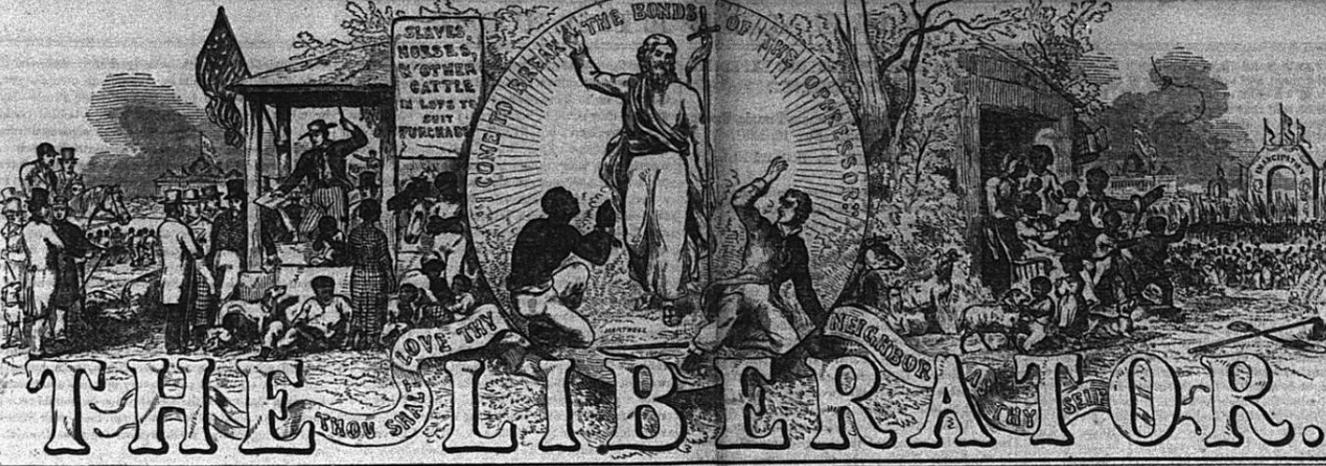


TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance.

All communications are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

"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 the 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 EMANCIPIATION OF THE SLAVES."

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE EMANCIPIATION LEAGUE.

We have declined to publish among our advertisements a notice of the League to be delivered by Ex-Gov. Boutwell, before a certain body of persons calling themselves "The Emancipation League." Not long since, we called special attention to this set of associates, and urged the formation of a UNION LEAGUE, the necessity for which becomes every moment more apparent.

GARRISON'S LIBERATOR, last week, was tremendously severe on Mr. Lincoln and his Message, as we might expect from a paper that carries the motto—"The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

It occurs to us, that some one of the comparatively few members of Congress who are fit to be in it should meet the whole series of fantastic propositions now before that body in relation to slavery, by asking for the passage of a resolution, namely—

At present, as is suggested by our correspondent, certain States at the East, would be overburdened with this sort of population, since Pennsylvania will not have them, nor Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, or even Kansas.

The noble stand taken by President Lincoln, in regard to the abolition proclamation of Fremont, has done much to disconcert the Abolitionists, and render in the public mind of the North such sentiments as alone can save the Republic from utter ruin and destruction.

Selections.

FREMONT DEMONSTRATION.

The Germans of Cincinnati turned out in large numbers on Saturday night last to attend a meeting held at Turner Hall, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with Gen. Fremont, in the course lately pursued towards him by the Administration.

Now that the standard of LIBERTY has been unfurled by Fremont over the contending parties—a higher standard than stars and stripes, or stars and bars—how stretched and dispirited appear the standards raised by the pigmy Generals who have gone out warm from the wing of the Administration!

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

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

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, who, we infer, is not a very wise man, talks of "stripping the epaulettes from the shoulders of the commanding Generals"—an expression generalized, we take it, to avoid individual application. Certainly, he is not so wise as the Roman officer, who replied to his Emperor, that he did not care to argue with a person who commanded twenty legions.

Every army officer has a right to throw up his commission. And if Senators make officers' opinions against the impolicy and the folly of creating negro regiments of soldiers to march side by side with Americans, Irishmen, and Germans, the test as proposed, is scarcely a General in the army who will stand it—not even Gen. Banks, we suspect.

MORAL CHARACTER OF THE REBELS.

One of the most remarkable effects of this rebellion is seen in the loss of moral character among the rebels. Men who, in the private relations of life, are gentlemen who have a high sense of honor, who have maintained an unsullied character, by the rebellion seem to have been torn from their former moorings, clothed with a panoply of fiction, and sent to sea upon the uncertainties of civil war.

Now that the standard of LIBERTY has been unfurled by Fremont over the contending parties—a higher standard than stars and stripes, or stars and bars—how stretched and dispirited appear the standards raised by the pigmy Generals who have gone out warm from the wing of the Administration!

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

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

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, who, we infer, is not a very wise man, talks of "stripping the epaulettes from the shoulders of the commanding Generals"—an expression generalized, we take it, to avoid individual application. Certainly, he is not so wise as the Roman officer, who replied to his Emperor, that he did not care to argue with a person who commanded twenty legions.

Every army officer has a right to throw up his commission. And if Senators make officers' opinions against the impolicy and the folly of creating negro regiments of soldiers to march side by side with Americans, Irishmen, and Germans, the test as proposed, is scarcely a General in the army who will stand it—not even Gen. Banks, we suspect.

TRIBUTE OF MR. SUMNER TO THE MEMOIRY OF HON. B. D. BAKER.

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

MR. PRESIDENT—The Senator to whom to-day we say farewell, was generous in funeral homage to others. More than once he held great companies in rapt attention while he did honor to the dead. Over the coffin of Broderick he proclaimed the dying utterance of this early victim, and gave to it the fiery wings of his own eloquence.

There are two forms of eminent talent which are kindred in their effects—each producing an instant present impression—each holding crowds in suspense, and each kindling enthusiastic admiration: I mean that of the orator, and of the soldier.

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

CHARLESTON, S. C., Nov. 23, 1861. Disgrace the truth as we may, all thinking men here feel their position peculiarly unsafe; and those who are surrounded by female relatives have their anxiety increased a thousand fold.

DRAGGED TO THE PLACE OF EXECUTION, within sight of their own houses, surrounded by their fellow-servants, who are compelled to witness the sight, they are bound to strong trees, with great heaps of pine knots piled around their persons.

I undertook to say, the apprehension of servile insurrection lost its power when, as time passed, all seemed peaceful; so we easily fell back into dreams of security until these events aroused us to watchfulness. This news is suppressed as far as possible, and kept entirely from the papers, for the negroes hear what is published if they do not read it, and such examples might produce disastrous consequences.

SERVILE REVOLT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

We are permitted (says the Philadelphia Inquirer of Nov. 30th) to copy the following letter, written to a lady in this city, from a relative in Charleston, South Carolina. The statements made therein may be relied upon as an accurate description of affairs in that city at the present time:

CHARLESTON, S. C., Nov. 23, 1861. Disgrace the truth as we may, all thinking men here feel their position peculiarly unsafe; and those who are surrounded by female relatives have their anxiety increased a thousand fold.

DRAGGED TO THE PLACE OF EXECUTION, within sight of their own houses, surrounded by their fellow-servants, who are compelled to witness the sight, they are bound to strong trees, with great heaps of pine knots piled around their persons.

I undertook to say, the apprehension of servile insurrection lost its power when, as time passed, all seemed peaceful; so we easily fell back into dreams of security until these events aroused us to watchfulness. This news is suppressed as far as possible, and kept entirely from the papers, for the negroes hear what is published if they do not read it, and such examples might produce disastrous consequences.

DRAGGED TO THE PLACE OF EXECUTION, within sight of their own houses, surrounded by their fellow-servants, who are compelled to witness the sight, they are bound to strong trees, with great heaps of pine knots piled around their persons.

I undertook to say, the apprehension of servile insurrection lost its power when, as time passed, all seemed peaceful; so we easily fell back into dreams of security until these events aroused us to watchfulness. This news is suppressed as far as possible, and kept entirely from the papers, for the negroes hear what is published if they do not read it, and such examples might produce disastrous consequences.

DRAGGED TO THE PLACE OF EXECUTION, within sight of their own houses, surrounded by their fellow-servants, who are compelled to witness the sight, they are bound to strong trees, with great heaps of pine knots piled around their persons.

Let not our grief be a hollow pageant; let it not spend itself in funeral pomp. It must become a motive and an impulse to patriot action. But patriotism itself, that commanding charity, embracing so many other charities, is only a name, and nothing else, unless you resolve that slavery, the barbarous enemy of our country, the irreconcilable foe of our Union, the violator of the Constitution, the disturber of our peace, the vampire of our national life, sucking its best blood, the assassin of our children, and the murderer of our dead Senator, shall be overturned.

GERRIT SMITH ON THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MESSAGE. The Message is marked with the characteristic sincerity and patriotism of the President. Nevertheless, its treatment of the question of slavery—of the great and all-controlling question in the war—is such as to confirm my apprehension that the country is lost.

Another thing in the President very deeply to be regretted is, that he has never seemed to be sensible of the great perils of his country. How else can we account for his indifference and his opposition to measures so manifestly indicative to his salvation?

That when the crisis were past, the man would die, and there an end; but now they rise again. As the pretension showed itself anew, our orator undertook again to expose it. How thoroughly he did this—now with historic and now with forensic skill—while his whole effort was elevated by a charming, ever-ready eloquence, which itself was aroused to new power by the interruptions which he encountered—all this is present to your minds.

DRAGGED TO THE PLACE OF EXECUTION, within sight of their own houses, surrounded by their fellow-servants, who are compelled to witness the sight, they are bound to strong trees, with great heaps of pine knots piled around their persons.

I undertook to say, the apprehension of servile insurrection lost its power when, as time passed, all seemed peaceful; so we easily fell back into dreams of security until these events aroused us to watchfulness. This news is suppressed as far as possible, and kept entirely from the papers, for the negroes hear what is published if they do not read it, and such examples might produce disastrous consequences.

DRAGGED TO THE PLACE OF EXECUTION, within sight of their own houses, surrounded by their fellow-servants, who are compelled to witness the sight, they are bound to strong trees, with great heaps of pine knots piled around their persons.

virtual explosion. Under that policy, there will be "blood—even unto the horse-bride."

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

The President has had his destroying hand on the best part of Secretary Cameron's Report, as he did on the Secretary's Order to Gen. Sherman, and on the best part of Gen. Fremont's Proclamation; and on my first and hasty reading of the recent Order of the Secretary of the Treasury, concerning the employment of negroes, I fancied that I saw the same dreaded hand in that also; for I could not believe that this accomplished Secretary, whose head is as clear as his heart is honest, would himself be in favor of recognizing slaveholding rights in the Gulf States. Surely, no slavery in those States is any longer legalized by laws which no nation is bound to recognize and obey. Such laws as bear no relation to the nation could be held by them, were all abstracted some nine to twelve months ago. And to say that the nation is held by laws enacted or revived by Confederate States would be as absurd as to say that it is held by the rules of the pirates of the seas. But, on a second and more careful reading of the Order, I find no liberty to infer that the Secretary looks upon "persons held for service for life under the State laws" in the Gulf States as still slaves, or to be recognized by the nation as such.

The President was chosen to save the nation. But it turns out that, with all his merit, he is, nevertheless, the worst man to kill it. What is worse, the people will probably let him kill it. For it is not easy to unstick such deep confidence as is reposed in the man of their choice; and it is not easy to face the shame of confessing that a choice so confident and enthusiastic was nevertheless unfortunate.

I am not disposed to underrate the President. I admit that he is more intellectual than nine-tenths of the politicians, and more honest than ninety-nine hundredths of them. I admit, too, that he would have made a good President had he not been trained to worship the Constitution. And I also admit that Constitution-worship is not peculiar to him. It has long been a national religion, and hence it is that it is now working so much against us.

Slavery creates many and aggravates more of our evils. If it is not true that our Constitution-worship originated with slavery, it is nevertheless true that this vice, like so many others, is "set on fire of that hell." The Constitution, being the popularly acknowledged protector of slavery, the great work for slavery to do was to deepen and spread this worship of the Constitution. Perhaps no mind has had this work done more successfully and fatally than on the ingenuous and receptive mind of the President. So that now, when he is in a position to save his country, and when, if he has a heart to do so, his conscience nevertheless, compels him to kill it. Taught to reverence the Constitution with the country, and to regard slavery as the pre-eminent care of the Constitution, he necessarily believes that, in saving slavery, he is saving the country. That slavery is the deadly enemy of the country can have no place in a mind educated to look upon slavery as the pet protegee of the Constitution, and the Constitution to be all one with the country.

What must be the President's answer to the question—why he could have his Marshals pursue the poor innocents?—what but that the country (slavery) ruling in the Constitution, made it necessary? What, too, but the same answer to the question—why he can similarly employ his Generals? And what also but the same answer to the question—why he suffers (for without his sufferance it would not be) the Washington city prison to be crowded with scores of these hapless ones? That accused prisoner! Among the most pleasant remembrances of my brief Congressional life was my success in getting out of it the black man, Noah Hanson. Warm were my thanks to Governor Aikin and Colonel Orr for the help they gave me!

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

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

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

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

Nothing can be more shriveling to our patriotism than to call it away from the love and inspirations of country to this exaggerated importance of a mere Paper. The Swiss will perill all to save the dear mountains and valleys and homes of Switzerland. But to no such pitch of enthusiasm can they be brought by a call to keep themselves within the precise limits of a Paper in which, if they have one like ours, there is neither soul nor sentiment, and nothing but a collection of the driest political rules. "Fatherland" is dear to the German, not because of this or that set of such rules, but simply because it is "Fatherland." And that the inspiring thought of dear America, with or without her Constitution, is in the esteem of our statesmen insufficient to stir American blood, shows to what a miserable pack of statesmen we are reduced.

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

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

"In every clime the magnet of the soul,  
Tossed by remembrance, trembles to that pole."

Nor was it to a remembered Paper, but to a remembered land, that the writer of these sweet lines ascribes this power.

"—Morienus re-insultat Argos."

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

GERRIT SMITH.

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1861.

### SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

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

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

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

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

Edward Russell, Esq., New York:

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

Very truly and faithfully yours,  
JOHN A. ANDREW.

Governor Andrew has written a most earnest letter to the fugitive slaves, narrating the arrest of two alleged fugitive slaves by direction of Lieut. Col. Palfrey, of the Mass. 20th, by order of General Stone, and protesting against the employment of Massachusetts troops for that purpose, the more especially when there is no pretence of legal proceeding. Secretary Cameron promised that he would write to General Stone, directing him not to issue such orders in future. It is said that two slaves were sent back to the rebels, (1) under a flag of truce. The rebels, suspecting that a trap lay concealed under the act, sent them back again. Gen. Stone returned them the second time, (2) with the explanation that his intention was simply to give them up, and they were retained by the Confederates, to further the work of treason! Such gratuitous and repulsive villany, such essentially traitorous conduct, should bring upon this sordid-hearted, military kidnapper a storm of popular indignation, and lead to his being immediately cashiered. True to its stanic nature, the Boston Courier hotly and abusively assails Gov. Andrew as an impertinent intermeddler, but says nothing, of course, in censure of Gen. Stone's high-handed wickedness. It delights in such acts—the more of them the better, and the greater its delight—the gratuity its pro-slavery malignity and help to accomplish its secession designs; for it wears the mask of loyalty solely to give more effectual aid to Jefferson Davis and his rebellious crew.

The ingredients of the editorial columns of the Courier, daily, resemble those of which the "hell-broth" of Macbeth's witches was composed, as they gathered around the seething cauldron:—

Fillet of a fenny snake,  
In the cauldron boil and bake;  
Eye of newt, and toe of frog,  
Lizard of loat, and tongue of dog,  
Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting,  
Lizard's leg, and owl's wing,  
Scale of dragon, and cat's paw,  
Whitch's mummy, maw and gulf,  
Of the ravin'd salt-sea shark,  
Hound's tooth, and wall-toad's dark,  
For a charm of powerful trouble,  
Like a hell-broth boil and bubble."

Such wormwood bitterness, such personal vituperation, such rattlesnake venom, such measureless conceit, such ludicrous pomposity, such oracular enigma, such bombastic stimulation, such brutal negro-phobia and pro-slavery scoundrelism, as it exhibits, admit of no parallel in modern journalism.

We are indebted to the Journal for the reports of the lectures of Hon. George S. Boutwell and Rev. Dr. Cheever, as given in our present number. Both speakers must have been gratified by the numbers in attendance, and the all-abounding enthusiasm which their most radical sentiments elicited. Absence from the city prevented our hearing Dr. Cheever, but we are assured that no such lecture, in point of vigorous and concentrated expression, fidelity and power of rebuke, and thoroughness of dealing with slavery and the rebellion, has yet been delivered in this city. We hope it will be printed in full. In accordance with a proffered exchange by Rev. Mr. Manning, Dr. Cheever preached at the Old South Church, in this city, on Sunday forenoon; and Mr. Manning preached at Dr. Cheever's in the Church of the Paritans, in New York.

### EMANCIPATION: ITS JUSTICE, EXPEDIENCY AND NECESSITY.

A Lecture delivered at the Tremont Temple, Boston, on Monday Evening, Dec. 16, 1861,  
BY HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

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

At 7 o'clock, the meeting was called to order by Rev. A. A. MERRILL, who made a brief statement in regard to the object of the League, viz: To further in the hearts of the people the measures which will promote the freedom of the slaves, and to encourage the Government to use whatever opportunity the progress of our armies shall afford to carry liberty with those armies, and suppress the rebellion by removing its cause. At the conclusion of his remarks, he introduced, as the Chairman of the meeting, Dr. SAMUEL G. HOWE.

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

Dr. Howe then introduced the orator of the evening, who was received with hearty applause. After a few preliminary remarks, he entered upon the consideration of the important question announced as his subject, speaking as follows:—

In speaking of the justice, expediency and necessity of emancipation as the only speedy means of crushing the rebellion and restoring the Union, I impose on myself three limitations, and desire you to connect them with all that I may say:

1st. That a military necessity exists for doing what is proposed; and that I shall undertake to prove.

2ly. That this necessity does not require us to take any action in reference to the loyal States.

3ly. That I always and everywhere contemplate compensation to loyal men.

And I first inquire, what constitutes a military necessity? I assume that a military necessity does not depend upon the exigencies of the army in the field; but the great military necessity is to save the Government, and whatever is necessary for the salvation of the Government is clearly within the right and the duty of those who administer it, and control the military department thereof. (Applause.) I think our Constitution has clearly indicated what a military necessity is in that provision which declares that the right of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it. And what do we see to-day? That all of us are here deprived, by the exigencies of the times, of the security which from the days of Magna Charta has been with here and there an exception, the security of all Englishmen, and of all men who inherited the rights and the privileges of Englishmen: And why? Because it is believed by those entrusted with the administration of public affairs, that the public safety requires it. And we have given up the great security which we had, that whenever our liberty was taken from us, we had a right to an inquiry as to the reason therefor; and that right has departed, at the bidding of the Government, because, in the eye of the Constitution, the public safety requires it.

Now, then, if we demonstrate that the public safety requires the emancipation of the slaves, here or there, or anywhere, then we have demonstrated that a military necessity exists. And my friends, you are assembled with anxious countenances to consider how the country shall be saved; and you instinctively trace our peril backward to the institution of slavery, and are convinced without argument that had slavery not existed on this continent, there would not be a State, nor a county, nor a parish, nor a man in all this Republic to say that this Union ought not longer to exist; therefore we charge home, with instinct and logic, the responsibility of the whole matter to the institution of slavery. And if by the emancipation of the slaves we can hasten by one day the return of the power of the Union and our lost prosperity, does not a military exigency exist? ("Yes!" "Yes!" "It does!")

And I hear a suggestion made in many quarters, which means, if I understand it, substantially this: that South Carolina and her ten associates in this rebellion are still entitled to the protection of the Constitution of the United States, and therefore we are bound to treat those States as we treat the States that are still loyal to the Union. If we yet labor under that delusion, then God save us! for not to the hands of man is intrusted the salvation of this republic—if we still indulge in the delusion that South Carolina and New York, that Florida and Pennsylvania, that Mississippi and Illinois, that Texas and Minnesota, are to be treated by the government of the country as enjoying equal rights and equal protection under the Constitution. (Applause.)

We have not thrust them out of the Union; they have gone out deliberately, freely, without compulsion; and in all that relates to the subjugation of the territory and of the people of the rebel States, we must treat them as enemies, as belligerents. Are we to ask whether we are in a state of war with these eleven States, when our frontier, from Kansas to the Chesapeake, is lined with their men, when we are outnumbered at every point? If you indulge the delusion that we are not at war, and that these people are not to be treated as enemies, then the destruction of the country is near. We must treat them as enemies. When they came into the Union, they gave to the Union jurisdiction over their territory; that jurisdiction they now deny; let the armies of the Republic go forward, let the statesmanship of the country secure the right that was guaranteed to us, and which we have not abandoned, however the rebels may desire to put off the responsibility from themselves. (Applause.)

I say, then, that whatever is necessary to be done for the reestablishment of the Government of the Union, over the rebellious States, that we have a Constitutional right to do; for the Constitution, if it secures anything, secures the integrity of the territory over which and to which the Constitution applies. The rebels have no right to complain. We secure Constitutional rights, so far as we can, to all the loyal States; disloyal States are enemies, and we must so treat them.

Suppose there are a few loyal men in South Carolina, in North Carolina, in Georgia, or Texas; are they to stand in the way of the salvation of this country? I trust not. When the war is over, when this territory is restored to the Union, the Government of the country is reestablished, then, if these people have suffered by anything that we have done, make them the compensation that we can. But we cannot stop now, when the Union is in peril, when the lurid flames

light up the horizon on every quarter—can we stop now, to inquire whether, in South Carolina, or in Georgia, or in Tennessee, there may be men who would be loyal to the Union. (Applause.)

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

Another delusion, my friends, was, that we did not believe in the unanimity of the South upon this matter. We thought that this movement was instigated and carried on by a few hot-brained persons, whom we proposed to separate from the great body of the people and dispose of. But we have found, as the war has gone on, that it either included originally in the conspiracy all the chief men of the South, or that they have been drawn, unwillingly or willingly, into it, so that now I hold that there is no excuse for any man who believes that there is any lack of unanimity in the eleven seceded States. We are not more unanimous in this hall, or in this State, or in the free States of the Union, in favor of maintaining the Union, than they are in favor of breaking down this Government and disgracing free institutions in the presence of the world and before posterity.

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

And another delusion in which we have indulged, to this very hour, is, that they had no resources sufficient to carry on this war, and that very soon they would be exhausted. I shall have occasion to discuss that matter further, as I go on. But we have found, as a matter of experience, during the last twelve months, that they have exhibited no evidence of a want of resources. Have they not put men enough into the field? Haven't they, so far as we know, equipped them sufficiently for the service? Haven't they had enough to eat, to drink, and to wear? And, then, so far as the year's experience goes, we have been laboring under a delusion as to the power of the South.

Now, then, it may be well enough to explore briefly the causes of the rebellion, as developed in the institution of slavery itself. And the proposition I have to make is, that the institution of slavery is of such a character that hostility to this Government was inevitable, sure to come at some time or other.

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

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

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

We have in the Constitution a provision giving to the government authority to put down insurrection. But do you not think that they foresaw that the time would come when the slave population might rise upon the plantations of the cotton districts, and in a single night the white inhabitants be swept away? And how powerless would then be the provision of the Constitution, even if the government were wielded by themselves! So we see, that since the revolt commenced, they have steadily marched toward the establishment of a military slaveholding oligarchy; because it is the necessity of the institution of slavery that it shall be maintained by a stronger government than that for which our Constitution provided. And, in the next place, I do not propose to discuss it; but it was a necessity of slavery that it should acquire new territory, because it exhausts that on which it fastens. Now, then, those, as I believe, were the causes of the rebellion. There were also inducements to the rebellion, one of which was a belief that the North would not act unitedly and energetically for the suppression of the rebellion. And I may say here, what I think will be sustained by some gentlemen whom I see around me; and, inasmuch as the institution of secrecy upon the Peace Congress was removed on the last day of the session, I may say—not for the purpose of arraigning any man before this assembly, or before this country—that in that Congress a representative from a free State, a State that has with great alacrity furnished its quota of men to the army, did announce to slaveholders and non-slaveholders, that in case the North undertook to put down the South "by force"—as he called it—the North would furnish a regiment to fight with the South as often as it furnished one to fight against it. In justice to the people of the country we ought to say, in this connection, that the South have been entirely disappointed. The people, with great unanimity, have come to the support of the government, and not one regiment—probably not one man—has been found to join the forces of the South. (Applause.) Now, such inducements as that undoubtedly served to lead the people of the South forward in the rebellion they had undertaken. Another inducement to the rebellion was the bankruptcy of the South. From one to two hundred millions of dollars have been repudiated by the rebellion. It is well enough to remember that, as long ago as 1792, I think, Mr. Jefferson wrote a letter to Gen. Washington, urging him to accept a second term for the Presidency, and one of the five or six reasons which he gave for the request was the danger of secession; and a reason why he feared secession was, that the South was largely indebted to the North, and that this indebtedness of the South to the North, wiped out for the last fifty years at the rate of two or three millions a year, and finally consummated by the repudiation of one or two hundred millions, has always been an obstacle to a firm union between the North and South. Another inducement by which the South has been combined as one man was the cry, promulgated for the first time in that section of the country not more than five or six years ago, "Negroes for the negroes!" This every poor

white man at the South, who ignorantly believed it to be the height of human ambition to own a negro, was inspired with a hope that at some future day he might become a slaveholder, if the rebellion could be carried on successfully—the South separated from the North—and the African slave trade opened. This is one of the means by which the rebels have been able to combine the Southern strength to the extent they have. Another reason—I will not stop to discuss it—was wounded pride, mixed with poverty, always a source of discontent.

And, in passing, I may say that I believe the Southern States, the Gulf States, have deceived, to a great extent, the border slave States—Maryland, Kentucky, and Virginia; for, when the time should have come when they could secure the separation of the slave States from the free States, or the Southern States from the Northern States, they would incline to leave these border States with the North, as a bulwark against the spread of anti-slavery opinions southward, knowing that under the Constitution we should return fugitives to these border States, and the border States, by State legislation, would return fugitives from the seceded States.

Will the rebellion exhaust itself? Consider the extent of the territory that it includes. Consider the resources of that country in soil and climate. Consider the fact that, in consequence of the existence of slavery, they can put in the field, and equip—allowing the institution of slavery to remain—one tenth, or even one-eighth of their entire white population. And though, with the blockade, we close up the ports, so that they are deprived of certain luxuries and necessities of life, they yet can command those great staples upon which their armies will depend for subsistence. They have one great power which we have not yet attained—and which, I trust, is not in store for us—they repudiate their debts as fast as they are contracted, "leaving the things that are behind, and pressing forward to those that are before." (Laughter and applause.) It was the estimate of Napoleon that no nation could keep more than one in forty of its population in the field. The State of Indiana has put one in twenty of its entire population into the army; its other States one in twenty-five; one in thirty; one in thirty-five; one in forty. If it be assumed that the free States can put into the field, and keep in the field, one in thirty of the entire population, our army will not consist of more than about 730,000 or 740,000 men, and if you will allow the institution of slavery to remain, the three and a half millions of men and women in the revolted States continue upon the plantations—guarded by white women, aged men and children, all armed—if you allow the three and a half millions to remain upon the plantations and produce subsistence for the army, they can keep one-tenth, or one-eighth, of their entire white population in arms. If you strike from the resources of the South the supplies which are furnished by the three and a half millions of black people, do you not see that a portion of the men who are in the army of the South must go home to produce supplies? Therefore the effect of allowing the institution of slavery to remain is to give them an equal opportunity with us in every contest. But if we deprive them of the support they derive from their slaves, then a portion of their army must return to the plantations, and they would be reduced to 150,000 to 200,000 men, and the war would be at an end. (Cheers.)

We may very well inquire whether this rebellion—if it go on—is to exhaust us. I do not propose to pursue the financial inquiry, but it is sufficient to say that the Secretary of the Treasury estimates that the public debt on the 30th of June, 1863—a year from next June—will amount to \$900,000,000. If it shall happen in consequence of the check that is given to the exportation of cotton—in consequence of a good supply of breadstuffs next year in Europe—that there shall be no demand for any of the products of this country, and there should be a demand for specie in consequence of excessive importations made inevitable because of an increase in your circulating medium, who does not see that bankruptcy is before us? And it is well to consider whether, if you have regard for the black man, it is well for the merchants of Boston and New York, the men who have four million tons of shipping on the ocean—a million in the East Indies—to consider whether you are willing to involve yourselves in a common bankruptcy, rather than to strike, while you have the power, at the foundation on which this rebellion rests. (Prolonged applause.)

I say, then, it is a necessity that this war shall be speedily closed. We have tried blockading. It has been to a good degree effectual. But do you not see that it is powerless with reference to producing that which we expected from it—the quelling of the rebellion? Though our ships line the whole coast, from Galveston to the Chesapeake; though we keep out foreign supplies of every sort; though we cut off the export trade in cotton—still these slaves produce that on which the rebel armies—armies in the field—depend. You may say we can, by one decisive battle, settle this matter. We have had 100,000—150,000—perhaps I know, 200,000 men on both sides of the Potomac for the last sixty or ninety days. Possibly by battle we might settle this matter; but we run a great risk. We thought when in July our army went forth with banners and trumpets, they were marching to victory. Our soldiers fought well, victory seemed within their grasp, and yet defeat—temporary defeat to our arms—resulted. And who knows that, with new leaders and new men, we are to gain a decisive advantage? When there are other means to settle this matter, will we risk the existence of this republic—risk freedom, and its name and fame in all the nations, and throughout all time—on the capacity of Generals on the Potomac? I say no, if it can be avoided. Battles and wars are not the worst of evils, but they are to be avoided when and where we can. The life of the nation is involved in this contest, to say nothing of the men. All of us have sent our friends, brothers, kindred—those who are dearer to us than our own lives; and shall we perill them to the Potomac, in Kentucky, in Missouri, in South Carolina, at the mouth of the Mississippi—where my own friends, and neighbors, and townsmen are to-night—shall we risk their lives rather than strike at the institution of slavery, when we know that the rebellion rests upon slavery, and will go down when slavery ceases to support it? (Applause.) Have you yet other men whom you wish to sacrifice upon this altar? Ellsworth, Lyon, Baker, and others of equal virtue and equal patriotism, with names unknown, have gone down upon bloody fields, sacrificed at the shrine of slavery; and will you offer up more, and yet more, of the best blood of the country—the young men, the hope of the nation, the strength of the future, in order that slavery may longer last?

I say, then, it is a necessity that this war be speedily closed. By blockade it cannot be; by battle it may be, but we risk the result upon the uncertainty whether the great General of this continent be with them or with us. I come, then, to emancipation. Not first, although I shall not hesitate to say before I close that, as a matter of justice to the slave, there should be emancipation—but not first do I ask my countrymen to proclaim emancipation to the slaves in justice to them, but as a matter of necessity to ourselves; for, except by an accident, we are not to come out of this contest as one nation, except by emancipation. And first, emancipation in South Carolina. (Loud cheers.) Not confiscation of the property of rebels, that is inadequate longer to meet the emergency; it might have done in March, or April, or May, or possibly in July, but in December, or January of the coming year, confiscation of the property of the rebels is inadequate to meet the exigency in which the country is placed. You must, if you do anything, proclaim at the head of the armies of the Republic, on the soil of South Carolina—FREEDOM, (prolonged and enthusiastic cheering)—freedom to all the slaves in South Carolina, and then enforce the proclamation as far and as fast as you have an opportunity (renewed cheering); and you will have opportunity more speedily than you will to invade South Carolina without emancipation of the slaves. Unsettle the foundations of society in South Carolina—do you hear the rumb-

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

Next Florida. Impotent in her treachery, with less than 100,000 inhabitants; with property, I suppose, not of equal value to that which might be found in a single ward in this city, purchased with the money of the people—she has undertaken to lead herself to this conspiracy. Emancipate the slaves that are there, and invite the refugees from slavery in the South, for the moment, to assemble there, if they desire, without compulsion, and take possession of the soil. (Cheers.) If that is not sufficient, let the penalty upon South Carolina be increased by dividing her soil among those whom she has heretofore held in bondage. (Renewed cheering.)

The next in this work of emancipation I name Texas; because, if we read the history of the last twenty-four months a right, these people have gone out of the Union because they see they cannot extend slavery in the Union. It was not because a few abolitionists in the North hated slavery; it was not because some of us went to Chicago in June, 1860, and nominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and then elected him; but it was because men of all parties and all persuasions and all ideas, in the North, had come to the conclusion that slavery should not be extended. It was the doctrine of churches, the doctrine of homes and hearthstones, that slavery should not be extended, and they went out of the Union. Which way do they expect to extend slavery? Southward—through and over Texas, into Mexico, and into Central America, thus cutting us off from the Pacific, separating us from our possessions west of the Rocky Mountains, and rendering another division of the Union, by the line of the Rocky Mountains, inevitable. Now, then, let us teach them, by emancipation in Texas, that in the Union or out of the Union, slavery is not to be extended. Emancipate the slaves in Texas; invite men from the army, invite from the North, invite from Ireland, invite from Germany, the friends of freedom, of every name and of every nation; bid them welcome in Texas, where we have 175,000,000 acres of unoccupied land—or shall have, when we confiscate it to the Government of the United States (applause)—and we shall have a barrier of freemen, a wall over which, or through which, or beneath which, it will be impossible for slavery to pass. (Cheers.)

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

"What will you do," says one, "if you emancipate the slaves?" My friends, what will you do if you don't? (Laughter and cheers.) What are we doing now, when we have not emancipated the slaves? I want to tell you what Jefferson thought, more than sixty years ago, and I ask you if that which he feared is not in process of completion to-day? He says in a letter to St. George Tucker, dated Aug. 28, 1787:—

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

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

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

I should like, my friends, to spend a moment in stating some facts in regard to the British West Indies, because I believe that the representations that have been made, through the agency of slavery in reference to the results of emancipation in those islands. If you will pardon me a moment, I will read you a few statistics, which, in their results, show what has been accomplished by the black population of the West Indies, emancipated by the British Government five-and-twenty years ago. I venture to participate what I have to say, by expressing my belief that—with the exception of Greece, where thirty years ago there was hardly a house with a roof on it—there are no people on the face of the earth who have made more progress than the emancipated slaves in some of the British West Indies. What have they done? Take, for example, Barbadoes. They have opened schools, and with a population of 140,000; they have more than 7000 children in the schools; and they have over 3000 landholders. In Antigua, with a population of 85,000, they have more than 10,000 children in the day and Sunday schools; and 6000 landholders among those who were slaves five-and-twenty years before. In Tobago where there are 25,000 landowners, with a population of 15,000. In St. Lucia, with 25,000 inhabitants, there are more than 2000 landowners. But in Jamaica, which is the exception to the West India Islands, in the matter of prosperity since emancipation, in a population of some 400,000, they have 50,000 freeholders.

So, then, if you test that people who came from slavery and barbarism seven-and-twenty

If we show that in one single instance emancipated slaves have been able to take care of themselves and make progress, though there may be twenty instances of failure, still, the one instance of success demonstrates their capacity, and their failures are to be attributed to misfortune and the influence of circumstances.

In the next place, (although I do not intend to go into the financial aspect of the question,) I will read the results of the cultivation of sugar, which is the great article of export in those islands; and I know very well that the commercial community is interested in whatever relates to exports and imports. The dependencies of Guiana, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Antigua, previous to emancipation, produced 187,000,000 pounds of sugar, and in 1856-7, they produced, annually, 295,000,000—showing a gain of nearly 78,000,000 a year; and their imports went up from \$8,840,000 to \$14,600,000 a year. And the present Governor-General of Jamaica, Mr. Hincks, whom some of you may remember as the former Attorney-General of Canada, who was here in 1851 at the railway celebration, as it was called, states from his own knowledge and observation, that on an estate in Barbadoes, ninety blacks performed the work formerly done by two hundred and thirty slaves; and that the produce of each laborer during slavery was 1048 pounds of sugar, and the produce since emancipation of each laborer is \$650 annually. He also states that the cost per hogshead under slavery was £10 sterling, but in 1858, it was produced at a cost of £4 sterling. So we see, that whether we test the black population of the British West Indies, by the fact that they have established schools, by the fact that they have become landholders, or by the fact that they export of their main staple more than they did formerly, they still have demonstrated their capacity to take care of themselves. [Applause.]

But I say further, my friends, that it is not a matter of argument, but within the range of the commonest observation, that the time is approaching when the emancipation of the slaves in this country must take place. It is inevitable; and we have now, I think, only a choice of ways. Emancipation may take place by the efforts of the slaves themselves; it may take place by the Government of the United States; it may take place by the action of the slaveholders themselves, who led in this rebellion. But for us, it is first a matter of justice. I said I would not omit that consideration, and I will not, as a matter of justice to the slaves themselves, who certainly have been subjected to a sufficient apprenticeship under slavery, through two centuries, to prepare them for freedom—which these gentlemen have told you is the legitimate and natural result of apprenticeship to slavery—if they are ever to be prepared. I say, then, justice to the slaves demands emancipation. I will not make for myself, though others may for themselves, the nice distinction which you remember Mr. Crowell made when he wrote a letter endorsing and explaining the speech of Col. Chalmers. He says, "The difference between the Abolition and the Union defenders is this—that the Abolitionists are in favor of emancipation because it would be a benefit to the slaves. We are in favor of emancipation because it would be an injury to, or diminish the power of the rebel masters." I do not care about that nice distinction. It reminds me of what Macaulay says of the Puritans—"That they were opposed to bear-baiting, not because they had any sympathy for the bear, but because they were religiously hostile to all kinds of amusements." (Laughter.) Whatever your opinion may be, if you are in favor of emancipation, I do not greatly care whether you favor it as a matter of justice to the slaves or to punish the masters. And we must agree, my friends, to the Declaration of Independence. The fundamental difference on which the South and North have divided for thirty years is on that part of the Declaration of Independence which says, "All men are created equal." They have denied it; we have undertaken to maintain it. We ought to consider (if you will allow me a moment by way of explanation) that the Declaration of Independence was prepared as a political document. It did not relate to those differences among men which we see, which we recognize, which are natural, which are divine, which are not to be complained of. But Jefferson meant, when he penned that provision, that no person was by birth under any political subservience to any other person. (Cheers.) That is what he meant. Not that we are of equal height or weight, equal moral influence or intellectual capabilities; but that we were equal in this—that no one is born under any subservience, politically, to his fellow-man. Let us maintain the doctrine now. These slaves are men; Jefferson did not hesitate to call them "brethren." In a letter to Mr. de Munier, explaining the reason why neither Mr. W. nor himself had proposed to insert a clause for emancipation into the slave code of Virginia, he says:—

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

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

As to the evidence, still further: Have you ever considered—I see one gentleman, Mr. Atkinson, upon the platform, who has considered the subject of the cotton culture of the South, and written a work upon it which is worthy of consideration by every body—but have you all considered that these men of the South have taken possession, by circumstances and by skill, of the best territory, in soil and climate, upon this continent? This territory has been given up to slavery, and the men of Massachusetts, of the North, have not the power to go there in the presence of slavery, and develop the natural resources of that extensive country. We have taken possession of the fertile lands this side the Rocky Mountains, and it is a necessity of our existence that freedom should go South. Therefore it is a necessity that slavery should disappear. Have you considered, merchants—have you considered, manufacturers, that the 700,000 negroes of the South, engaged in the cultivation of cotton, have a monopoly of the best cotton lands on the surface of the globe, and that their interest is to produce just as little as possible? What is your interest? Your interest is to have these lands developed so that they shall produce as much as possible. From 1845 to 1857, the supply of cotton in all the markets of the world, diminished 900,000 bales, and the price went up from the producing price of five or six cents to ten, twelve, fourteen and sixteen cents a pound in the markets of the world—the manufacturers working all the time upon short products of the raw material, and paying famine prices. We are told by statisticians that the whole population of the globe is ten or eleven hundred millions. The whole product of manufactured cotton goods has never exceeded twenty cents for each inhabitant of the globe. Produce cotton by free labor upon the productive land of the South, develop it in Egypt, in India, in South America, wherever on the broad zone of seventy de-

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

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

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

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

Another consideration that ought to be taken into account by the commercial men of the North, is that if we emancipate the slaves and dedicate this country to freedom, this process of bankruptcy and repudiation will come to an end, instead of your being called every year, in ordinary years, to contribute one, two, or three millions to the support of the South. The time has come, after sixty, seventy or eighty years of experience, when it is a right which we may demand, that the people who occupy the best portion of the North American continent shall earn their own living and pay their own debts. (Loud applause.)

The other consideration, as a matter of necessity, to which I invite your attention, is this: Having been involved as we are by slavery and a rebellion and conspiracy based on slavery, we have a right to take security for the future, that there shall be no other conspiracy, that there shall be no other rebellion, that there shall be no other war reserved for future generations, growing out of this institution. Slavery, in its essential characteristics, is a despotism, and you will seek long and be disappointed often when you seek for a slaveholder who is in heart desirous to support free, democratic, republican institutions. (Loud applause.) If you would take security for the future peace of the country, it must be by dedicating this territory to freedom. Nothing else will give this country security for the future, or freedom to the States that are now engaged in the rebellion.

Emancipation is inevitable, first, possibly, by the act of the slaves themselves. I ask whether you—I do not ask whether the people of Charleston, S. C., with their city in flames, with the power of the slave population in some way or other felt, in this their great calamity, I do not ask whether they prefer the emancipation that took place in Jamaica, or that which took place in St. Domingo, but I ask you if now, after the sacrifices you have made in the service of slavery, the expenses in which you are involved, the just and righteous hatred you have for these leaders in the rebellion—I ask you if, after all this experience, you ought not to choose an emancipation such as took place in Jamaica, rather than reserve this question of slavery until emancipation takes place as it did in St. Domingo? You cannot hesitate, whether you look to your own interest, to your own comfort, or whether you regard the interest, the comfort, the welfare, and the safety of the slaveholders themselves. And bear one thing in mind—that in Jamaica, thirty insurrections occurred in the century preceding emancipation, the last of which involved the destruction of eight millions of property, and was only put down at an expense of \$600,000. Since emancipation, there has not been an insurrection of the blacks in that island; and it is a contradiction of all human experience to assume that when these people are emancipated, they will turn round and cut the throats of their masters; and if the United States shall lead in the emancipation, even at the head of the army, they can so control the emancipated population, that they shall not commit those excesses which have characterized conflicts between the oppressor and the oppressed in other countries and other ages.

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

My friends, I have not been startled by the intelligence from England to-day, because I have seen for months that we were drifting steadily and certainly to a foreign war; and nothing, I believe, can avert that calamity within a few months, except emancipation of the negroes in the South, so that we can say to the people of England—to the people of France—if you make war against us, it is in the interest of slavery. (Loud cheers.) I do believe, although I was educated in that school which had but little faith in English politics, or in the political principles of Englishmen, that if we write emancipation on our banner, there is yet remaining in the heart of the English nation virtue enough to say to their ruling classes, whatever their desire may be, You shall not interfere to re-establish slavery where it has been struck down. (Applause.) I believe also that the French nation, which, in 1777 and '78, were in alliance with us, which regarded the extremity of Greece, which fought for an idea in Italy, and restored the unity of that ancient seat of power and of majesty in the affairs of the world—I do believe that the millions of France would say to the Emperor, if he were otherwise disposed: This is a war in which we can take no part. By emancipation we shall be left to ourselves; but if we do not speedily strike a blow somewhere—in South Carolina, or Florida, or Texas—as indicative of our purpose, I see not any way to avert a foreign war, adding untold calamities to the difficulties and horrors in which we are at this moment involved.

You think that England is without inducements? History teaches something. She has her traditions of the Revolution and of the War of 1812; her governing classes are in sympathy with the governing classes of the South; her manufacturers desire the raw material; her merchants now urge the government on, and guide it too, in a policy which looks either to the restoration of the Union or to separation; and whatever may be the result, with equal sagacity. They see very plainly that here is a breach between the North and South that cannot be repaired in one generation; they know

that when the war closes, they will have the sympathy of the South, if they show sympathy for her now. They expect a monopoly of the South, and if the slaveholders bear away when peace comes, whether it comes by union or dissolution, they will have a monopoly of the trade of the South. It is only by a reconstruction, to some extent, of Southern society, that the people of the North can participate fairly in the trade of the South.

Then there is a feeling, not only in England, but throughout Europe, that we are advancing too rapidly. Conscious as we have been, boasting as we have been, it is possible that, after all, we have not estimated the prosperity and greatness of the republic as it has been estimated abroad. Extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande—from the Atlantic to the Pacific—covering the continent, threatening Mexico and Central America with the process of annexation—they could not have looked otherwise than with anxiety and apprehension upon a nation of freemen which promised, in the course of the present century, to contain a population of 100,000,000.

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

Our interest and our duty require us to avert the calamity of foreign war by any sacrifice save that of justice and honor.

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

This contest is between slavery on the one side and the government on the other. Both cannot stand. Either slavery will go down and the government stand, or the government will be destroyed and slavery triumph over us all. For slavery it is that we have made our sacrifices; for slavery it is that we incur these expenditures; for slavery it is that manufactures are paralyzed; for slavery it is that commerce is interrupted; for slavery it is that our foreign relations are disturbed; for slavery it is that foreign war threatens our borders. Are there still further sacrifices demanded for the institution of slavery? Remember the dead that have fallen in defence of the country; remember the living that are perilled on the battle-field and in the camp; remember your friends that have gone out to fight the battles of the Republic, and say whether you can lie down upon your pillows and feel that you have done your duty to them, to your country, and to your God, unless you exert such influences as you have to bring to a speedy termination the cause of all our trials. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

SERMON OF REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

The announcement that the Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, of New York, was to preach in Tremont Temple, on Sunday evening last, drew an immense crowd to that place. Long before the commencement of the service, every seat in that vast hall was occupied; and while hundreds were compelled to stand all the evening, as many more went away because they could not even get that position. After the usual devotional exercises, and the singing of "America," in which the whole of the vast congregation joined, a sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Cheever, from the text—"And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, 'How long shall this man be an snare to us? Let the men go that they may serve the Lord their God. Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?'"

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

In Egypt there were two parties, as there are with us—the emancipationists and the anti-emancipationists—and the anti party prevailed, and the death of the first born ruined the country. Before this, there had been a kind of Harper's Ferry insurrection, and Moses would have been hanged, as John Brown was, if Pharaoh could have caught him. God will not be mocked by us any more than he was by Pharaoh. "Let my people go," was his command then, and he says the same now to us, and the same results will follow our disobedience to His mandate. God does not tell us, "Let the slaves of rebels go, while those that are loyal may keep their chattels." What right have loyal men to keep slaves more than rebels? Is the United States Government the great protector and upholder of slavery; and is the bribe for disobedience to be the privilege of buying and selling men? Shall we pay the price of patriotism with bodies and souls? (Applause.) The only true policy is to proclaim immediate emancipation in the rebel States, and the border States will voluntarily free themselves from slavery. (Applause.) Here are four millions of people lying directly before the track of our country's destiny. We cannot set the train in motion without deciding whether we will take them on board, or will attempt to ride over them—an attempt that will throw us from the track the moment we start. (Applause.)

He hoped that God would change the color of all who would now consent to maintain slavery on account of their prejudice against color, so that they might be negroes also. (Applause.) If we refuse to embrace the opportunity now presented, we commit a crime against God. We have defied the rebellion with our best blood for the sake of slavery. We have been more tender of the rebellion than of our own soldiers' lives. Why was not the victory at Hatteras followed up by the conquest of North Carolina, when the whole State was known to be ripe for the Union? If John Brown had commanded that expedition, he would not have come home to be serenaded by his friends as a hero. (Great applause.) Why are not Charleston and Savannah captured, and a proclamation issued commanding every rebel to lay down his arms, and confiscating all property according to the laws of war? It is because the government is resolved to maintain slavery; and because that would compel the government of South Carolina to free their slaves. Our army and navy are only an immense insurance company for the protection of slavery, and—magnificent employment!—our soldiers are set to pick cotton, and put it into ships. The only hope for us and for the South against a servile insurrection consists in emancipating the slaves, and bringing them under the safe discipline of the military power. He declared that our government is under the control of a few loyal slaveholders in Kentucky, who declare themselves "Union men" only that they may retain their slaves. He urged the necessity and duty of emancipation.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfillment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carelessness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the councils of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity. We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

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

- M. Maria Child, Mary Willey,
- Louisa Loring, Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
- Henrietta Sargent, Sarah P. Remond,
- Sarah Russell May, Mary E. Stearns,
- HeLEN ELIZABETH GARRISON, Sarah J. Nowell,
- Anna Shaw Greene, Elizabeth Von Arnim,
- Sarah Blake Shaw, Ellen Langdon Alger,
- Abby Kelley Foster, Sarah Coning,
- Lynnda D. Parker, Sarah H. Southwick,
- Augusta G. King, Sarah C. Robinson,
- Mattie Griffith, Abby Francis,
- Mary Jackson, Mary Jane Parkman,
- Evelina A. Smith, Georgina Otis,
- Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephenson,
- Elizabeth Gay, Abby F. Manley,
- Katherine Earle Farnum.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. January, 1862. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

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

RELIEF OF FUGITIVES IN CANADA. An Association has been formed in the town of St. Catherine's, Niagara District, Canada West, to relieve such fugitive slaves as may be suffering from sickness or destitution. It is called—"The Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catherine's." The officers are the following:—Charles H. Hall, President; Benjamin Fletcher, Vice President; Christopher Anthony, Secretary; H. W. Wilkins, Assistant Secretary; William Hutchinson, Treasurer.

Committee: Harriet Tubman, Mary Hutchinson, John Jones, Wm. H. Stewart.

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

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

That department of pro-slavery backguardism, malignity and ruffianism, the "Refuge of Oppression," is particularly note-worthy at the present time. For lousesome proof, see our first page.

WARLIKE INTELLIGENCE FROM ENGLAND. ACTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

LONDON, Dec. 1. The Observer, the ministerial journal, has demanded an apology from the Federal Government, and also upon a resolution to the protection of the British flag of Mason and Silldell, who were violently and illegally torn from that sacred asylum.

The Observer adds that there is no reason why they should be restored to the status of British subjects. Admiral at New York, or Washington itself, in the face of some ten or twelve British men-of-war, whose presence in the Potomac would render the blustering Cabinet at Washington as helpless as the Trent was before the guns and catasses of the San Jacinto. It is no fault of the British Government, but a crime of the President.

Nearly all the London weekly papers treat the question of the San Jacinto in the same energetic spirit as the daily papers. The agitation increases.

At a private council held at Windsor, on Saturday, the Observer states, a special messenger was appointed to leave by the Europa. He carries a demand from the British Government to Lord Lyons, insisting upon an apology and a restoration to the protection of the British flag of the Southern Commissioners.

Large reinforcements will be immediately sent to Canada. It is not only the arms and ammunition of all kinds for the same destination.

The London Post adds: "It has been decided by the law officers of the Crown that the action of Captain Wilkes was unjustifiable; that he had no right to arrest passengers sailing under the British flag, and that the United States are bound to flagrant violation of the code of nations, and is a direct insult to this country. Under the circumstances we need hardly point out that the government will lose no time in seeking for prompt and complete reparation, which is its duty to require in this case. It will be ascertained by the unanimous approval of public opinion. We are unwilling to place the worst construction on the outrage committed by Captain Wilkes, or to look on it as an intentional affront on the part of the Government of the United States.

The House of Commons has passed a resolution at once disavow the act of their officers, make suitable apologies, and restore the persons of the gentlemen arrested, and, in fact, make every compensation in their power. Wild as the words written and spoken by Seward, and reckless as American policy not unfrequently is, we hardly suppose that the Southern States are seriously disposed to accept war with England. We have in the American waters, including the Mexican expedition and ships already there, a force amounting to not far short of 1000 guns, which we could largely increase with the greatest ease and speed. In one month we could sweep the coast of San Jacinto from the seas, blockade the Northern ports, and turn to a speedy issue the tide of war now raging. This is so obvious, that we find it almost impossible to suppose that the Cabinet of Washington can commit an act so sadly suicidal as to reject our earnest and positive demands.

The Times expresses the belief that the Cabinet has taken a view of the matter which will be satisfactory alike to the patriotism and reason of the country. It says that the principle on which the Government rests its demand is, that a British ship must, under all circumstances, be treated as British soil, as much as if she were an actual piece of British soil, and the right of protection to all persons on board is as valid as on British territory. Now no such violation has been proved or sought to be proved against the Trent, consequently the seizure of the four persons dragged from her decks was entirely illegal.

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

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

The French journals are offering to come forward to protect the honor of the British flag.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Paris Patrie maintains that the American Government has no right to arrest the Southern Commissioners while on a British mail steamer, and asserts that the British Government immediately prepared to send reinforcements to Canada. The same journal also gives a report that Admiral Milne, commander of the British fleet in the West Indies, on hearing of the San Jacinto affair, forthwith determined to send vessels to escort the steamers between Havana and St. Thomas, for the protection of Southerners travelling that route.

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

BALTIMORE, Dec. 16.—The effect of the foreign news here has been to call forth warlike indignation, while the rebel sympathizers are rejoicing. Nearly all the Irish here were secessionists, but they are now strong Union men.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 16.—Stocks declined under the foreign news, especially the fancies.

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

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

CINCINNATI, Dec. 16.—A firm tone is taken by the people here in support of the Administration. It is decided that Capt. Wilkes did right, concessions to England or any other power it is hoped will not be entertained for a moment.

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

HARTFORD, Conn., Dec. 16.—The European news caused great excitement in this city for a time, but the unanimous feeling was that England's demand for Mason and Silldell could not be listened to for a moment. The sober second thought is that our Government should be firm but conciliatory, and if the alternative is to give up the commissioners or fight, then fight.

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

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

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

GREAT FIRE IN CHARLESTON, S. C. A fire broke out in Charleston, S. C., on Wednesday evening last week, which raged with intense fury for several hours, making a clean sweep through the city, and destroying property valued at millions of dollars worth of property. The number of buildings burnt is stated to have been 578, among which were five churches, three hotels, 60 newspaper offices, nine bank buildings, and many other mercantile houses. The fire originated in the building of Mr. Russell, who thinks it was caused by an incendiary, or by the negligence of negroes employed there.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 14.—A special despatch from Cheat Mountain to the Commercial says:

Yesterday, one of the hardest and best fought battles of the war was fought at Alleghany Camp, Pocahontas county, Va., between Gen. R. H. Milroy, commanding the Union troops, and Gen. Johnson, of Georgia, commanding the rebels. The fight lasted from daylight until 8 o'clock, P. M.

The Union loss is about 30, and the rebel loss over 200, including a Major and many other officers, and 30 prisoners. Gen. Johnson was shot in the mouth, but not fatally. The 12th Georgia regiment suffered the most. Gen. Milroy's force numbered 750 men from the 6th and 13th Indiana, and the 25th and 32d Virginia.

Gen. Johnson's force numbered over 2000 men. The 8th Indiana regiment fought bravely to the last. After driving the enemy into their barracks no less than five times, the rebels retired in good order. The rebels set fire to their camp and retreated to Staunton. Gen. Milroy has driven the last rebel army out of Western Virginia.

The Wheeling (Va.) Intelligencer of the 6th inst., gives the following account of a desperate fight in Wirt county:—

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

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

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

One of the rebel prisoners named Coleman died at Washington on Thursday. He was shot in the head, the ball entering his left eye. He was the ringleader in the acts of cold-blooded atrocities committed upon the scouts taken some six weeks ago, being taken to Banks and driven to a place where they were placing a head on a pole, and carrying it down to Drainesville.

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

The Louisville Journal says that Southwestern Kentucky is in danger, as the rebels are increasing in numbers in the vicinity of Campbell, at Somerset, near the Cumberland river. There are 6000 to 8000 rebels there; and it is not probable that Col. Hoskins will have to return to the State. The rebels are committing all kinds of depredations in Wayne and Clinton counties, which they have in undisputed possession. They have wantonly butchered many sick Union men in their beds, and stolen and destroyed much property belonging to loyal citizens. Many of the Unionists in that region are deserting their homes and making their way to the Bluegrass region for safety.

A despatch from Chattanooga, East Tennessee, to the Memphis Appeal, states that on the 25th ult., a scouting party of 500 rebels returned from an expedition in which they captured fourteen horses and took 100 Union men prisoners, some of whom were found concealed

Poetry.

MAIZE AND TOBACCO. The Indian Corn looked over the fence, And what do you think he said? A field of Tobacco; just ready to bloom, And stretching in lordly pride.

The Liberator.

SUMNER AND FREMONT.

There is an old piece of advice, frequently used to check the free, open-hearted utterances and disclosures of innocent childhood; "the truth is not to be spoken at all times"; and it is too often the case that such counsel is given by those who are the unwilling victims of exposure in acts or things which are not exactly right or proper.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

ing of this harbor should be signalled by an effort at kidnapping and slave-trading. A ferryboat, built at New York for Havana, named Nalra Senora de Regla, left about the same time with the fleet, was exposed to the gale and ran into Chatham. It is said an effort to seize her by the Rebels to turn her into a gunboat was only defeated by the energetic efforts of the Spanish Consul, and that after the vessel was offered and refused for her. After the victory she came into harbor, and has been here ever since, for what purpose no one seemed to know.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

ing of this harbor should be signalled by an effort at kidnapping and slave-trading. A ferryboat, built at New York for Havana, named Nalra Senora de Regla, left about the same time with the fleet, was exposed to the gale and ran into Chatham. It is said an effort to seize her by the Rebels to turn her into a gunboat was only defeated by the energetic efforts of the Spanish Consul, and that after the vessel was offered and refused for her.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

ing of this harbor should be signalled by an effort at kidnapping and slave-trading. A ferryboat, built at New York for Havana, named Nalra Senora de Regla, left about the same time with the fleet, was exposed to the gale and ran into Chatham. It is said an effort to seize her by the Rebels to turn her into a gunboat was only defeated by the energetic efforts of the Spanish Consul, and that after the vessel was offered and refused for her.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

THE CONTRABANDS AT PORT ROYAL.

ing of this harbor should be signalled by an effort at kidnapping and slave-trading. A ferryboat, built at New York for Havana, named Nalra Senora de Regla, left about the same time with the fleet, was exposed to the gale and ran into Chatham. It is said an effort to seize her by the Rebels to turn her into a gunboat was only defeated by the energetic efforts of the Spanish Consul, and that after the vessel was offered and refused for her.

THE YOUNG ARTIST.

She sat, her wavy tresses folded back, Where one might say the sun's last golden tint Slept in the evening shadow, soft and brown.

MUSIC AT A DEATH-BED.

"Sing to me, Alice!" The golden lights Over the hills was fading in night; Days and weeks had the sufferer lain.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

There is scarcely a paper which is honestly and earnestly in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, that does not approve of the proclamation of General Fremont. The Baltimore Patriot, located where the full effects of a policy so vigorous can be understood, thus speaks of it:—"Those among our contemporaries, who, friendly to the cause of the Union, yet question the course of Major-General Fremont, ought to reflect upon the consequences, now upon us, of indecision, or, if they please to call them, moderate and conciliatory measures.