ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :—Prances Jacsson, Ednum Quincy, Ednum Jacsson, and Wendell Phillips.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

The United States Constitution is "a

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1861.

Selections:

THE REBELLION: ITS ORIGIN AND MAINSPRING. ADDRESS HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

Before the Fraternity of the Twenty-Eightl Congregational Society, Nov. 25, 1861.

On being presented to the crowded auditory, the loquent Senator was, greeted with rounds of aplause, long continued. When silence was obtained, e spoke as follows:

he spoke as follows:]

Really, Boston is herself again! To-night, this large, brimming audience will listen to me. To-morrow night another will listen to Henry Ward Beecher; and the night after, still another will listen to Wendell Phillips—all of us on the same theme, and with one inspiring object in view. But they are orators, unsurpassed in our country. I can only speak to you sincerely and plainly, and throw myself upon your kind indulgence.

sincerely and plainly, and throw myself upon your kind indulgence.

[Mr. Summer then proceeded as follows, frequently interrupted by hearty applause:]

FELLOW CITIZENS: In the presence of such an audience—assembled for no purpose of party or even of politics, in the ordinary sense of that term—I incline naturally fo some topic of literature—of history—of science—of art—to something at least which makes for Peace. But at this moment when our whole content is beginning to shake with the tread of mustering armies, the voice refuses any such theme. The ancient poct, longing to sing of Achilles and the house of Atreus, found that he could only sing of love, and he shatched from his lyre its bloody string. Alas! for me the case is all changed. I can speak to you only of War; but-do not forget that if I speak of War, it is because unhappily War has become to us the only way of Peace.

The Present is too apt to appear trivial and unimportant while the Past and Future are grand. Rarely do men know the full significance of the period in which they live, and we are all inclined to sigh for something better in the way of opportunity—such as was given to the hero of the Past, or such as our

ly do men know the full significance of the period in which they live, and we are all inclined to sigh for something better in the way of opportunity—such as was given to the hero of the Past, or such as our imagination allots to the better hero of the Fugure. But there is no occasion for such repining now. There is nothing in the Past—and it is difficult to imagine anything in the Future—more inspiring than our Present. Even with the curtain yet slightly lifted, it is easy to see that events are now gathering, which, in their development; must constitute the third great epoch in the history of this Western Heasisphere;—the first being its discovery by Christepher Columbus, and the second being the American Edvalution. And now it remains to be seen if this piped of ours may not surpass in grandeur either of its two predecessors, so that the fame of the Discover and the frame of the Liberator—of Columbus and of Washington—may be celipsed by the mild effugence beaming from an act of god-like Justice, which, within its immediate influence, will create a new heaven and a new earts, while in other lands its fliegiving example will be felt—so long as men struggle for rights denied; so long as any human being wears a chain.

War is always an epoch. Unhappily, history

gle for rights dehied; se long as any human being wears a chain.

War is always an epoch. Unhappily, history counts by wars. Of these, some have been wars of deas—like that between the Catholics and Protestants in German; between the Catholics and Protestants in German; between the arbitrary crown of Charles I. and the Puritanism of Oliver Cromwell; and like that between our fathers and the mother country, when the Declaration of Independence was put in suc. Some have originated in questions of form, ome in the contentions of families, some in the fickleness of princes, and some in the unachinations of policians. England waged war on Holland, and one of the reasons openly assigned was an offensive picture in the Town Hall of Amsterdam. France hurled her traines across the Rhine, carrying fire and slaughter ato the Palatinate, and involving great nations in a not bloody conflict, and all this wickedness has been raced to the intrigue of a Minister, who sought in his way to divert the attention of his Sovereign. But we are now in the midst of a war, which, whather we have the property of the supplemental of the property of the propert

All Government.

If you will kindly listen, I shall now endeavor to namesk this Robellion, in its Origin and Mainspring. It is only when these are known that you can determine how the Rebellion is to be treated. Your efforts will naturally be governed by the character of the adverse force—whether regarded as a motive power or as a disease. A steam-engine is stopped at once by stopping the steam. A ghastly cancer which has grappled the very fibres of the human frame, and shot its poison through every vein, will not yield to lip-salve or rose-water.

"Diseases desperate grown
By desperate appliances are relieved,
Or not at all."

"Diseased depents grown
By desperate appliances are relieved,
Or not at all."

On the 6th of November last, the people of the
United States, acting in pursuance of the Constitution and laws, chose Abraham Lincoln President.
Of course, this choice was in every particular constitutional and legal. As such, it was entitled to the
respect and acquiescence of every good citizen. It
is in vain to say that the candidate represented
opinions obnoxious to a considerable section of the
country, or that he was chosen by votes confined to
a special section. It is enough that he was duly
chosen. You cannot set aside or deny such an
election without assailing not only the whole framework of the Constitution, but also the primal principle of American Institutions. You become a traitor at once to the existing Government, and also to
the very idea of popular rule. You snatch a principle from the red book of Despotism, and openly
substitute the cartridge-box for the ballot-box.

And yet scarcely had this intelligence been flashed
across the country, before the mutterings of sedition
and treason began to reach us from the opposite
quarter. The Union was menacedr and here the
first distinct voice came from South Carolina. A
Senator from that State—one of the largest laveholders of the country, and a most strenuous parlisan of slavery—Mr. Hammond—openly declared, in
language not easily forgotten, that before the 13th
of Decembar, South Carolina would be "out of the
Union high and dry, and forever." These words
heralded the outbreak. With the pertinacity of
demons, its leaders pushed forward. Their avowed
object was the dismemberment of the Republic by

detaching State after State, in order to found a slaveholding Confederacy. And here the clearest utterance came from a late Representative of Georgia —Mr. Stephens—now Vice President of the recibe of the state to proclaim "that the foundations of the anew government are laid upon the great truth, that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is the negro's natural and moral correct—is the first government in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philose phical and moral truth; and that the stone which so phical and moral truth; and that the stone which is a sayage frankness which shows an insensibility of shame. Surely the object awowed is hideous in every aspect, whether we regard it as treason to our paternal government; as treason to the idea of American Institutions; or as treason also to those commanding principles of economy, morals and Christianity, without which Civilization is changed into Barbarism.

And now we stand face to face in deadly conflict with this deable absolate with the declaration of the configuration of the sum of the compromises of 1850— where the clearest unterest the definant front of Neillis, was won into a system of inactivity anounting to a practical abdication of his important trust. He saw treason plotting to state the heart of his country. The propositions at the last Congress began with the President—saw the hollow as wo into a system of inactivity anounting to a practical abdication of his important trust. He saw treason plotting to at the heart of his country. The proposition sat the last Congress began with the constant like from the sum of inactivity anounting to a practical abdication of his important trust. He saw treason plotting to at the heart of his country. The proposition sat the last Congress began with the President—saw the hollow treason plotting to a second his distinct to the present treason plotting to a second his distinct to a second his country. The proposition is the last Congress began with the consideration of the second his countr

commanding principles of economy, morals and Christianity, without which Civilization is changed into Barbarism.

And now we stand face to face in deadly conflict with this doible-headed, triple-headed treason. Beginning with those States most peculiarly interested in slavery, and operating always with an intensity proportioned to the prevalence of slavery, it has fastened upon other States less interested—Tennessee—North Carolina—Virginia—and with difficulty has been prevented from enveloping every State containing slaves—no matter-how few; for such is the malignant poison of slavery, that only a few slaves will constitute a slave State, with all the sympathies and animosities of slavery. This is the Rebellion the constitute of the summark. But bad as it is on its face, it becomes aggravated when we consider its origin, and the agencies by which it has been conducted. It is not merely a Rebellion; but it is a Rebellion begun in Conspiracy; nor in all history, ancient or modern, is there any record of Conspiracy so vast and so wicked, ranging over such spaces both of time and territory, and contemplating such results. A conspiracy to seize a castle or to assassinate a prince is petty by the side of this enormous protracted treason, where half a continent studded with castles, and fortresses, and public edifices, is seized—where the Government itself is overthrown, and where the President on his way to the national Capital narrowly escaped a most cruel assassination.

But no conspiracy could have ripened into such wicked fruit, if it were not rooted in a soil of congenial malignity. To appreciate properly this influence, we must go back to the beginning of the Government.

South Carolina, which has taken so forward a part in this treason, hesitated originally, as is well known, with regard to the Declaration of Independence. Once her vote was worded as a second South Carolina, which has taken so forward a part in this treason, hesitated originally, as is well known, with regard to the Declaration of Independence. Once her vote was recorded against that act; and when it finally prevailed, her vote was given for it only formally, and for the sake of seeming unanimity. But so little was she inspired by the Delaration, that, in the contest which ensued, her Commissioners made a proposition to the British Commander, which has been properly characterized by an able historian as "equivalent to an offer from the State to return to the British Crown." The same hesitation shown with regard to the Declaration of Independence was yenewed with regard to the Federal Constitution; and here it was shared by another State. It is no torious that both South Carolina and Georgia, which with the States carved out of their original territory.—Alabama and Mississippi—constitute the chief seat of the conspiracy—hesitated to become parties to the Union, and stipulated expressly for the recognition of the slave trade in the Federal Constitution as an indispensable condition. In the Convention, Mr. Rutdelgo, of South Carolina, while opposing a tax on the importation of slaves, said: "The true question at present is, techher Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union." Mr. Pinckney, also of South Carolina, followed with the unbidge declaration: "South Carolina and the other for receive the plan [of the Constitution] if it probabilist the slave trade." I quote now from Mr. Madison's authentic report of these important debates. (See Elliot's Debates, Vol. V., p. 457.)

With shame let it be confissed, that, instead of repelling this disgraceful overture, our Fathers submitted to it, and in that submission you will find the beginning of our present sorrows. The slave trade, whose aggregate iniquity no tonage can tell, was placed for twenty years under the safeguard of the Constitution; thus giving to slavery itself increased support and sanction. The language was modest, but the tona

This is vividly portrayed by John Adams in a letter to Gen. Gates, dated at Philadelphia, 22d of March. This is vividly portrayed by John Adams in a letter to Gen. Gates, dated at Philadelphia, 22d of March. This is vividly portrayed by John Adams in a letter to Gen. Gates, dated at Philadelphia, 22d of March. The to Gen. Gates, dated at Philadelphia, 22d of March. The March, when the new Genes arise from a single source, the resistance of the Southers Colonics to Republicion Government." (John Adams's Works, Vol. L, p. 207.)

And he proceeds to declare in strong language that "popular principles and axioms were abhorett to the inclinations of the barons of the South." This latter was written in the early days of the Revolution. At a later period of his life, John Adams testifies again to the discord between the North and Esouther, and be refers particularly to the period after the Federal Constitution, saying: "The Northern and Southern States were invariably fixed in opposition to each other." (See Letter to James Lioyd, 11th February, 1815, John Adams's Works, Vol. L, p. 19.) This was before any question of Tariff, or of Free Trade, or before the growing fortunes of the North had awrisened Southern jealousy. The whole copposition had its root in slavery—as also had the earlier resistance to Republican Government.

In the face of these influences the Union was formed; but the seeds of Conspiracy were latent in its bosom. The spirit already revealed was scarcely silenced; it was not destroyed. It still existed, rankling, festering, burning to make itself manifest. At the mention of slavery, it always appeared full armed with harbarous pretensions. Even in the first Congress under the Constitution—at the presentation of that the montion of slavery, and the presentation of the deal upon Congress to step to the verge of the hard and the reverse of the presentation of the same force of the presentation of the same force of the presentation of the presentation of the proper of the presentation of the presentation o

Jackson was undoubtedly right; but the pretext will be the negro or slacery question."

Jackson was undoubtedly right; but the pretext which he denounced in advance was employed so constantly afterwards as to become thread-bare. At the earliest presentation of Abolition petitions—at the Texas Question—at the Compromises of 1850—at the Kansas Question—on all these occasions the Union was threatened by the angry slave-masters. But the Conspiracy has been unblushingly confessed by recent parties to it. Especially was this done in the rebel convention of South Carolina.

Mr. Packer said—"Secession is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us. It has been gradually culminating for a long series of years."

Mr. Inglis said—"Most of us have had this subject under consideration for the last twenty years."

Mr. Keitt said—"I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

ject under consideration for the last treanty years."

Mr. Keitt said—"I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political tipe."

Mr. Rhett, who was in the Senate when I first entered that body, and did not hesitate then to avow himself a Disanionist, said—in the same convention—"It is nothing produced by Mr. Lincoh's election or the non-execution of the Fagitive Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years."

The Conspiracy thus exposed by Jackson and confessed by recent parties to it, was quickened by the growing passion for slavery throughout the Slave States. The well-known opinions of the Fathers—the declared convictions of all who were most eminent at the foundation of the government, and the example of Washington were all discarded, and it was recklessly avowed that slavery is a divine institution—the highest type of civilization—a blessing to master and slave alike—and the very key-stone of our national arch. A generation has grown up with this teaching, so that it is now ready to say with Satan—

"Evil, be then my good; by thee at least Divided empire with heaven's King I hold, As man ere long, and this new world, shall kn

With idle thunder in his lifted hand."

Ay, more; instead of those instant lightnings, smiting and blasting in their fiery crash, which an indignant patriotism would have hurled at the criminals, he nodded sympathy and acquiescence. No page of history is more melancholy—because nowhere do we find a ruler who so completely abandoned his country; not Charles I. in his tyranny, not Louis XVI, in his weakness. Mr. Buchanan had been advanced to power by slave masters, who knew well that he could be used for slavery. The slaveholding conspirators were encouraged to sit in his Cabinet, where they doubly betrayed their country, first by evil counsels, and then by disclosing what passed to their distant slaveholding confederates. The sudden act of Major Anderson, in removing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sunter, and the sympathetic response of an aroused people, compelled a change of policy, and the Rebellion received its first check. It was decided, at last, after a painful struggle, that Fort Sunter should be maintained. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of that decision, which Fort Sumter should be maintained. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of that decision, which, I believe, was due mainly to an eminent Democrat—General Cass. This, at least, is true: it saved the National Capital.

Meanwhile, the Conspiracy increased in activity—

Meanwhile, the Conspiracy increased in activity—mastering State after State, gathering its forces and building its batteries. The time had come for the tragedy to begin. "At Nottingham," says the great English historian, speaking of King Charles I., "he creeted his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom." The same open signal now came from Charleston when the conspirators and the rattlemake flag and directed conspirators ran up the rattlesnake flag, and directed their wicked cannonade upon the small, half-famished

conspirators and the control their wicked cannonade upon the small, half-famished garrison of Sumter.

Were all this done in the name of revolution, or by virtue of any revolutionary principle, it would assume a familiar character. But this is not the case. It is all done under the pretence of constitutional right. The forms of the Constitution are seized by the conspirators—as they have already seized everything elso—and wrested to the purposes of treason. It is audaciously declared that, under the existing Constitution, each State in the exercise of its own discretion may withdraw from the Union; and this asserted right of secession is invoked as the cover for a Rebellion begun in Conspiracy. The election of Mr. Lincoln is made the occasion for the exercise of this pretended right. Certain opinions at the North on the subject of slavery are made the pretext.

Who will not deny that this election can be a just

occasion?

Who will not condemn the pretext?

But both occasion and pretext are determined by slavery, and thus testify to the part it has constantly

performed.

And the pretended right of secession is not less monstrous than the pretext or the occasion; and this, too, testifies to slavery. It belongs to that brood of assumptions and perversions, of which slavery is the prolific parent. Wherever slavery prevails this pretended right is recognized, and generally with an intensity proportioned to the prevalence of slavery; as, for instance, in South Carolina and Mississippi more intensely than in Tennessee and Kentucky. It may be considered a fixed part of the slaveholding system. A pretended right to set-aside the Constitution to the extent of breaking up the government, is the natural companion of the pretended right to set aside human nature to the extent of making merchandisc of men. They form a well-inatched couple, and travel well together,—destined to perish together. If we do not overflow toward the first with the same indignation which we feel for the latter, it is because its absurdity awakens our contempt. An English poet of the last century exclaims in mocking verse,— And the pretended right of secession is not le

"Crowned be the man with lasting praise,
Who first contrived the pin,
To loose mad horses from the chain,
And save the works within."

But this is the impossible contrivance which has been attempted. Nothing is clearer than that this pretension, if acknowledged, leaves to every State the right to play at will "the mad borse," but with very little chance of saving anything. It takes from the government not merely its unity, but even the possibility of continued existence, and reduces it to the shadow of a name, or at best a mere temancy at will—an unsubstantial form liable to be decomposed at the touch of a single State. Of course, such an anarchical pretension—so instinct with all the lawlessness of slavery—must be encountered

she hawkesness of slavery—must be encountered peremptorily. It is not enough to declare our dissent from it. We must see that our conduct is such as not to give it any recognition or foothold.

But instead of scouling this pretension, and utterfy spurning it from the Government, new concessions to slavery were gravely propounded as the means of pacification—like a new sacrifice offered to an obscene divinity. It was argued that in this way the Border States at least might be preserved to the Union, and some of the Cotton States, perhaps, be won back to their duty; in other words, that in consideration of these concessions, these States would consent to waive the present exercise of the pretended right of secession. Against all such propositions—without considering their character—there was on the threshold one obvious and imperative objection. It was clear that the very bargain or understanding, whether express or implied, was a recognition of this pretended right, and that a State yielding only to this appeal, and detained through concessions, practically asserts this claim, and holds if for future exercise, danguam gladium in regime. Thus a concession, called small, becomes infinite, for it concedes the pretanded right, and that a State yielding only to this appeal, and detained durough concessions, practically asserts this claim, and holds if for future exercise, danguam gladium in regime. Thus a concession, called small, becomes infinite, for it concedes the pretanded right, and that a State yielding only to this appeal, and detained through concessions, reactically asserts this claim, and holds if for future exercise, darguam gladium in regime. Thus a concession, called small, becomes infinite, for it concedes the pretanded right, and the pretanded right of severe and the second of the concession of the concession, and makes the permanence of the National Government impossible. Amidst all the grave responsibilities of the hour, it belongs to us to take care that the life of the Republic is sacredly preserv

been for years the way in which we have encountered this Conspiracy.

The propositions at the last Congress began with the President's Message, which in itself was one long concession. You do not for the his sympathet in the President's Message, which in itself was one long concession. You do not for the his sympathet in proposed to the constitution of the conduct. He disaffection throughout the Slave States, or his testimony to the cause. Notoriously and shamefully his neart was with the conspirators, and he knew intimately the main-spring of their conduct. He proposed nothing short of a general surrender to slavery, and thus did he proclaim slavery as the head and front—the very causa causans—of the whole crime.

You have not forgotten the Peace Conference—as it was delusively styled—convened at Washingston on the summons of Virginia, with John Tyler in the chair, where New York as well as Massachusets was represented by some of her ablest and most honored citizens. The sessions were with closed doors; but it is now known that, throughout the proceedings, lasting for weeks, nothing was discussed but slavery. And the propositions finally adopted by the Convention were confined to slavery. Forbearing all details, it will be enough to say that they undertook to give to slavery positive protection in the Constitution, with new sanction and immunity—making it, notwithstanding the determination of our Fathers, National, instead of Sectional; and even more than this, making it one of the essential and permanent parts of our Republican System. But slavery is sometimes as deceptive as at other times; it is bold; and these propositions were still further offensive from their studied uncertainty, amounting to positive duplicity. At a moment when frankness was needed above all things, we were treated to prosition duplication; that they some substantial present territory south of 36 deg, 30 min, and to related to slavery, and nothing else. They were more obnoxions than even those from the North—and even from Massachusetts

their ignorance they testfied to slavery, while the propositions were the familiar voice of Slavery, crying. "Give, give."

There was another single proposition which camefrom still another quarter, but like all the others it related exclusively to slavery. It was to insert in the text of the Constitution a stipulation against any future amendment by which Congress might be authorized to interfere with slavery in the States. If you read this proposition, you will find it crude and ill-shaped—a jargon of bad grammar—a jumble and hodge-podge of words—calculated to harmonize poorly with the accurate text of our Constitution. But even if tolerable in form, it was obnoxious, like the rest, as a fresh stipulation in favor of slavery. Sufficient surely in this respect is the actual Constitution. Beyond this I cannot—I will not go. What Washington, Franklin and Jay would not insert, we cannot err in rejecting.

tion. Beyona sand the work of the work of the washington, Franklin and Jay would not insert, we cannot err in rejecting.

I do not dwell on other propositions, because they attracted less attention; and yet among these was one to overturn the glorious safeguards of Freedom set up in the Free States, known as the Personal Liberty Laws. Here again was slavery—with a vengeance. But there is one remark which I desire to make with regard to all these propositions. It was sometimes said that the concessions they offered to slavery were "small." What a mistake is this a No concession to slavery can be "small." Freedom is priceless, and in this simple rule alike of moral and jurispradence, you will find the just measure of any concession how small soever, by which Freedom is sacrificed. Tell me not that it concerns a few lands of the propositions. only. I do not lorget the saying of Antiquity, that the best Government is where an injury to a single individual is resented as an injury, to the whole State; nor do I forget that memorable instance of our own recent history, where, in a distant sea, the thunders of our Navy with all the hazards of war were aroused to protect the liberty of a solitary person who claimed the rights of an American citizen. By such examples let me be guided rather than by the suggestions that Human Freedom, whether in many or in few, is of so little value that it may be put in the market to appease a traitorous conspiracy or to sooth those who, without such concession, threaten to join the conspirators.

But the warnings of the Past, like the suggestions of reason and conscience, were all against concession. Timid counsels have always been an encouragement to sedition and rebellion. If the glove be of velvet, the hand must be of tron. An emiment master of thought, in some of his most vivid words, seems to have spoken for us. Here they are:

"To expect to tranquillize and benefit a country by

"To expect to tranquillize and benefit a country by gratifying its agitators, would be like the practice of the superstitions of old, with their sympathetic powder and contineents; who, instead of applying medicaments to the wound, contended themselves with salving the sword which had inflicted it. Since the days of Dane-gelt downwards; nay, since the world was created, nothing but evil has resulted from concession made to intimidation." (Whately's Essays of Bacca. Essay 15, p. 134.)

These words are most applicable to these times, when it has been so often proposed to salve the sword of secession.

In the same spirit spoke the most eminent practical statesman in English history, Mr. Fox. Here are his words:—

"To humor the present disposition and temporize is a certain, absolutely certain confirmation of the evil. No nation ever did or ever can recover from slavery by such methods." (Charles James Fox, Letter to Lord Holland, 18th, June, 1804.)

Pardon me if I express a regret, profound and

sion, were not always encountered boldly and austerely. Alas I, it is ourselves that have encouraged the Conspiracy, and made it strong. Secession has become possible only through long-continued concession. In proposing concession we have encouraged secession, and while professing to uphold the Union, we have betrayed it. It seems now beyond question, that the concessionists of the North have, from the beginning, played into the hands of the secessionists of the South. I do not speak in harshness or even in criticism, but simply according to my duty in unfolding historically the agencies, conscious and unconscious, which have been at work, with I had them.

slavery which fired the Conspirators, and slavery also which entered into every proposition of compromise. Secession and concession both had their root in slavery.

And now, after this review, I am brought sgain to the significance of that Presidential election with which I began. The slave-masters entered into that election with Mr. Breckinridge as their candidate, and their platform claimed constitutional protection for slavery in all territories, whether now belonging to the Republic or hereafter acquired. This concession was the ultimatum on which was staked their continued loyally to the Union—as the continuance of the slave trade had been the original condition on which South Carolina and Georgia had entered into the Union. And the reason, though wicked, was obvious. It was because without such opportunity of expansion slavery would be stationary, while the Free States, increasing in number, would obtain a fixed preponderance in the National Government, assuring to them the political power. Thus, at that election, the banner of the slave-masters had for its open device—not the Union as it is; but the extension and perpetuation of Human Rondage. The normal review against further masters had for its open device—not the Union as it is; but the extension and perpetuation of Human Bondage. The popular vote was against further concession, and the conspirators proceeded with their crime. The occasion, so long sought, had come. The pretext, foreseen by Jackson, was the

motive power.

But here mark well, that, in their whole conduct, motive power.

But here mark well, that, in their whole conduct, the Conspirators aced naturally under the instincts implanted by slavery; nay, they acted logically, even. Such is slavery, that it cannot exist unless where it owns the government. An injustice so plain can find protection only from a government which is a reflection of itself. Cannibalism cannot exist, except under a government of idolators. And slavery cannot exist, except under a government of slavenmaters. This is positive, universal truth—at Petersburg, Constantinople, Timbuctoo or Washington. The slave-masters of our country saw that they were dislodged from the National Government, and straightway they rebelled. The Republic which they could no longer rule, they determined to ruin.

that they were dislodged from the National Government, and straightway they rebelled. The Republic which they could no longer rule, they determined to ruin.

But though thus audaciously wicked, they are not strong in numbers. The whole quantity of slave-cowners, great and small, according to the recent census, is not more than four hundred thousand; out of whom there are not more than one hundred thousand who are interested to any considerable extent in this peculiar species of property; and yet this petty oligarchy—itself controlled by a squad still more petty—in a population of many millions, has aroused and organized this gigantic Rebellion. But this success is explained by type considerations. First, the asserted value of the slaves, reaching to the enormous sum-total of two thousand millions of slollars, constitutes an overpowering property increast—one of the largest in the world; to which may be added the intensity and unity of purpose naturally belonging to the representatives of such a sum-total, stimulated by the questionable character of the property. But, secondly, it is a phenomenon tested by the history of revolutions, that all such movements—at least in their early days—are controlled by minorities. This is becasse a revolutionary minority once embarked, has before it only the single simple path of unhesitating action. While others doubt or hold back, the minority strikes and goes forward. Audacity, then, conts more than numbers, and crime counts more than virtue. This phenomenon has been observed before. "Often have I reflected with awe," says Coleridge, "on the great and disproportionate power which an individual of no extraordinary talents or attainments may exert by merely throwing off all restraint of conscience. * The abandonment of all principle of right enables the soul to choose and act upon a principle of verong, and to subordinate to this one principle of verong, and to subordinate to this one principle of verong, and to subordinate to this one principle of verong, and to subordinate t

urged this very phenomenon for a practical purpose. In a pamphlet, addressed to the Parliamentary Reformers of England, he sought to enlist them in a revolutionary movement, and, by way of encouragement, he boldly announces that "revolutions must always be the work of the minority—that every revolution has been the work of a minority—that the French Revolution itself was actimplished by the minority." And Brissot de Warville, another partaker and victim also in this great Revolution, declared that it was carried by not more than twenty men. The declarations were made the subject of a debate, shortly afterward, in the British Parliament, where Sheridan bore a brilliant part. They are most suggestive—even if they do not explain the early success of our conspirators. The future historian will record that the present Rebellion—notwithstanding its protracted origin, the multitudes it has enlisted and its extensive sweep—was at last precipitated by fewer than twenty men; ht. Everett says by as few as ten. It is certain that, thus far, it has been the triumph of a minority; but of a minority moved, inspired, combined and aggrandized by slavery.

And now this traitorous minority, putting aside all the lurking, shmy devices of Conspiracy, steps forth in the full panoply of War. Assuming to itself all the functions of Government, it organizes States under a common head—sends ambassadors into foreign countries—levies taxe—borrows money—issues letters of marque—and sets armies in the field summoned from distant Georgia, Louisana and Texas, as well as from nearer Virginia, and composed of the whole lawless population—the poor who cannot own slaves as well as the rick who own them—throughout the extensive region where, with Satanic grasp, this slaveholding minority claims for itself.

Pardon the language which I employ. The words of the poet do not picture too strongly the object proposed. And now these parricidal hosts standarrayed openly against that paternal Government to which they owed loyalty, protection and affection.

(Concluded on fourth page.)

GENERAL SHERMAN'S PROCLAMATION.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S PROCLAMATION.

Among the most marvellous things of the past week of wonders was the proclamation of Gen. Sherman to the deserted fields and houses of Hilton Head and Beaufort. He addresses those infamous traitors, who had been but a few minutes previously aiming a murderous fire at his brethren, without cause or excuse, as fellow-citizens. Fellow-citizens of what, pray? Of the United States? Surely, if they are citizens, who are not? Who can help being citizens? How endearing must be the ties that treason will not sever? But perhaps it was designed for the Union-loving, who would, but could not show their love. And where were they? If there had been any, would they have run away with the traitors, rather than tarry and welcome their true friends? Certainly not, If the poor slaves, whose masters had tried hard to compel them to leave, even shooting them for refusing, if they could await the coming army, and welcome it with unmistakable joy, starely the Union whites, had there been any, could have done the same. But, says the excuser, they were frightened, and did not know but they would all be seized and butchered by the inbuman Yankes. Indeed! Did they not know as much as the slaves? Surely, no people ever heard more ghost stories of northern meanness and cruelty than the slaves, and yet they were not affaid to remain and come to our army. Another proclamation has since been made, assuring those traitors who left their Beaufort homes, that if they would come back, they should not be injured, but protected. We certainly admire the masterly work of Capt. Dupont and his gallant crew, in the taking of that port; we admire their genius and bravery; their zeal for their country; but we are most heartily sick of the sternal cringing and creeping after southern traitors; men that have not only been traitors for a few weeks by accident, but who have spared no pains and storyed at no degradation or crime to accomplish their diabolism. And then to call these Davises, Masons, Barnwells, Rhetts, etc., high

with such compliments, or are fairly represented by any such speeches.

On the other hand, in that district were 30,000 inhabitants who were not in arms against their country, and never had been; 30,000 who would gladly take up arms for the Union, and shed their blood freely for their liberty and the government; who did not flee at our approach, but came to greet and offer us their assistance. Yet not one word was said to them to show that we would notect them, or appreus their assistance. It into one word was said to them to show that we would protect them, or appre-ciated their loyalty, or would welcome their brawny arms to aid us in sustaining the American Republic. Why this kind feeling and gracious proclamation towards the most impious traitors, pirates, thieves and murderers the sun ever shone upon, (for this is what all have called them.) and this callous indiffer-ence and aversion to those who show they have in hearts the very principles we proudly be in our own bosoms? Will it still be said t

ence and aversion to those who show they have in their hearts the very principles we proudly joast glow in our own bosoms? Will it still be said that traitors and pirates are better than negroes? That innocent and liberty-loving slaves are not equal to liberty and Union-bating whites? That honest and loyal blacks are not to be sought nor noticed, but traitors may be courted? Alas! if this be so, what can degrade or elevate a black?

Had Gen. Sherman, as he was authorized by Secretary Cameron, immediately called around him these slaves, and assured them that their masters having abandoned the government and left them, they were free; and had he invited them to enter the service as soldiers of the United States, he would at once have had an army, with which he could have occupied the whole district, and seized upon the entire cotton crop. This, being the bonded security of the Confederate stocks and basis of their capital, would have given a deadly blow to secession, and vastly strengthened our cause both at bome and abroad. We are only relieved from our humiliation by the refreshing tide of popular feeling that comes rolling in from every quarter, and the encouraging words of Secretary Cameron. The people well know that slaveholders have begotten this hideous and deformed monster, and they will never rest until the government casts off its fawning affection for them, and spaces them no more at the expense of our own precious friends. They as well know that a black friend is better than a white foe, as did Jackson, and demond that they shall be treated as such. Wilaterer may have been our theories heretofore, it is now independent that they shall be treated as such. Wilaterer may have been our theories heretofore, it is now independent that they shall be treated as such. Wilaterer may have been our theories heretofore, it is now independent that they shall be treated as such. Wilaterer may have been our theories heretofore, it is now independent to the stores, but their masters, who would come North, and overron

DOGBERRY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Of all the misfortunes that have befallen us, in this unhappy war, that of pacification Generals is the greatest. A corporal can't be sent with a file of men to forage in an orchard, or potatoe patch, but he issues a proclamation, announcing the most friendly and pacific designs. He comes only to restore peace, to see the laws enforced, and the Constitution upheld, and above all things, will not disturb the institutions of the said orchard or potatoe patch! We had not sent our forces into Western Virginia, where we have already decimated our forces, by the fruitless enterprise, till Gen. McClellan issued his proclamation, that the country was only to be protected, and especially in its institutions, and an iron hand was to be laid upon any attempt to touch the cause of the war, or the least manifestation of disrespect for slavery. The same farce has been played in every direction, and always with the effect of neutralizing the whole labor of the campaign. The rebels have every where been assured that no harm was meant them, and above all things the pet "nigger" was not to be molested. It is true that these Dogberrys always professed an intention to "comprehend all manner of vagroom men, and bid them stand in the Prince's name;" but those that would not stand, have been most faithfully told they were "not the men they took them for." And as to there, and the proper ways treated by the safe rule of letting the ways treated by the safe rule of letting the ways treated by the safe rule of letting the safe rule of letting the safe rule of letting them. Of all the misfortunes that have befallen us, in "not the men they took them for." And, as to theves, they were always treated by the safe rule of letting them "prove themselves such by stealing out of your company." With this emollient practice of proclamation poultiese to rebellion, wherever it breaks out, it is no wonder that we have made no

breaks out, it is no women advance towards curing it. The last case of this kind seems to prove wors. An immense fleet and army have than all others. An immense fleet and army have landed on the shores of South Carolina, before whom the rebels fled like chickens before a hawk, and left in the full possession of every thing—negroes and . Instead of improving upon this, as a General old have done, and advanced to a commanding rould have done, and advanced to a commanding ossition, Gen. Sherman, the commander of this enterprise, sets to writing a proclamation, in which he ells the rebels of that eminent nest of treason, that he has only landed a small force, for their protection, and purposes of peace generally, but with all deference to a "great sovereign State, and to a proud and hospitable people."! Then, to the people who began the rebellion, and besieged Major Anderson Fort Sumter, he appeals in this wise:—

"Can you pursue this fratricidal war, and can you imbrue your hands in the loyal blood of your country men, your friends, your kinsmen, for no other object than to unlawfully disrupt the Confederacy of a great people, a Confederacy established by your own hands in order to set up, were the possible, an independen Government, under which you can never live in peace prosperity and quietness?"

sense is not the sense of our Generals—especially if they have an important position. And this splendid movement of our Army and Navy is to be toned down into a force, of which Dogberry himself might have been ashamed, all in fear of disturbing the blessed joint title in the crowning glory, thus far, of the landing of our fleet. What more it will come to, we must patiently wait to see.—Ashtabula Sentinel.

GEN. HALLECK'S POLICY.

The very just criticisms of Gen. Halleck's order No. 3°—that which forbids fugitive slaves to enter his lines—and the profound dissatisfaction which that useless and ill-timed document has created among the people, who have furnished and are furnishing the Army of the West with the troops who will squelch the rebellion in the Valley of the Mississippi, ought to admonish the General to reconsider his action. The people believe that as a military measure his order is absurd, and that, as a concession to the demands of treason in Missouri, it is wicked. They are giving their money and best blood that secession may be baffled and put down; and while doing so, they will demand of those in front of their armies, the use of all the means which civilized warfare sanctious, that the life and treasure expended in the perious struggle may not be wasted. If the loss of slaves will bring armed rebels to their senses, and teach them that treason has its immediate and heavy penalties, they want to see a sable cloud hanging to the reason of the desired the same of the desired the same of the same penalties, they want to see a sable cloud hanging to the rear of every column of Federal troops. If fugitive slaves can furnish information of the movements and objects of the enemy, they way to Gen. Hall ments and objects of the enemy, they want to see the way to Gen. Halleck's headquarters kept clear, sethat the information may come in. If it is necessary way to Gen. Halleck's headquarters kept clear, so that the information may come in. If it is necessary in the progress of the campaigh to wipe slavery and its abominations out of Missouri, they want a General who is willing to bear the besom of destruction in his right hand. All these demands are frustrated by the order of which we speak. Rebellion remains in possession of its most coveted treasures, and derives from the labor of its slaves the life-blood which nourishes it and gives it strength. In a population whose loyalty is questioned, and where "neutrality" is the utmost that we can look for, the rebel leaders march and countermarch, fit out and send off expeditions and detachments, and the loyal slaves, being forbidden to enter our lines, there are none to carry the news, and the blow comes before the word. Gen. Halleck has shut up the sources of information. His pickets are instructed to drive from his outposts the most loyal men in the State; he leaves in rebel possession the cause of the war and the motive for its continuance; and all for a reason that, to men in civil life, would seem, if not given to the world by the Commander of a Department, to be at once hypocritical and puerile—he cannot admit negroes within his lines, because they will carry backinformation to the enemy! What wonderful lines are those with which the General has encircled himself—lines which, according to Order No. 3, no black man can pass if his toes are turned toward the camp—and which, according to the reason given for the order, any black man can break through as soon as his heels are turned from the camp—a back-action military rai-trap which lets nobody in, but permits everybody to go out!—Chicago Tribune.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 2.

Head-quarters, Department of Missouri.
St. Louis, November 20th, 1861.

Itead-quarters, Department of Missouri.

St. Louis, November 20th, 1801. }

I. It has been represented that important information respecting the numbers and conditions of our forces is conveyed to the enemy by means of fugitive slaves who are admitted within our lines. In order to remedy this evil, it is directed that no such persons be hereafter permitted to enter the lines of any camp, or of any forces on the march, and that any now within our lines be immediately excluded therefrom.

II. The General Commanding wishes to impress upon all officers in command of posts and troops in the field the importance of preventing unauthorized persons of every description from entering and leaving our lines, and of observing the greatest precaution in the employment of agents and clerks in confidential positions.

By order of Major-General Halleck.

WILLIAM MCMICHAEL,

Assistant Adjutant General.

GEN. JOHN A. DIX.

Gen. Dix, with the Navy of the United States at his command, and capable of raining hell-fire almost across any part of the entire peninsula from Chesapeake Bay or the Atlantic coast, has adopted, as a punishment for their sins, the issue of a proclamation. Not a proclamation in any way skin to that famous saying which created the John A. Dix whom the people loved to think of as a man to be remembered.

Not a proclamation in any way akin to that famous saying which created the John A. Dix whom the people loved to think of as a man to be remembered and spoken of by the fire-side in years to come, and sa a lesson and example to our children.

No, this proclamation has little of the ring of the metal of his other brief saying that struck fire from the people as sure as steel will from the flint. His present proclamation falls like lead on the Northern heart.

We are glad of this movement, glad to know that the authority of the United States is asserted, even

We are glad of this movement, glad to know that the authority of the United States is asserted, even if in the counting of the buttons of the fishermen of the counties of Accomac and Northampton in Vir-ginia. But oh! that a Major-General should feel it his duty to truckle and cringe to criminals who have destroyed the beacon lights of commerce, who have sent their means and their sons to the main land of Virginia to steep their souls in the blood of the pa-triots who have been slanghtered at Bull Run, at Bethel, and at Ball's Bluff! These traitors are told by John A. Dix, that he

triots who have been slaughtered at Bull Run, at Bethel, and at Bull's Bulf!

These traitors are told by John A. Dix, that he sends men amongst them of their own breed, near neighbors, who understand their peculiar institutions, customs and laws, men who value property, nigger property, men who would rather shoot a white man than lower by any act of his the market value of the cheapest nigger. According to the proclamation of John A. Dix, it would be only necessary for the rebels of Accomac and Northampton to form a breastwork of niggers to ensure their immunity from the guns of the soldiers of John A. Dix. It would not do to injure that kind of property. It would be unconstitutional to do so. It might irritate our dear brethren of the South. Take their pigs, their homes, their altars, their wives, lay waste their fields, slay their children—but O, spare the sacred demon-god, the nigger!

nigger! The Rev. Sydney Smith, when accused by a brother The Rev. Sydney Smith, when accused by a brother clergyman of using sarcasm as a weapon, against a presumptuous brother of the cloth, replied that vermin ought not to have the choice of the instrument by which they are destroyed. The nail or the small tooth comb might be used at the discretion of the operator. Not so with the vermin of Accomac and Northampton. The greatest care is exercised by John A. Dix to have the instruments selected exactly to suit them.

iy to suit them.

"The Brigade General is Henry M. Lockwood, of Delaware—a State identical in some of the distinctive features of its Social Organization with your own. Portions of his force come from counties in Maryland bordering on one of yours. From him and from them

you may be assured of the sympathy of near neighbors, as well as friends, if you repel it not by hostile resistance or attack."

And with all this rose-water, we are told that the troops came only to re-establish beacons of commerce and signals for the storm-driven mariner; that the mission is not one of war, of menace, of redress for ruthless injuries flagrantly committed against the whole human family. Why should John A. Dix under such circumstances meet opposition? Why should be fream of it? The very fiends of hell, in its lowest depths, would give him free course to cool their fiery chains, should he send such a message to them. But lest he should not have shaped things exactly to suit them, the proclamation was read yester-day, read to a large number of Virginians in a farm house near the Potomac, and it was declared by them to be entirely satisfactory.

How elated John A. Dix must feel when he knows he is able to satisfy his Southern brethren! Abasement could not farther go. They were satisfied!

Will the country, the people, be satisfied that the same John A. Dix who uttered the brave words of February, which reverberated through the land like the blast of an archangel, and quickened the heart's blood of millions, will they be satisfied that he should make a speciality for himself of the tender care of the property in negroes in Accomac and Northampton? Why not let it take its chance in the turning and the storm of the property in the country of the rebels? Why should we be compelled to bend the knee, and lick their

When this affectionate address was prepared, our sapient General was somewhat at a loss for listeners. There were plenty of our black friends about, who were loyal, and who had not fiel, and were ready to attest their loyalty by their acts. But he could not talk in this style to them. They were niggers. So he starts a flag of truce into the country, to run down an English clergyman, he had heard of. They found another clergyman — a Carolinian — whom they coaxed to read the proclamation, and as a favor to take it to the Englishman; while he assured them that no Carolinian would pay the least regard to it. So he might have known, if he had possessed any common sense. But it is our fate that common being.—Paterson, (N. J.) Guardian.

The Tiberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1861.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THERBOF."

To the Congress of the United States: The undersigned, citizens of , State of

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to loss no time in treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honor-able body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating uncondi-tionally the slaves of all who are robels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties: and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent ter-mination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis

Now that Congress is in session, and various subject, let there be no unnecessary delay in forward-ing emancipation petitions to that body. Send them directly to the proper Schators and Representatives from the various States and Districts. They will, of ourse, go free of postage. Send them in!

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The first session of the thirty-seventh Congress as-sembled at Washington on Monday last. The respon-sibilities devolving upon that body, in view of the critical state of the country, exceed in solemnity those which have met any similar gathering sin 1790, and call for corresponding wisdom and firm in their discharge. All eyes are turned to it with anxiety, and all hearts filled with conflicting emotions of hope and uncertainty. Will it intelligently under-stand the nature of the present terrible crisis, and boldly apply the only safe and lasting remedy without doubt or wavering? Or will it, in a perverse and cow-ardly spirit, refuse to look the demands of the hour fully in the face, and insanely attempt to again "daub with untempered mortar," renew the old "covenant with death," seek peace through an "irrepres-sible conflict," and combine harmoniously together eternally antagonistical elements? Shortly, we trust, it will be flooded with petitions, signed by all classes of the people, without regard to personal prejudices or party lines, asking it to strike at the cause of the re-bellion by the total abolition of slavery under the war power, and thus to place the government upon the solid foundation of universal liberty. The request will be a righteoue one—the reasons for it are press-ing, unanswerable, multitudinous, overwhelming—the power to grant it is ample, and the right to exercise that power is as unquestionable as any right possessed by the government for self-preservation, and "to pronote the general welfare, and preserve the blessings of liberty." Will Congress give heed to that request or express its wish that the President, as commander in chief of the army and navy, will do so! How much is depending upon that question!

From the prompt introduction of the subject, in both houses of Congress, on Monday, in various forms, we take great encouragement. In the House, Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts, offered the following res-

a olution:

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the United States of America—First, That in behalf of the people of these States, we do solemnly declare, that the war in which we are now engaged against the insurgent bodies now in arms against the government has for its object the suppression of such rebellion, and the reestablishment of the rightful authority of the national constitution and laws over the entire extent of our common country. Second, That while we disclaim as all power under the Constitution to interfere by ordinary legislation with the institutions of the several States, yet the war now existing must be conducted according to the usages and rights of military service, and, during its continuance, the recognized authority of the maxim, that the safety of the State is the highest law is the subordinates the right of property and dominion over civil relations. Third, That therefore we do hereby declare that, in our judgment, the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of our army, and the officers in command under him, if have the right to emancipate all persons held as slaves in any military district in a state of insurrection against the national government; and thalf we respectfully advise that such order of manufacture between when. ent; and that we respectfully ad-of emancipation be issued whenin any minitary district in a state of insurrection again the national government; and that we respectfully a vise that such order of emancipation be issued whe ever the same will avail to weaken the power of t rebels in arms, or to strengthen the military power the loyal forces.

Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, moved to lay the resolution on the table, but the motion was disagreed to by year

The question recurring on Mr. Eliot's resolution Mr. Roscoe L. Conkling, of New York, proposed an amendment, which Mr. Eliot accepted, so as to make the resolution apply to the slaves of disloyal citizens. On motion of Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the further consideration of the resolution was posuntil Tuesday next, in order that it may be discussed and amendments submitted. He was in fayor of the main features of the proposition, but desired mod-

Mr. Campbell, of Pennsylvania, gave notice that he would call up the following on the 17th inst. :

Resolved, That in legislating to meet the exigencies of the present rebellion, Congress should confiscate the property, slaves included, of all rebels, and protect the property and rights under the Constitution and large of all local cities.

ing for future consideration:

Whereas, Slavery has caused the present rebellion in the United States; and whereas, there can be no solid and permanent peace in this republic so long as that institution exists within it; and whereas, slaves are now used by the rebels as an essential means of supporting and protracting the war; and whereas, by the law of nations, it is right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to weaken his power; therefore, be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congrues assembled, that the President be requested to declare free, and to direct all our Generals and officers in commund to order freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters, or ald in quelling the rebellion.

2d. And be it further resolved, That the United States pledge the faith of the nation to make full and fair compensation to all Joyal citizens who are or shall

fair compensation to all loyal citizens who are or sha remain active in supporting the Union for all the los they may sustain by virtue of this resolution.

In the Senate, Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, gave tice that he would introduce a bill to confiscate the property of the rebels, and to give freedom to persons in the rebel slave States.

All these propositions are substantially alike-emancipating all the slaves, and making satisfactor provision in the cases of loval slaveholders, so calle if any such can be found—Mr. Eliot, however, un-wisely so modifying his own proposition as to make it apply exclusively to the slaves of rebel masters.

The axe must be laid at the root of the tree: in other words, the entire slave system must be abolished at a blow, or there will be another "treasuring up of wrath against the day of wrath, and righteou wrath against the day of wrath, and righteous reve-lation of the judgment of God," on a still more fearful scale, as an inevitable consequence. The emancipa-tion of nine-tenths of the slave population will be no atonement, no safeguard, no pacification: not one of the whole number must be left in his chains. As the army proceeds south, it should deal with slavery as the children of Israel were commanded to act in the land of Canaan:—

When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Janaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of he land from before you, and destroy all their pictures in motten images, and quite plack down all their high lates. But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then it shall come to pass that those which ye let remain of them hill be pricks in your sign, and shorns in your sides, and ayou in the land understin ye dicell. Moreover, it shall come to pass that I shall do unto you, as I thought to so into them."

do note them."

So, if this grand and providential opportunity to uterly abolish slavery be permitted to pass unimproved by the government, within whose grasp that visit system of lust and blood is now constitutionally paced for its externination—if any number of slave-holders or slaves, however small, are allowed to exist an hitherto under the old conditions of the Unloument there must follow in due time flereer contensons, heavier judgments, and bloodier results. These oppressors and their victims will, in that case, assurgily be "pricks in our eyes, and thorna in our sides," is a people, and the judgments in store for the former will also be visited upon our own heads. If their number be reduced, by confiscation and the chances of war, to a hundred masters and a thousand nces of war, to a hundred masters and a thousand slaves, yet if these should be recognized by the government as in constitutional relations, and the power staves, yet if these should be recognized by the gov-rrmment as in constitutional relations, and the power of the government should be pledged to secure the dominion of the one party and the servitude of the other, the source of this rebellion, of our national dishonor and degradation, will remain untouched, and the contagion will spread on every side, carrying desolation and horror in its train. For a hundred master, will be followed by ten thousand and ten masters will be followed by ten thousand, and ter thousand by four hundred thousand as at present, and these again steadily augmented; and a thousand talayes will be multiplied into millions, until a new volcanic explosion shall again rend the nation astuder, and fill it with lamentation and woe. One slave left to bear the yoke and clank the chain will suffice to upheave the republic from its foundations, and to dissever any Union cemented with his blood. Away then, with all nostrums in the treatment of this dis ease! The probe must go to the quick, and to pre-serve the life, the mortified limb must be cut off. Those who counsel otherwise either desire the death of the patient, or are in a besotted state of mind. Every hour of delay is fraught with danger, and adds to the uncertainty of the issue. Prompt, bold, thorough action is demanded by every principle of justice and every feeling of humanity.

There is a class of utterly unscrupulous and thor

oughly desperate enemies of emancipation here at the North, who, with the mask of loyalty covering their treasonable visages, are exerting themselves to the tmost to paralyze the strong right arm of government, and to encourage the Southern traitors never to yield to its supremacy, by audaciously threatening rebellior on our own free soil, in case Congress or the Presiden shall decree the abolition of slavery, even to save the republic! Whitped into decency for a time by a wholesome fear of public indignation in a tangible shape, they are now boldly revealing the traitorous spirit which still controls them, and using the languag of menace and bluster more and more deflantly. Conspicuous among these are the editors of such satanic journals as the Boston Courier, Post, and Herald, the Journal of Commerce, New York Express, Bennett's Herald, &c. &c., as our frequent quotations from them, in that receptacle of pro-slavery scoundrelism, the REFUGE of OPPERSION." Auditable No. No. REFUGE OF OPPRESSION," abundantly show. No worse men, none more seditious, none m us, can be found incarcerated at Fort Lafayette Fort Warren. Their columns are crowded with inflammatory appeals, with base misstatements, with lying declarations, in the service of "the devil and his angels." The negro is with them a butt of ridicule, an object of contempt, fit only to be "weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold," and conde -long bondage. Nothing so rouses their brutal restore him to himself, to treat him as a rational being and to cease outraging the image of God in his person.
Whoever advocates such a measure of justice and mercy they assail as a madman or fanatic, and exhaust the vocabulary of defamation to cripple his influence for good. Rather than have slavery abolished, unde any circumstances, they would a thousand times pre-fer to see the republic dismembered, or the Southern Confederacy triumphant over the whole land. Take a fresh specimen of the hateful spirit that actuates em. Here it is.

Referring to the general effort now making to ob ain universal emancipation "under the war power," ot only as a measure of justice, but to put an end to the cause of the rebellion, the Journal of Commercial holds this menacing language :—

"When that policy is adopted, the Treasury will close its doors, and New York cease to supply the sinews of war. When that policy is adopted, the army will be demoralized, and the Generals that now lead it to victory will return to their homes in sorrow and slame. (!) When that policy is adopted, Abraham Lincoln, if we know him, will not be President of the United States."

Do Jefferson Davis and his traitorous band need their work of treason and piracy? Is not the author of such menaces to be classed with the vilest in the

land ! His code of morality is clearly that of bri-gands and slave-mongers, so far as the rights and in-terests of four millions of the people are concerned. THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The Message of President Lincoln was delivered to Tuesday last. Its chief, almost its sole nerit is its brevity, considering the staple of it is made; and yet the tremendous issues of the hour, if properly treated in such a document, are not to be briefly disposed of. Every body says Mr. Lin-coln is an "honest" man; but it is at least equally certain that he is very weak in his joints, and wholly disqualified to lead or inspire. His message is very and rambling, and ridiculous as a State paper which ought to be high-toned, vigorous, comprehen-sive, and historically important. Incredible as it may seem, it wholly ignores the only cause of that rebel-lion which has already withdrawn twelve. States from the Union, (for Missouri has just been formally voted into the Southern Confederacy,) and cost the Government a fearful amount of blood and treasure! Was here ever stupidity or folly beyond this?

The President makes a merit of his imbecility by aying—"In considering the policy to be adopted for appressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and areful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate-into a violent and ren struggle." How very obliging!

In regard to such contrabands as the fortunes o war may bring within the control of the Government the President suggests the expediency of acquiring new territory in which to colonize them! What non-sense! If their presence can be endured as slaves, can it not be when they are freemen? If their labo was valuable, nay, indispensable when extorted under the lash, will it be any less so when it is fairly com pensated! Let Congress propose no colonization scheme, unless they desire fresh "agitation" and un ending conflict. Nothing is wanted but emancipation after that, everything will work well for all parties. President Lincoln may colonize himself if he choos but it is an impertinent act, on his part, to propose the getting rid of those who are as good as hin

Here is a rec proved, as the simplest act of justice which has been so long and so meanly withheld:-

"If any good reason exists why we should persece longer in withholding our recognition of the to longer in withholding our recognition of the in pendence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I unable to discern it. I am unwilling, however, to agurate a novel policy in regard to them without approbation of Congress. I submit for your conration the expediency of an appropriation for maining a. Charge d'Affaires near each of these new tes. It does not admit of doubt that important innereial advantages might be secured by favorable dies with them.

Aside from this, the message is weak and committee to a pitiable degree.

WHAT TRUE PATRIOTISM DEMANDS.

"THE CHOICE BY LOT. Extract of a lett "The Choice by Loy. Extract of a letter from a prisoner in Richmoud, Va., dated Nov. 12, 1861: The usual quiet of our prison was broken in upon on Sunday afternoon by the appearance of Gen. J. H. Winder, commander of this place, who read an order from the anthorities, directing him to select by ballot one Colonel of the United States Army, to stand as hostage for W. Smith, lately convicted in Philadelphia for piracy; the lot fell upon Col. Michael Corcoran, of the 66th New York Regiment, who will be confined in a dungeon and await the execution of Smith; and should be be hung, he will suffer the like death. There were also selected in the same mode, three captains, who, together with the balance of the colonels, all the majors and licutemant-colonels, to the number of thirteen, are to be held as hostages for the thirteen privateer's men whose trial took place a few days since in New York, and the jury failed to agree. What the action of our Government may be, we know not, but can hardly believe they will jeopard the lives of innocent men; for retailation will surely take place, and when once commenced, there is no know not, but can hardly believe they will jeop the lives of innocent men, for retaliation will sur take place, and when once commenced, there is knowing when it will stop,—perhaps no before land is delaged in innocent blood! "—Econgelist.

In the above extract from a letter, we see displayed at once, not only the brutal character of the Southern rebels, who are ready to kill innocent men in revenge for the death of guilty ones—to violate both law and justice in retaliation for the punishment, by due pro cess of law, of atrocious criminals—but the unhappy faint-heartedness of some one of the Northern prisoners, whose correspondent has judiciously withheld The plea of the unnamed prisoner is, that the regu-

lar course of execution of United States law be termitted, because vengeance is threatened by the accomplices of the pirates, upon certain loyal and valiant soldiers, now in their power. Let us inquire, first, if this is a reasonable plea, and next, what the soldiers in question, themselves, either in a body, or by their commander, would be likely to say to it. the execution of law to be abandoned, on the ground that the open criminals against whom it operates declare that they will act worse and worse while it continues to be enforced! Does not the question answer itself! Is not the stringent execution of a just law more needful, precisely in proportion to the number and boldness of the infractions of it? What would be the consequence of a concession

such as the Evangelist recommends? If the threat of new outrages on the part of the enemy be all that is necessary to block the movements of the United States Government in any particular direction, will not the ame principle be further applied? What if the rebel leaders select from their prisoners a certain number to be hung for every new advance of any division of the Federal army! for the sailing of every new naval expedition against them ! for the assault of any new portion of their coast line! for the continuance of the blockade after a specified time! Should such threats be allowed to paralyze our forces and prevent our action? Is it not plain that the granting of one such demand would be the signal for more, and that if we act on such a principle, we must surrender all for which we are now ntending?

What would Col. Corcoran and his brave a say to the United States Government in view of such a proposition? For the sake of the country whose citizens (native or adopted) they are—for the sake of certain principles of justice and freedom which are ssailed by tyrants, for the extension of slavery-in defence of the Constitution, the laws, and the larly chosen governmental administrators of them— they have chosen to make immense sacrifices, of various sorts; to leave their business and their homes, and to expose themselves to the privations of the camp, the dangers of the battle-field, and the risk of death or mprisonment. When those dangers have been greater or more varied than they expected—for many of these brave soldiers supposed themselves contending with a civilized people, and did not reckon upon drinkng from poisoned wells, or being bayoneted while lying hopelessly wounded, on the battle-field-have they ever proposed, in view of these new manifesta-tions of the character of their opponents, to withdraw from the conflict themselves, or to have the country withdraw from it? Never! Every one of these developments of barbarism was a new reason for energetically pushing the advance against the barbarians, and has been so understood, alike by officers and soldiers. And now that a new atrocity is proposed by the fighters for slavery—now that they threaten to kill a certain innocent man, unless the country who laws and rights they are attacking will abandon those laws and rights—what are we to suppose Colonel Company will say to this proposition? Will be now counsel submission to the enemy that his life may be saved? Will he not rather say—When I enlisted, I of fered my life for the service of my country, and freely took all the risks to which it might be exposed. The case in which I now stand is one of those risks; no less, no ma I scorn the idea of receiving my life at the cost of an aband ment of duty by the United States Government. It is th duty to put down this rebellion ; and I solemnly enjoin upon them not to swerve one hair's breadth from the line of that duty, for the sake of making favorable conditions for me To die for my country cannot be other than glorious to me To shrink from giving my life for her cause now would be as shameful as to flee from the battle-field. If the enemy fulfil so base a threat, it will be worse for their cause than the loss of a battle. Let them fulfil it if they dare. I ask no favors at their hands. But if my death shall mark the no Javors at their nanas. But I my death shalt mark the hour of my country's determination to persist in the main-tenance of her righteous cause, and never to yield to the de-mands of treason, I shall die not only happy, but trium-phant. My death will have done more, even than my life,

to serve the cause for which I took up arms. Thus, it seems to me, every brave, loyal and patriotic man would speak. And the country would protect the lives of her gallant sons far more effectually by utterly disregarding such threats of the traitors. than by vielding to them .- c. K. W.

SPEECH OF HON, CHARLES SUMNER.

We publish, entire, in our present number, the admirable Speech of Mr. Sumner, on "The Rebellion— its Origin and Main-Spring," as made before immense and applauding audiences in this and other cities.

Mr Se or delivered this Sp fore the Young Men's Republican Union. William Curtis Noyes, Esq., presided, and introduced the speaker with a very complimentary parallel between him and James Otis. Mr. Sumner was welcomed listened to with profound attention. The allusions to Fremont, and his remarks on the instructions of Mr. on to General Sherman, together with all the ents in favor of the eradication of slavery, were received with uproarious demonstrations of proval; and the thanks of the meeting were tende "to Hon. Charles Sumner, the distinguished ora the evening, for his re-assertion and eloquent en ment of the political principles herein indorsed."The following resolution was cordially adopted:—

The following resolution was cordially adopted:—
Resolved, That the doctrine enunciated by Major General Fremont, with respect to the emancipation of the slaves of rebels, and the more recent atterances of Gen. Burnside, Senator Wilson, and the Hon. George Bancroft, in this city, and of Col. John Cochrane and the Hon. Simon Cameron, at Washington, foreshadowing the eventual rooting out of slavery, as the cause of the rebellion, indicate alike a moral, political, and military necessity; and, in the judgment of this meeting, the public sentiment of the North is now fully in sympathy with any practicable scheme which may be presented for the extirpation of this national evil, and will accept such result as the only consistent issue of this contest between civilization and barbarism.

this contest between civilization and barbarism.

The Tribune says that after the dismissal of the vast assemblage, at the Cooper Institute, a number of the friends of Mr. Sunnare entertained him at a collation at Curet's, No. 742 Broadway, where brilliant speeches were made by William Curtis Noyes, Esq.; the Hon. Charles Sumnor; William K Evarts, Esq.; the Rev. Mr. Conway, of the Hawkins Zouaves; the Rev. Prof. Hitchcock; Cephas Brainard, Esq.; Richard C. McCornick, Esq.; and Elliot C. Cowdin, Esq. The sentiment that emancipation was to be the means of sentiment that emancipation was to be the means of crushing the rebellion—the means of prosecuting the war, and not the end of the war—ruled the hour.

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

LIBERTY is of God, and has upon it His image and Liberry is of God, and has upon it His image and superscription. When His divinest Son entered upon his mission, he declared, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me...to preclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound "; and one of his noblest commentators, the apostle Paul, said: "When the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." But it is marvellous that in this age of the Christian era, and in this boasted country of civil and religious freedom, there should be any need of argument to prove that liberty is the birth-right of all!—here, where the por-erament sprung into existence upon the impaliberty is the birth-right of ant:—nere, where the government sprung into existence upon the immortal declaration that "all men are created free and equal," and with the inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"! But so it is; and the first principles of humanity, republicanism, and the Christian goard! have to be proclaimed apper in the first principles of manianty, reproducanism, and the Christian gospel, have to be proclaimed anew in the face of the vilest despotism the world has ever seen— a despotism that is now in rebellious arms against

Wherever the infernal power of American slavery Wherever the internal power of american stavery has put down its cloven foot, there have followed blight, and barrenness, and every form of physical and moral evil. The whole South-land is a demonstrative proof of this. There is evidently no civilization there proof of this. There is evidently no civilization there worthy of the age, or worthy to be called Christian, even in the lowest sense; and bowie knives and pistols have long been its most fitting coat of arms. Its tols have long been its most fitting coat of arms. Its ignorance, aside from its few slaveholders and aristo-crats, is proverbial; and the knowledge of the few has only made them worse, they having no divine principles to guide them. "Traitors and rebels," not only to human, but to divine government, is the chaonly to human, but to divine government, is the character of nearly all of them. And they have gone on waxing worse and worse continually from the first. Under their controlling influence, the general government has thus degenerated, until it has, at last, and the state of the state of the controlling influence in the second government has thus degenerated, until it has, at last, and the second government has thus degenerated, until it has a task to be a second government has thus degenerated, until it has a task to be a second government has thus degenerated and the second government has thus degenerated government has thus degenerated and the second government has thus degenerated government has the second government has thus degenerated government has the second governme government has thus begenerated, until it has, at last, come near sinking under the weight of its corruption. Our revolutionary fathers were not the mad advocates of slavery that so many of their descendants are—not the property of the problem of them. even the Southern branch of them; for the noblest of even the Southern branch of them; for the noblest of them acknowledged it to be an evil and a curse, and deplored its existence. Could they have clearly foreseen our day, I do not believe they would have compromised with it-such as Jefferson and Henry

But this question of Liberty in America should not be narrowed down to a consideration of the rights and claims of the enslaved alone. Their rights and claims, of course, come first with every true philanthrophi; and if there were but one innocent human being in chains, hurled down from manhood to brutality, that in itself would be a sufficient reason why heaven and earth should be moved for his deliverance; for, strike down only one man's rights, governmentally, and you disturb the equilibrium of the moral and social fabric, and set an example which, if followed, would rain the race. And what are governments, that they should presume to barter away human rights, or to compro-mise them, for their own selfish ends! Whenever they do such deeds, and to the extent that they do them, they cease to be legitimate governments, and become conspiracies against God and humanity. And the off-repeated sentiment, that governments are for man and not man for them, needs to become a sentiment in all hearts, and not mere words upon the lips, and to be carried out in deeds. To sacrifice a race in order to save a government is diabolical; and none but moral idiots will think that a government can be served in that way. The demonstration is to-day before us all, that a nation built on slavery as even only one of its pillars, is as a house built on the sand. All of our politicians and statesmen ought to be con-vinced of this by the inevitable war that has come

vinced of this by the inevitable war that has come upon us; and if they are not, God grant that their leadership may soon be taken from them, and given to more enlightened men!

If there be any truth in the teachings of Jesus as to his intimate relationship to Mankind, every time that a human being is bought and sold, he himself in bought and sold. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done in unto me," is his word. Let politicians and state-men, then, beware how they turn Judases at this perilous hour, and "South-side" priests also. "It were better for them that a mill-stone were tied to their necks, and they drowned in the depths of the sea;" than that they should now stand on the side of slavery. God is calling upon this nation in the trumpet tones of a terrible retributive Providence to "let the oppressed go free," and they who obstinately put themselves in the position of Pharach against Him, will ultimately meet with even a worse doom than

his, for they sin against greater light.

This conflict in which we are now engaged is only
the extension of the irrepressible "conflict of the ages"-the conflict between freedom and despotism. All the divinest struggles of the past, from Moses to the present time, have been for Liberty—for per-sonal, civil and religious liberty; and by its heavenborn-spirit have all the noblest words in all languages and all the noblest deeds, been inspired. Nor does out common humanity remember with gratitude and ap-proval any but the friends of freedom. It is to them hat all durable monuments are built. Blot out from the history of the race the records of the lives of those who have given themselves, in living and dying martyrdom, to the cause of Liberty, and you would leave the remnant of that history a vile scroll, which would tell mainly of man's departity, meanness and servility. And but for the lovers and friends of liberty that have gone before us, this nineteenth cenwould have been far from the apparently glori ous century that it is. An unresisted despotism would have been the grave of our civilization, and ruffianism would have ruled and ruined the race. Let Jeff. Davis triumph, and what a barbarous nation would this become!—or the pro-slavery leaders of the North: Progress in the arts and sciences, and in true religion and philanthropy, can flourish only where there is lib-

As, too, we estimate the conflicts between Liberty and Despothsm in the past, so will posterity estimate the condict in which we are engaged, and judge us. The Garrisons, Phillipses, Quincy's, Mays, Gerrit Smiths, Sumners and Cheevers, in the pressible conflict" of to-day, are the Adamses, Hanocks, Franklins and Jeffersons of '76. And let us numents to our fathers, and revile our prothers; but take such positions as those who are to ome after us will honor—as God will approve and

New Music. Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washingon Street, Boston, have just issued the following

The Parlor Harp: A Collection of Songs, Glecs,

Anthems, &c., adapted to Schools, Social Parties, and the Family Circle. By Ass Fitz.

The Union Collection of Popular Duetts, for Violin [or Flute] and Piano. Arranged by S. Winner.

Winner's Perfect Guide for the Violin, in which the Instructions. instructions are so clearly and simply treated, as to make it unnecessary to require a teacher. For prac-tice, more than 150 operatic and popular airs are added, forming a complete collection of the best melodies of the day.

the day. An exceedingly interesting and valuable dison Sunday last e was delivered at Music Ha y SAMUEL JOHNSON, minister of the independent hurch at Lynn, on the views, feelings and position of

the government and people of England, respecting the rebellion in this country. Instead of aftempting to give any analysis of it, we hope to present it entire to our readers, in a future number. Mr. Johnson having somewhat recently returned from a visit abroad, is enabled to speak intelligently upon this subject.

Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, is to lecture before the Mercantile Library Association, at Music Hall, on Monday evening next; and before the "Fraternity," at Tremont Temple, Tuesday evening. Both lectures will, doubtless, draw crowded audiences.

the Rebellion until the present time, the Abolitionist been constantly eager to secure to this end the help o black men as well as white men. I am myself an Abolitionist. Nevertheless, I have written and spoken much for the identical position taken by Colonel

Instead of holding up the Abolitionists as opposed to Colonel Cochrane's views, you ought to do then the justice to acknowledge that, from the first, these views have been theirs also. Lam not asking you to relax your opposition to their Abolition doctrines.

Denounce these, if you will, more emphatically then Denounce these, if you will, more emphatically than ever. Expose to the utmost their folly in believing that the abolition of slavery would be an effective means for routing the rebels. Only admit that, however wrong they are in other respects, they are clearly identified with these views of Colonel Cochrane.

I confess that I am sadly disappointed in this war.

I took it for granted that our whole people would very soon be in favor of employing all means to bring it to the speediest end. The Abolitionists are. But c the speediest end. The Abolitionists are. But con-siderable portions of all other parties are not. With-out denying that salvation can come to my country alone through her penitence for hier oppression, I, nevertheless, cannot hope for such penitence as long as she is so infatuated as to be unwilling to be saved by whatever muscles and means. The best I can as yet hope for (and even for this hope there is but too little encouragement) is, that the whole North may soon rally around the position taken by Colonel Coch-rane, yourself, and the Abolitionists.

But you will say that the Abolitionists are in favor of abolishing slavery. It is true that they are. And this, if you please, is their folly—nay, their wickedness, if you will so have it. Nevertheless, why argue from this folly and wickedness that they are not with Colonel Cochrane, when you see that they are? am not writing an culogy upon the Aboli#onists

were, I would say that no other men are more cordially in the armed movement against the rebels. I would say that, in proportion to their numbers, no other men have furnished more soldiers or more com-ferts for soldiers and soldiers' families. I would say that none of them have come under so much as the slightest suspicion of indulging the secession spirit, the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the rebels. an intense hater of the rebellion. Moreover, I would say that they are ever, ready to join hands with all this great national fight against rebellion. They in go into it with anti-Abolitionists of every type with those who admiringly read the New York Herald, the New York Express, the Journal of Commerce, and with those who feel that they cannot get to sleep without having a New York Observer under their pillow. Into this fight I am as much bound to welco the Pro-Slavery James Gordon Bennett as the Anti-Slavery Horace Greeley. The North is contending with a strong enemy whose hands may soon be strengthened with stronger enemies. In these circumstances, she cannot afford to be divided by misera party prejudices and jealousies. To such an be willing to work with you, and you with me, for the our erns—for in this we can work together, our differences about Abolition, or anything else, to the contrary notwithstanding. God grant that all Northern men may be able to tolerate their mutual differences so far as to stand shoulder to shoulder

against the enemy!
I am not surprised to learn, as I do from the posscript of your letter, that Mr. Dickinson concurs with yourself and Colonel Cochrane. Months ago, I ascer-tained that he was more than a partisan—that he was a patriot, and was, therefore, ready to have the country saved by whatever means and at whatever expense to party, or to anything else.

Happy am I to know that you, and Mr. Dickinson, and many other distinguished Democrats feel that after the enemy is vanquished will be soon enough to recoilect and reconstruct the Democratic party. Then, too, the Abolitionists will have more leisure for busying themselves with what Democrats regard as Abo-lition nonsense, Then, too, merchants, manufac-turers and solemn priests may find more time and opportunity for contriving new guarantees for slavery. But, until the enemy is vanquished, let us, whatever the divisions among ourselves, be as one against him. Until then, let us care comparatively nothing to save this party or that, this Constitution or that, this sys-AVE OUR COUNTRY. That saved, and we can restor the old Constitution or make a new one: but that lost we shall have me need of either. That saved, there will be an ample theatre for parties to all who delight in them. That saved, and they who regard slavery as a blessing may find themselves in circumstances more favorable than ever for making the blessing

abundant and sure.

The Abolitionists have always had the reputation of being bigoted and exclusive. But do not the broad common sense and the preeminent liberality which characterize them in this war go far to prove that they did not merit this bad reputation? Look, for indid not merit this bad reputation? ourse of their m guished leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Ever since the bombarding of Sumter, these bold iconoclastic reformers have addressed themselves to the new duties of the new circumstances, with a practical wisdom unsurpassed by that of the mos calm and conservative statesmen intent on saving the country; and no men see more clearly the folly of trying to save it by a partial use of the means for saving it. Nor are any more free to work with any in putting down the rebellion. Glad are they to have even the most Pro-Slavery men for their fellows in this work. The Garrison and Phillips school of Abelitionists have wisely suspended their strictures on the Constitution, and I would that the other school might suspend their defences of it. Just now, there is not one minute, no, nor half a minute, to be spared to either school for presenting its view of the Constitution. My friend Henry B. Stanton gives a very amusing account of a gentleman, who, in the midst of the broken bones of a railroad accident, kept on arguing the Anti-Slavery character of the Const tution. Indeed, so entirely unseasonable is all present talk of the Constitution, that, unless I know him to be the friend of the country, I set down every one, specches. When he set out in life, his mother said there was nothing to prevent his success but his under specches. When he set out in life, his mother said there was nothing to prevent his success but his under specches. When he set out in life, his mother said there was nothing to prevent his success but his under save in the time of other with such talk, as the enemy of the country. Ide not deny that there are many honest men who feel that their country would be lost, if the Constitution should. The left of past generosity, which made that State free. (Applause.) The children of Kansas are taught gratuation to those who stood by them in 1855 and 1856.

They are more honest than enlightened. If left without a country, we would indeed be left without a country, we would indeed be left without a country, we would be lost, if the Constitution hould. But it does not follow that we should not seen to follow that we should review men were sent to Franklin, Ky, on the worth of the largest sized gensin root I ever saw. They also the left without a country, were we left without a country, were we left without a Constitution. It is not the Constitution that gave us the Constitution. It is not the Constitution that gave us the Constitution. It is not the Constitution that gave us the Constitution. They country but the country that gave us the Constitution that gave us the Constitution. They country but the country that gave us the Constitution that gave us the Constitution. The threats of the South, the stuffing of balck flags in Kansas bearing the worl is successed that Baltimore contain the color flower hundred bary that there was nothing to prevent his successed that the time of the country. It has not a the people of Kansas are taught gratually and thindness in the eight of the country and the lost, of the Constitution had greated by the country hundred bary to the country that great the people of Kansas are taught gratually and the

cease to be England, and to have a Government, by the repudiation of any, however large part of that long series of precedents which make up her Constitution. Should she lose one Constitution, she would quickly have another; and the Constitution which would come out of the great liberty-loving heart of her people would be essentially a Free Constitution.

og the blessings which will result from this dom to use it)—among these blessings, I say, will be the restored love of country. That love was once the passion of the American heart. But demagogues have succeeded in making the passion give place to the worship of the Constitution; and should our country perish in its present perils, it will be owing unhappy substitution. President Lincoln is a man of understanding and of honest intentions; and why he has not, ere this, ended the war, and saved the country, is simply because he is a worshipper of the Constitution, and feels that he can love and honor and serve and save the country only through the Con-stitution. Every breach made in the Constitution is, in his eye, a breach made in the country; and with him the alarming prospect of a lost Constitution is all one with the alarming prospect of a lost country. But the good man cannot help it; for how rare is he But the good man cannot help it; for how rare is he who is able to surmount his education! And the President was educated to worship the Constitution. This education hampers him at every step. With all his heart would he save the country, but his reverence for the Constitution will not let him. He is capable of purposes to sweep away, even in his native Kentucky, every obstruction in the nath of our cause. but relation every obstruction in the path of our cause : but palsied would be these purposes by such an appeal to that reverence as a Crittenden or Holt would make in the bare mention of constitutional objections.

Miserable substitute for the love of country is this worshipping of a paper!—quite as miserable as is the making more account of the suit of clothes than of the man who wears it! Yes, if the war shall have no other good effect than to bring back the popular heart

The one thing which, from the beginning of the even though it be in the face of the certainty that the saving of it will involve the destruction of party, slavery, Constitution, and what not else. Nothing short of this determination can suffice to overcome our following the example, he calls the bloody Indian to his aid; and whilst we send back his fugitive slaves, he makes slaves his most effective helpers. And so determined is he, that he will spare nothing which stands in the way of his success. Not even slavery will he spare, if the sacrifice shall become necessary to his success. Rather than come under the North, he would unhesitatingly emancipate his slaves. A prominent member of the Government conquerable allies of her slaves by emancipating them. will never consent to give it up. Superficial thinkers are they. The cause of a quarrel is generally lost sight of. The parties to it forget the cause in their passion to conquer. The dog or the dollar about which men came to blows is not what sustains and swells the interest of the battle : it is the blows them-That stage of the controversy in which the object of the South was the establishing of slavery was passed months ago. The joy of her final success against our invading armies would be scarcely at all diminished by the attendant loss of all her slaves.

I repeat what I have often said-THE PARTY WHICH GETS THE BLACKS TO FIGHT FOR IT, GETS THE VIC-TORY. May God move our Congress and our com-manders, whilst yet it is not too late, to get the blacks to fight for us!

But I must stop. I thank you for your letter. It cannot fail to do great good. I beg you, however, not to ignore the fact that the Abolitionists are with you, and Mr. Dickinson, and Colonel Cochrane. Be not ashamed of your company—for you may be sure that, before this fight is through with, you will fe-the need of the help of all the despised classes—the Negroes, the Indians, and even the Abolitionists. Do

SPEECH OF GENEDAL LANE, OF KANSAS,

order, and said that Gon. Lane had been detained by paying his first visit to Capt. Wilkes. (Applause.) He recommended Mr. Otis Clapp for Chairman, and he was appointed.

Upon taking the chair, Mr. Clapp said that desperate diseases required strong remedies, and without any further preliminary remark, introduced General Lane, who was again greeted with cheers.

General Lane said he felt embarrassed in addressing gentlemen in the labit of hearing eloquent and classic short time, called it a damued (I don't know as I ought to say it, as I see the reporters here) fanatical, temperature was nothing to prevent his success but his unperance Brigade. I have been with them three

DETERNORO, November 27, 1861.

PRIENDORO, November 27, 1861.

Enwix Croswell, Esq. Dear Sir,—I have just read your letter to Colonel Cochrane. It gratifles me not a little to find that your influence, which, so long as (wenty, thirty, and even forty years ago, was os gratifly the country. You agree with the Colonel in the duty of evailing ourselves of the black man's help to put down the rebels. I regret your mistake that the Abolitionists do not also agree with him. Your public declaration, that they do not, is of very injurious tendency—not to them only, but (and this is of far greater consequence) to the country, should be united.

You desire it to be, and to be known and felt to be, that all classes of our people stand with Colonel Cichrane in this respect. And, in your judgment, they all do, excepting the Abolitionists—or, as you phrase it, "excepting in Abolition quarters." Your exception to not so or accounted the repetition until the present time, the Abolitionists, and the repediation of any, however stage part of that required to convince ment that the war is into warranted by facts. From the breaking out of rebellion, but it cannot be done without removing the disease. All may be modified, and parts utterly actived; it may be modified, and parts utterly actived; for wherever that principle is shall have a Democratic Constitution if only the Democratic Constitutions. It produces such and it can produce only such. England would not create the union of the American people. Traditions, common memories and common hopes, that the principle is shall have a Constitution in suffering did. The Constitution but enjoined ways for making an already existing union "a more perfect union."

Leaf the principle should govern. The Constitution of the American people. Traditions, common memories and common hopes, that the war is a present to feel the principle shall have a contribution of the street of Baltimore, must destroy all respects to it. We want a speedy crushing out of rebellion, the street of Baltimore, must d

to convince men that the war is waged for nothing by slavery. We all know it. When it is attempted to arouse your sympathies for the slaves of the Union men, remember that there are no Union men in seces sion communities. They are driven out, and their slaves are used as are those of secession owners. When they say that loyal men can control their slaves in secession neighborhoods, they say that which is not true. have given to Union men receipts for the loss of slaves, caused by the march of the Kansas brigade. These very slaves had been used for months by the traitor of Missouri by force. These certificates came bac to me, directing me to give up those slaves to the bearers. An order of the government to give up loyal
citizens for the benefit of traitors! Return them to
slavery! Me! The people of Kansas return them
to slavery! No, Sir! (Great cheering, and cries of
"good!" "good!") He sought his commander, and told him his order was illegitimate, and that he would

not obey it. (Cheers.)

How many soldiers' lives are you willing to give to maintain slavery? ("None.") As for myself, I will not shed a single drop of blood to save the accursed

When the Kansas Brigade first went into Missouri, the slaves were a "little off." They had been told all sorts of stories as to the treatment they would receive from "Lane's men." We had a few contrabands however, who soon gave them better information, and the slaves flocked into our camp. Many of them were sent to Kansus, and went to work there. If we are prosecuting this war to maintain slavery

and crush treason, it will require two armies, and the how it strikes, as this institution of slavery has a very delicate organization. I consider its end as certain, whatever policy is pursued, because slavery canno stand in a civil war

stand in a civil war.

But we are fighting to avoid bloodshed as far as possible, and to bring the contest to an end as soon as from this debasing, shrivelling worship to the expand-ing and ennobling love of country, it will be worth all make use of all the means that are placed in our power. Arm the negro against the negro. I am tempted to give a homely illustration of my position. ("Go ahead.") When I went to school, the boys used to The one thing which, from the beginning of the war, I have striven for, is to contribute, so far as my little influence can, to band together all men and have a fight every Saturday afternoon to see which women, white, red and black, in the invincible determination to save the country—and to save it, too, termination to save the country—and to save it, too, the head. (Laughter.) The champion was a big fellows though it be in the face of the certainty that the I shall never forget his name as long as I live. (Laughter.) When we "fit," we "fit" to win. It was none of your hitting above the belt, but regular scratching our foe; for he is most emphatically a determined foe
determined to wield every possible power and avail
himself of every possible advantage for success.
Whilst our boasted high style of civilization forbids
whilst our boasted high style of civilization forbids and the next Saturday I called him out to fight. (Continued merriment.) I watched my opportunity, and brought my boot against the bruise, when Joe bellowed like a calf, and cried "enough." I went to the head. (Great laughter.) The rebellion has a sorer spot than "Joe Darragh's" bruise, and a good blow on it would

If the proper policy had been pursued at Beaufort in regard to the slaves, there would have been a howl in rebeldom before this time. The whole slave poputold me that slaveholding pride would prevent this.

In rebeldom before this time. The whole slave population would have been in motion towards freedom, swallowed up in the all-swallowing up pride to whip the North. When hard pressed by our victories, the South will (provided we shall continue so insane as to feave them in her hands) not hesitate to make under the control of the rebels, we had better stop own people instead of the rebels, we had better stop If it be inhuman, they have means to preven And, by the way, she would not fail to take into account the gaining of the world's sympathy by the measure. But there are persons who remind us that the South, inasmuch as she went to war for slavery, them. (Cheers.) This war shall never close while

the shackles remain upon one slave. (Great applause.)
But we can't admit the slaves within our lines, because they will betray us. That's a lie! I would like
to ask Gen. Halleck where he learnt that slaves betrayed our troops. (A voice—"At Washington.")
We had in our Brigade five hundred slaves, and we received more valuable information from them as to the movements of the enemy, than from all other sources besides. They are faithful and grateful. They would die a thousand deaths rather than betray one secret of their liberators. It is not enough to replace upon their limbs the shackles-they must be lied about. Gen. Halleck's experience may be different from mine; but where did he get his experience? Don't understand me as denouncing Gen. Halleck; but I have been taught to denounce wrong—to vindicate the weak-and when I fail to do it, may God con demn me to the infernal regions. I have never seen Gen. Halleck—he is a stranger to me; but he has made a statement that I know to be false. (Applause.) I have half a mind to relate an apecdo now the slaveholders cling to their property. (Voices

"Do it; do it.") Well, I will. We were marching to Springfield-I was in the rear of the column-when not peril your country for the sake of gratifying old prejudices.

Respectfully, your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

I was informed by one of my men that a woman in great distress wanted to see me. I told him to bring her to me, and he did. She was a big, brawny wofat, and over forty,-and was crying. I asked SPEECH OF GENEDAL LANE, OF KANSAS, ON THE WAR.

Last Saturday forenoon, Generial James H. Lane, of Kansas, addressed a large audience at Tremont Temple. Notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, the Temple was well filled, and among the audience were many of our prominent citizens.

The sneaker came upon the platform soon after water with my sans if you'll only verture the micross. her what the matter was many of our prominent citizens.

The speaker came upon the platform soon after eleven o'clock, accompanied by several prominent (Great laughter.) I disengaged myself from he anti-slavery gentlemen, and was received with hearty want with my sons, if you'll only return the nigg

F. W. Bird, Esq., of Walpole, called the meeting to their ranks. Last week they took three of my men, order, and said that Gen. Lane had been detained by The Secessionists have four thousand Indians in should be done with these Indians ! (A voice "Swear them in, and let them go.") Yes. Missouri has been sworn over not less than three times already. (Laughter.)

I desire to say something in behalf of the Kansas Brigade. They are charged with being "Jay hawkers." I say many of them are men of principlegoldy men. Sturgis, after being with the Brigade a short time, called its dammed (I don't know as I ought

spirit of the old Crusaders will animate your armies, firmness and steadiness will be imparted to your purpose, victory will be gained, and a permanent peace

secured.

The meeting broke up with cheers for "Gen. Lane and the Kansas Brigade, and Gen. Fremont."

The Boston Courier notices this straight-forward and telling speech in the following characteristic strain of ribaldry

strain of ribaldry:—

GENERAL JIM LANK. A helter-skelter abolition harangue fitly closed the anti-slavery exercises of last week. The address of General Lane speaks for itself. It is equally unprincipled, inconsequential and vulgar; the speech of a marauder, not a statesman—and what man this is, to take his seat in the once honorable Senate of the United States! The tone of his sentiment may be seen in the graceful anecdote he gives of limself and "Joe Darragh." The small craft, in ascertaining the place of his rival's bruise, and his generous use of this stolen advantage, shows what a "Jay-hawker" he is. And then to tell of it, too, with such consciousness of merit, proves what a successful effort hawker" he is. And then to tell of it, too, with such consciousness of merit, proves what a successful effort he must have made long since to overcome not only his native modesty, but all other qualities usually attributed to a soldier and a gentleman. The audience appears to have been not very full, but syringthetic. A timely snow-storm kept back some of the strong-minded women and weak-minded men, especially from the neighboring towns; still, they were represented, and their representatives evidently enjoyed the intellectual and patriotic entertainment provided.

As the report we publish of Gen. Lane's speech is mainly the Courier's own, (and therefore none too favorable,) our readers can easily decide as to the justice of such a criticism. (?) The rattlesnake venom of the Courier is ejected because Gen. Lane goes for liberty, and not for slavery. But here is a tribute of different character, and from the right quarter:

THE WESTERN LIBERATOR.

very different character, and from the right quarter:

THE WESTERN LIBERATOR.

In the list of vindictive and partisan presses, we know none equal to the St. Louis Republican. For weeks and months it has vented its spleen upon Gen. Lane and his heroic little Spartan command. They have been represented as thieves and outlaws, knowing no watchword but plunder, and hesitating at no crime which might inure to their material profit. Justice to Gen. Lane and his brigade demands that these wicked defamations and unfounded falsehoods be hugled in the teeth of their characteriess authors. The march of Gen. Lane through Missouri was a triumphal progress. From Kansas City to Greenfield he was presented with three flags—evidencing the confidence and devotion of the people.

With less than twelve hundred men, General Lane marched eight hundred miles through an enemy's country. And the shout of joy ever greeted his coming. At Springfield, where a grand junction of the Federal forces took place, under Gen. Fremont, to meet the combined hosts of the rebels, no name aroused such unbounded enthiastam among the different divisions of our Grand Western Army. The rank and file were wild in expressing their adulation, and the air was vocal with cheers for "Jim Lane, THE LIDERATOR."

Everywhere, the loyal citizens rallied around his standard, and hailed his approach as the coming of a mailed warrior, battling for Liberty, and their deliverance from an unholy usurpation. He relieved the poor, sustained and strengthened whole communities, and scattered the necessaries and comforts of life among those who had been robbed of their little all. His name was clothed with no terror, save to those whose guilty hands sought their country's ruin.

And now that the record of a brief campaign stands before the country, we challenge any command to show equality of service on behalf of the Union with that of the Kansas brigade. Poorly equipped and armed, they have marched hundreds of miles through the enemy's country, fronted any danger that threate

enemy's country, fronted any danger that threatened, known no reverse in their numberless engagements, and inaugurated a principle on which alone this war can be carried to a successful issue.

In the organization and movements of this Kansas brigade, Gen. Lane has been the moving spirit and the rallying-cry. The devotion of his men is without parallel, and it but represents a feeling universal in our new Department. And when the defamers of Gen. Lane and his brigade pour out their vile standers, let the sentiment of the people of the United States (which is almost united in support of the General) be held up to their view—a sentiment which will yet make itself felt throughout the nation, and demand that those alone must wear the laurel to whom Justice and Merit point.—Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative.

LABORS IN VERMONT.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,-It was my intention when I finished my recent lecturing tour in Vermon to have given the friends of our cause a brief sket of its apparent interests and successes at an earlier

Agy.

No lecturing tour which I have ever made in New England has been attended by so many earnest auditors. With but two exceptions, my meetings were ditors. With but two exceptions, my meetings were large, and, in some cases, very large. In every instance but one—as far as I could learn—the clergymen gave notice of my meetings when requested, and in many instances attended the meetings, and, in two, invited me to speak for the slave in their pulpits, during one of the regular services of their Sunday meetings. These two instances were in Peacham and Bratdord. To my meet regular interests the statement of th stance but one—as far as I could learn—the clergymen gave notice of my meetings when requested, and
in many instances attended the meetings, and, in two,
invited me to speak for the slave in their pulpits, during one of the regular services of their Sunday meetings. These two instances were in Peaclam and
Bradford. To my most radical utterances, in relation to the antagonism of slavery to Christian civilization, and the progress and happiness of the race,
there was, in every case, an earnest and quick response. To the demand that slavery, the cause of
the war, should be wiped out from the land, there was
a response equally earnest and quick.

All the company of Barne, offered the following —
Whereas, pegro slavery is the origin and foundaton four mindst that is seeking to overthere incompatible with the word of
well as wrong to slaves themselves,—therefore,
Resolved, That the Convention inquire into the
expediency of making the proposed new State a free
sponse. To the demand that slavery, the cause of
the war, should be wiped out from the land, there was
a response equally earnest and quick.

 My labors were made exceedingly pleasant by the kindness and sympathy and earnest cooperation of the friends of our glorious cause. I am especially in-debted, for the success of my labors, and for the peace mfort of my flesh and spirit, to the hospitality and sympathy of the Hutchinsons, the Spears—to our ever-zealous and faithful friend Claffin—to our friend Coburn—to Rev. Mr. Stone of Northfield—to Rev. Mr. Bliss of Barro—to the friends at Danville Green to our friend Johnson and the Congregational clergy-man of Peacham—to Whipple, Burrell and others, in St. Johnsbury—to Rev. Mr. Palmer of Waterford— to friends in Concord—to the friends at McIndoes Palls—to the friends at Ryc Gate—to our well-known and long-tried friend, Rev. Mr. Johnston of Topsham —to the Seavers and other friends at Washington—to Mr. Winship and Rev. D. McKeene of Bradford—to the Comings in Cornish, N. H.—to the Coopers in Croydon—to our ever-faithful friends in Brattleboro', Vt.—and to our ever-faithful and loving friend Webb of Keene, N. H. All these dear friends, and many others, whose names have escaped me, are embalmed in my affectionate and grateful remembrance. To a

scandalous, and demanding an investigation. (Applause.) It is said that we stole women and children's clothing. In answer to that I can only say that I am not responsible if niggers are men. (Laughter.) A number of slaves, men, women and children, took it into their heads, in a certain instance, to be free, and they furnished themselves with a portion of the clothing of their former owners. They made a fair division, I have no doubt. I was not responsible. (Laughter.) All I did was to see that the white babics did not deprive the black babics of their clothing. (Continued laughter.)

The only way we can bring this contest to a successful issue is by striking directly and with all our power at the foundation. I would oppose bowie-knife to bowie knife, Indian to Indian, nigger to nigger, and freedom to slavery. (Cheers.) If you do not like that plan, furnish a substitute, equally powerful, for closing the war. Our present policy will cause the war to drag along for years. You cannot with the same army crush out treason and preserve slavery. There must be two armies to do that, and it will cost more to preserve slavery than to crush out treason. Write "Freedom," then, on all your banners, and the spirit of the old Crusaders will animate your armies, firmness and steadiness will be imparted to your pure-freedom. Monday frame and steadiness will be imparted to your pure-freedom.

Ferdinand Wood, who represents the rascali-ty, rowdylsm and rebellion of New York, has failed to secure his reelection as Mayor of that city—Mr. Opdyke (Republican) being the successful candidate. A great deliverance! Now let Boston, on Monday next, make Mayor J. M. Wightman "walk the plank" as summarily, and redeem her tarnished character!

The lecture of Frederick Douglass, on "Pic-tures and Progress," before the Fraiernity Associa-tion, at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening, was creditably written and warmly applauded.

The Letter of Gerrit Smith to Edwin Cros well, in another column, we copy from a printed circu-lar kindly sent to us by the author. Read it.

WILL OF THE LATE FRANCIS JACKSON.

The Will of the late Francis Jackson, of this city, as been presented for probate. It is a lengthy docu-nent, and was signed on the 28th of January last. Its brother, Edmund Jackson, is made executor of the control of the contro

His brother, Edmund Jackson, is made executor of the Will.

He gives \$100 cach to Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, Lydia Maria Child, Oliver Johnson, Charles Lenox Remond, Charles K. Whipple and Robert F. Walleut, "as a token of esteem for their fidelity to moral principle, and their devotion to the cause of human freedom."

For a like reason he gives to Wm. Lloyd Garrison the sum of \$4000, to be used in support of himself and wife, and the education of Francis J. Garrison at Harvard College, after he shall have left the public schools of Boston.

He appoints Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips.

schools of Boston.

He appoints Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, Edmund Jackson, William I. Bowditch, Samuel May, Jr., and Chas, K. Whipple, a Board of Trustees to receive funds designated in the Will to be used to create a public sentiment in favor of putting an end to negro slavery—leaving a bequest of \$10,000 in their hands for this pages.

purpose.

He also as Treasurer, and Mr. Whipple as Secretary of this Board.

He also gives to this Board \$2000, to be used in aid of fugitive slaves, and in this connection speaks as follows:—

"Disregarding the self-evident Declaration of 1776, repeated in her own Constitution of 1780, that 'all men are born free and equal,' Massachusetts has since, in the face of those solemn declarations, deliberately entered into a conspiracy with other States, to aid in enslaving millions of innocont persons. I have long labored to help my native State out of her deep iniquity, and her barefaced hypocrisy in this matter—I now enter my last protest against her inconsistency, her injustice, and her eruelty, toward an unoffending people. God save the fugitive slaves that escape to her borders, whatever may become of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts"!

He appoints Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone and

the Commonwealth of Massachusetts "1" He appoints Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony a Board of Trustees, and gives them \$5000, to be used to secure the passage of laws granting women the right to vote, hold office, &c. He says that he has given each of his three children eight housand dollars heretofore. The balance of his estate is to be divided into three equal parts. The income of one part is to be given to a daughter and her children, and at their decease the principal is to go to the Trustees having charge of the Women's Rights Fund.

The income of the other twe-thirds to his other.

Women's Rights Fund.

The income of the other two-thirds to his other children, and their children, and at their decease, the principal is to be given to the Trustees who have in charge the matter of creating a public sentiment in favor of the abolition of negro slavery.—Boston Traveller.

CONGRESS—IMPORTANT. In the Senate, on Tuesday, a resolution was introduced, for the release of colored persons confined in prison in Washington by persons calling themselves Justices of the Peace.

Mr. Hale advocated the resolution, saying he thought the community of Washington the most corrupt in the country, and urged that it was the duty of Congress to look into the administration of justice in this District.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on

gress to look into the administration of justice in this District.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, to report immediately the names of all persons confined in jail in the city and the causes of their commitment, the names of the magistrates by whom they were committed, and the names of the persons who made the first arrest.

A resolution was passed that the laws now in force in the District of Columbia, relating to the arrest of fugilities from service, together with all other laws concerning persons of color within the District, be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and that the Committee on the District of Columbia, and that the Committee with all other consider the expediency of abolishing slavery within the District, with compensation to the owners of the slaves. Senator Wilson has just introduced a bill, providing for the punishment of all officers or privates of any regiment who shall return figitive slaves to their rebel masters.

Senator Sunner made some severe comments in

rebel masters.

Senator Sumner made some severe comments in the Senate this morning, upon General Halleck's recent order, forbidding slaves to enter the lines of the Western army, and says it is a mistaken and mischievous policy.

Wheeling, Va., Dec. 2. In the Convention, to day, Mr. Hogan, of Barne, offered the following:-

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS. The pllowing unwilling testimony is borne by the editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser: "It is,"he says, "unquestionably true that a large element of the North would see every trace of slavery obliterated as our armies move southward. It is true that this feeling is not confined to what is called the old abolition party, but is largely shared by those who were formerly known as our most conservative cftizens."

Tir ron Tax. On Monday last, resolutions were adopted in the U. S. House of Representatives, requesting the President to subject Mesers. Slidell and Mason to the same kind of imprisonment as Colonels Corcoran and Wood are now undergoing. A resolution tendering the thanks of Congress to Commodore Wilkes for his conduct in the Mason and Slidell affair, was also adopted.

The Philadelphia Enquirer publishes an extract of a letter purporting to be dated Charleston, 23d ult., from a lady, which states that no general slave insurrection had yet taken place, though several revolts had been attempted, two quite recently, in which whole families were murdered before the slaves were subdued. These occurred in the interior of South Carolins. The authors of the crime were BURNED TO DEATH ! That is slaveholding infernalism!

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-BLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

ANNIVERSABY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ASSIVERSARY 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 care, while other carey forward their work to it. ars, 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 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 kipdled 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 ceclesisatical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the fame, 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 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 ex-

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 carefulness 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 oil-garchy, they still appear to govern the counsels 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 ould 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 polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with cager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of polithcians 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

Is the 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 necessary to the straight line is always in need of the new lines are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are necessary lines in many of the new Lee the straight lines are always in need of the new Lee the straight lines are always in need of the new Lee the straight lines are always in the straight lines. 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 convicons. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for wha 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.

L. Maria Child, Mary May, Louisa Loring, Henrietta Sargent, Sarah Russell May, Helen Eliza Garrison, Anna Shaw Greene, Sarah Blake Shaw, Caroline C. Thayer, Abby Kelley Foster, Lydia D. Parker, Augusta G. King, Mattie Griffith, Mary Jackson

Sarah P. Remond, Mary E. Stearns, Sarah J. Nowell, Elizabeth Von Arnim. Anne Langdon Alger, Eliza Apthorp, Sarah Cowing, Sarah H. Southwick, Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Sarah C. Atkinson, Abby Francis,

Mary Willey,

Ann Rebecca Bramhall.

Mary Jane Parkn Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephenson Abby F. Manley, · Katherine Earle Farnum.

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY. DONATIONS. .

Contribution of Middlesex Co. A. S. Society, Collections by C. L. Remond, Danvers Port, Joshua Perry, (pledge,) May, 1860, Mrs. Chapman,

EDMUND JACKSON. TV

A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Slave Society, will speak in Carmel, Maine,

Monday, " 9. Tuesday, " 10. Thursday, " 12. Friday, Sunday, Orland, # 13.

Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at . Canaan, N. Y., Sunday, Dec. 8.

Roundout, (Ulster Co., N. Y.,) Tuesdi Ellenville, " " Thursda Greenfield, " " Friday, Ellenville, " Sunday Homowack, " " Monday.

MEETING AT ESSEX.—On Sunday next, De GF ARBETING AT ESSEX.—On Sunday next, Dec. 5, CHARLES L. REMOND and PARKER PILLSERY will hold THREE meetings, at the usual-hours, in the Century Chapel, at Essex. Subject: The War—Its Cause and Cure. 7 o'clock, in Manchester

WM. LLOYD GARRISON will address the of Milrord, (Mass.) in the Town Hall, on Slavery and the War, on Friday evening, Dec. 13th.

FMEROY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 95 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Par-icular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References.—Lutter Clark, M. D.; 1 David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

DIED-In Cambridgeport, Nov. 28, Mrs. NARCY Buck,

TERMS REDUCED.

TERMS REDUCED,

A The Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass.,
to \$7 and \$10 per week. Open Summer and Winter.
Dr. Haleren's success in the treatment of Weinmis diseases is well known. The cure is speedy and reliable. Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk. Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and lose of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stabborn difficulties which had lingered without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great favor given the Tarkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few prefessional visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge.

Northampton, Oct. 30.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and MES. MARGARET B. BROWN, Account

HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.

Quice Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, F. M.

Sm.

Boetry.

HALLOWED GROUND.

BT CAMPRELL.

What's hallowed ground?—Has earth a sled
Its Maker meant should not be tred By man, the image of his God, Erect and free, Unscourged by Superstition's rod To bow the knee?

That's hallowed ground—where, mourned and mis
The lips repose our love has kissed;—
But where's their memory's mannion ? Is 't
You church-yard's bowers?
No; in ourselves their soule exist,
A part of ours.

What hallows ground where heroes sleep?
The not the sculptured piles you heap!
In dows that heavens far distant weep,
Their turf may bloom;
Or genil twine beneath the deep
Their coral tomb.

But strew his ashes to the wind Whose sword or voice has served mankind And is he dead, whose glorious mind Lifts thine on high? To live in hearts we leave behind Is not to die.

Is't death to fall for Freedom's right? He's dead alone that lacks her light! And murder sullies in Heaven's sight The sword he draws :-

What am alone ennoble fight?

A noble cause! Give that ! and welcome War to brace Her.drums ! and rend heaven's recking space !

The colors painted face to face, The charging cheer,
Though Death's pale horse led on the chase
Shall still be dear!

And place our trophies where men kneel To Heaven !- but Heaven rebukes my zeal The cause of truth and human weal, O God above ! nefer it from the sword's appeal

To peace and love !

ace, love ! the cherubim, that join Their spread wings o'er Devotion's shrine ;-Prayers sound in vain, and temples shine

Where they are not ;—
The heart along can make divine
Religion's spot. To incantations dost thou trust, And pompous rites in domes august ?

See moldering stones and metal's rust Belie the vaunt, That man can bless one pile of dust

Fair stars! are not your beings pure? Can sin, can death your worlds obscure? Else why so swell the thoughts at your Aspect above?
Ye must be Heaven's that make us sure ect above?

Of heavenly love ! And in your harmony sublime I read the doom of distant time;

That man's regenerate senl from crime Shall yet be drawn, And reason on his mortal clime Immortal dawn. What's hallowed ground? Tis what gives birth

red thoughts in souls of worth !-Peace ! independence ! truth ! go forth Earth's compassed round ; And your high priesthood shall make earth All hallowed ground.

"ASPIRE."

BY M. P. TUPPER. Higher, higher, ever higher,— Let the watchword be, "Aspire!" Noble Christian youth; Whalsoe'er be God's beheat, Try to do that duty best, In the strength of Truth.

Let a just Ambition fire Every motive and desire God and Man to serve ; Man, with real and honor dee, tion, with gratitude most true And all the opicit's nerve !

Let not Doubt thine offerts tire : God will give what all require, Raiment, home, and food; And with these contented well, Bid thine aspirations swell To the Highest Good?

From the perils, deep and dire, Of Temptation's sensual miso, Keep thy chastened feet; Dread, and hate, and turn away Satan's pleasure-cheat ?

And, while thus a self-denier, Though alone,—no soul alive Ever stoutly dared to strive, But saw the battle wen!

Higher, then, and always higher,— Let Man's motto be, "Assum!" Where'er he be,— Holy liver! happy dier! Earth's poer best, and Heaven's choir, Are reserved for thee !

PRESS ONL . BY N. P. WILLIS.

We shall go forth together. There will come Alike the day of trial unto all, And the rude world will buffet us alike. Temptation bath a music for all ears; And mad Ambition trumpeteth to all; Will be in every bosom eloquent;— But when the silence and the calm come on, And the high seal of character is set, We shall not all be similar. The flow We shall not all be similar. The few
Of lifetime is a graduated scale,
And deeper than the vanities of power,
Or the vain pomp of glory, there is writ
A standard measuring its worth for heaven.
The pathway to the grave may be the same,
And the proud man shall trend it, and the low,
With his bowed head, shall bear him company. Decay will make no difference, and death. With his sold hand shall make no differe In waking at the coming trump of God; But in the tempter of the invisible mind, The godlike and undying intellect, There are distinctions that will live in heaven

Createth its own destiny of power; And as the trial is intenser here, And as the trial is intenser here,
Illis being hath a nobler strength in heaven.
What is its earthy victor? Press on!
For it hath tempted singlis. Yet press on !
For it shall make you mighty among men;
And from the syrie of your eagle thought
Ye shall look down on monarcha. O press on!
For the high ones and powerful shall come
To do you revenue: and the beantiful
Will know the purer language of your brow,
And read it like a talleman of love!
Frees on! for it is godlike to unloose
The spirils, and forget yourself in thought; Press on! for it's gourse to unicose
The spirit, and forget yourself in thought;
Bending a pinion for the deeper sky,
And, in the very fetters of your flesh,
Mating with the pure essures of beaven!
Press on ! "for in the grave there is no work,
And no device."—Press on! while yet ye may

The Liberator.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That this infernal rebellion is an inevitable and direct result of American slavery. Let no side issues for a moment divert us. By every power within human means that can be brought to bear upon the people at home, the brave soldiers abroad in the fight, and the government, through press and pulpit, blazon broad and high the verdict of a thirty years' history, that this is A SLAVEHOLDERS'-REBELLION, cruel

Of its barbarous character, there is crowded into less than a twelvemonth an amount and strength of evisence never before paralleled. The long catalogue of its crimes is but too familiar to us all. There is nothing in the country or in its relations, cropt slovers, which could have engendered this mighty strife. Diversity of interests in the sections, whether of business or religion, in the short space of eighty years, however sharp their competitions, furnishes no explation of the mighty events which now pass before us. All men may harmlessly shape and force the powers of external nature to do their bidding. The waves of the sea and the storm, the cataract and the red lightning, may be disrobed of their terrors at the touch of genius. Unconquerable will and the farthest stretch of human power over nature are productive of Of its barbarous character, there is crowded into

stretch of human power over nature are productive of incalculable benefit to all; but so man-well or ill-born—can be vested with irresponsible power over his fellow-men without degenerating into a tyrant. This result is a nevitable as necessity itself. A few years' respects of most limited in the control of the years' exercise of such power over the weak and friendless cannot fail to exhibit the evidence of this truth. Twenty or thirty years' practice will surely con-firm it, and bring to view, in all their disgusting defirm it, and bring to view, in all their disgusting de-formity, the wide extremes of the tyrant and the slave. Tyrany, ambitious and unjust, low and selfish in its alms, and bending all things to its relentless sway, it preys alike upon the individual and society. To compass its ends, it misdious poison into both social and political life till institutions of freedom dissolve before it or in the whirlwind of passion it sweeps away the choicest fabrics of government and sweeps away the choicest fabrics of government and society. Freeman and slave alike are but the tools of society. Freeman and slave alike are but the tools of its cruel ambition. To rule or ruin is its governing good government, by force, if need be, to arrest it in he published an admirable pamphlet of 136 pages, en

It is the unfortunate condition of this country, thus early in its history, to be cursed by a form of tyranny which has its root in slavery. This dreadful conflict is the result of its insolent machinations throughout the vast departments of our government. Under a professed respect for law and order in the desecrated name of "democracy," by secret and damnable plot-tings, it had at length all but crushed out the political life of the nation. With the army and navy crippled and dispersed by a traitorous administration, the fell doctrine of secession had well-nigh culminated in the subjugation or dismemberment of the Union; and for the first time in our history on a scale never before surpassed in wickedness, the government was to have n prostrated by a slaveholders' conspiracy to be forever held in subjection to its sway.

The people of the North, with their thoughts en-

grossed by matters that tell for peace, had been un-mindful of the extent or designs of those who had held the reins for so many years. But when Sumter fell, the people awoke from sleep as by the "crack of administration are doing, letting themselves drift with doom." The bearings and magnitude of the con-spiracy were soon known. Resistance and conflict were inevitable. Thirty-three millions of people, with opportunities unsurpassed in the tide of time, were not only forced into this suicidal war, but by compli-cation of their foreign relations rendered liable at any cation of their foreign relations rendered liable at any war, history must stigmatize dollies as moment to be dragged into a war with one or more of having basely shrunk from the duty of open and ac-

the powerful nations on the opposite side of the sea.

And yet we have among us, even while the contest thickens, and at a time when the best endeavors of the government are put forth to save us, apologists for American slavery, who cannot or will not see any nec-essary connection between it and this foul rebellion. Instead of loyally seconding the efforts of the patriotic, these men traitorously labor for a "peace" which, if attained, would be but the inauguration of new and interminable ills.

Let us listen to no peace that is not preceded by the Let us listen to no peace that is not preceded by the utter destruction of rebellion; no peace that has not lts foundations laid in the highest and broadest liberty for Lt. Let no vacillation mark the courage of the people or the policy of the government. Carry the war, if need be, to the remotest extreme of "Africa." At every step of its resistance, let the rebellion feel the dread power of the insulted and mightly North. On its head and front let the blows fall thick and Overbearing in her insolence and pride, let h Carolina, the seat of secession and foremost among her recreant sisters, let this war which she pre-cipitated upon us press the chalice to her lips. If she still resist, lay her boasted capital in the dust, and make its site as wide of discovery to the antiquary in future years as that of Babylon or Ninevah. And, finally, let slavery and secession rest forever in a com-

"REASONS FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH."

Such is the title of a letter (published in pamphlet form) from Rev. Hiram Mattlson to Rev. James Erwin, Presiding Elder of the Rome District, Black River

For twenty-five years past, Mr. Mattison has been an able and faithful minister, connected with the Black River Conference in the State of New York. Perhaps for the whole of that time, but certainly for many years past, he has been diligent and zealous in protesting against the toleration of slaveholding in the Methodist Episcopal Church; and he was one of the most faithful of that noble minority who, at the quadrennial General Conference held last year in New York, were defeated in their attempt to purgo the Northern church from the guilt of slaveholding. Though many bitter reproaches were poured upon sting against the toleration of slaveholding in my bitter reproaches were pour ae Methodists who wished still to temporize the Methodists who wished still to temporize with slavery, his patience and moderation have been shown, both by his waiting thus long before withdray e that faithful labor might still reform the al—in the hope max manner and by the calmness Northern Methodist Church—and by the calmness of the language in which he now sets forth that Church's guilt

nd of the two reasons which Mr. Mattison gives for his withdrawal is the following :-II. There are several things in the GOVERNMENT and ECONOMY of the M. E. Church which I regard as un-scriptural, and tending to ecclesiastical despotism.

Under this head he gives six specifications, which may profitably be pondered by members of the church in question. His first and chief reason for withdraw-ing, however, is founded on slavery, and must be deep-ly interesting to every opposer of that wickedness. It is as follows:—

1. I am not willing to take my passport for eternity from a Church in which there are THOUSANDS OF SLAVE-HOLDERS in good and regular standing; and that, too, without rebuke either in the discipline of the Church, ar by the administration.

without rebuke either in the discipline of the Church, or by the administration.

Even according to the lowest estimates of official apologists for Methodist slaveholding, (Drs. Stephens and Baird, for instance,) there are not less than Paye THOUSAND SLAVEHOLDERS NOW in the Methodist Episcopal Church, unting thirty-five thousand slaves; but to my positive knowledge, these figures do not represent had the slaveholders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor half the slaves held by them. Nor is this all; Methodists in our "Northern Grurch," as some style it, in Maryland and Virginia, and Kentucky and Missouri, buy and sell slaves with impunity; and even members of Conferences are publicly known to was from two to forty slaves, without a shadow of rebuke or censure.

These flucts are known to our Bishops, and Pressling Elders, and Conferences, and have been for years; and yet, instead of seeking to reform or exclude the official of the conference of the conference of the province of the power of

the periodical press of the church has been to ma slaveholding respectable and Christian; and to scre the owners of and dealers in human flesh and blo from punishment and disgrace.

rom punishment and diagrace.

As part of this process, the government of the process, the government of the same policy, have found it necessary the process of the process ent of the

these States.

Such being the state of things in the M. E. Church, my convictions being clear that to hold property in man is a sin against God, my fiftleth year being past, and my health precarious; I feel it my duty to withdraw from said church, as a solemn TASTIKONY and rNOTEST against Methodist slaveholding and slavetrading; and in order that, when it shall please God to call me hence. I may take my departure for heaven, where I hope to dwell forever, "from a church having no man-stealers in its bosom, and holding no fellowship with slaveholders."

It is in no spirit of faintheartedness, nor indistion to further labor, that Mr. Mattison takes the im-portant step of withdrawing from a sect in which he has so long been one of the most active ministers. He gives this final testimony of withdrawal, because his former testimony of long and earnest labor for the purification of that church has been utterly unsuccess ful; because, as he says—"there seems to be no hope that the Methodist Episcopal Church will purge her self from this iniquity for years to come, if ever; or until the opportunity of so honoring Christ has passed away, by the legal abolition of slavery in these States."

No one is better qualified than Mr. Mattison for motive. Peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must. It is confined to no age or country. It is visible every-where and under all conditions, varying only in degree; and it should be among the highest duties of a long series of more private labors to the same end, itled—"The Impending Crisis of 1860; or the present Connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church with Slavery, and Our Duty in regard to it." By this he hoped to arouse the Northern church, in the General Conference of 1860, to the utter exclusion of slave-holders, slave-traders and slave-breeders from its lioiders, slave-traders and slave-breeders from its membership. They shamefully evaded the perform-ance of this duty; and this most competent and trust-worthy witness now testifies that among Northern Methodists there are, still, more than ten thousand slaveholders, owning more than seventy thousand slaves, and that there seems to be no hope of efficient action to remove them. It was time, indeed, that he should remove himself from membership with them should remove himself from membership with them.

The church claims to be "the salt of the earth and the light of the world." The government of this country, as of other countries, pretends to no high standard of religious principle, to nothing better than worldly expediency in managing its affairs. But the managers of the Methodist Episcopal Church are do-ing just what Abraham Lincoln and his "Republican" the current of events, as far as slavery is conc instead of making such strenuous efforts as men and Christians should do, to turn that current in the right direction. Whether or not the abolition of slavery shall come as an incidental and collateral result of the tive hostility to the worst foe of civil and religious

A VOICE FROM THE WEST.

EDITOR OF LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR-I have recently received a letter, dated Nov. 18th, from a respected minister of the Gospel in Illinois, whose name I withhold, as the publication of it might cause him some trouble there; but I have his permission to give you the following extract fo insertion in your paper. It may not, in all respects echo your own sentiments; but I trust to your usua echo your own sentiments; but I trust to your usus liberality to give it expression to the public. J. P. B.

iliberality to give it expression to the public. J. P. B.

[EXTRACT.]

"In your second letter of the 7th inst., you allude
to the new and discouraging obstacle to peace, resulting from the 'growing conviction that there can be no
permanent peace while slavery exists; and, therefore,
that the war must be declared to be for emancipation,
as much as for Union.

I think I appreciate the sagacity of the war spirit,
in seizing upon this powerful element of popular and
religious prejudice to carry on its selfish schemes of
avarice and despotism. It is an old trick of Satan, or
the spirit of evil, which our religious teachers ought
to be familiar with, and, certainly, would recognize,
if they were not now its self-blinded dupes.

It seems to me that the error is here. God has, for
the past thirty years, been sending his prophets of
liberty and humanity—asying. Let my people go, on
penalty of my unquenchable wath! Destroy slavery, or it will destroy too be wrath! Destroy slavery, or it will destroy can as mation! But we have
perseveringly refused. We have idolized the Union.
Not only have the principles of amoral virtue bear
acrificed, in profane adoration of its supremacy, but,
on its bloody aftar we have immolated hecatombe of
God's poor; and now God has vindicated his supremacy and the sacredness of human rights, by demolishing that Union and filling the land with carnage and
war.

It is now too late for the government of the United.

acy and the sacrequess or numar rights, by demonsishing that Union and filling the land with carnage and war.

It is now too late for the government of the United States to destroy slavery. God will never give it that honor: it is morally incapable. Doubtless, slavery is doomed; but not by such a faithless agency. Hence the lamentable mistakes of Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tappan, William, Goodell, and the amiable Jocelyn, and others good and true, in upholding the government in this war of despotism, with the vain hope that its physical necessities may convert it into a war of emancipation. It seems to me that these distinguished philanthropists have strangely lost sight of fundamental principles. Do not these gentlemen know well, that the government of the United States, in this war, does not contest the right to hold slaves, but on only to be independent? In upholding the government, therefore, in this war, they are not opposing the principle of chattel slavery, but of national independence. Are they willing thus to identify themselves with the old pest of history—the principle of the 'divince right of kings'? It is only the old bloody contest of prerogative and popular rights. And I am saddened at the fairful probability, that this war is to entail upon this generation, if not on posterity, this ancient and sanguinary controversy.

When will the people learn their rights; and, learn-

tell upon this generation, if not on posterity, that tail upon this generation, if not on posterity, this ancient and sanguinary controversy. When will the people learn their rights; and, learn-ing, have the virtue to maintain them? Must our unfortunate roce always chafe under the yoke of aris-tocratic selfishness, and priestly servility and domina-tion?"

In speaking of the hoisting the black flag by South Carolina, the Riehmond correspondent of the Petersburg Express says:

The spring of hope must now, with the Yankees, die upon the winter winds. Already has the black flag been hoisted upon the soil of South Carolina, and war to the knife, the knife to the hilt, and thence to the shoulder, been proclaimed by her noble sons as the only body which Yankee hireling invaders shall receive at their hands. This is right. It is the only way to conquer a peice with a people so lost and degraded as those which compose the grand army of the rump government. We look anxiously for news from the sunny South; hopefully, prayerfully, with no misgivings. Now that the rallying cry is "no quarter to the invaders of our soil," may we not believe that the course inaugurated by South Carolina will be followed up by our whole army, and thus end this war! "So mote it be."

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune says the soldiers at Beaufort and the slaves on the Island will soon be picking the angathered cotton. The former under an order from the War Department, the latter upon the impulse of wages directed to be paid them by Gen. Sherman. It is also probable that the cultivation of the Sea Island for the next crop of cotton will be contracted for with some responsible Yankee, who will be required to employ the slaves abandoned by their masters upon the several voluntations.

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

(Concluded.)

r in history did Rebellion assume such a front.
their numbers 400,000 or 200,000—what you—they far surpass any armed forces ever before taled in rebellion; they are among the largest marsialed in war.

were martialed in war.

And all this is in the name of slavery, and for the sake of slavery, and at the bidding of slavery. The profligate favorite of the Euglish monarch—the famous Duke of Buckingham—was not more exclusively supreme—even according to those words by which he was exposed to the judgment of his contemporaries—

Who rules the kingdom? The King, Who rules the King; The Duke. Who rules the Duke? The Devil."

The prevailing part here attributed to the royal favorite belongs now to slavery, which, in the rebel States, is a more than royal favorite.

Who rules the rebal States? The President. Who rules the President? Slavery. Who rules slavery?

Who rules slavery?

Who rules slavery?

The latter question I need not answer. But all must see—and notody can deny—that slavery is the ruling idea of this Rebellion. It is slavery which martials these hosts and breathes into their embattled ranks its own barbarous fire. It is slavery which stamps its character alike upon officers and men. It is slavery which inspires all, from the general to the trumpeter. It is slavery which speaks in the word of command, and which sounds in the morning drum-beat. It is slavery which digs trenches and builds hostile forts. It is slavery which pitches its white tents and stations its sentries over against the National Capital. It is slavery which sharpens the bayonet and casts the hellot; which points the cannon and scatters the shell, blazing, bursting with death. Wherever this Rebellion shows itself—whatever form it takes—whatever thing it does—whatever form it takes—whatever thing it does—whatever it meditates—it is moved by slavery, nay, it is slavery itself, incarnate, living, acting, raging, robbing, murdering, according to the essential law of its being.

But this is not all. The Rebollion is not only ruled by slavery, but owing to the peculiar condition of the Slave States, it is for the moment, according

ruled by slavery, but owing to the peculiar condition of the Slave States, it is for the moment, according to their boast, actually reinforced by this institution. As the fields of the South are cultivated, and labor to their boast, actually reinforced by this institution. As the fields of the South are cultivated, and labor generally is performed by slaves, the white freemen are at liberty to play the part of rebels. The slaves toil at home, while the masters work at Rebellion, and thus by a singular fatality is this doomed race actually engaged, without taking up arms, in feeding, supporting, succoring, invigorating those who are now battling for their enslavement. Full well I know that this is an element of strength only through the indulgence of our own Government; but I speak now of things as they are; and that I may not seem to go too far, I ask your attention to the testimony of a Southern journal:—

og o too far, I ask your attention to the testimony of a Southern journal:

The SLAYES AS A MILITARY ELEMENT IN THE SOUTH. The total white population of the eleven States now comprising the Confederacy is 6,000,000 and, therefore, to fill up the ranks of the proposed army, (600,000) about ten per cent. of the entire white population will be required. In any other country than our own, such a draft could not be met; but the Southern States can furnish that number of men, and still not leave the material interests of the country in a suffering condition. Those who are incapacitated for bearing arms can oversee the plantations, and the negroes cost go on undisturbed in their usual labors. In the North, the case is different; the men who join the army of subjugation are the laborers, the producers, and the factory operatives. Nearly every man from that section, especially those from the rural districts, leaves some branch of industry to suffer daring his absence. The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the North, or indeed any country which is dependent smirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, particularly at the present crises, and our enemies will be likely to find that the "moral cancer," about which their crators are so fond of prating, is really one of the most effective tecapons employed against the Union by the South, Whatever number of men may be needed for this war, we are confident our people stand ready to furnish. We are all enlisted for the war, and there must be no holding back until the independence of the South is fully acknowledged.—

Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.

As the rebels have already confessed the Conspiracy which led to the Rebellion so in this article do

may be needed for this war, we are confloated our peep les stand ready to farmish. We are all entitled the peep of the war, and there must be no holding back until the Managament (All) A distortion.

At the rebels have already confessed the Conspirately which led to the Robellion, so in this article of they openly confess the mainspring of their strength. With triumphal at vanut, they declare sharely to be the especial source of their belignerent power.

With triumphal at vanut, they declare sharely to be the especial source of their belignerent power.

In the strength of the strengt

it showed itself—while nearly thirty years ago Jack-son denounced it, and one of its leading spirits has recently boasted that it has been gathering head for this full time, thus—not only in its distant embryo, but in its well-attested development—antedating

recently boasted that it has been gathering head for this full time, thus—not only in its distant embryo, but in its well-attested development—antedating these Abolitionists whose prophetic patriotism is now made the apology for the crime. As well—where the prudent passenger has warned the ship's crew of the fatal lee shore—arraign him for the wreck which has engulfed all; as well ery out that the philosopher who foresses the storm is responsible for the desolation that ensues, or that the astronomer, who calculates the eclipse, is the author of the darkness which covers the earth.

And now before closing, the way is prepared for me to open to you briefly the present situation, and its duties. You have seen slavery even before the Federal Union, not only a disturbing influence, but an actual bar to Union except or condition of surrender to its immoral behests. You have seen slavery at all times militant whenever any proposition was brought forward with regard to it, and more than once threatening a dissolution of the Union. You have seen slavery for many years the animating principle of a Conspiracy against the Union, while it matured its flagitious plans, and obtained the mastery of Cabinet and President. And when the Conspiracy had wickedly ripened, you have seen that it was only by concessions to slavery, that it was encountered, as by similar concessions it had from the beginning been encouraged. You now see Rebellion everywhere throughout the Slave States elevating its bloody crest, and threatening the existence of the National Government, and all in the name of slavery, while it proposes to establish a new government whose corner-stone shall be slavery.

Against this Rebellion we wage war. It is our determination, as it is our duty, to crush it; and this will be done. The region now contested by the robeds belongs to the United States by every tie of government and of right. Some of it has been bought by our money, while all of it—with its rivers, harbors and extensive conet—has become essential.

rebels belongs to the United States by every tie of government and of right. Some of it has been bought by our money, while all of it—with its rivers, harbors and extensive const—has become essential to our business in peace, and to our defence in wat. Union is a geographical—economical—commercial—political—military—and if I may so say—even a fluvial necessity. Without Union, peace on this continent is impossible; but life without peace is impossible also.

Only by crushing this Rebellion can Union and peace be restored. Let this be seen in its reality, and who can hesitate? If this were done instantly—without further contest—then besides all the countless advantages of every kind obtained by such restoration, two especial goods will be accomplished—one political and the other moral as well as political. First, the pretended right of secession, with the whole pestilent extravagance of State Sovereignty, which has supplied the machinery for this Rebellion and afforded a delusive cover for treason, will be trampled out—never again to disturb the majestic unity of the Republic. And, secondly, the anrighteous attempt to organize a new Confederacy solely for the sake of slavery, and with slavery as its cornerstone, will be overthrown. These two pretensions, one so shocking to our reason and the other so shocking to our moral nature, will disappear forever. And with their disappearance will commence a new epoch, the beginning of a grander period. But if by any accident the Rebellion should prevail, then just in proportion to its triumph, whether through concession on our part, or through successful force on the other part, will the Union be impaired, and Peace be impossible. Therefore, in the hame of the Union and for the sake of Peace are you summoned to the work. But how shall the Rebellion be crushed? That is the question. Men, money, munitions of war, a well supplied commissariat, means of transportation; all these you have in abundance—in some particulars beyond the rebels. You have too the consciousness of a go

thereby repressed for the time, again broke out, no only over Judea, the native soil of that mischief, but in the city also, where from every side all atroctous and abominable things collect and flourish." Annal XV. 44.

The writer of these remarkable words was the wisest and most penetrating man of his generation, and he lived amidst the events which he describes. Perhaps in listening to him you may find an apology for those among us who heap upon contemporaries a similar obloquy. The Abolitonists need no defence from me. It is to their praise—destined to fill an immortal page—that from the beginning they saw the true character of slavery, and warned their country against its threatening domination. Through them the fires of Liberty have been kept alive in the United States—as Humb is constrained to confess that theses ame fires were kept alive in England by the Puritans, whom this great historian never praised if he could help it. And yet they are charged with this Robellion. Can this be serious? Even at the beginning of the Republicans, in their bloody comment, surrounded by his well-trained Ironsides, they banished all such scraple, and you know well the result. The king were planted, and in 1820, and then again in 1830,

The duty which I suggest, if not urgent now, as a milliary necessity, in just self-defence, will present is self-constantly on other grounds as our ormics of scance in the Stare States or land on their coant. It is does not stare us in the face at this moment, it is because unhappily we are still everywhere on it is because unhappily we are still everywhere in the defensive. As we begin to be successful, it must rise before us for practical decision; and you tamot avoid it. There will be slaves also claimed by rebels, whose continued chattelhood you will soon to recognize. The decision of these two cases will scent to recognize. The decision of these two cases will set the subset of the complain. They challenge our armics to enter upon their territory in the five exercise of all the power of war—according to which, as of the unit private interests are subsordinated to the public asfavor all other laws, and above the Constitution in self. If every where under the flag of the Unionin its triumphane the march—Freedom is substituted for Slavery, this outrageous Rebellion will not be the first instance in history where God has turned the wickedness of man into a blessing; nor will the example of Sampson stand alone when he galered honey out of the careas of the dead and rotten fion.

Pardon me if I speak only in hints, and do not stop to argue or explain. Not now, at the old on to stop to argue or explain. Not now, at the old on the origin and ditary duty in its details. There is another place where this discussion will be most felt; nor will you miss the precious opportunity. The enemy is before you; nay, he has come out in estentiations challenge, and his name is slavery. You can vindicate he Union, and the safe where the blow will be most felt; nor will you miss the precious opportunity. The enemy is before you; nay, he has come out in ostentiations challenge, and his name is slavery of the world of the result of the

day.

Events, too, under Providence, will be our masters

you are willing to continue to stavery the tribute was are now paying of more than a million of dollars a day.

Events, too, under Providence, will be our masters. For the rebels there can be no true success. Every road for them leads to disaster. Deleat for them will be, bad; but victory will be worse; for then will the North be inspired to a subimer energy. The proposition of Emancipation which shook ancient Athens, followed close upon the disaster at Cheronoa; and the statesman who moved it afterward vindicated himself by saying that it proceeded not from him, but from Cheronea. The Act of Congress, punishing the rebels by riving Freedom to their slaves employed against us—familiarly known as the Confuscation Act—passed the Senate on the morning after the disaster at Manassas. In the providence of God there are no accidents; and this seeming reverse thus helped the way to the greatest victory which can be won.

There is a classical story of a mighty henter, whose life, in the Book of Fate, had been made to depend upon the preservation of a brand which was burning at his birth. The brand, so full of destiny, was snatched from the flames, and carefully preserved by his prustent mother. Meanwhile, the hunter became powerful and invulnerable to mortal weapons. But at length the mothes, indignant at his cruelty to her own family, flung the brand upon the flames, and the hunter died. The story of that hunter, so powerful and invulnerable to mortal weapons, is now repeated in this Rebellion, and slavery is the fatal brand. Let our Government, which has thus far preserved slavery with maternal care, simply fling it upon the flames, which itself has madly aroused, and the Rebellion will die at once.

Amidst all the perils which now surround us, there is once only which I dread. It is the peril which comes from some new surrender to slavery—some fresh recognition of its power—some present dalliance with its intolerable pretensions. Worse than any defeat or even the flight of an army would be such abandonment of princi

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using the nestorately and sure percent turning grey. She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natu-ral color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to spak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her castomers to take to farrepe with them, enough to instruc-or three years, as they often say they can get building abroad like them.

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