractable and confiding in all things, and so intensely capable of elevation by both precept and example. But let us look at this matter in another light. I am from Indiana, and am proud of my adopted State, especially her military prowess; and yet the first Arkansas (colored) in muscle, soldierly bearing and accuracy of drill, surpasses any regiment I ever saw in Indiana. They are splendid specimens of men.

"Set down these ideas as fixed. The arming of negroes and making them a great military power in the Southwest is no longer an experiment. It is a great fact. If any man thinks that they will not fight irresistibly, that man is mistaken; and if any one says that they will not work where there is any hope of even slight wages, that man slanders them. Our necessities compel us to drill them, and if we do not teach them, they will be a terrible power. We must obliterate their recollections of wrongs suffered, or they will avenge them, perhaps. Every consideration that will prompt a people to action, urges us to ameliorate in every way their condition. But a truce to moralizing for the present."

GAS FIXTURES.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that (owing to ill health) he has been obliged to leave his situation at Messrs. H. B. Stanwood & Co's, now Messrs. Shreve, Stanwood & Co's, where he has been employed for the last fourteen years, the work being too heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared to do all manner of

JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES,

In the most careful manner. New Fixtures furnished and put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drops cleaned, leaks stopped, Gas Fixtures done over, and Gas Glasses of all kinds furnished at short notice. Also, Gas Burners of all the approved kinds.

Particular attention given to *Lighting up for Parties.* Shop under the Marlboro' Hotel. Orders may be left at Messrs. Hall & Stowell's Provision Store, 132 Charles street, Boston. NELSON L. PERKINS.

Refers to Shreve, Stanwood & Co.

Oct. 30—1y

IMPROVEMENT IN
Champooing and Hair Dyeing,
"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

JOHN S. ROCK, ESQ.
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
No. 6 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON.