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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

"Hay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-arry authority takes, for the time, the place of all munic-nal institutions, and SIAVERY AND TO SURE PRO-Itary university takes, for the time, the passifier authority takes, for the time, the passifier institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the Parameter of the SLAVES, not only the Parameter of the University of the Commander of the ARM.

CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theater of a war, that the slaveholding States become the theater of a war,

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

COMBING TO THE LAWS OF MAY, and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL, POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hould armise are not in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emacipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. Anams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers

VOL. XXXI. NO. 50.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1616.

Mr. Charles Sumner enlightened the ignorance of the metropolis on Wednesday evening. He informed us of the causes of the war. He instructed us on the way to end the war. He wore the anti-slavery spectacles, and saw only one cause, slavery, and only one cause, slavery, and only one cause, slavery and only one cause, the even contradicted bimself by saying that the rebellion was the result of a conspiracy, dating back to the formation of the Constitution; but his eyes were sore without the dark glasses, and he relapsed into the gloom and slavery view. He quoted Tacitus, to remind us of his classical bent of mind, and alluded to Qaius Marius, but avoided the quotation from Plutarch which proved such a sore subject for him in Boston.

The speech was a failure, and fell upon the au-

m in Boston.

e speech was a failure, and fell upon the aue with great coldness. The reason was maniIt was not an effort of frankness. It was a
d but concealed attack on the Constitution and
umers. Mr. Sumner did not dare in New York to speak his sentiments fully, and boldly attack Washington and the illustrious fathers. He pre-ferred the insidious course of instilling into the minds of his audience sentiments of hatred to the Constitu-

tion, so that they might look complacently hereafter on the abolition revolution which he contemplates. And there are other reasons which he speech was a failure. Instead of being history, were together, while the grand truths that would make against him were suppressed altogether. Instead of being a frank, open and manly Union speech, it was an elaboration of the doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders." Instead of being the voice of a statesman, the object was the special pleading of a not very ingenious solicitor. Instead of being the argument of a substantial mind, firm in the confidence of its own right, it was the sly and untrustworthy appeal of an advocate who has committed himself to a bad cause, which he can sustain only by faisifying fact, concealing truth, substituting declamation for argument; and it leaves on the mind of the reader, a melancholy conviction that the orator may possibly have good sense enough, after all, to see through his own folly, and to be aware of his entire want of success.

possibly have good sense enough, after all, to see through his own folly, and to be aware of his entire want of success.

We say without hesitation, that this speech of Mr. Summer, addressed by him to a popular audience, is the elaboration of a series of ideas, which he is not so, great a fool as to be willing to lay before those sensible men, in a private conversation. He knows well that the entire reasoning of his speech would be radiculed; if he were to reduce it to the simple propositions which it goes upon, and present them to say man of ordinary common sense, as a logical argument, he would be laughed at.

He suppresses history. He ignores the fact that the Constitution was made, for a nation of Slavehold-res. That its provisions were devised to cover the possibility of slavery being as perpetual as the instrument itself. That the long labors over its provisions, the most important and the most difficult points of union in forming it, were caused by that identical expectation one the part of some of the founders, and a willingness on the part of others, to provide for just such a future. While there were men in the convention; who believed and hoped that slavery would be in time eradicated, there were others who expected it to last until the end of time, and there was not a man there, who sincerely adopted the instrument as finally agreed on, that did not cothers who expected it to last until the end of time, and there was not a man there, who sincerely adopted the instrument as finally agreed on, that did not adopt it on the theory that slavery and the Constitution might be co-existen ad ternitatem. If Mr. Sumner denies this, ignores this, omits this fact, in his statesmanship, he is a child in politics. It stares him in the face whenever he reads the constitutional debates. He knows as well as Washington knew, when he set his glorious name to the instrument, that the United States of America is a Union founded not only on the principle that slavery is permissible, but on the principle that to sustain and keep alive that Union, slavery must be protected, detended, and its rights guaranteed, just so long as one State of the Union desires to preserve it, though it should be for a thousand years. Every minute provision of the instrument was a rock in the foundation of our Union.

tion of our Union.

Therefore it is that we say Mr. Sumner suppresses history, and, we may add that he evinces timidity unworthy a Senator in not daring to follow his own ideas to their conclusion, and charge, as he does in his heart if he is sincere, that Washington and the founders of the Constitution began the wrong by admitting into the instrument a principle which, according to Mr. Sumner, is per se a cause of rebellion! He says slavery is the cause of the rebellion, and must be eradicated if we expect a cure. Does he prove it? Here is his logic:—

(There is not a community—not a family—not an

individual, man, woman or child—who does not feel its heavy, bloody hand. Why these mustering armies? Why this drum-beat in your peaceful streets? Why these gathering, means of war? Why these swelling taxes? Why these upprecedented loans? Why this derangement of business? Why among us the suspension of the habese corpus, and the prostration of all safeguards of Freedom? Why this constant solicitude visible in all your faces? The answer is clear. Slavery is the author—the agent—the cause. The anxious hours that you pass are darkened by slavery. The habese corpus, and all those safeguards of Freedom which you cherish, have been prostrated by slavery. The business which you have lost has been filled by slavery. The introite offerings are all snatched by slavery. The taxes now wrong out of your diminished means are all consumed by slavery? It is Mr. Sumner's as-

all consumed by slavery."

But what proof is here? It is Mr. Sumner's assertion. He knows no more of the logical sequence of cause and effect than a baby, if he is serious in his views. Substitute in the foregoing quotation the word anti-slavery wherever the word slavery occurs, and you convert its falsehood into trath. But it proves nothing to assert either view. No one needs to think twice in deciding that the solar system was not the cause of Galileo's punishment; for the sun might remain motionless, and Galileo not be condemned. Yet Mr. Sumner has the audacity to charge that slavery is the cause of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus! And he might have gone further, and argued that slavery was the cause of Charles Sumner inflicting such trash, for reason, on a New York audience!

a New York audience!

We say that these remarks will be converted into We say that these remarks will be converted into the way that the direct active cause, to which the way repeat that the direct active cause, to which the way can be traced, is Abolitionism. The effect is as plainly connected with that cause, as any conflaration with the man who touched the match. We appeal to Washington and the dead fathers to justify the assertion. Did you, oh wise and mighty men, did you create this glorious Constitution with an element of rebellion and conspiracy in its very texture, as this modern Solon from Boston tells us, or is the

Refuge of Oppression.

SUMNER VERSUS WASHINGTON.

Mr Charles Summer with bear of the state of th

exist?

Let the record of Washington and his great com-panions answer, let the history of their country an-swer; while Charles Sumner, puny and abashed, with all this rabble of 19th century abolition reform-

And what perfection of logic is exhibited by Mr.
Sumner's method of casting off this charge against
Abolitionists! Read his defence:—

Abolitionists! Read his defence:—
"But I hear a voice saying that all this proceeds—
not from slavery—oh no! but from anti-slavery; that
the Republicans who hate slavery—that the Abolitionists—are the authors of this terrible: conflagration.
Surely, you may well suspect the sense or loyalty of
him who puts forth this irrational and utterly wicked
inputation. As well say that the early Christians
were the authors of the Heathen enormities against
which they bore their martyr testimony, and that the
cross, the axe, the gridiron, and the boiling oil by
which they suffered were a part of the Christian dispensation."

WARD BEECHER ON EMANCIPATION.

[From the Newburyport Herald.]

[From the Newburyport Herald.]

Henry Ward Beecher is one of the able men of this era: he is the ablest of all his family, and that is saying much, for there is not one of them that is not above mediocrity. But Ward Beecher—and we may sey that same of all the Beechers—is somewhat erratic—genius always is—and frequently on national topics we should have no sympathy with the man or his words. Ward Beecher, however, has an under stratum of common sense, which appealed to on any momentous question, brings him right. Like many other people who in years past believed themselves in the front ranks of the progressives, he finds in the midst of this revolution, that the fossils have been aroused, and are sweeping far ahead of him; and he—even Ward Beecher—is constrained to lift a. warning voice to tell, not Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison, that it is time to hold back, but Daniel S. Dickinson and the Hunker Democrats, who only a short year ago broke up to hold back, but Daniel S. Dickinson and the Hun-ker Democratis, who only a short year ago broke up the Democratic party because it was becoming Abo-litionized, that the proposition to proclaim emanci-pation, in disregard of law, will end in the destruc-tion of this Republic. We quote below from his ser-mon, delivered on Thanksgiving day; and commend it both to clergymen and politicians, who, seized with the prevailing mania, are whirling about in the crazy dreams of the day. it both to clergymen and politicians, who, seized with the prevailing mania, are whirling about in the crazy dreams of the day, without one thought of law or Constitution or national compacts, that should be binding on all—who, because the South have gone mad and rushed to rebellion, which must end in their ruin, would themselves go mad, and plunge into the boiling canddron of violence and anarchy, to whose brink revolutions always lead:—

brink revolutions always lead:—

"Of all the advice that has been given, while it may seem to those who know not the nature of our institutions most rational, there is none that chimes more with the Northern feeling than this—to make a declaration of emancipation to settle this difficulty; and yet neither the popular impulse nor the foreign advice can be followed. We must conduct this war by and through our institutions, or else we must declare that our institutions have failed, and that we have reverted to original principles. There is only one or the other of these courses. The last we cannot and shall not do. We are not going to say to the world that Republican institutions have so signally failed that we must abandon the contraction of the solutions have so signally failed that we must abandon when the solutions have solved the soluti courses. The last we cannot and shall not do. We are not going to say to the world that Republican in stitutions have so signally failed that we must abandon them, and reëstablish other ones. No man will see that. We who boast of our Constitution, must not violate it ourselves in putting down those who who who desire conservative views to prevail that the statesmen of the Administration will allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and that the statesmen of the Administration will allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who are bereft of sense and allow the crazy ultras, who pent just hatched is not half so much to be feared as the serpent full grown. Our troubles have increased with every generation, and what is the use of sighing over what can't be helped! Our fathers signed the bond, and we accepted it. Can see afford to break it for the sake of seen so magnificent a result as the enancipation of the sake? State of were not mercey that instrument— the joy of the world, and our pride? It is very easy at easy, Now it is a state of war—let us declare emancipation. The war has not driven us out of our institutions. We are not ourselves in a state of rebellion. We cannot expect by destroying the Constitution to put down the rebellion. If any one ask me whether a law or a constitution are inferior to original principles of morality ands justice, I say no; but plighted faith is itself in nature of a sacred moral principles of morality ands justice, I say no; but plighted faith is itself in nature of a sacred moral principles of morality ands justice, I say no; but principles of morality ands justice, I say no; but principles of morality ands justice, I say no; but principles of morality and justice, I say no; but principles of morality and justice, I say no; but my principles of morality and justice, I say no; but my principles of morality and justice, I say no; but my plighted faith is itself in nature of a sacred moral principle. Our faith is given, and must be kept! When we cannot abide by our promise, then, in methods expressly provided, we must withdraw the pledge and the agreements of the Constitution, and stand apart as two separate people."

The New York Journal of Commerce notices this for

The New York Journal of Commerce notices this sermon of Mr. Beecher in the following terms:—

Rev. H. W. Beecher preached on Thanksgiving day to his congregation in Brooklyn. On the proposition to proclaim emancipation, in disregard of law and Constitution, he took a decided view, contrasting most favorably with the twaddle of Charles Sumner, and presenting the curious picture of a clergyman teaching sounder political doctrines than a United States Senator.

CONGRESS AND THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

From the Ohio Statesman.

The Abolition faction which assumed a threatening attitude at the time of the President's modification of Fremont's preclamation, and became more violent on his removal, is now bringing its full force and all its energies to bear upon the Administration to make the war, under cover of a "War for the Union," in reality and substantially a war for the Union, "in reality and substantially a war for the union," in reality and substantially a war for the emancipation of the Southern slaves. The question which these factionists are strenuously laboring to have settled, is not whether the Union shall be restored or preserved as it was formed in 1789; but Boston Post.

whether slavery shall be exterminated in the Southern States, or what would probably suit them equally well, if not better, whether all governmental connection between the free and the slave States shall not be dissolved.

mection detrees the free and the stave States shall unot be dissolved.

We, allude to these things now to warn loyal Union men of the approaching storm which the Abolition disorganizers are determined to raise. The session of Congress, which commences in a few days, will probably settle the fate of the Union. If a wise, prudent, conservative and yet decided course shall be pursued, on the part of the National Legislature and the Administration, we look for a speedy restoration of the old harmony between the States and the Federal Government, and the return of the halcyon days of peace and prosperity; otherwise, we may well fear the worst.

From the Boston Courier.

From the Boston Couri

mot from slavery—oh no! but from anti-slavery; that the Republicans who hate slavery—that the Abolition—ists—are the authors of this terrible conflagration. Surely, you may well suspect the sense or loyalty of him who puts forth this irrational and utterly wicked imputation. As well say that the early Christians were the authors of the Heathen enormities against which they bore their martyr testimony, and that the cross, the axe, the gridiron, and the boiling oil by the him they suffered were a part of the Christian dispensation.

Is it possible that the man does not see the effect of his illustration on all his previous arguments? If Christianity was not the cause of the massacres of Nero, on what principle is slavery the cause of the Massachusetts statesman to have Christianity and slavery put side by side, and this question laid fairly before him? Sensibilities have nothing to do with arguments. But if Mr. Sumner were a Roman citizen in the days of the son of Agrippina, he would have danced to the music of the monster, and shouted "to the beasts," "to the beasts," when a Christian the days of the son of Agrippina, he would have danced to the music of the monster, and shouted "to the beasts," it to the beasts, when a Christian try was in the arena. Why? Because he would argue that Christianity must be exterminated in order to have an end of the massacres of which its existence was the obvious cause!

Would be though? Is Mr. Sumner so very impervious to reason and common sense, or is he by chance a ranting politician, to whom reason is nothing so he can eatch the popular ear by sounding phrases?—New York Journal of Commerce. the social institutions of the South, directly or indirectly, the object of the war. Of the consequences to the interests of rebellious slave-owners, resulting inevitably from the conflict in which they have placed themselves with the Government, we have not a word to say. But those who preach up emancipation as a policy to be approved by the people and adopted by the Government, are the worst enemies whom the Government and people have—for they degrade the noble and all-embracing objects of a grand national struggle for the maintenance of incomparable free institutions, into a petty conflict for the inpracticable freedom of inferiors and dependents; and with not the slightest possibility of securing even this object, they at the same time betray and destroy their country.

From the Chicago Times.

From the Chicago Times.

WHY ABOLITIONISM IS FOR THE WAR. We suspect that Abolitionism, does not feel so much assurance as it professes that the war is going to end in the destruction of slavery. The course of events, as we look at them, cannot be altogether satisfactory to it in that respect. President Lincoln stands firm for prosecuting the war legitimately, and so do all his Cabinet, so far as the public knows, save Cameron. The proclamation of Gen. Sherman in South Carolina, and that of Gen. Dix in Virginia, and the general order of Gen. Halleck in Missouri, have not the slightest odor of wool;—quite the contrary. They are, in fact, about as discouraging documents as Abolitionism has encountered in a long while. It sees in them the real policy of the Government. And this is why it keeps up, now more than ever, its everlasting din about slavery.

We are quite well satisfied with things as the stand. We are especially well satisfied with Abolitionism as it stands, for it stands upon very slippery ground.

From the Indianapolis Sentinel.

From the Indianapolis Sentinel.

THE CRAZY ABOLITIONISTS. If we are to have emancipation, we insist that some part of the continent shall be surrendered to the Abolitionists and the negroes, and that they shall inabit it together and that non-intercourse shall be established between them and the white people of the United States. On these terms emancipation may be practicable. On any other it is not. From the Cincinnati Enguir

From the Cincinnati Enquirer.

To set the four million black slaves free is tunite the white South against us, and seriously divide public opinion at the North, which can neve be reconciled to a proposition that would inevitable lead to terrible results, adverse to the prosperity of the whole country. Neither as a military or politice measure is emancipation expedient; and we have nidea that the statesmen of the Administration will allow the examples where who expended.

THE MESSAGE.

THE MESSAGE.

The Message has been the subject of conversation since it was delivered. There is no doubt but that there was something like a quarrel in the Cabinet upon the nigger question, and the ultra Abolitionists are trying this evening to quarrel with the Message. Sensible people regard it as a sensible, judicious paper; but those who desire to see the war result in the emancipation of the slaves by the sword of the white men, and firebrands in the hands of the negro, do not like it. Some who have gone over to the party which is attempting to destroy President Lincoln because he will not push forward their emaneipation schemes, don't like it. These, with a few impatient but well-meaning spirits,—good, thick-headed philanthropists, who imagine that the man they voted for the Presidency ought to be able to whip the Confederates and crush the robellion by fulminating a fierce Message against the robels,—are not satisfied with the address. But it will stand, nevertheless, as a good Presidential Message. It points out clearly the path we must travel under the Constitution, and is in itself a rebuke to the fanaticism of the band which would make this a bloody opportunity to destroy the Constitution which they secretly hate, and bring about the consummation of plans they have long cherished for the sudden and indiscriminate liberation of the slaves. It is somewhat amusing to witness the perplexity of some of these fellows, who cannot comprehend how the President Cenlid dodge the "irrepressible conflict," and avoid the everiasting negro so adroitly.—Wash. corr. Boston Herald.

The President not only modified the Fremont

Selections.

SLAVERY, OR THE TARIFF?

[Extract from a remarkably clear and discriminating article, by Auguste Laugel, in the November num-ber of the Reyne des Deux Mondes, entitled "The Causes and Characteristics of the Civil War in the United States." Translated for the Liberator.]

Causes and Characteristics of the Girll War in the United States." Translated for the Liberator.]

If the election of Mr. Lincoln had been attended with violence,—if the party which put him in power had attacked the laws, violated the Constitution, meniaced the rights of the South,—we might hesitate in regard to the characteristics of the secession movement; but we know that never was election move regalar, more constitutional. The Republican party did not threaten the South, did not announce the project of emancipating the slaves, even in the most distant future. It confined itself to asserting the authority of Congress in the territories, to restrict the service institution to its actual limits. Besides, that party had triumphed solely through the divisions of the Democrats; the fragments of the latter party reunited might have frustrated all the plans, all the attempts of their common adversary. In these circumstances, we ask ourselves with amazement why the South was so prompt to raise the standard of revolt, while she could yet seek to profit by her long alliance with the Democrats of the North, and by the advantages which the pressige of her long predominance, the majority in the Senate, and the composition of the Supreme Court (whose members were all devoted to her interests) assured her. Can it be true that all powers, at the moment of decadence, hasten their fall by their own efforts? Or is this step, which at first seems only the product of a frantic pride, explained when we examine thoroughly the cause of the present struggle?

If we admit that this cause is slavery, we shall better understand the motives which have decided the men of the South, for slavery is an institution which can but fall if it does not enlarge; to limit it in space, is to limit it in time. This is perfectly familiar to all those who know how servite labor impoverishes, exhausts the countries

North, and returned it only contempt for all its com-pliance. They resolved on war.

We must be fond of arguing against evidence, to persuade ourselves that the slavery question is not the chief cause of the present crisis. In the con-flict which for thirty years has been constantly deepening, and has just terminated in civil war, flict which for thirty years has been constantly deepening, and has just terminated in civil war, what question has always been growing in magnitude and ended by prevailing over all the rest, if it be not this redoubtable question of slavery? They have not read the speeches of Calbonn, Webster, Soward, Douglas, Clay, and Sumner, who think that the slavery question has only a secondary importance in American politics. They forget that all Virginia rose in arms against John Brown and his twenty-one companions. Here is another fact: who are the belligerents? On one side the free, on the other the slave States; and it is pretended that the slavery question is foreign to the war! Between the Northern and Southern States are frontier or border States, which, without being free, contain fewer slaves than the cotton States, and (strange to say!) their fidelity to the Union is precisely in inverse proportion to the number of slave-owners. Virginia, which has slaves, joins the secession movement; the western part of this State, an oasis without slaves, seavered from the rest by the Alleghany chain, remains faithful to the Union and furnishes it with troops. The north of Delaware, which no longer holds slaves, scarce contains a secessionist; the south, which has a larger number of slaves, counts many adversaries of the Union. The six thousand slaves of Baltimore belong to the aristocracy of that city, and we know that this aristocracy is kept in obedience only by rigorous measures. Western Tennessee, which is devoted to slave labor, is a centre of rebellion, while eastern Tennessee, when he Union. Kentucky abor, is a centre of rebellion, while eastern see, where free labor is greatly in the astern see, where free labor is greatly in the astern the seed of the seed o slave labor, is a centre of rebellion, while eastern Tennessee, where free labor is greatly in the ascendent, sympathizes with the Union. Kentucky forms no exception to this rule; in the northern and eastern counties, where there are few slaves, there are few secessionists; in the others, where they are numerous, the people pronounce in favor of "neutrality," which is but a phase of treason. In Missouri, the line of demarcation is clearly established between free labor and slave. The Germans abhor slavery, and constitute the most faithful nucleus of the State; the anglo-saxon unionists are rather in-

a. There was the illusion. The new govern-is based on an exactly opposite idea; it has a foundation, its corner stone, this great truth: negro is not the equal of the white; slavery, is subordination to a superior race, is his nat-and normal condition." d normal condition.

are the new princ

new principles which the Confed would introduce into political law, such the a for which they are fighting! They do not against the general principles of the old logma for which they are fighting! They do not contend against the general principles of the old Constitution, since they have accepted it as it is for themselves, without making any other important alterations than those commented upon by Mr. Stephens with such audacious clearness. Can it be asid that the North and the South are two peoples essentially hostile, and that the present struggle is something analogous to a conflict of nationalities? If it were so, this gamity would be very sudden: the enmittes of peoples are not exhausted upon a single question, but enter into all the manifestations of political and social life. One must have lived very little in American society to be ignorant that, before the war, the mutual relations between North and South were perfectly courteous, and that, on very little in American society to be ignorant that, before the war, the mutual relations between North and South were perfectly courteous, and that, on condition of not alluding to the irritating subject of slavery, the citizen of the North encountered on the plantations the most bespitable reception. To be sure, the political differences of the two sections had embittered the language of the press and the platform; but not yet had the American people been separated into two. Trade, internarriage, the senterprising spirit of an active, restless race, had knit a multitude of ties between the North and the South; they worshipped the same great men; their churches were the same, and have separated only since the commencement of hostilities. To compare the sentiments which animate them to-day against each other, to the hatred of the Irish race towards the English, of Poland towards Russia, of Italy towards Austria,—is to exhibit an incapacity to penetrate the sentiments of peoples, and to extract the truth from the exaggerations of language. Where do the secessionists send their wives and children, to put them beyond reach of the contingencies of service war? To New York, to Washington.

If the South fights neither for a peculiar political organization nor for the triumph of a nationality, is it more correct to say that she fights for economic liberty? Such, I know, is the theory adopted by those who would have it believed that the question of slavery is foreign to the war, and wish by this means to avert European sympathy from the cause of the North. We have reached a moment in history when political economy seems desirous of absorbing everything. Burke was no economist when

be those who would have it believed that the question of slavery is foreign to the war, and wish by this means to avert European sympathy from the cause of the North. We have reached a moment in history when political economy seems desirous of absorbing everything. Burke was no economist when he said: "A State should not be considered as being nothing more than a social conjunction of the raffic of pepper or coffee, of calico or tobacco, or for any other unworthy object; or an association for some petty temporary interest, which may be dissolved by the agreement of the parties. It should be regarded with more reverence, in that it is not an association which serves only the things which are useful to our animal existence, by nature transient and perishable; it is an association in the sciences, in the arts, in every virtue and perfection; an association and perishable; it is an association in the between those who are alive, those who are dead, and those who are not yet born."

To-day, a certain school seem to find an easy solution of the rupture of the Union by the Confederate States in the fact that the Morrill tariff is contrary to their interests. To believe the most important of the British press, "the Morrill tariff as similates the United States to the most reorgandant to the ichthyosaurs, pterodactyls, and all the most monstrons animals of the antediluvian periods. I am by no means disposed to defend the Morrill tariff, although, in running it over, I did not find it more protective than the new French-English tariff. What I wish to prove is, that the tariff is not the cause of the war. In nineteen years, as many as four different tariffs have been adopted by the American Congress; the Morrill tariff was a political expedient, a sacrifice made by the Republican party. I will admit that this tariff is a do one but the inconveniences of a system of duties in a free country which is self-governed, can only be temporary: the evils caused by secession and civil war are irreparable.

Besides, how can we allow

between free labor and slave. The Germans abbor slavery, and constitute the most faithful nucleus of all the State; the anglo-saxon unionists are rather inclined to neutrality, while the slaveholders are inclined to suppose the tariff with the presidential veto. Had Mr. Buchanan ever reclaimed to the slaves and many Germans are to be found there is some sympathy for the Union, because few slaves and many Germans are to be found the slaves and many Germans are to be found the slaves and many Germans are to be found the testimony of the slaves and many Germans are to slave there is some sympathy for the Union Carloina, which possesses proportionals at the testimony of the slaves and many Germans are to be found the testimony of the slaves and many Germans are to be found the testimony of the slaves and many Germans are to be found the tariff; they sought to derive advantage from the slaves and many Germans are to be found the testimony of the slaves and many Germans are to be found that the cause of the secession State? It is south the cause of the secession State? It is souther form the slaves and many Germans are to slavery? If in some minds there yet remains a doubt, let them listen next to the testimony of the confederates have not taken the trouble to make extensive changes in the Constitution of the United States; they have modified it slightly, to adapt it to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to their new union, but only op points resident to the point of the subjec

General Jackson, who had repressed with so much energy the movement of South Carolina, known under the name of nullification, understood well that the outeries against the tariff covered a political design. "The tariff," he wrote to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Crawford of Georgia, "was only the pretext, and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question." His keen glance, notwithstanding, had only revealed to him a part of the truth: slavery was not to be, like the tariff, a simple pretext; it was to be the cause of a revolution.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

It has become a grave question for determination what shall be done with the slaves abandoned by their owners on the advance of our froops into Southern territory, as in the Beaufort district of South Carolina. The whole white population therein is six thousand, while the number of negroes exceeds thirty-two thousand. The panic which drove their masters in wild confusion from their homes leaves them in undirented research of the soil. Shall

employed in reproducing the means for supporting the armies of rebellion?

The war into which this Government has been forced by rebellious traitors is carried on for the purpose of repossessing the property violently and treacherously seized upon by the enemies of the Government, and to resistablish the authority and laws of the United States in the places where it is opposed or overthrown by armed insurrection and rebellion. Its purpose is to recover and defend what is justly its own.

War, even between independent nations, is made to subdue the enemy, and all that belongs to that enemy, by occupying the hostile country, and exercising dominion over all the men and things within its territory. This being true in respect to independent nations at war with each other, it follows that rebels who are laboring by force of arms to overthrow a government, justly bring upon themselves all the consequences of war, and provoke the destruction merited by the worst of crimes. That government would be false to national trust, and would justly excite the ridicule of the civilized world, that would abstain from the use of any efficient means to preserve its own existence, or to overcome a rebellious and traitorous enemy, by sparing or protecting the property of those who are waring was against it.

world, that would abstain from the use of any emicient means to preserve its own existence, or to
overcome a rebellious and traitorous enemy, by
sparing or protecting the property of those who are
waging war against it.

The principal wealth and power of the rebel
States is a peculiar species of property, consisting of
the service or labor of African slaves, or the descendants of Africans. This property has been variously estimated at the value of from \$700,000,000
to \$1,000,000,000.

Why should this property be exempt from the
hazards and consequences of a rebellious war?

It was the boast of the leader of the rebellion,
while he yet had a seat in the Senate of the United,
States, that the Southern States would be comparatively safe and free from the bardens of war, if
it should be brought on by the contemplated rebellion, and that the boast was accompanied by the
savage threat that "Northern towns and cities
would become the victims of rapine and military
spoil," and that "Northern towns and cities
would become the victims of rapine and military
spoil," and that "Northern the should smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel." No one
doubts the disposition of the rebels to carry that
threat into execution. The wealth of Northern
towns and cities, the produce of Northern farms,
Northern workshops and manufactories, would certainly be seized, destroyed, or appropriated as military spoil. No property in the North would be
spared from the hands of the rebels, and their rapine
would be defended under the laws of war. While
the loyal States thus have all their property and
possessions at stake, are the insurgent rebels to
carry on warfare against the Government in peace
and security to their own property?

Reason and justice and self-preservation forbid
that such should be the policy of this Government,
the defended by
traitors and robels to the extremity of war, all the
rights and powers of war should be oxercised to
bring it to a speedy end.

details of the plan for doing so, like all other military measures, must, in a great degree, be left to be determined by particular exigencies. The disposition of other property belonging to the rabels that room in the control of t

and restors the authority of the Government. If it shall be found that the men who have been held by the rebels as slaves are capable of bearing arms and performing efficient military service, it is the right, and may become the duty, of the Government to arm and equip them, and employ their services against the rebels, under proper military sequation, discipline and command.

But in whatever manner they may be used by the Government, it is plain that, once liberated by the rebellions act of their masters, they should never again be restored to bondage. By the master's treason and rebellion, he forfeits all right to the labor and service of his slave; and the slave of the rebellious master, by his service to the Government, becomes justly entitled to freedom and protection.

The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels, after the close of the war, can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The representatives of the people will unquestionably secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the country.

SIMON CAMERON.

The above straight-forward and come view of the subject was a portion of the Report of Mr. Cameron, Secretary of War, as originally written, and sent in advance of publication to the New York Tribans and other journals; but not being satisfactory to our milk and water President, the following was sub-stituted in its stead, most unwillingly by Mr. Came-ron, as the concluding paragraph of the official docu-

ment:—

"It is already a grave question what shall be done with the slaves who are abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as at Beaufort District in South Carolina. The number left within our control at that point is very considerable, and similar cases will probably occur. What shall be done with them? Can we afford to send them forward to their masters, to be by them armed against us, or used in introducing supplies to maintain the rebellion? Their labor may be useful to us; withheld from the enemy, it lessens his military resources, and withholding it has no tendency to induce the horrors of insurrection even in the rebellion communities. They constitute a military resource, and, being such, that they should not be turned over to the enemy is too plain to discuss. Why deprive him of supplies by a blockade, and voluntarily give him men to produce supplies? The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels after the close of the war can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism be made of the slaves of rebels after the close of the war can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The representatives of the people will, unquestionably, secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the country."

ASHAMED TO HAVE A HEART!

Yes, ashamed to acknowledge that we have

ASHAMED TO HAVE A HEART!

Yes, ashamed to acknowledge that we have a heart; ashamed to own that we are moved by the impulses and sympathies of our human nature; apologizing for a deed of justice and mercy, that we do it against our will!

The imbrating influences of slavery on the public conscience of the North are being developed in a way that must startle the world, and excite the profound wonder of the future historian who shall gather up the details of our present degradation, and search sut its potent cause. The obliteration of the moral sense which has taken place in this Christian nation, has scarcely a parallel in the whole heathen world. In all ages and lands, we have seen men proad of virtue; proad of benevolence, equity, love, and compassion. However miserably they may have failed to realize in practice these noble and generous ideas, they have yielded to them their admiration, and have embalased them in story and song for the admiration and imitation of posterity. The savage Powhatan was melted, when he saw the tear of pity in his daughter's eye, and her arms thrown around the helpless victim destined to a cruel death. Nowhere but in our boasted civilization is there to be found a state of society in which it is deemed a disgrace to pity and plead the cause of the injured. In other lands, men perpetrate injustice only when the credit of being actuated by principle in doing right. We, on the contrary, seem indignant at the bare suspicion that we allow ourselves to be controlled by principles of justice in our dealings with the African race. Judging from the disclaimers which everywhere greet our ears, we must conclude that while a large portion of our fellow-citizens are willing to give colored men their liberty, they are not willing to give colored men their liberty, they are not willing to give colored men their liberty, they are not willing to give colored men their liberty, they are not willing to give colored men their liberty, they are will consent to emancipation. We have said before the world and it becomes certain that everything must be lost and perish, then will we hearken to the voice of the

and perish, then will we hearken to the voice of the Lord, and let the oppressed go free! Gen. Cass reiterates his hatred of abolition, and in the same breath declares that it must be adopted, for nothing else can end the war. Col. Cochrane for nothing else can end the war. Col. Cochrane advocates the arming of the servite population, and yet, lest he should be accused of abolitionism, he declares that it is not the happiness or misery of the slaves that influences him; he cares little what may be their future condition, if so be that the Union can be maintained; he would even allow them to be divided among loyal citizens! And yet, not withstanding this disclaimer, his old associates, fearful that he will still be misunderstood, rush to the newspaners ing this diselaimer, his old associates, fearful that he will still be misunderstood, rush to the newspapers with their communications, to convince the public that the Colonel did not and could not mean abolition. Equally zealous have been many of these papers to show that Secretary Cameron does not contemplate abolition; that it is not the love of justice and mercy, or the slightest compassion for the poor sufferers in the prison-house of bondage, that nerves his arm or warms his heart. Any man, in either of the old Democratic parties of this city, who should confess himself an abolitionist, on abolition grounds, would be immediately cast out as a traitor to his antecedents. So deeply rooted is the habit of sigmatizing and denouncing the friends of the slave, that the least suspicion of sympathy with the wrongs of black men will ensure for any of our party leaders a storm of persecution. This it is that makes public men so cowardly; so inconsistent with themselves; so timorous in letting themselves down the precipice, by the twig of necessity, into the dreaded gulf of abolition.

But let them come to our ranks in any way they

But let them come to our ranks in any way they But let them come to our ranks in any way they choose. We are glad to see truth prevail, even though it be preached through envy and strife. Whether in pretence or in truth, let emancipation for the bondman be proclaimed in the high places of the nation, and we are content. But what a diseased state of the body polific, what a death-like stupor of the meral sense, does this indifference to the fate of the slave disclose! Take the darkes thome of heathenism; take the fiercest band of robbers that ever conversated in a menutain eavern. Let them see the the slave disclose! Take the darkest home of heathenism; take the fiercest hand of robbers that ever congregated in a mountain eavern; let them see the lash applied day after day to shrinking woman's lacerated flesh; the poor creatures forced to perform their allotted tasks of severe labor, up to the very hour when the pangs of maternity series upon them; maidens stripped for the terrible scourging; miserable fugitives torn by the dogs, and thrust, faint and bleeding, into the murderous stocks; and where is the bandit so fierce, or the heathen so brutish, that he will view the acean with complacency? Yet here in this bright land, with our Sabbaths and our Bibles, among our Fifth Avenue merchants, our delicate la-

dies who would not adventure the sole of their foot upon the ground, our learned doctors and expounders of the laws of Moses and of Christ, we find hardhearted wretches who tell us it is all proper; that the black man has no rights, that he endures no agonics, which a white man is under any obligation to respect! And further, that we have no right to interiore; that we have no responsibility in the case; that the Constitution gives us no authority; that the Bible cliniches the master's grip on the man he has bought; that no Government, King or Congress has the right to interiored did with this social relation, and that all we have to do is to mind our own business, and leave others to manage theirs. No right to interfere? Why, the God of our being has implanted this authority in the very instincts of our nature; any man that witnesses the assault of a ruffian on helpless humanity, maiden, wife or child, feels and knows within himself that, in the absence of a legal avenger, he is constituted the rightful protector and deliverer of that helpless one; and he ize a craver wretch, a recreant to God and his race, if, having the power, he does not raise his right hand against the oppressor, and deliver the victim, even at the peril of his life. No true man, in such a position, has any need to wait for doctors and lawyers to teach him what is Heaven's high mandate; the voice within speaks instantly, and he acts without a doubt or scruple. No right, on the part of a government, to interfere for the protection of the injured! What a contemptible government must that be which has no power to do the very thing, and the only thing, for which government was created! What here yield for the punishment of evil-doers, an engine of oppression, a combination of society, by which thenatural instincts of humanity should be suppressed and extinguished!—American Baptist.

The Biberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1861

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

Now that Congress is in session, and various propositions have already been submitted to it on the ropositions have arready been such that had a forward ubject, let there be no unnecessary delay in forward. ing emancipation petitions to that body. Send them directly to the proper Senators and Representatives from the various States and Districts. They will, of course, go free of postage. Send them in !

THE GUILTIEST OF THE GUILTY.

There is some extenuation for the conduct of those who are born and brought up in the midst of customs institutions and ideas, which, though at variance with sound reason and eternal rectitude, they cling to and defend as a matter of tradition, or inheritance, or per-sonal interest. A heathen in Burmah or Hindostan is educationally such, and no surprise is felt when he is seen to resist every effort of Christendom to overthrow his cherished system of idolatry. But if any, claiming to be Christians, should interpose to vindicate his religious views, or even to apologize for them, and should join with him in denot cing and ridiculing mis sionary labors to subvert heathenism wherever existing, they would justly forfeit all right and title to the Christian name, and be regarded as deserving of fa greater condemnation than the deluded idolator him self.

for those who,-born on Southern soil, and all their lives surrounded by slave institutions, and having in herited slave property which has been held and recog nized as such, legally and religiously, for many ger erations, and suffering from the inevitable demoraliz tion and blinding nature of such a state of society,— deem it an act of impertinence or of enmity on the part of Northern Abolitionists in seeking the over throw of slavery, no matter by what means, or at wha period however remote. But how utterly inexcusable are those in the free States, who,—loud in their pro fessions of regard for free institutions and the right of man, and born and educated where slavery has either been abolished or never allowed to exist, -with brazen impudence and loathsome profligacy volu to shield the accursed slave system from every blov aimed at it, and to cover with opprobrium those who are disinterestedly laboring to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free"! How glaring is their inconsistency, how palpable their hypocrisy, how gross their immorality ! Surely, in the day of judgm shall be more tolerable for Southern slave-owners and slave-mongers than for them!

At the South, there is not a religious or secular nal that does not either connive at, apologize for or boldly defend slavery as a rightful institution; and this, we are told, should excite no surprise, for the stream cannot rise higher than its source. Be it so: but why is it that this lamentable fact is not offset b the cheering fact, that there is not at the North a religious or secular journal that does not condemn slave ry as an evil institution which ought to be banished from the land? Yet, so far is this from being true, of the hundreds of Northern newspapers there are not half a dozen that dare to avow abolition principles, or advocate the immediate emancipation of the oppressed as an act of justice too long withheld! A large ma-jority of them, even though almost the entire body of slaveholders are in deadly rebellion against the government, are still disposed to throw safeguards are the slave system as such, and to make targets of abo-

itionists and abolitionism on every occasion!

This is, in the first place, a revelation of character. It shows that the conductors of such journals need only to be located in the South to become actual slave-breeders and slave-dealers; or transported to the coast of Africa, to engage in the slave trade. For, "if such things are done in the green tree, what will e done in the dry ?"

It is, in the next place, demonstrative evidence that the malaria of slavery taints the whole nation; that in consequence of consenting to its existence in the South, the North has thereby become fearfully corrupted, so that "the whole head is sick, and the whole erty, as the birthright of every human b as the foundation of all righteous requirements and all democratic institutions—is scoffed at as fanaticism in its universal application, pronounced dangerous in its complete enjoyment, and made subservient to all that is selfish, mean and unprincipled. Scarcely any but "crdy Abolitionists" look upon the scarced and fettered millions in bondage as having any rights or interests of their own, or any title to be considered an equal portion of the human race, having the same equal portion of the human race, having the same essential nature, the same immortal destiny, or the same passions, feelings, desires and aspirations. The roposition to treat them no longer as brutes, but as attional and accountable beings,—to break their yokes on snap their chains assunder,—to bring them out of 20 house of bondage into the glorious liberty of cretion, with the chance to develop their faculties and 1 wers,—is every where scouted in the true superclinus, alayebolding spirit, branded as the most hazard-safe all a veceriments, and results of all a veceriments, accord at an the official section.

THE SECRETS OF THE PRISON-HOUSE.

We hope, for the sake of humanity of our own honor or reputation as a peoplerecent account of imprisoned colored persons in Washington may, on investigation, prove untrue. The reason assigned for this imprisonment was the suspicion that nearly fifty men, all told, were guilty of this atrocious crime, viz—"they could "call no man master." Their masters had withdrawn their civilizing presence, and joined the rebel army. Of course, nothing but demoralization could ensue in the absence of such wholesome restraint and example. Mingled motives of disinterestedness could alone have actuated their humane pursuers. To save these unfortunate men from themselves, to protect society, and to hold on to this "property" for the owners till the restoration of peace, under the benign government of Jefferson Davis! Such of the Washington police as were engaged in this very considerate propolice as were engaged in this very considerate proceeding are surely deserving of ——

"My car is pained,
My soul is sick with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled."

These touching words welled up in their power and freshness, seventy-five years ago, from the depths of one of the sweetest, tenderest and truest of natures. They are no less pertinent now. We are all familiar with the terrible methods of

persecution and destruction invented for heretics and solitical offenders:—dungeons, prisons, and horrid implements of torture; the persecutions of the early Christians, and the cruelties of the Inquisition. We have all heard of Judge Jeffreys, of the English, and have all heard of Judge Jeffreys, of the English, and the no less worthy Fouquier Tinville, of the French Revolution; of Haynau, the butcher; of Russian and Austrian despotism; and all this for the detection and punishment of so-called political and religious of fenders. The blood curdles and the lip grows pale over this dark page of history. At such times, and in these countries, prisons were made to hold male-factors, and persons suspected of crime. In this free country, all over the South and at the Capital, they have an additional use, viz: to hold in their loathso embrace the poor and innocent, the oppressed and down-trodden slave, the victim of the crimes of

thers!
Think of it! The foundations of this country have been shaken to their centre by a slaveholders' rebel-ion, never exceeded in wickedness; an army of six hundred thousand fighting men has been organized a powerful naval armament has been evoked, as b magic, and now blocks the coast for thousands of miles; traitors in and out of the Capital have been ceaseless in their efforts to overthrow the govern the administration, throughout its depe pared no pains to plan and mature measures for safety; lynx-eyed provost marshals, and their not less vigilant subordinates, have hunted up the lurking places, both below and above ground, or all persons tainted with suspicion of treason; forts Lafayette and Warren have swarmed to their utmost capacity with enemies of the country; nothing has been left undone, unsaid or unseen, which could damage the rights and interests of free white loyal citi-zens in both sections of the country; but there has been no friendly eye, word, thought or deed for these poor, unoffending persons, "guilty of skins not col-ored like our own," now for the first time, and seem-ingly by accident, found pining and sorrowing in rags and filth within the loathsome precincts of a Wash ington prison! Nothing in the record of this cruel rebellion exceeds this in its inhumanity. The treat ment of our noble prisoners at Richmond, condemned as it is by the usages of war in all civilized countries pales before this more atrocious crime. Traitors will pretend to a show of reason for the former; but the atter is unmitigated cruelty. O, there is a fearful responsibility resting somewhere! It is no exaggera tion to say, that in no other country in the however despotic, could this have happened.

God grant that the secrets of this prison-house may be dragged to light, and may the authors of this crit not only be visited with condign punishment, but ampl made to these unfortunate victims of op pression! How this piece of iniquity could escape the notice of the proper authorities for so long time, in a thing which will not go unreflected upon

After a twelvementh more shall have rolled over us, we may be able, if not now, to understand the horrors of the slave system, as practised in this hith erto excruciatingly "democratic" country! Fillibus tering, land stealing, Dred-Scott decisions, rebellions and many more deviltries, which have not passed un observed by sensible people, both at home and abroad and which, for better or worse, are yet to find their place in history, will soon be traced back by the stanchest hunkers to their true sources. We shall soon know whether we have a country worthy of salvation: whether the two hundred and fifty n of people who are to occupy our places eighty years hence are to be freemen or slaves.

The N. Y. Commercial Advertiser says on this

"Senator Wilson, who has the energy if not the strength of Hercules, has addressed himself to cleaning out one of the most noisome Augean stables existing at the capital; and, we are happy to observe, with the best possible effect. Into a dungeon, unequalled for its general unhealthiness this side of Austria, had been crammed some sixty or seventy colored fugilities, their crime being that their natural protectors had abandoned them to shift for themselves. These released bondmen not unnaturally turned their protectors had abandoned them to shift for themselves. These released bondmen not unnaturally turned their faces Northward. But they were met by the agents of greedy cormorants, termed Justices, who at Washington fatten upon the number of arrests made by them, whether of innocent persons or those guilty of breaking the law. Does not Uncle Sam foot the bill? Is not every black man pre-supposed to be a slave until he proves the contrary, as every white man is not assumed to be guilty before he has established his innocence? And so long as those wretched pickings from the bones of men, women and children could be had, what mattered it if these were doomed to sit, sleep and eat upon the cold payement, or were could be had, what mattered it if these were doomed to sit, sleep and eat upon the cold pavement, or were abandoned to filth and vermin? The 'ends of justice' were fees; our government has always been liberal to the District, and what more could people want, unless they were in search of topics for agination about the 'everlasting nigger'?'

LECTURE OF HON. DANIEL S. DICKINSON. The report of this racy, vigorous and in another column, as delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, at Music Hall, on Monday eve-ning last, was made for the Post by Mr. Yerrinton, from which paper we copy it. It was re-delivered of Tuesday evening, at Tremont Temple, before th aions, the immense audiences enthusiastically cheer-ing its most radical utterances. Mr. Dickinson has hitherto been a highly conservative Democratic poli-tician,—the most influential member of the party in the Empire State,—and, therefore, what he now so boldly declares is deserving of special considerat We wish Messrs. Mason and Slidell could have been

IMPORTANT LECTURES. It will be seen, by notice in another column, that Rev. Dr. Cheever, of Nev York, is to deliver a lecture on Sunday evening next at the Tremont Temple. Subject—"Shall Slavery of the Country be destroyed!" Also, that Hon. George

On the invitation of the Mercantile Library Association, Hon. Daxini S. Dickinson, of New York, delivered a lecture, hast Monday evening, on "The State of the Country," at the Music Hall, to a large and brilliant audience. The platform was occupied by a large number of distinguished gentlemen. Among them we noticed Hon. Edward Everett, Capt. Hudson, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Justices Hoar and Allen, Richard H. Dans, Jr., Josiah Quincy, Jr., Ex Mayor Lincoln, Franklin Haven, Esq., and several of the reverend clergy.

The Germania Band was in attendance, and their music added greatly to the pleasure of the occasion—the several airs being heartily applauded.

On the entrance of Mr. Dickinson, he was greeted with enthusiastic cheering. He was introduced to the audience by Oliver Richardson, Esq., of the Lecture Committee, in a very complimentary manner, and as he took his place upon the platform, he was received with a fresh outburst of cheers.

After an eloquent exordium on the rise and progress of the nation, under a free government—

How the conspiracy originated, said Mr. Dickinson, to other of the continue of

How the conspiracy originated, said Mr. Dickinson, is of little practical moment; how it shall be put down, is of almost infinite importance, for put down the rebellion must be; and since it was not crushed in the bnd as it should have been, it must be plucked up by
the roots, and the confidence of the world resimblished
in the strength and perpetuity of free government.
(Prolonged cheering.) It is not the case of a people
conspiring against the government, but where high
officers of government conspired against the people.
(Applause.) The ministering spirits of the rebellion
were not the ignorant, the thoughtless, or the vulgar,
hurried away from their propriety by some sense of
vrong, real or imaginary; but the experienced, the
educated, the well-informed, to whom a generous and
confiding people had committed their most sacred
trusts. The train was laid with deliberate and muderous preparation; that the Union might be razed to bud as it should have been, it must be plucked up by derous preparation, that the Union might be razed to its foundations, and scattered in fragments.

its foundations, and scattered in regiments.

The rebellion was not inaugurated because any por-tion of the Free States, or their people, had been un-mindful of their constitutional obligations, nor for the reformation of abuses, but it was for the purpose of the ruins of this. In every age of the world, and with the glorious American Revolution. The conception every people, a traitor has been execrated, loathed and despised by honorable men. Judas Iscariot betrayed the Savior for money, and his name has been a synothe tyranny of man. This cowardly conspiracy seeks nym for baseness, for nineteen centuries, though his perfidy was signalized by the redemption of fallen man. But he showed a decent regard for public opinion, and furnished an example which all traitors should copy with alacrity, for he went out and hanged himself. (Enthusiastic cheering.) As the vulture, when he stoops for prey, seizes the weak and straggling members of the flock, so the ill-omened buzzard of Secession, with the keen instincts of its nature, seized South sion, with the keen instincts of its nature, seized South Carolina as its lawful booty, and bore it triumphantly away. It hated the Union of our fathers, and sought to destroy it; it scorned the glorious emblem of liberty, and sought to dishonor it; it sowed rebellion, and is now gathering the harvest. Mythology informs us, that when Minerva was born, it rained gold in the island of Rhodes; and South Carolina doubtless believed. lieved, that upon the nativity of Secession, if it did not rain sovereigns, it would bring showers of ge guineas into Charleston, not from any mint, but ing the image and superscription of the land of Daho mey and Ashantee, beaming in their original lustre, increasing without investment, and sometimes growing yellow with re-coinage. (Loud laughter and ap-

The loyal people of North Carolina have been plunged into the "Dismal Swamp" of Secession by her fretful, restless and conspiring politicians, but are already seeking to secede from Secession; and when they shall have cast off the incubys which has cursed family of States, all will unite in a festive welcome to "who were dead and are alive again, who were lost and are found." (Loud applause.) And where is old Virginia, the land of great deeds, and the mother cater men? In attempting to tear herself from the m, she has torn out her own vitals, and lies prostrate, dismembered and bleeding,—pitied by the com-passionate, jeered by the ribald, and scorned and de-spised by all for the wickedness and folly which brought her to shame. In this connection, Mr. Dickinson described the desolation and ruin which Virginia had brought upon herself by the part she has taken in the rebellion, in language as truthful as strong and elo-

quent.

The first great practical duty before us, he con tinued, is to crush the rebellion which threatens us, and to vindicate the Constitution. And to do this, we ust treat it as it is, not as the struggle of a political canvass, nor as a government with which w canvass, nor as a government with which we are at war, but as an overgrown, turbalent, irresponsible mob,—tossing, rearing, pillaging, murdering; genera-ted in the fætid hot-bed of a desperate and daring con-spiracy, and governed and directed by self-elected dictators, resolved

"Rather to mign in hell than serve in heaven."

-(Applause.) If we would have an honorable and enduring peace we must not purchase, but conquer it, though the con-flict be as protracted and bloody as that which ended on Bosworth's field, and terminated the War of the oses. (Great applause.) There is not now, nor can there be hereafter, any peace or safety in yielding to the demands of depraved ambition. (Renewed plaudits.) We are admonished by the dictates of our holy religion—by the instincts of humanity—by the best impulses of civilization, to put forth the whole power of Government and people to destroy this re-bellion—to strike it hardest where it is weakest. (Probellion—to strike it narcies; where it is weakers. (1) longed cheers.) While we should scrupulously respect the rights of the loyal, we should confiscate the property of rebellion, including its "persons held to service"—(applause)—totally, absolutely, immediately. (Tremende s applause.) Put them to labor in the camps, and leave to Congress to make such humane provision for them hereafter as the occasion demands. The recognition of Secession conferring a premium upon conspiracy, treason and its conferring a premium upon conspiracy, treason and its concemitants—offering a reward for rebellion. Once Wilkes (enthusiastic cheering) has stirred the cur-

The prime movers of the rebellion were decaying politicians—sapped by base uses, and seedy by wear and tear; Senators, Representatives and Cabinet Min-isters, whose terms were drawing to a close; officers in the army and navy, who were looking for increased rank and emoluments; idlers who were seeking consequence and compensation, and bankrupts who longed for a revolution that would cancel old contracts, and British precedents. If this nation shall feel constrain-If the state of the proposed confiscation in the standard of the proposed confiscation in the provides for the absolute forfeiture of all response to the surface and the provides for the absolute forfeiture of all response to the contrains. Those who are not response to the contrains of the provides for the absolute forfeiture of all response to the providers, the surface state of pulcical process; the same place, on Monday evening next, before the Art the North, generally, no more regard is paid to reir claims for justice and mercy than though they ever so many cattle or swine. Are any of them received as "Constitutions or Conspiracy" (Government or Guerrilla; and the providers for the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill provides for the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, that we may not be driven by the rebels to the reall! In case of their emancipation, it is stupidly in the providers of the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill reference to their manhood, but them kind in the reference to their manhood, but the our necessities, the provides for the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, then the many not be driven by the rebels to the real that the provides for the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, the provider for the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, the provider of the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, the provider of the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill with reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, the provider of the absolute forfeiture of all redep proposed confiscation bill with reference to their manhood, but to our necessities, the provide

OF MEW YORK.

On the invitation of the Mercantile Library Association, Hon. DANIEL S. DICKINSON, of New York, delivered a lecture, last Monday evening, on "The State of the Country," at the Music Hall, to a large and brilliant audience. The platform was occupied by a large number of distinguished gentlemen. Among them we noticed Hon. Edward Everett, Capt. Hudson, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Justices Hoar and Allen, Richard H. Dans, Jr., Josiah Quiney, Jr., Ex-Mayor Lincole Frankin Haves. Eso.

Output Jr., Ex-Mayor Lincole Frankin Haves. Eso.

To advocate or expected sympathy in the loyal States, and it clings to the delusion still. But if we common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or party antecedents, it would, at this time, carry more terror to the heart of rebellion, the state of the whole people, in a common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or party antecedents, it would, at this time, carry more terror to the heart of rebellion, the state of the whole people, in a common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or party antecedents, it would, at this time, carry more terror to the heart of rebellion, the state, and it clings to the delusion still. But if we common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or party antecedents, it would, at this time, carry more terror to the heart of rebellion, the whole people, in a common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or party antecedents, it would, at this time, carry more terror to the heart of rebellion, the whole people, in a common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or party antecedents, it would, at this time, carry more terror to the heart of rebellion has rested in expected in expected and it clings to the delusion still. But if we have proved the whole people, in a common purpose, regardless of previous political opinions and associations, or pa cess or a prospect of future peace. To advocate or assent to division is to favor or consent to destruction. We are not to stay the loss of life, the effusion of blood, the oppression of fuxation, or mitigate the harsh fea-

the oppression of faxation, or mitigate the harsh fea-tures of war, by yielding to, or tampering with rebel-lion. Whoever counsels division in the hope of pur-chasing peace, sows heresy broadcast, and will reap a harvest of delusion. "Were I charged with the ad-ministration of this Government," says an individual, irresolute in principle, and weak in understanding, "I would consent to the secession and independence of the Confederate States, and restore peace to our torn and bleeding and distracted country." "And so would we," respond the people, "were we as weak. would we," respond the people, "were we as weak, irresolute, and treacherous as you are." (Loud applause.)

plause.)
Although composed of numerous States, the Federal Government is one and indivisible. Not a single stone in this arch of freedom can be removed without endangering the edifice. How could we partition the glorious passages in our history as a nati or divide the memories of the revolution, around which our souls' holiest impulses linger? The effort would be like parting the raiment of the Savior of men, and casting lots for his vesture. (Applause.) What section of the Union is so steeped in degradation that it would surrender its inheritance in Lexington and Sa ratoga and Yorktown? What son of Revolutionary sire would visit Bunker Hill with Government's pe mission, or bear a rebel passport to the tomb of Washington 1. Our great nation is animated by one popular heart, and when that shall cease to throb, the nation will die—die forever; when the darkness of death and night closes over it, no spark shall relume its light die forever; when the darkness of death of life

"No sound shall awake it to glory again."

There are those who would compare this rebellion with the glorious American Revolution. The conception he tyranny of man. This cowardly conspiracy seeks to raise its superstructure upon the foundation of in-voluntary servitude—the Revolution sought to establish for man a more enlarged freedom. Our fathers sought to release-they seek to enslave. Our father protected the right of property in servitude on grounds of necessity and expediency; they seek to make ser-vitude indispensable to government. Our fathers founded a system of justice, equality and peace they seek to subvert it for one of injustice, inequality, and military rule. The doctrine of Secession, that, a State may, in withdrawing from the Union, rightfully selze and appropriate to its use all the property be-longing to the Government it can find, if approved and sanctioned, would drive the highwayman from and sanctioned, would drive the highwayman from the field by its competition, destroy the pursuits of the burglar by more convenient thefts in open day, and reenact the code of Sherwood forest, that

"He may take who has the power, And he may keep who can." (Cheers.)

We must meet the emergencies of the day as our athers met theirs. Had they trembled at the thought of blood, or been alarmed by the cry of taxation, we should this day have been the serfs and slaves and coonial dependencies of a foreign power, ruled over by oreign governors, and their decrees enforced by the bayonets of a foreign soldiery. They could have sub-mitted to their fate without dishonor, but we cannot surrender the fruits of their bravery without sinking beneath the contempt of civilization. (Applause.) We must neither be misled nor intimidated by the impeious demands and haughty gasconades of rebellion Tryants, conspirators, oppressors and usurpers are accowardly, whose firmly met, as they are desperate and cruel when they hold the mastery. When the fercious mousters who conspired for the destruction of the Union, who planned this rebellion and urged it forward, shall stand before the people in their naked and believe described by the property of and heinous deformity-not as Presidents, Judges, Senators, Generals, and Ministers of State, but as co pirators, perjurers, robbers, pirates, thieves and cutthroats—an ambulatory conspiracy, a governmen upon castors—an administration on horseback, like th predatory bands of the Pampas and the gorges of the Andes (laughter and applause)—when they shall see themselves as they will be seen by the mass own deluded States, they will call upon the rocks and mountains to hide them from the face of those they have betrayed, and defrauded, and bereaved, and left homeless. Stripped of their diaguises, deposed from their mock official stations, disrobed of their stolen in-signia, they must fly from the land they have desc-crated and disgraced, or submit to the majesty of the laws they have offended, and terminate an ignoble career with the gibbet or the dungeon, and all the peo-ple will say, Amen! (Great cheering.)

This unnatural and ferocious war, with all its de-struction and desolation, will leave some traces of util-ity behind—will teach us the relative rights of Governent and people-of the Union and of the severa States—the blessings of peace and the inflictions of war. All Governments claim a perpetuity of existence, and when that existence is imperilled, they may exert every power, even to absolute despotism, to preserve it. The necessity and utility of martial law in times like these has been established and vindicated by imerous and illustrious examples. It has seized and committed to places of confinement spies and traitors, it has stayed the subtle and insidious poison of a pe subtle and insidious poison of a pes-able press—it has changed the project tilent and treasonable press—it has changed the projec of two eminent ministers from the course of foreign to domestic missions,—(prolonged applause)—whe though their field of labor and usefulness may 1 cumscribed, they will be sure to find more apprecia-tive and sympathizing audiences and congenial associates, and in their ministrations, in one respect, at

concomitants—offering a reward for rebellion. Once compromise the power and dignity of Government in rents of the popular heart afresh. It will be halled the hope of cowardly conciliation, and we shall have with loud acclaim by every loyal citizen of this Union, no Government to compromise. (Applause.) Dynasty after dynasty will rise up—every State and section and city will produce its aspirants for supreme command, and causes of fancied oppression will be found wherever a desire for leadership shall commence the wherever a desire for leadership shall commence the lated the comity of States by attempting to shield.

The regime movers of the rebellion were decaying under the wegis of her flag, and seed unon their crimunder the regis of her flag, and speed upon their crim-inal enterprise, those who were known to be engaged in efforts to destroy this great and good government, of which they were citizens, and to which they owed

neither bowed nor broken, but the brand of liberty, fanned by the tireless wing of the American Fagle, burns with a purer and more constant glow than every. In conclusion, the lecturier paid an eloquent tribute to woman for her patient endurance and londy devotion to country. Having referred to the two of Jepha, and its fulfilment by the sacrifice of his daughter, he said,—Though the lofty cause of the Union demands no bloody sacrifice propert when the fields of the said. said,—Though the forty cause or the Union demands no bloody sacrifice except upon the field of battle, our maidens may inspire us to loftler conceptions of duty, and the commission of nobler deeds, by chanting the triumphs of the faithful to the music of Christia aberty and law, of woman's resignation to the Divine behests, and of her love of country, in the spirit of the last song of the doomed and devoted—

Though the daughter of Salem lament, Be the judge and the hero unbent: I have fought the great battle for thee, And my father and country are free! Though this blood of thy giving has gushed. Though the spirit thou lovest is hushed. Let my memory still be thy pride, And forget not I smiled when I died."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN BOSTON.

The regular lecture in the Fraternity Course was The regular lecture in the place of the regular lecture on Tuesday evening, Dec. 3d, by Free Douglass. The Fraternity is the outgrowth ife and teachings of Theodore Parker, at once the egacy he has left to humanity, and the mont his memory. Meet and fire ing is it, then, that Fredhis memory. The red and fitting is it, then, that Fred-erick Douglass, the representative of the much abused colored race, should be among the speakers that it relcomes to its platform.

At an early hour, the spacious Tremont Temple was filled to overflowing, and the welcome which the speaker received upon coming to the platform was eep and hearty. Mr. Douglass began by thanking the audience for

art. Hougans organ by manking the audience for their presence, and the Fraternity for the invitation to speak, modestly saying he trusted more to the indu-gence of his hearers than to any ability of his own. gence of his hearers than to any ability of his own. If ever a man, standing before a great audience of refined and cultivated people, has the right to their indulgence, surely he whose early years were spent in slavery, whose spelling-book was the soft sand at his feet, and who took his degree of the sign-boards over the doors, might claim such indulgence; and yet, as Prederick Douclass stood there, his form dilating with Frederick Douglass stood there, his form dilating with conscious power, his eye flashing, and his whole face glowing with enthusiasm, while his clear silver tones rang like a trumpet, all who saw and heard him must have felt that he was not an object of indulgence, but of admiration. His very presence gives the lie to the oft-repeated assertion that the negro is incapable of elevation, and only fit for a menial condition. The ecture, which was called "Pictures and Progress," was elegant in diction, and full of fine poetic passazes, but its chief excellence consisted in a manly and fearless utterance of the great truths which underlie all poetry, and constitute the very essence of all that is heroic and beautiful in humanity; nay, which go to is heroic and occanization mannanty; may, which go to make up all our ideas of that Divine Nature whose throne is established in justice. He claimed for his race equal rights with their white brothers, and showed conclusively that as slavery is the cause of the war, so only freedom can put an end to the war. His logic was irresistible, and he completely swept away that net-work of sophistry which has entangled so many, catching even Henry Ward Beecher in its web, that as slavery is constitutional, therefore it cannot be bolished constitutionally. He said he trusted less to the virtue of the North than to the villary of the South, and that the government would yet be brought to a position where, instead of catching fugitive slaves, it would arm them. But it is not in a lecture such as this that Frederick

Douglass shows his greatest power—that he is really himself. At the close of the meeting at Tremont Temple, he went directly to Rev. Mr. Grimes's church, on Southac street, which was packed to it of his nature found expression in the glowing imagery of his imaginative race; his wit and drollery wer inimitable; and his romering green with a vein of pathos, took all hearts captive.

A. F. R. inimitable; and his rollicking good humor, blended

COLORED YOUTH IN BOSTON SCHOOLS.

At the meeting of the Boston School Committee, on Tuesday last, Charles W. Slack, Chairman of the Everett School, embodied in his quarterly report the following allusion to the colored children of this city in the public schools. It will be remembered that Mr. Slack submitted the report and bill to the Legislature of 1855, by which "separate schools" were abolished in this State:—

"Six years have elapsed since the Legislature abrogated the last distinction which this State has made in the education of her children—the separate colored school; and though Boston was the last to come under the sway of this advancing idea, she seems destined to be the first to bestow an appreciative meed upon the deserving colored child. Within this period, a the great boon of impartial school education; and it has been witnessed with satisfaction, that a colored girl of the Bowdoin School was designated, two years since, a prominent medal scholar, and that one of the brightest of the graduates of the Phillips School, a originess of the granulates of the Hindu School, colored boy, was received with commendation into the English High School at the annual examination, the same year. Elsewhere, with gradual of steady progress, this race is reaching forward for the highest prizes of academic honor. In the Everett School, there are some six or eight of these children. A re-cent gathering in the hall of the school-house showed, on one side of the room, a white slave girl, ransomed a few years since, through the efforts of a Massachu-setts Senator, and on the other, a sable daughter of one of the isles of the Southern Ocean; while between one or the isies of the Southern Ocean, while between were youth of almost every nation and clime—Celt and Teuton, African and Asiatie—in happy emulation with the children of our more favored Anglo-Saxon race. That they were taught without prejudice, each stimulated by a proper competition with the other, and to the advantages of our timable system, it is not necessary that I should here assert.

MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

The annual choice of municipal officers took place in this city on Monday last, and Boston again of graced herself by the re-election of her mediciting and lawless Mayor, Joseph M. Wightman—he receiving 6765 votes, and Edward S. Tobey, Eq. 5795— Wightman's plurality being 970, although his relative ed with last year's vote, is upwards of 2000, which affords some satisfaction, at least. When the result was ascertained, the partisans of the Mayor gathered at the City Hall, and clamored for his appearance. He soon came out on the balcony, and made a meanly characteristic harangue, in the course

"Your suffrages have stamped the seal of disappro-ation upon the vile slanders and falsehoods of the bation upon the vile slanders and falsehoods of the Abolition press, which has tried to destroy, by poison and malice, that which they could not accomplish by any other means."

any other means."

The "Abolition" press here referred to, means the Daily Advertiser, the Transcript, and the Transler! Abolition, forscoth! What impudence and slang! As to the charge made against the Mayor by those journals, of extravagance in the use of the city funds by sundry "junketings," &c., and of misdirection of certain charitable donations, (intended for our own sick and wounded soldiers,) for the benefit of the rebel prisoners at Fort Warren, we had nothing to say. sick and wounded soldiers, for the benefit of the prisoners at Fort Warren, we had nothing to say. Our issue was of a wholly different nature—relating exclusively to his infamous conduct last December and January, in regard to freedom of speech and the safety of public meetings—an issue which none of the papers alluded to had the courage to refer to at all,

CONFISCATION OF SLAVES.

Entrol Liberators:

Will you or any good lawyer please inform the reader how the act of Congress for the confiscation of slaves actually engaged in rebellious service can to any material extent, be operative, when the ownership and every identical act of such slaves, under such a vague law, must be proved! To instance: Who threw the only objective of the least of the the embankments and fortifications around Charles harbor from which issued the first shot to sharts ton harbor from which issued the first shot to shatter our national flag, and which served to thwart any ef-fort to relieve the handful of brave and faithful men-who would fain defend that flag of the well-tried ship "Union," even to the point of starvation, rather than trust themselves to so leaky and treacherous a craft as a "Southern Confederacy"? Who amassed the extensive earthy battlements in the face of Fort Pick with the same designs to baffle and destroy ils defenders? Who dug the trenches and threw up the three or four miles of masked batteries between Fairfax and Manassas, to say nothing of Vienna, Big Bethel and the line of the Potomac, which have re-pelled our troops. It is a fact not to be denied, that this immense labor, for the most part, was performed by slaves. One of the first persons who escaped from the enemy into our ranks at the battle of Bull Run iments of slaves engaged behind the batteries in loading and manning the guns, in waiting upon and supplying the enemy with food and water, and in doing all the laborious drudgery, while the enemy were thus relieved and husbanding their strength to

perform more edectually the nicer stratagems of war-fare, and without which slave labor the enemy could not have been so well drilled and prepared for war. Now, it is but the conclusion of common sense, that if we cannot reach the enemy, we cannot take the identical slaves employed in the aforesaid service, and mean time, they (the slaves) will or may ed in the same kind of rebellious labor in he or thousands of different places. The samsaves that to day are engaged in building a fort or mounting a gus, may to-morrow be engaged in the "loyal" service of heeing corn or adding to the material power of "King Cotton," at whose sovereign command we from the beginning have been threatened. "England is to break the blockade." If raising food and cotton for the rebels, while they are drilling is regarded as "loyal" service, and we know that there may be seasons when even these may be employed in rebellious work, how are they to be taken in the very act? Who is to inform the government and prove the time—the work—their identity and their ownership—whether they have been forced into such service from Union-loving masters, or whether they belong to genuine, "Simon-Pure" rebels? How is the Federal Government ever to assort and

which has thus far proved an obstacle, if not the ery means of defeat, to our armies? and how are we to know and point out the individual slaves and their masters, whether they are loyal men or not, who are now at this very hour employed in making forts and defences in Virginia, on the Atlantic and Gulf coast, and along the Mississippi from the Ohio to the Balize, and directly and indirectly in rebellious works, as in foundries, workshops, etc., throughout the en-tire South f. For the risk or fear of freeing one slave belonging to one loyal master, who has at no time been engaged in rebellious work, (as raising cotton, wheat and hemp, even for rebels, is not deemed rebel-lious, though the ability of a rebel to live without food and raiment has not as yet been proved,) are we not only not to meddle with, but by force of our arms to keep in the bonds of slavery nine slaves belonging to nine rebellious masters, who at this very moment may be, or who at some time or other may have been used in rebellious labor, either directly or indirectly? Before we could reach and catch and prove such slaves as are only engaged in specific acts to the aid of rebellion, their appointed evil work for our de-struction may all be done, and they hypocritically be directed to seemingly loyal business; and thus the present law of confiscation, where and when it would be of any advantage to our cause, would fatally re main a dead letter !

rebeis in slavedom are "like angels' visits, few and far between ") are most earnestly and desperately united to break up this government, on the principle of "rule or rule," and it should be deemed necessary throw out of the way every obstacle (whether it may be a stone wall or a slave) to our earliest and st certain success, and by so doing, with the least riflee of precious lives and property. We are fighting an enemy that is pursuing and will continue to parsue an ambuscade, Indian mode of warfare, be filind bushes, trees and entreachments, and in all their conduct are not one whit less, but even more savage, as instanced by their firing hospitals and murdering our wounded men, the burning and sawing apart of rail-coad bridges to precipitate into one common destruc-tion men, women and children, and most barbarously lynching peaceable citizens, who will not unite in their Satanic cause. And are we to prolong a war with such an enemy (who have heretofore been the sole aggressors, and who burglatriously began the war merely because their evil course was checked) by the strictest and most scrupulous observance of evertechnicality of law, while the same traitorous enemy recunically of law, while the same traitorous enemy, in practising such a mode of warfare, excuples not to riolate every constitutional and humane law to effectuate the ruin of the benign government which has ever acted the part of a careful paternal protector on every side of their vast domain § And by the careful guardianship of a certain sacred "institution," on the touch not and pechasis states not leave the same training and the same training to the same properties are also same training to the same training training to the same training to the same training training to the same training tra the touch not and perhaps taste not policy, are we con pelled to send forth our young men in still greater myriads to bring these remorseless rebels into subjec-tion to the laws, while at the same time they are using this same "sacred institution" to subserve their be purposes to overcome us?

If, then, the present slave confiscation act is practi cally a nonentity, and slavery is an obstacle in the way of our armies in extinguishing this causeless rebel-lion, and of the final preservation of this Republic by which as one particular. by which as one nation we have prospered beyond all others, is not the Frémont policy, both in a military and political point of view, of the confislaves of all rebels, the least that should be adopted and if there should be such, a "misfortune" as the inclusion of the slaves of tried and proved loyal men that they should be paid for? The rests far ea our side to prove the ownership and to trace out the specific acts of rebellious labor of individual slave Then again, in a civilized and humane point of view will there not be a rather better phase! for as the act will there not be a range, series proclaimed by the Presi-dent, rebel masters are allowed the priority to hold property in human beings (not actually caught in rebellious labor) over and above that of "all goods, rebellious labor) over and above that of "all goods, chattels, wares and merchandise, whether coming from or going into the disloyal States, and whether belonging to rebellious or loyal owners, and all ships and vessels belonging in whole or in part to sny citizen or inhabitant of any of said States, found at sea or in any part of the United States, as the same be forfeited to the United States." In accordance with this law, vessels in whole or part belonging to with this law, vessets in whole or part occoming to the seceded States, engaged in the most peaceful and loyal business, as for instance, the bringing coal from Philadelphia or salt from Cadiz to our Northern ports, are conficated. This will do very well if human chattels are placed on the same footing, at any rate, as far as relate to complete the same footing, at any rate, as chattels are placed on the same footing, at any rate, as far as relates to openly confessed and plotting rebels; for to make slaves exceptional to the general rule is, in a mere moral point of view, practically making alares more soulless than ships or cattle, and in a military point of view, the severe lessons of Fort Sumter, Vienna, Big Bethel, Pensacola and Bull Run, (which were surely most potent segments?) reconsists. were surely "most potent arguments,") ren heeded and profitless, with the probability to heeded and profitless, with the probability to be fol-lowed, as our armies march into the intricate South, by still severer experiences of a similar sort, when

was the cause and meaning of the present war, what its probable results would be, &c., I received, in the way of reply, every conceivable reason running up and down the scale of sense and nonsense, and in

" From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

Answering, as each questioner did, from his own stand-point, I was the recipient of a greater variety of opinion than I could conveniently digest. I noticed, however, they all possessed in common this singular trait—indefiniteness; indeed, in this respect alone was there any similarity, the only sense in which they resembled each other. Thinking upon so musual a circumstance with regard to what, as individuals, we have aft hold such decided opinions, and, as we fondly trust, such well-established views, the mystery seemed all the deeper and darker that none were able to determine, with any measure of none were able to determine, with any measure of success, what Government really purposes to do. Can you, my dear sir, inform me whether the "powers that be" have been acting upon any settled line of policy-and, if so, what it is?

What do the people know as to the real intentions of the administration in regard to this war? Do the Cabinet see their way, as to the removal of the cause of it? Is it known, by anybody, whether they have any clearly defined plan of procedure, commensurate with the spicing of the capital o with the spirit of the age and the demands of the times! What does government mean to do with the subject of slavery? Is it not evident they intend to disturb it as little as possible—virtually to let it alone,

subject or small stitle as possible—virtually to readisture it as little as possible—virtually to readisture it as little as possible—virtually to read if the people will permit it?

My faith in the future, in a general sense, it reats upon the efforts put forth by man in the present. Hence, I deforts put forth by man in the present. Hence, I deforts put forth by man in the present. Hence, I deforts put forth by man in the present. Hence, I deforts put forth by man in the present. Hence, I deforts put forth by man in the present of the feeling are and the oppressed, one of Freedom's noblest champions, whose door was ever open to the fleeing the receiver of the feeling to a form among the living to a not consider the cause of the slave so hopeful to-day as some of your correspondents, nor do I see that cause for rejoicing which many of the more prominent friends of freedom have publicly expressed. I read the signs of the times somewhat differently. If your soldiers are not to go into winter quarters, as has been semi-officially announced, and if it is fully determined to break the back of this rebellion before many more weeks roll away, will not the Union be likely to remain as it is, or rather as it has hereto-fore! Even if not so, the way will be again open for reconcillation and further compromise—and the golden opportunity of settling, or hastening the settlement of this paramount question of the age, the only practical subject for constant consideration by our people, will be again indefinitely postponed; and again will our hearts be made sick by having our again with our hearts of made sick by having our hopes again deferred. If such is to be our experience, after so favorable a combination of circumstances as this war has developed, each in turn tending to facilithe affairs, and bring events to a most desirable crisis; if, after the very object of all our toiling is within our reach, we decline to put forth and pluck the ripened fruit; if, when the blessed boon of Freedom seeks admittance to our dwellings, we deliberately refu her entrance; when the greatest of national blessings is vouchsafed to us, and we go out of out way to avoid accepting it; if, when the path to Peace, and the right-of-way to Justice is open to us, and we perversely refuse to walk therein; if, after all our windings, wanderings, journeyings, we are permitted to enter the Promised Land, and yet idolatrously turn aside; if we continue to insult the very favors of Providence as it were—trampling upon our heaven-bestowed prin-ciples—we justly deserve to become a warning to all other nations, and God himself ought never to forgive

While the cause of the slave will necessarily reeric a mighty impetus, growing out of our pres-ent difficulties, the fruition of the friends of free-dom, I fear, will be delayed till another rising of the tide.

I look in vain for any vital earnestness on the part of President Lincoln and his Cabinet to wage this part of President Lincoin and his Capinet to wage this war for the maintenance of a principle; on the contrary, their public proclamations, private professions, and only rallying.cry, has been merely—to preserve the Union intact—and everybody knows what this

Notwithstanding the feeling is daily increasing, on the part of the Federal army, everywhere, in favor of emancipation, and the miraculous conversion of well-known zealous Conservatives, Democrats, Hunkers, et id omne genus, in New England, in the Middle and Western States-together with the official instruction from the War Department-I fear the friends of freedom, anti-slavery men everywhere, are doomed to bitter disappointment. I cannot, perhaps, satisfactori-ly say why—I can only record my impressions and convictions, and let them stand as a warning. May my fears prove groundless!

Boston, Dec. 2, 1861.

G. A. B.

WHAT WILL THE END BE?

MR. EDITOR:

When the country was startled by the report of the fall of Fort Sumter, seven months ago, with the sense of indignation came also a secret joy, that the wan-ton and unprovoked attack had rendered all further compromise impossible. It seemed to me that the North, aroused from its lethargy of three-quarters of diabolical schemes of the slaveholding conspirators, would demand of its leaders to strike a death-blow to the prime cause of the gigantic rebellion: but to the prime cause or the grantic receipon: our spring lengthened into summer without any decisive blow being struck. Then I said, When Congress as-sembles, it will lose no time in abolishing slavery. But Congress met, and adjourned; summer pas and autumn came; and now autumn is almost gone and still nothing has been done towards closing the war, by adopting the only means that can ever e Still fugitives are sent back, despite the action of Con gress; and the administration seems inclined to turn the whole grand army into a posse for catching an returning slaves. So far the public action has retrograe returning slaves. So far me puone acuton mas returgina-ed, instead of advancing. Up to date, the greatest anxie-ty of the President and Cabinet seems to have been, how to preserve slavery intact; and any injury which has been done to the institution, or any benefit ex-tended to individual slaves, has been done contrary to the wishes of the administration, or at least withou its orders. In all this truckling and political huck-stering there would be no gleam of hope, were it not manifest that slowly, hesitatingly and unwillingly the administration was yielding to the demands of the people; and that the people were becoming educated by the atroclous spirit of alavery, which this war is rapidly evolving. But there is hope for the slave, and rapidly evolving. But there is hope for the slave, and for the country, in the growing sentiment of anti-slaveryl throughout the North. There is abundant reason to rejoice when such men as Dickinson and Cochrane so far recognize the humanity of the colored race as to propose to arm them. And yet the utterances of such men are but straws to show which way the wind blows. Thousands and tens of thousands of men, who one year ago had decided pro-slavery feelings, mummics of the Bell-Everett party, and hyems

encountering the ever hidden and entrenched mode of warfare of the rebels, who will be aided as with active allies by at least a half million of the four millions of slaves, without any essential measures of prevention or protest on our part, but, on the contrary, apparently with the most complacent encouragement and consent. Therefore we say again, xyrax orstacts should be cleared away, to the early and most complete overthrow of a most unprovoked, unseruppelous, unmerciful rebellion for the overthrow of the most prectous and sacred rights of man, as have been fully tested and proved by their enjoyment for a period of eighty years, and to the envy and aspiration of all observant nations.

GENERAL OBSERVER.

THE UAUSE OF THE WAR.

Mn. Editor:

Questioning, lately, certain persons of every political complexion, and degree of intelligence, whom I chanced to meet with, as to what, in their opinion, was the cause and meaning of the present war, what its probable results would be, &c., I received, in the way of reply, every conceivable reason running up ble; the popular mind associates his removal with the modification of his proclamation, and the deeds he did Whether the Government intends it or not, the de-

velopments of the times hasten the doom of the dem, slavery; and the inevitable result must be its ity demand it; the terrible necessities of this nation, rent in sunder, demand it; and the people are rapidly coming to demand it. All these combined forces cannot be withstood. Such an end will supply repay those who have striven against slavery for thirty years; and, too, it will repay those who are fighting against it now. When the foul vampyre, which, for seventy years, has been drawing the life-blood of this nation, shall be thilled the needle will do institute to those who for killed, the people will do justice to those who, for thirty years, have stood on the watch-towers and warned them of their danger; then they will admit that, though hating the blo od-stained Constitution and sternly rebuking every villanous administration and detesting the Government in all its relations to the colored race, the Abolitionists loved the country better than they all.

Etna, (Me.) Nov. 17, 1861.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT.

thize with the friends of humanity, freedom and equality, in the loss of one of their most devoted advo-

Resolved. That for his untiring devotions, his ready pen, his willing voice, his fortune and his life—all of which he freely gave in defence of the rights of his fellow-man—he is deserving of a reward so great

Voted, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased, and also to the Daily Spy, (Worcester,) for publication.

Per order

ISAAC MASON, President. A. E. PERRY, Sec'y.

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

In the U. S. Senate, on Monday last-Mr. Sumner presented several petitions from citizens of Rhode Island and Vermont, calling on Congress under the war power to legislate on the subject of the emanaipation of the slaves of rebels. Mr. Collame presented several petitions of the same

of the canadapates of the salves of rebess.

Mr. Collamer presented several petitions of the same character.

The President of the Senate also presented a petition from citizens of Wisconsin of the same character.

All the petitions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Summer presented a resolution, that all memorials and papers on the files of the Senate, relating to the recognition of Liberia and Hayti, be taken from the files, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Agreed to.

Mr. Clark offered a resolution requesting the Marshal of the District to inform the Senate by what authority be keeps slaves of the District in Jail because they are refractory. Agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Fessenden, it was resolved that the Committee on the District of Columbia be requested to report the number of fugitive slaves that have been confined in the Government jail in Washingtoh, during the last one and a half years, by whom claimed, whether any of these fugitives have been returned to their claimants, by what authority, and to whom, and also specifying what number, if any, have been returned—since the order of Secretary Seward in reference to alleged fugitives, to whom and by whom delivered.

In the House of Representatives—

In the House of Representatives-

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, introduced the following

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be requested to revoke the first section of the general order dated Nov. 26th, 1861, of Major General Halleck, commanding the Western division of the army.

The section alluded to in the above resolution is as follows:—"As it has been represented that information of the number of our army and condition of our affairs has been conveyed to the enemy by means of figitive slaves who have been allowed to enter the lines, therefore, in order to remedy the evil, no such persons shall hereafter be permitted to enter the lines of the army, and any now within them shall be excluded therefrom."

Mr. Cox, of Ohio, moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was disagreed to, yeas 63, nays 68.

Mr. Lovejoy then moved the previous question.

Mr. Olin, of New York, moved that the House ad-

Mr. Cox, of Ohio, moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was disagreed to, yeas 63, nays 68.

Mr. Lovejoy then moved the previous question.
Mr. Olin, of New York, moved that the House adjourn. Lost by a large majority.
Mr. Lansing, of New York, offered a substitute, characterizing the order of Gen. Halleck as inhuman and cruel, and respectfully requests the President to direct. Gen. Halleck to recall said order, and cause him (Halleck) to conform to the practice in other departments of the army.

Mr. Lovejoy accepted the substitute, and the subject was postponed.

A bill was offered repealing acts and parts of acts authorizing the commitment of negroes as runways, and being sold to pay expenses, &c., and to punish for such practices.

A bill confiscating the property of rebels, and liberating and colonizing ther alsaves, was referred to the Military Committee.

filitary Committee.

A bill abolishing slavery in the Districtof Columbia

was referred.

The traitor John C. Breckinridge has been expelled from the Senate—yeas 86, nays none. Mr. Stevens, of Penn., has modified his re lution so as to read that there can be no solid and p manent Union so long as slavery exists, and that slaves be proclaimed free, full compensation to made to loyal masters.

13 Gov. Moore, of Louisiana, reviewed on the 24th ult. a force of 28,000 soldlers, among whom were 1400 fine colored men. Just think of a Northern Governor reviewing a regiment of colored Unionists! I would be denounced as "abolitionism" here. It is the sole prerogative of the rebels to employ colored men. Sambo may in the rebel ranks shoot down our soldlers, but he must not be permitted to shoot down theirs. There's logic for you! This is pursuing folly for the sake of being foolish.—Salem Observer.

The Richmond Enquirer contains an advertise ment for three bundred negro men—slaves or freeme—to be employed in the construction of military road for the use of the army of the Potomac. Twenty do lare per month, and one ration per day, are offered teach man.

Thirty-one "contrabands" have arrived in Washington. Many of them were women and children, and were brought over from Mathlas Poist by Col. Graham during his recent recomnoissance. The men among them were employed as laborers. These slaves had been deserted by their masters, and were in a destitute condition when discovered by our troops. John Tyler's house, near Hampton, Va., whis large and well built, now comfortably shelters large number of contraband negroes. That house water put to such good uses before.

EXCITEMENT IN ROCKPORT, MASS.

ondent (says the Boston I ort, informs us that on St orious Parker Pillsbury warch to deliver a locative the on was objectionable to a l

unhinged, &c., but nothing of much account. A kerosene lamp was broken, doing some damage, which,
with braises and contusions, made up the list of damages. The audience was small, or the rush mouth
have been attended with serious results. The affilir is
very unfortunate for this collecty, as it has disaffected
a large number of parishioners, some of whom commenced on Messay morning to strip their pews of
consilions and books. There was probably no riot intended, but all through the day an uneasy feeling prevalled, which showed that there needed but a slight
provocation to bring one on."

12 The Anti-Slavery cause and its advocates have
had, from the beginning till now, naturally and instanctively arrayed against them the low, abandoned,
lawless and cowardly—to their praise and credit. The
time is coming when "the notorious Parker Pillsbury" will be remembered with honor, and classed
among the gruest of patriots and best of citizens.

ong the truest of patriots and best of citizens.

THE SLAVE TRADE PENALTY

THE SLAVE TRADE PENALTY.

It must be a cause of rejoicing in every truly Christian heart that we have now a government under which this vile traffic is meeting a check, and those engaged in it beginning to taste its due penalties. A trial of Capt. Gordon, of the slaver Eric, has been sometime pending in New York. It has resulted in his conviction, and agreeably to the provisions of the law, he is sentenced to be hung.

Judge Nelson made a very impressive address in announcing the verdict. After recounting the horrors of the middle passage, and picturing the crimes flowing from the traffic, he thus concludes the sentence:—

from the traffic, he thus concludes the sentence:

"As you are soon to pass into the presence of that God of the black man as well as the white man who is no respecter of persons, do not indulge for a moment the thought that Ho hears with indifference the cry of the humblest of his children. Do not imagine that because others shared in the guilt of this enterprise, yours is thereby diminished; but remember the awful admonition of your Bible—'Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.' Turn your thoughts toward Him who alone can pardon, and who is not deaf to the supplications of these who seek His mercy. It remains only to pronounce the sentence which the law afflixes to your crime, which is, that you be taken back to the City Prison, whence you were brought, and remain there until Friday, the seventh day of February next, and then and there, the place of execution, between the hours of twelve o'clock at moon and three o'clock in the afternoon on that day, you be hanged by the neck until you are dead, and, may the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

Another case has been before the court in this State.

may the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

Another case has been before the court in this State.

A man by the name of Samuel P. Skinner, has been for some time past working in this business in New Bedford, either on his own hook, or playing into the hands of one Oaksmith, of New York. We are glad to know that his career is stopped at last. Having been convicted of fitting out the "Margaret Sott," of which he was owner, as a slaver, he was brought up on Friday before Judge Ciliford, of the U. S. Court, for sentence. A motion for arrest of judgment was argued and overruled, and sentence of \$1000 fine, and five years imprisonment in Taunton jail, was imposed.

—Christian Register.

LETTER TO GENERAL M'CLÉLLAN FROM

No More Slave-Catching for Revels—Confiscation Procally Illustrated—Negro-Hunters to be Punished. The following order has been issued from the State

The following order has been issued from the State Department:—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, Dec. 4, 1861. }

To Major-General George B. McCtclian, Washington:
GENERAL: I am directed by the President to call your attention to the following subject: Persons claimed to be held to service or labor under the laws of the State of Virginia, and actually employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, frequently escape from the lines of the enemy's forces, and are received within the lines of the enemy's of the Potomac. This Department understands that such persons, afterward coming into the City of Washington, are liable to be arrested by the City Police, upon the presumption arising from color, that they are fugitives from service or labor, by the fourth section of the act of Congress, approved August 6, 1861, entitled an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, such hostile employment is made a full and sufficient answer to any further claim to service or labor. Persons thus employed and escaping are received into the military protection of the United States, and their arrest as fugitives from labor or service should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure.

Copies of this communication will be sent to the Mayor of the City of Washington, and to the Marshal of the District of Columbia, that any collision between the military and civil authorities may be avoided.

I am, General, your very obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

f a rebel :-

brated Kentucky character exhibits the fiendish hatred of a reby!—

"Anixoron, Va., Oct. 2, 1861. My Dear Wife,—
I have left you and our children in the land of the despot; but God grant that I may soon be able to make the Union men of Kentucky feel the edge of my knife. From this day I hold every Union traitor as my enemy, and from him I scorn to receive quarter, and to him I will never grant my soul in death; for they are cowards and villains enough. Brother Henry and I arrived here without hindrance. Thave had chills all the way, but I hope to live to kill forty Xankees for every chill that I ever had. I learn that Hardee is still in the Arkansas lines inactive, and if it proves to be true, I will tender my resignation and go immediately to Kentucky. I hope that I will do my duty as a rebel and a freeman. Since I saw the Union men of Kentucky I intend to begin the work of murder in carnest, and if ever I spare one of them, may hell be my pootion. I want to see Union blood flow deep enough for my horse to swim in.

Your husband,

Janes Blackhourn."

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN LEXOX, OHIO. The adjourned meeting on Friday last was well attended and a very interesting discussion was had upon the form of a petition for the abolition of slavery. The question at issue was, whether a compensation should be proposed. question at issue was, whether a compensation should be proposed for emancipated slaves, or that uncondi-tional emancipation be asked for. After a very full and earnest discussion, the following form of petition was decided upon, and adopted by an almost unani-mous yote of the meeting:—

To the Congress of the United States:
The undersigned, citizens of Ashtabula county,

The undersigned, citizens of Ashtabula county, State of Ohio.

Believing that slavery is the original and real cause of the present rebellion, and that the country can have no reliable peace so long as slavery exists, respectfully petition your honorable body immediately to institute measures for the speedy termination of slavery throughout the country.

And whereas, the whole colored population are to become sharers with us in the liberties and rights for which we are contending, we sak you to have able-bodied colored men received as volunteers to aid us in arms, in crushing this wicked rebellion and restoring peace to our land.

Col. Turchin, of the 19th Illinois, at Elizabeth-town, Ky., is in command of a brigade composed of his own regiment, the 18th Ohio, and the 37th Indiana. A member of the 37th, writing of their march through Elizabethtown, says:—

Elizabethtown, says:—

"A venerable daughter of Ham was so enchanted with the music and the appearance of the troops that, pacing up and down, she cleared a space of about ten feet, by swinging her arms, shouting, 'Dar comes de Unionists! Bress de Lord for de Unionists! I jes knows de Unionists's gwine to gain de day! Glory to de Lord!" Everybody laughed, but I said within myself, 'Dinah, you're a twitting on facts."

THE REJE

FREMONY'S BODY-GUARD. A correspondent of the New School Presbyterian writes respecting the Body-Guard of Fremont, who routed the rebels at Spring-field, Mo., as follows:—

field, Mo., as follows.—Towards the reness at Spring"This corps is composed of the elits of the land; and it contains young men from nearly all the Northern States, East and West. Seven of them are from Virginia; and almost a whole company of them came from Kentucky. I have been with them daily for about three months past, and a more orderly, sober and excellent set of young men I have seldom seen. Many of them are members of Christian churches, and sprung from choice families. A great portion of them are well educated, cultivated and promising young men. They have spent days and nights, the past three months, in faitguing drills on foot and horse-back. And their late glorious success is only the fair meed of merit in themselves and their accomplished officers."

HENTY WINTER DAVIS ON THE WAR. This gentleman gave a lecture, in Brooklyn, on Tuesday evening last, when he ventilated his views on the war. In the course of his remarks he alluded, in sucering tones, to the deeds of manumission signed by John C. Fremont. This was greeted with applause, hisses, and a few cries of "Shame." Then a voice in the addience called out for "Three cheers for John C. Fremont," which were given with a heartiness which apparently somewhat surprised Mr. Davis. He believed that ample power had been given Government to deal with the rebellion in any emergency that had or might arise, without transcending the Constitution.

Served Em Riour. We refer to the two deputy marshals and one slave lunter, who caught a colored man near Delaware City, Kansas, on the 9th ult., and attempted to return him to his rebel owner in Platte county, Missouri. Having secured their prey, the trio crossed the river, but had scarcely reached the Missouri shore when they were set upon by a party of armed Secessionists, who exclaimed—"Shoot the d—d Jayhawkers!" Tableau: A volley fired by the Missouriana; slave catcher receives a charge of buckshot in his breast and face; deputy marshals run away, and are pursued by Missourians, whose horses unfortunately get mired in a quick-sand; colored party breaks for the river, and swims across. "Shoot the d—d Jayhawkers!"—Chicago Tribune.

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE. A society has just been established in this city under this title, the object of which is declared to be in the Constitution, "to urge upon the people and the government emancipation of the slaves as a measure of justice and as a military necessity; it being the shortest, cheapest, and least bloody path to permanent peace, and the only way of maintaining the integrity of the nation." The funds of the League are to be expended under the direction of the League are to be expended under the direction of an Executive Board, "for the promotion of this object by publications, lectures, circulars, petitions to Congress, and other such means as they may deem proper and useful." The officers will be chosen as soon as a reasonable number of names are signed to the constitution. A similar society has lately been organized in New York, and the movement, unless frustrated by events, seems likely to attain considerable importance.

—Boston Traveller.

Boston Truveller.

By There are two remarkable instances of the character of our Northern troops that are worth noticing, which have recently come under observation, in regard to the troops ent South with the great expedition. This first is the fact that there were sent to New York from Port Royal 15,000 letters, being, on a verage, one letter to each soldier. We venture to say that in no army of the world is there such a degree of intelligence and social and intellectual refinement, as in the hosts of freedom gathered from the Northern States. The other fact, as creditable to their hearts as the former is to their heads, is that they have already been paid \$300,000, and have sent home to their wives and children more than two-thirds of this sum. With such men, intelligent and loving, never forgetting the ties which bind them to their homes in the Northern States, who can doubt of the final issue of the great question now in process of solution?—N. Y. Tribane.

WESTERN VIRGINIA. The Convention of Western Virginia has taken steps toward making that a free State. On the day the Convention met, the Wheel-ing Intelligencer said:—

ing Intelligencer said;—
"We do not wish to be connected any longer with
the miserable one-idea negro policy that has cursed us
all the days of our lives thus far. That policy is always arrogant, selfish and absorbing. It hangs upon
the steps of progress, and hobbles both its feet. We
have had enough of it. We have had a sore experience. Let us not repeat the folly. Let us have a
natural State."

hatural State."

137 The Wilmington (Del.) State Journal, after referring to the movement in Maryland to abolish slavery, adds:

"People of Delaware, how much longer will you be content to linger in the deadly shadow which slavery throws at floward your to the slavery throws at floward your permit the barbarous relie to hang like a millstone around your necks to drag you down to shame and reproach, when a single blow down to shame and reproach, when a single blow which hard its from your presence, and raise our noble little State up to an equality of power and influence with her free sisters of the North!"

The houses which they occupy are in a mise dition, and the health of the inmates is said all that could be desired."

The annual report of the Phillips School, Boston, mentions a bequest from the late Charles F Hovey, of a complete set of the Encyclopsedia Britanica to the library of said School.

The Charleston Mercury says Gen, Ripley in ordered every pound of cotton likely to fall into the hands of the enemy to be burned.

S. P. Sewell, a Yankee school teacher at demphis, Tenn., has been arrested by the committee of safety as a person inimical to the South.

OBITUARY.

EF MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 105 Washington street, M door North of Warren. Par-icular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. Reference.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

CTED STONE, OR INSURRECTION 68. RE-IN AMERICA, by a native of Virginia, ise & Co., Boston; James Miller, New James Mill

"A correspondent of the Philadelphia Inquirer, writing from Fort Monroe, says:—
"Several hundred contrabands were to-day supplied with winter quarters near the Fortress. An inmense frame building was erected, and the interior partitioned off in the inanner of a steamboat cabin, with rough white pine berths. Ebony and chocolate-colored men and women took possession of these colored men and women took possession of these amidst a most terrible clatter. Each man shouldered his bed of straw basks, and marched through the door with the air of a hero, no doubt thanking the Government for having been so careful in providing accommodations.

OBITUARY.

Died, in Coventry, (R. I.) Nov. 10th, after a lingering lilness, Calera Killows, in the first year of his age. He was a pioneer in the Anti-Slavery movement—was a member of the Convention which organized the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in February, 1836, and was one of the directors. He was one of the fifteen subscriptions through the storm of 1840, and subsequent political and ecclesizatival trials. His faith was never shaken in the righteousness of the cause, nor in the fidelity by which it was conducted. Many of the Anti-Slavery agents and lecturers will long remember the Kilton family, which consisted, a few years age, of the decased and his six maidem sisters, all Abelitionists of the right stamp. They have been dropping away, one after the other, nearly in the order of their ages, until the two younger are all that remain.

P. C.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

ANNIVERSARY.

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

who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant 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 oligarchy, 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 atterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to the un they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the alter of freedom? On the contrary, there has neverless at time when it was more necessary to watch it

altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never 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 ntinue to work for the good old cause in every way

continue to work for the good old cause in every way
that is consistent with our own conscientions convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be
cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever
work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.
All those who have faith in the principles of ree
dom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness
would be peace and security for our unhappy country,
are contially and carnestly 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 Willey, Mary May, Louisa Loring, Henrietta Sargent, Ann Rebecca Bramball Sarah P. Remond, Mary E. Stearns, Sarah J. Nowell, Elizabeth Von Arnim, Sarah Russell May, Helen Eliza Garrison, Anna Shaw Greene, Anne Langdon Alger, Eliza Apthorp, Sarah Cowing, Sarah H. Southwick, Caroline C. Thayer, Abby Kelley Foster,

Mattie Griffith,

Mary Jackson,

Elizabeth Gay,

Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Sarah C. Atkinson, Lydia D. Parker, Augusta G. King, Abby Francis, Mary Jane Parkman, Evelina A. Smith,

Evelina A. Smith, Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephenson, Abby F. Manley, Kalherine Earle Farnum.

A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Sh Society, will speak in Orland, Maine, Friday, *Dec. 13. Sunday, " 15.

EF AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the Ameriicty, will speak at

Greenfield, Ulster Co., N. Y., Friday, Dec. 13.
Ellenville, "Sunday, "15.
Homowack, "Monday, "16.
Milton, "Friday, "20. Ellenville, " "
Homowack, " "
Milton, "
Poughkeepsie, "

NOTICE.—The Esser Co. Anti-Slavery So hold its quarterly meeting in the Silsbee Street Chapel, Lynn, on next Sunday afternoon and evening, (Dec. 15th.) commencing at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and at half-past o'clock in the evening.

WM. LLOYD GARNISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, C. L. RE-

NOND and others are expected to take part in the meeting.

Let there be a cheering attendance.

C. LENOX REMOND, President. LYDIA M. TENNY, Sec'y.

SOUTH DANVERS AND DANVERS .- PARKER PILLEBURY and CHARLES L. RENORD WIll address meetings in South Danvers, on Monday evening next, 16th inst., at the Town Hall; and on Wednesday evening, 18th inst., at the Town Hall in Danvers. Subject: The War—Its Myteries, and their Interpretations.

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

REV. DR. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, of New York will preach at Tremont Temple, next Sunday evening, at half-past 7 o'clock. Subject: "Shall Slavery or the Coun-try be destroyed?"

EF EMANGIPATION LEAGUE.—Hon. George S. Bouwell will dollyer the Inaugural Address before the Emancipation League, in Tremont Temple, on MONDAY EVENING, Dec. 18th, upon "The Justice, Expediency and Necessity of Exametration."

and Necessity of Example 17 and Author, Expediency
The doors will be open at half-past 6 colock. The Address will commerce at half-past 7 colock.
The public are invited to attend.

PRIVATE TUITION. Thaving been desmed advisable to surpend, temperation of the present form, amountmenned is hereby made, that Mrs. A. B. HAYWOOD, one of the Principals, will be pleased to receive a few Young Ladies into her family for Instruction in the English, Branches, French, Dranny and Penning, and Missic. The term will commence on Windmanar, Jan. 1, 1862, and continue FITTERS WEEKS.

For particulars, please address

Hopedale, Milford, Mass., Dec. 10, 1861.

Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D. and MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, Acco

HAVE opened an office at 374 Washington Street, Boston, and will devote special attention to the treatment of the above diseases.

Office Hours, from 10, A. N., to 4, P. N.

Boston, Oct. 4, 1861.

Boetry.

TO THE MEMORY OF PRANCIS JACKSON.

Oh! thy gentle smile of greeting, Who again shall see? Who, smidst the solemn meeting, Gaze again on thee? Who, similar the following meeting,
Gare again on thee?
Who, when peril gathers o'er us,
Wear so calm a brow?
Who, with evil men before us,
Be serene as thou?

Passing away are the loved and the trusted, nest and faithful, with courage unfaltering, ow can they be spared from the noble band?

From that band who, 'gainst falsehood and wrong o

And boldly proclaimed, while the nation de The right of the vassal his manhood to claim :

But, alss! all unbeeded the voice of their warning

And now, when all earnest and true souls are needed, To strive gainst the wrong, and the right to defend, We shall miss thee, our brother, so brave and true Who wast ever the weak ones' defender and friend.

We shall miss thee ; but sadly, more sadly, &e'll m thee, Thy brother, the bondman, who, fleeling for life,

ver trusted in thee as a faithful protector, When traitors betrayed him, and danger was rife. And when in that land where the Lion of England From our Eagle's strong talons has rescued the slave—
Where the man-hunter, baffled, in vain seeks his victim,
And the flag of Britannia for Freedom doth wave—

They shall hear the sad tidings, the tears of true sor Will fall to the memory, thou friend of their race And pe'er from their hearts, while the life-pulse is bea Will time, change, or distance, thine image efface.

Then, farewell to thee, brother ! though no more we behold or tread the rough paths of the world by thy side Yet we feel that thy spirit even now may be with us, Since 'twas only the earth-form, the mortal, that died

For the Liberator. LINES,

November, 1861.

Written 2d Dec., 1859, on the Execution of John Brown Oh, day of doom! oh, day of fears! Oh, day of wailing and of tears!

Day when th' oppressor's fawless hand Shall execute his dire command; Shall execute his dire command;
Day when justice—right—have fied,
And Freedom, wailing, bows her head!
Day when the rathless man of blood
Triumphant stands amid the flood
Of prayers, and sighs, and stifled groans, Uprising in a thousand tones,
Which love and sympathy unite,
To recognize the common right
Which God hath given full and free—
The right of all to liberty! Oh, day of gloom! oh, day of wrath! Long will thy shade obscure the path Of that tyrannic, evil power, Which triumphs now, but for an hour!
Long will the page of history mourn
Thy solemn, sad, unblest return! Long will the martyred here's name Flash on the eye with vivid flame, And light a fire in every breast, Ever to blaze till it find rest

Fierce billows on life's stormy ocean, Lash wildly till the sun of peace Shall bid all strife and turmoil cease ! Oh, day of darkness and of wee!
When widow's tears, and orphans', flow;
Day of sorrow and of dread, When bleeding hearts mourn for the dead Day of wrath and day of fears;

Day worthy of a nation's tears; Day of strife, and day of gloom, We leave thee to thy well-carned doom!

For the Liberator.

LINES TO R. HINCHOLIFFE, . In answer to " Is there Hope?" Sweet bard ! there's hope for liberty ! ust feel it ;

Thy own great heart must feel it The Muse, so dearly lov'd by thee, Must to thy soul reveal it Poetic souls God's prophets are, The look into the future far-Discern a the

orn " the coming hour."* The blackness of Oppression's night 'Is past—there comes the morning Behold the streaks of ruddy light! Fair Freedom's day is dawning!

Then strike again thy tuneful lyre, And sing in lofty nu And sing in lofty numbers; Let this grand truth thy soul inspire— God's justice never slumbers !

G. N. ADAMS G. N. Adams.

"The Coming Hour," a poem by Mr. Hinchcliffe, reeited at an Anti-Slavery meeting in Reading. Will the
author send it to the Liberator?

From the New York Independent. TO CHARLES SHWNER

We thank thee, Sumper! Thou hast moken the word

God gave to thy safe keeping; thou hast set Life, Death, before the nation; thou hast hurled Thy single pebble, plucked from Truth's pure stream, Into the forehead of a Giant Wrong, And he doth reel and tremble. Men may doubt, But the keen Sword of Right shall finish well Thy brave beginning.

Courage, then, true soul ! Not value hast thou spoken; angels heard,
And shook from their glad harps a gush of joy
That the One Word was uttered in men's ears, The "Open Sesams" by which alone True Freedom and true Peace might enter in, Making earth like to heaven.

Then bids the tim What thou hast spoken as 't were in the ear, Shall be proclaimed on housetops. God locks up, In his safe garner, overy seed of Truth, Until the time shall come to cast it forth; Saying, "Be fruitful, multiply, and fill The broad earth till it shouts its 'harvest-b The broad earth till it shouts its 'harrest-bome His purposes are sure; who works with Him Need fear no failure. By my hopes of heaven, I'd rather speak one word for Truth and Right, That God shall hear and treasure up for use In working out his purposes of good, Than clutch the title-deed that should insure A kingdom to my keeping l—so, in faith, I speak my simple word, and, fearing not, Commit it to His hands, whom I do serve.

And thus it is, O friend, that I have dared To send thee gre greeting and this word of cheer. c, Summer! and all souls like thine Working serone and patient in His cause; God give thee of the fruit of thine own hands, And let thine own works praise thee in the gales Of the new city, whose foundation-stones Of the new city, whose foundation-stones
Thy hands are laying, though men see it not.
Fitchburg, Mass.
CAROLINE

ON SLAVE HUNTING.

eneral Hunter delivers up runnway nige,
But confiscates a cow, mule, or grunter:
Is had better be cautious in running such rige,
Or he 'll coon get the name of—" Slave Hunter!"

The Liberator.

REPENTANCE ALONE CAN SAVE US.

them perish by the sword, until they repent, quench the evil spirit—the fratricidal, parricidal passion, that has seized them; and agree to renounce that system of understanding the property which has so long corrupted them and us; glorious Republic, the hope of the civilized world.

But the slaveholders will never see the necessity of

abolishing slavery, so long as the General Government of the loyal States continues to uphold it for them. They will never feel the enormity of the sin of bolding man as property, so long as our Republican Administra-tion persists in treating it as the most sacred of all spe-cies of property—to be exempted even from that disposition which the necessities of war require us to make long as they drive from their protection the wretched beings who fly to them from the despotism of the petty tyrants that have banded themselves together to overthrow our Republic; or, so long as they scornfully repulse the aid of the willing hearts and stalwart limbs of those men, who must needs feel the greatest interest in making our whole country a land of freedom? What is there to be hoped, so long as the administrators of our government persist in pay-ing more deference to the demands of the oppressors than to the rights of the oppressed; persist in show-ing more respect to an alleged compact, from which the rebels themselves have exonerated us by their wanton violation of it, than to the Higher Law, the Royal Law of Him who devised and established the Constitution of Man, upon every part of which slavery commits the most flagrant outrages? How can any one expect that our government should carry on this war successfully against the hosts of rebels and traitors that have risen up against her, if she persists in "relying upon one hand-her white hand," alone, and refuses to use the other because it happens to be more or less colored? Nay, (for this is not the extent of her infatuation,) how can our government succeed in this war, so long as she is madly wasting half the strength of the one hand, on which she chooses to rely,

Away with this tremendous blunder! this suicidal policy! Let our rulers gladly avail themselves of the dread necessities of war, to do that for all the colored population in the land, bound as well as free, which they have not felt themselves authorized to do, in time of peace, under the Constitution, as it has been generally interpreted, and from the first administered. Let them now honestly and fearlessly recognize the rights of all men, black not less than white, especially their right to recover and maintain their liberties. Let them proclaim that this war, which has been forced upon our nation by that Southern oligarchy which we have too long vainly endeavored to concili-ate by compromises and concessions,—this war, which exonerates us from all civil obligations to those who the preamble to the Constitution—a war for the re-construction of our Federal Union upon the glorious evangelical principles which Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin and their illustrious contemporary co-patriots, South as well as North, loved, and meant should be the basis of our political fabric. Let our rulers now proclaim that we are for Liberty, and not for Slavery; declare our abhorrence of those pseudo-democratic, anti-christian, inhuman assumptions which have obviously controlled the legislation of our Republic for more than forty years; prejudiced the decipuone for more than torty garas; prejudiced the decisions of our Supreme Court; insinuated themselves into the interpretation of the Constitution; and at last plunged us into the horrors of civil war. Now is the day and now the hour for the re-declaration of the rights of man. Let the love of liberty be the test by which our friends shall be known. Better that all, in val of its cause. Such a peace would be nothing better than a plaster upon a festering ulcer that would ere long burst out again with greater virulence. This must not be a war merely to restore our Republic to the condition it was in at the close of the last adminiistration,—a body politic rotten to its very core, and covered all over with wounds, and bruises, and putri-fying sores,—but it must be a war for the restoration

REPENTANCE ALONE CAN SAVE US.

Extracts from an impressive and faithful discourse preached in the Church of the Messiah, Syracuse, N. Y., on the National Fast Day, by Rev. Savent J. Max, from the following texts:—

ACR I. 37.—Men and brethren, what shall we do to be awrel? Repent.

Isalm LVIII. 8.—Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke.

**

I have not the slightest expectation, now the spell of pocce is broken, that it will ever be permanently restored between the slaveholding and non-shaveholding communities in this country, until this root of hit terness is extirprated; this fountain of discord dried np; this cause of war removed—slovery delished. I dure not pray or wish peace should be restored upon any other condition. For, if it were, like "the do not have condition. For, if it were, like "the do not have condition. For, if it were, like "the do not his vomit, or the sow to her wallowing," we should return to our iniquity, trampling upon the dearest rights, outraging the tenderest feelings of humanity. Then would the petty tyrants of the South rivet still stronger the chains upon their bondmen. Then would the Porty bryants of the South rivet still stronger the chains upon their bondmen. Then would the petty tyrants of the South rivet still stronger the chains upon their bondmen. Then would the petty tyrants of the South rivet still stronger the chains upon their bondmen. Then would the potty tyrants of the South rivet still stronger the chains upon their bondmen. Then would the petty tyrants of the South rivet still incompromises with the alaveholders; and the devoted friends and peraistent advocates of human rights—of impartial liberty—would be more relentlessly persecuted than ever at the North, as well as at the South No1 no! Now that the leading slave States, not on great the state of the

agree to abolish that "peculiar institution," for the sake of which they have sacrificed truth, honor, their plighted faith, and now seem eager to overturn our glorious Republic, the hope of the civilized world.

don't Angel of the Declaration! how art thou fallen! "O, Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou fallen "O, Luciter, son of the morning, now art mon sainer from heaven! Hell from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming! The tyrants of the earth ery out to thee, Aha! aha! thou art become like unto us!" Yes, as it respects the colored population of the land, our government has been the most ruth-less, cruel of tyrants. And the God of the oppressed has come down to avence them. has come down to avenge them.

with impunity forever, without some signal manifes-tation of the divine displeasure. God has nover left us without warning of the coming day of wrath. From the beginning He hath spoken, and all along to the present day hath He repeated his admonitions by men who were moved by his spirit of impartial liber-

men who were-moved by his spirit of impartial liberty. The wisest and best men of the Revolution protested, warned, entreated. Washington, Jefferson,
Madison, Patrick Henry, Professor Tucker, all of,
Virginia; Dr. Buchanan of Maryland, Pinckney of
South Carolina, and others, uttered words that now
seem prophetic of what we witness and deplore.
And at the North, the men most entinent for their
window, bullenthrow, and netricities. Examilia Adwisdom, philanthropy and patriotism—Franklin, Ad-ams, King among the civilians, Stiles, Edwards and Hopkins among the clergy, testified of the wickedness of slavery, and foretold the evil, the ruin it would bring upon our nation. But mose than all, for the last thirty years, a voice has been resounding throughout the land—a voice that has thrilled the nation from centre to circumference-a voice as imperative, if not as highly authorized, as that of Moses, a voice cryinin the cars of all the people, "Break every yoke! let the oppressed go free!" But, alas with evil spirits of pride, prejudice, ava-

rice and political partyism have prevailed. We "have killed the prophets, and stoned them that have been sent unto us: and, behold," now are we given up to a civil war-the most terrible punishment that could be inflicted upon a nation. The ministers churches of our Lord have harbored and sanctified the iniquity which they were unitedly bound to ex-pel from the land. They had the power, if they had had the will to do this. Moral, religious, ecclesiastical means were in their hands, which, duly plied, would long since have removed "the peculiar institution"—"the sum of all villanies" from our land, and tion "..." the sum or all vitianies. From our man, ame have brought the oppressors and the oppressed to live together as employers and employed, in mutual regard for each other's welfare. But, alas! those who should have been fellow laborers with our Lord have worked that evil spirit we have cherished in our bosom; let them proclaim that this war shall be a conflict for freedom, for humanity—a war for the re-establishment of these United States upon the generous and deep foundations laid in the Deularation of Independence and the preamble to the Constitution—a war for the restablishment of the Church that could have sustained slavery, the preamble to the Constitution—a war for the restablishment of the Church that could have sustained slavery, the preamble to the Constitution—a war for the restablishment of the Church that could have sustained slavery, the restablishment of the Church that could have sustained slavery, the restablishment of the Church that could have sustained slavery, the restablishment of the Church that could have sustained slavery, the restablishment of the Church that could have sustained slavery, the restablishment of the church that could have sustained slavery, the restablishment of the church that the restablishment of the church has been the believer the process of the restablishment of the church has been the bulwark of American Church has been have waged it,-this war, which is the offspring of assiduously for "the enemy of all righteousness." out of the Church that could have sustained slavery, if it had not been upheld by the Church." Fearful is the responsibility for the present state of our country that rests upon the ministers and professors of Christi

> The Almighty Father bath waited long and patiently for us to repent, and avert the natural consequences of our national wickedness. But we have allowed the day of grace to pass unimproved. The day of judgment has come. The hand of retribution is now upon us. The infliction may be ferribly se-

this calamity can be entirely removed from us. Fighting alone, however mighty may be our armies, however skilful and brave their commanders, and successful their conflicts, fighting alone, without repentance, which our friends shall be known. Better that all, in every State, who favor slavery, should now be driven over to the rebels, and the true lovers of impartial liberty, of every complexion, should come to our side, than that this conflict of irreconcilable principles should be hushed up; some new compromise between sin and holiness (noon-day light and mid-night darkness) be devised; and this war ended without the removant of the cause. Such a peace would be nothing between the cause of the cause. Such a peace would be nothing between the cause of the cause. Such a peace would be nothing between the cause of the cause. Such a peace would be nothing between the cause of the cause. Such a peace would be nothing between the cause of the cause. Such a peace would be nothing between the cause of the cause. Such a peace would be nothing between the cause of the cause of

death. Even repentance will not now avert from us the horrors of civil war. It can only shorten the day of their continuance, and lessen some of their enormi-ties. The loss of tens of thousands of lives; the maimed bodies, ruined health, depraved morals of hundreds of thousands more, and the destruction of covered all over with wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores,—but it must be a war for the restoration of our nation to the condition it was in when'it came from the hands of our fathers, instinct with that life and love of freedom which they infused into it, to be developed in accordance with that almost divine plan which they sketched out and ever kept before them as their ideal of a true human government. It was justly the admiration of the world. Oh! what a delusion, what infatuation, what fatuity was that which induced them, for any consideration, to allow the leaven of slavery, however coverly, however little it then seemed, to be lodged in the midst of the large measures of civil and religious liberty which they had provided for the whole people! We live to see and deplore their vital mistake. We have lived to see that little leaven gradually but surely permeating the whole lump—the poison of slavery pervading every member of our body politic. Yes, we have lived to see the tittle leaven gradually but surely permeating the whole lump—the poison of alavery pervading every member of our body politic. Yes, we have lived to see our prond Republic, which had vaunted itself the home of the free, the asylum of the oppressed, standing before the civilized world pledged to uphold the most cruel system of slavery that humanity has ever groaned under; and subjected in every department of the Federal Government to the predominance of the master spirits of this lowest form of deepoism.

Surely, we have only too great reason for humbling ourselves as a nation before God and Milling we have a surely and the condition of the ordinance of the master spirits of this lowest form of deepoism.

Surely, we have only too great reason for humbling ourselves as a nation before God, and hiding our head from the civilized world for very shame. If the principles avowed by us had not been so exalted, if our professions had not been so lofty, nor our boast the principles around the principles around the sin of slavery—must abolish slavery, or perish.

THE REMARKS OF REV. GEORGE GORDON

TO THE U. S. COURT.

where the state of the state of

the is crime. "We must obey God rather than men."

Civil Government with its legitimate powers (only) is of God. He exercises it through the people. Their voice is in theory, and should be in fact, the voice of God. Hence every enactment that contradicts the Divine will is without either moral or legal authority, and can only be carried out by bruite force. All the constitutions ever made, and all the oatis ever administered, can give it no higher authority. Can anything be plainer than this? Or anything more absurd than its opposite? Has not Jehovah a right to govern the world be made, and the people he placed on it? Ought He not to do it? Is it not His duty? Can He confer on men a right to violate at pleasure His own law? Does he give any legislative or judicial body power to absolve the individual from obedience to His will, and make it his duty to observe their enactments? Will be bow to acts of wickedness because the majority decree them? If so, the prophets were fools, the spostles nullifiers, and Christian martyrs madmen. If so, Christianity in its first principles is treason, and Jehovah's claim to rule the world intensified presumption! The truth is, that all this ridicule of the "higher law" by drivelling politicians and knavish hunkers is sheer bold atheism. It makes majorities omnipotent, and sinks their Maker into nothing. But whilst I claim to have acted in conformity with the will of God, I utterly deny that I violated, either the letter or spirit of a single article of the Constitution. That it don't name a slave all agree. That its framers kept out deliberately every word or phrase that might express the condition of a slave, is matter of history.

It speaks of a "person owing service" between the condition of a present of history.

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The building, as many of your readers are aware, the condition of a slave, is matter of history. drivelling politicians and knavish hunkers is sheer bold atheism. It makes majorities omnipotent, and sinks their Maker into nothing. But whilst I claim to have acted in conformity with the will of God, I utterly deny that I violated, either the letter or spirit of a single article of the Constitution. That it don't name a slave all agree. That its framers kept out adherency every word or phrase that might express the condition of a slave, is matter of history.

It speaks of a "person owing service"—but a

stitutional law. If the people don't believe ow, they soon will.

liagrant, and outrageous violatious by the South would long since have cancelled our obligations. It is a common principle of justice, morals, and perhaps of law, that where the couditions of a contract are broken by one party, they are of no binding force on the other. Now, the slaveholders have violently and persistently trampled down every provision of the Constitution, and the laws of Congress under it, whenever their interests, inclinations, or passons, led them to desire it. Who can number the Northern etitizens who have been mobbed, maltreated and abused, from the Hon. Mr. Hoar to the last sentinel stealthily shot! And finally, these violations by slaveholders have gone to seed, in the most diabolical rebellion the world has ever seen. And now, sir, after our public property has been plundered to the amount of millions, our forts and arsenals seized, our flag insulted and struck down, and our soldiers slain on a hundred battle-fields, by slaveholders and the slave power, this court is dealing out its sentence on my head, because I "resisted process" in the hands of these minions, when they were trying to drag back a defenceles man to cheerless and returnless bondage. Imprisonment, fines and costs, which for a time will remove my liberty, and sweep away my little property, and reduce me to the lowest poverty, are to fall upon me for performing this duty to God and humanity.

deliberately every word or phrase that might express the condition of a slave, is matter of history.

It speaks of a "person owing service"—but a slave is not a "person in the language of (so-called) Southern laws, but a "chattel," or a thing. Neither can he well owe much to the man who has robbed him of life-long wages. It speaks of returning persons to those to whom "labor is due."; but nothing was due the slaveholder by the laws of Israel's God, except the labor it took to stone him to death; and nothing is now due five-sixths, perhaps nineteen twentieths, of the slaveholders of this land, even in public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter the public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter the public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter the public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter the public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter the public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter the public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter the calls with the clink growth or when the clink of the slaveholders of this land, even in public opinion, except the amount of shot or short matter than the clink of the clink of the slaveholder with the call matter than the clink of the c

The breeze freshly blowing to-day does not find its way through the narrow passages. The building has been lately whitewashed, the jailer remark, but it grows dirty very quick. It is not, however, to see the building, but the fifty or more of its inmates, and to talk with them for the enlightenment of the Journal readers, that we have come.

CONTRABANDS.

CONTRABANDS.

Ascending the stone stairway to the third story of the building, entering a dark corridor and passing along a few steps, we came to a room to twelve or fifteen feet square. Here are about twelve or fifteen feet square. Here are about twelve or fifteen feet square. Here are about twelve or contract of the stone old man siting on the stone floor, silent and sorrowful. He has comsitted no crime. Around, standing, sitting or lying are the others, of all shades of color from jet black to the Caucassian line, the Anglo-Saxon hair and contex of features. They are from ten to fifty years of age. Some are dressed decently, others are in rags. One bright fellow of twenty has on a pair of trowsen only, and tries to keep himself warm by drawing around him a tattered blanket. A little fellow ten years old is all in rags. There is no chair or bed in the room. They must stand, or sit, or lie upon the brick and granite floor. There is no mattres obedding; each has his little bundle of rags, and that is all. It is no exaggerated picture, but a plain statement in simple language. There is nothing for their confront, nothing for their confront. They are not criminals. They are not all slaves. Why then are they here? I will answer the inquiry by writing out a few notes taken from the lips of the men, and corroborated by the jailer, who, from all I can see, is a kind-hearted man. CONTRABANDS.

There is need of immediate action by Congress in this matter. The whole thing must be investigated. Since writing the above, I have laid the matter before a Senator, who expresses his astonishment at the state of things. Your readers may rest assured that the Washington police will have a thorough overhauling. It cannot be that this government will permit such outrages upon humanity.

CARLETON.

COTTON, COFFEE AND SUGAR IX LIBERIA. A colored man named Anderson, formerly a slave in Deliware, but now a planter in Liberia, is on a visit to New York for the purpose of selling his cotton, sugar and coffee. The Eveniny Post says.

Ware, but now a pinnter in inchesion of selling his cotton, sugar and coffee. The Evening Post says —

"The samples of Liberian cotton which he exhibit compare favorably with the best qualities of the Southern article, and he has received favorable offers for the purchase of all the stock procurable in Liberia. The coffee is also of an excellent quality; the bean large, the crop raised at a low price, and the yield very abradant. The best index of the market value of this coffee is the price obtained for it, which is trenty free cents per pound by the quantity. Mr. Anderson also about one hundred acree of sugar cane moder cultivation, and has brought with him some 25,000 pounds, the qualities of which range from good to prine, selling for eight to eight and a half cents per pound. It was a manufacture of syrups and molasses have been equally satisfactory.

"Mr. Anderson emigrated to Liberia some years since. He has had remarkable success in his agricultural enterprises, and makes strong representations of the capacity of Liberia for the culture of those supicars which formerly came from the South. He states that the climate and soil are admirably majased to the growth of coffee, cotton and sugar, that labor is chest and the resources of the country abundant."

PT It is true that a slave ferried our solden to the Maryland side in a skiff on the dreary night afer the Edward's Ferry repulse. If, instead of befried ing our men, he had been "used against us "__hat it, had atabbed each one he found—he might have been