221 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

TERMS -Two dollars and fifty cents per am

F All remittances are to be made, and all letters r All remittances are to be made, and all letters re-lating to, the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents pe The Agents of the American, Massachu

glvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies athorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND-QUINCY, EDMUND-JACKSON, and WENDELL PRILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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

VOL. XXXI. NO. 52.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1618.

Befuge of Oppression.

THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

THE EMANOIPATION LEAGUE.

The evening of to-day is to give us the address of Ex-Governor Bontwell-epon. "the justice, expediency, and necessity" of emancipating the colored laboring population of the South. Could the subject be looked at, free from the sophistications thrown around it by enthusiasts or interested demagones, it would be at once seen that the project is one which, if successful, could opty avail to free the slaves from labor, and at the same time from means of support. So wild and ruinous a scheme as this would, of course, receive no countenance from rational men, even could it be carried out. But all such men know that it is as much out of the question, as it would be to change the direction of the Alleghany chain from the East to the West of the Great Lakes. Earnest and benevolent, but unreflecting natures may indulge in such a dream, perhaps without any harm to the body-politic. But when wrought to fronzy, by constantly contemplating their object, and by vainly struggling against, the obstacles to it, so that all their philanthropy is turned into gall and bitterness, then they do incalculable, mischief to social peace and order in the community by which they are harbored, certainly without advancing their cause a hair's breadth. Whenever such a scheme is taken up by the demagogue and used for political purposes, then its real mischiefs become fully apparent, and the conflict is, as in this case, between their own selfishly ambitious purposes and the very organization and administration of the Government of the country. The object proposed by the "Emancipation League," to be expounded by Mr. Boutwell this evening, is in open opposition to the Constitution, and to the deared and loyal policy of the Administration, and is, in all respects, as bestile to the Union as Secession, in its most violent and releatless manifestation.

The dostriner to be enforced by Mr. Boutwell will undoubtedly be—indeed, it appears by the announce-

in in all respects, as hostile to the Union as Secession, in its most violent and releatless manifestation. The dostriner to be enforced by Mr. Boutwell will undoubtedly be—indeed, it appears by the announcement of his subject—that slavery is the cause of the existing national struggle, and therefore slavery must be abolished, in order to bring the conflict to an end. But in fact slavery, it is plain, is not the cause, except so far as it has been forced into the arena by Mr. Boutwell and his conflederates. For the period of more than half a century, under the Constitution, the question of slavery was no disturbing element in the affairs of the country, and offered no impediment to its progress and prosperity. If first began to be so when English ethicsatus (the Thompson of Parliament,) and English money were employed here, to make Southern slavery the means of breaking down the manufactures of the North; and when Garrison and his followers in concert with them created a small faction, which still would have been utterly contemptible but for the fatal hour when the old Whig party was destroyed, by the coalition of its free soil members with the free soil Democracy, in which arrangement Mr. Boutwell himself played so conspicuous a part. This made him Governor of Massachessetts, and Mr. Sumner a Senator of Massachessetts, and Mr. Sumner a Senator of Massachessetts in Congress; and the evil influence and evil exceptibe spread, until we are where we are. And to this object Mr. Boutwell has given himself ever since. But for him and others of like disposition, in the Peaco Conference at Washington, in February last, who showed the most pertuncious resolution not only to do nesting for peace, but to prevent it, we need have had no war. But as their design was, a now, to push the quarrel against slavery to the utmost extremity, they could not consent to peace, which would have Frustrated that object, and with it their own political hopes.

We have hus seen the convulsion of the country, the horrors, trials and sufferin

least let them know that we understand them, and give them no direct or indirect countenance. Let the better sense of the community make them feel, that their schemes are looked upon as equally futile and wicked, and they will soon run out, as, in any event, they must in the end.—Boston Courier.

THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

The Emancipation League is now in full blast. The furnace is heated ten times hotter than ever, and the whole pack of Anti-Slavery, Abolition devils are at work to make Bedlam appear lovely and inviting. The black spirits who have rebelled against Heaven, and who have been hurled down from their high estate, are busily engaged in their endeavors to decoy the innoceant and unsuspecting into their emancipation net. Degradation loves to pull down society to its own level, and is found ready at all times to sneer at virtue, and to rebel against the established order of things. It seeks its own aggrandizement by the substitution of recklessness for sobriety, and in the pulling down of the pillars upon which the social fabric rests. They are the outcasts of society, and the vultures which prey upon a nation's vitals. They are incapable of building up, and can only destroy. It requires a skilful mechanic to plan and construct an edifice, but any ignorant doft with a crowbar can level it to the ground. So with these miserable demagogues; they cannot construct; they can only destroy. They are not content to abide the will of the Almighty in his great plan of progress and gradual emancipation of mankind from darkness to light. They do not see that their efforts tend to elog the wheels of true emancipation of the great mass of the people from despots on to vital and religious liberty. They do not see that their efforts tend to elog the wheels of true emancipation of the great mass of the people from despots to civil and religious liberty. They do not see that their efforts tend to elog the wheels of true emancipation of the great mass of the people from despots of the great mass of the people from despots of the great mass of the people from despots and emancipation dogmas. Already the nation is involved in civil war, and European governments are threatening us with their fleets and armies. The cities of Boston and New Tork, where these mischief makers are giving uuterance to their treasmonable soutiments, are in danger o The Emancipation League is now in full blast

wicked purposes .- Boston Herald.

MR. SUMNER'S TRUE POSITION.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11, 1861.

Prominent Senators and Representatives in Congress are asserting their right and duty to consider everything and to discuss everything, whether relating to war or to peace, to freedom or to slavery. The right is unquestionable, but the duty does not appear so plain. The Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. Sumner,) whose catch-words are "patriotism," honor," "bravery," "courage," and "nobility;" who denounces the principles of men in arms for the defence of the Government; while in sight and sound of the enemy's guns, he stands up in the Senate Chamber uttering his denunciations; who charges the foe in columns of brave words, put into leaden type, and worked off upon iron presses, while his old peers in the Senate charge then the capital and country with iron bayonets and leaden bullets, and brass and iron cannon; who is fierce for more invective and more assalts upon all that for seventy years has made us one government and one people. Even in the burial services of the dead, he mingles his sectional hate and personal wrath.

Such a man will never consent to a peaceful re-

one people. Even in the burial services of the dead, he mingles his sectional hate and personal wrath.

Such a man will never consent to a peaceful reunion of the States, nor to an equal representation of all the States in the Federal Congress. He deeply wounds the self-sacrificing, loyal Union men of the border States and far South; in every breath he utters, and in every speech he makes, he sets back upon the clock of advancing time the hourhand of Peace. His presence in the Senate Chamber is a signal of protracted war, renewed sectional hate and offensive interneddling. Rude in manners and coarse in ideas, there is nothing even in his refined language or classic illustrations to compensate for his rancorous and malignant thoughts. O that Massachusetts, so many years honored by the presence of her Webster in the Senate House of the country, whose history was founded upon the ideas of John Adams and James Otis, whose battles were fought by her Warrens, should be thus maligned by one who, in the words of one of her own sons—"having neither the wisdom of Ulyses for the council, nor the courage of Achilles for the battle, with the gray hairs of Nestor, is perpetually playing the part of the snarling Thirsites."

Selections.

THE SHIP OF STATE BOUND FOR TARSHISH.

Extract from a Sermon, preached in the First Congregational Church in Sandwich, (Mass.) Nov. 21, 1861, by Rev. Henry Kimball. Text—Jonah, r. 7, 11

Beggattom. Henry Kimball. Text—Jonah, 1. 7, 11—15.

Who is the Jonah that testifies to us of himself, "I know that for my sake this great tempest is upon you"? Is it Abolitionism? I know this is the accredited cause of all the mishaps and national calamities of thirty years' standing. But what is its sin? Is it wicked to be an Abolitionist? What is there in this hated term which should make it a reproach to bear it? What is Webster's definition for this hideous monster? He tells us that an Abolitionist is "one who favors the immediate emancipation of claves." This is his crime: loving his neighbor as himself. For who is there who would not favor his own immediate and instantaneous emancipation? For loving his neighbor's liberty as well as he does his own, he is hated of all men, and the target for the infuriated moh, and is to be held answerable for all the blood shed upon the "sacred soil," as well as all the carnage and expectant whose of his age and nation. This, then, is the poor Jonah who has field from the presence of the Lord. Is cowardice a peculiarity of Abolitionism? Yet, was not Jonah a moral coward, who dared not preach to Nineveh its sins, and warn of judgments? Are Abolitionists peculiarly notorious for their unwillingness to speak out? When did Abolitionists ever take ship for Tarshish? Yes, for this sin of loving a hated race; for unwillingness to keep still while the whip is lifted over four millions of human beings in this land of liberty; because they cannot so stifle conscience and imbrute their nature as to call such an institution divine, patriarchal, biblical, Christian, apostolic and humane, all the calamities of this war are to be visited upon them! Fling overboard all those who entertain ideas hostile to slavery, and where would you find Christian sailors to man the ship of State? Abolitionism, and humanity, and Christianity, and love for a world perishing, are so linked together, that if one goes overboard, all must follow. As the leader of a sheep-fold, going over London bridge, for

of one flock, the leading force of Christianity, is a shell without the kernel—a corpse. So, is a friend to all men.

It is plain to any one, that the guilty Jonah in the hold of the vessel must be that trembling culprit which confesses, yea, boasts now before all the world, its power to raise and rule unto ruin the storm which is now raging. What is that power which has made and unmade Presidents ever since we of the free North basely compacted in the National Convention for the formation of our inglorious Constitution, to catch and deliver up to life-long bondage the blood-tracked victim at bay by Southern bloodhounds? Who have been our masters for all time within the recollection of any soul here? What has slivided presbyteries, tract societies, associations, churches, put brethren at variance, used the Bible to bolster up all its declining villadies, and perverted the temple of God into a temple of discord? What system of iniquity has corrupted judges, burned out all the patriotism over one half this nation, and terribly blighted all the rest; written decay and sterility upon all the fair plains of its wide domains; worr out the fertility of the richest natural soil of this heritage of man; stopped the free utterances of its own devotees; made freedom of thought and conscience a reproach; established a censorship over the press, a gag upon the pulpit, and visited a felon's fate upon any man who dared be a whole Christian in accordance with the golden rule of love to all men? What is it that has torn asunder wife and husband, son and father, daughter and mother—yea, the babe from the breast, and sold it into bondage for life? What has made a human soul a thing of sale—made concubinage no crime, and adultery a right? What is it, in short, that has poisoned the morals of whole sections, and blighted the freshness of all our land? Tell me what it is that has done this?—has struck down Senators while doing their duty to the State—has made the legislative halls of our nation, a barroom of obscenity, of abuse, of

vaio attemas to buffle Providence, that, if we would care the disease, we must cut away the cancer. This, doubtles, was in the minds of the crew who rowed so hard to reach land. They had contracted with Jonah to carry him to Tarshish, and they must fulf their agreement. Notwithstanding Jonah's advice, "Take me up, and cast me forth," they keep on rowing hard for the land. The truth was, Jonah was God's "contraband," and they had no right with him. They had no business but to let go God's spoperly. They were bound to rid themselves of him at once, or suffer shippreck for all. Just so when our people agreed to protect alsayer, to harbor it, to endure its presence one moment on board the ship of State, they made an unlawful contract, "and contain the first duty I owe is to break the agreement. So those who promised to protect slavery will always be in the storm, until they break their guilty promise, and repent of their sin.

Like the crew of the ship which bore the prophet of Nineveh, we next come to prayer, and no sooner do we call upon the Lord, and complain that be is bringing innocent and guilty men to shame, than He shows us our duty to clear ourselves of the same shows and revery where; that it is the right, the capital, the inheritance of the capitors, for home approval of a clear conscience, and with the consent of the cases of all the trouble itself, we address ourselves to an unwelcomed duty, and we take up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea, and the sea cases from its raging.

The shows us our duty to clear ourselves of this guilty and content in the storm, we call upon the Lord, and complain that he is bringing innocent and guilty men to shame, than He shows us our duty to clear ourselves of the same resone, the hope of the proposal of the case of all the trouble itself, we address ourselves to an unwelcome duty, and we take up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea, and the sea cases from its raging.

The proposal of the case of all the trouble itself, we address ourselves to an unwelcome duty, a

GEN. BUTLER'S EXPEDITION --- PROCLAMA-TION OF GEN. PHELPS.

General Butler's expedition has landed safely at Ship Island, Mississippi. Immediately after landing his command, Brigadier General Phelps, commander of the troops, issued the following proclamation, which was publicly read for the first time on Wednes-day evening in the saloon of the Constitution:—

HEADQUARTERS MIDDLESEX BRIGADE, Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 4, 1861.

To the Loyal Citizens of the Southwest:

To the Loyal Citizens of the Southwest:

Without any desire of my own, but contrary to my private inclination, I again find myself among you as a military officer of the Government. A proper respect for my fellow-county men renders it not out of place that I should make known to you the motives and principles by which my command will be governed.

"When the command will be governed." That has been manned to the Constitution, has been so admitted in direct viglation of that Constitution.

We believe that the slave States which existed as such at the aloption of our Constitution are, by be-

for free labor.

Our motto and our standard shall be, here and coverywhere, and on all occasions—Free Labor and Workingmen's Rights. It is on this basis, and this basis alone, that our magnificent government, the basylum of the nations, can be perpetuated and preserved.

J. W. PHELPS. Brig. Gen. of Volunteers C

The proclamation has not yet been sent over to the Secessia, but Gen. Phelps proposes to promul-gate it there as soon as he can obtain conveyance.

THE HERALD AND PUBLIC MEETINGS.

"It is understood," said The Herald of a day of two ago, alluding to the lecture of Mr. Wendell Phil-lips, advertised to be delivered this evening, "that he intends to pitch into the American Government, and praise that of England in relation to the Trent business." We presume that paper will follow up business." We presume that paper will follow up this lie to-day by others just as absurd and just as

and presses that I should make known to you the motives and principles by which my command the motives and principles by which it was a slave State into the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, has been so admitted in the treet violation of that Constitution.

We believe that the slave States which existed as a save State into the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution are, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of that Constitution are, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of honor and morality to abolish slavery.

It is our conviction that monopolies are as destruction of the constitution is conservative of the principles and vitalities of Republican government; that slaver as competition; that slaves are kept in comparative and competition; that slaves are kept in comparative didleness and ease in a fertile half of our arable territory, while free, white laborers, constantly augmenting, and the source of the constitutions are naturally better adapted and more congenial to the Angle-Sagon race than as each description of the North has more need of expansion into the Southern States from which it is virtually excluded, than slavery had into Texas in 1846; that fee labor is essential to free institutions, and the same of the same o

they for all most a response and the first control of the first control

brought under a despotism. So it called foully, the next day, for a public meeting, which it hoped would compel the Government to "nkcont." from defending its honor and the property of the nation. Has such a meeting been held, the Herald would have called upon its constituents, the mob, to take possession of it, and use it on behalf of Jeff. Davis and his fellow-conspirators, just as he calls upon the same class now, and for the same reason, to mob Mr. Phillips.—New York Tribune.

If the sayings of the Hon. Mr. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, at the Prentice banquet, are correctly reported, there is not much to choose between him and his predecessor, the Hon. Mr. Thompson. The following is the dispatch referring to the banquet and Mr. Smith:—

and Mr. Smith:—
"Washington, Nov. 20, 1861.
"At the supper to George D. Prentice by Mr. Forney last night, Secretary Cameron reiterated his opinion that, as a last resort, we ought to arm every man who desires to strike for human liberty. Secretary Smith protested that the Administration contemplated no such policy. Slaves escaping from the rebels might be received as they had been hithertor within the lines of the army, but it was not intended to arm them. If twenty millions of freemen could not, single-handed, subdue the rebellion, it would be a disgrace to them, and they ought to give up the contest."

So, then, Mr. Smith would rather use the Union.

subdue the rebellion, it would be a disgrace to them, and they ought to give up the context."

So, then, Mr. Smith would rather see the Union destroyed than permit a loyal negro to strike for human liberty! It is certainly amazing that a State which has poured out so much blood, and won such high distinction in this war as Indiana—a State which has evinced such devotion to the Union cause—should be represented in the Cabinet by a man who is more concerned about the "rights" of rebel slaveholders than he is for the success of the loyal arms. Some time after the battle of Bull Run, where Secretary Cameron's brother was slain, and, we believe, after the battle of Wilson's Creek, where the glorious Lyon fell, Secretary Smith went up to New England, and made a strong pro-slavery speech. He seemed to be laboring under the impression that John Tyler's one-borse Congress, where he numbled himself and his constituents, was still grinding away comehow mortgaged to the analysis and the still grinding away comehow mortgaged to the analysis and the substituents was still grinding away comehow mortgaged to the analysis of the body that President Lincoln greatly erred when he invited Mr. Smith instead of Mr. Colfax to a seat in his Cabinet; and now we know it.

Let us see what is the practical operation of Mr.

tenths of the Republicans in the Northwest, thoughs, that President Lincoln greatly erred when he invited Mr. Smith instead of Mr. Colfax to a seat in his Cabinet; and now we know it.

Let us see what is the practical operation of Mr. Smith's policy. We have waged war eight months in strict accordance with his principles, and what have we gained? Big Bethel, Bull Run, Wilson's Creek, Lexington, and Ball's Bullet? True, we have achieved a success at Port Royal, but it is a success which promises happy results only by the application of Secretary Cameron's principles. Secretary Smith would turn all its fruits into Dead Sea apples. According to his plan of conducting the war, we ought to make it as bloody and expensive as possible on our one side, rather than strike a decisive blow at the cause of the war, slavery. Four millions of negroes, whose 'inclinations are shown to be loyal wherever our armies go, are driven, coerced, flogged into the service of the rebels. Their labor feeds the robel army. They constitute as essential a part of the forces arrayed against the Union as Jeff. Davis, his Cabinet, his Congress, his Generals, and his soldiers, or all combined. To meet these forces we have collected an army and navy of \$50,000 men, and have gone into an expense of a million dollars per day. If we simply detach the slave population from the rebel service, we shall reduce their available strength one half, which would be equivalent to adding a quarter of a million of dollars per diem from our expenses. But if we adopt Secretary Cameron's plan, and put a misket into the hand of every man who will strike for Union and liberty, the robellion will crumble of its veight and weakness. Mr. Smith would make the war long, bloody and costly, and peculiarly dangerons, in order to preserve slavery. Mr. Cameron, and those who think with him, would have it short, decisive and economical, causing no more desolation to loyal households, and bringing no more decolation to loyal households, and bringing no more decolation to loyal

A PROSORIPT.

In his recent letter to Fernando Wood, Caleb Cushing proclaims himself "a proscript for opinion's sake." This attempt at securing a martyr's claim for sympathy is worthy the impudence and unscrupulousness of the man. Caleb Cushing a proscript! The man who but a few weeks before be penned those lines had been chosen a member of the Legislature of Masschusetts by the suffrages of his townsmen; the man who has contrived during the greater part of his life to keep in the majority, and who has shared freely in the honors of the parties to which he has belonged; the man who has been an Abolitionist, a Whig, and a Breckindige Democrat. and is now trying to play the patriot, and seeking in vain to secure the confidence of the people whose sentiments he has so long bitterly opposed, whom he has so grossly abused and insulted for holding opinions different from his own! The very claim shows that the man is unworthy of the confidence he seeks to inspire; that his retirement to private life, however-reluctant on his part, is a deserved retribution for his reckless and unprincipled political course.

A proscript! The theory of our government, in fact, of all governments is, that the majority must rule; that is, that the principles and view entiretained by the greatest number in regard to political topics, must characterize the action of the government. The minority may not like it, but they must submit. Their only recourse is to change public sentiment, and to bring the majority over to their side. Where there is a division of sentiment, there must be a minority, and this minority must remain a private life simply because they do not represent the private life simply because they do not represent the

ife, and excluded from public station. They are very apt, of course, to think the country is going to the dogs, but some how or other the world gets along, and it is found that the progress of human events is very little dependent on individuals for its success. Caleb Cushing is now in the position of the men upon whom he has delighted to heap odium, and whom he has virulently misrepresented for so many years. The anti-davery men of the country have long been "proscripts" according to Mr. Cushing's definition. They have enjoyed no office; they have been treated with malignity and contempt by those who are now in treason against the nation and their sympathizers. But they have kept their souls in patience. They have labored year after year to effect a change in public opinion. They have not sought by revolution and treason to attain their ends, but have relied on free discussion and the influence of arguments addressed to the reason for ultimate success. At length they have succeeded. The reins of government have been placed in their hands. And ever since the democrats, especially those who have held fat offices, have been whining about "proscription," and complaining because they were at length compelled to vacate the pleasant places they have so long enjoyed. Such conduct deprives them of all chaims to sympathy. Their complaint is entirely false in point of fact, and it stirs our contempt to see men raising such lamentations over the loss of places. We have respect for one who bears defeat manifully, but only contempt for those who do nothing but whine and lainent.

It is worth noticing that Caleb's idea of "proscription" is precisely the same as that on which the Southern rebellion is founded. The South has long controlled the government. Those who have been in the minority to submit, a duty and a practice, the violation of which is inconsistent with any established government, it knows that the opinion that has brought about this change renders it hopeless that alwary shall ever again be the controlling powe

ELECTION OF MR. OPDYKE TO THE MAYOR-ALTY OF NEW YORK.

ALTY OF NEW YORK.

As a Republican triumph, Mr. Opdyke's election has some importance, though not as significant as might have been wished. Still it is no unimportant thing for the reformers to have an opportunity of showing the value of their policy and principles by actual experiment, and in contrast with those of their opponents. Mr. Opdyke, in answer to the attack made on him by the New-York Herald, that he was an abolitionist of the Greeley, Cheever and Garrison stamp, said he was not an abolitionist, but that his opinions were correctly set forth by Judge Cowles at the ratification meeting. Though regretting that he should feel called upon to make this disavowal, we were somewhat relieved on referring to the Judge's speech. In it he remarks that although we are not fighting for the direct purpose of emancipating the stays, the believed in using all the powers of the government and all the means it can commark. He would use the slaves as quickly as he would use any other possession of the rebels; would properly wrest the slave from their hands, and use him to sustain and uphold our government:—

"What-swhen this unholy war shall have been beauth the actors and rebellion been made to hide is

"What when this unholy war shall have been brought to a close, and rebellion been made to hide its head in dishonor and in shame—what shall then be the condition of the slave who has helped to fight the batte of constitutional liberty, may be safely left, if government so decrees, to be determined by the exigency of then passing events. That such a slave will be rendered back against his will to bondage, neither George Opdyke, nor you, nor I believe. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause. 'Can't do it.') The inexorable logic of circumstances—the eternal-laws of equity and justice, would forbid it. These are the views of George Opdyke. They are the views which he believes must be accepted and acted upon by our government whether it is accepted by the individual land devoted army, or just to the slave. (Applause.) We would wage no war of emancipation as such, or far that sole object. But while and as long as this rebellion rages, we will wrest from the robels alarec used and employed for the promotion of treaon, and use them, if need be, as fighting defenders of constitutional liberty. (Great applause.) If, in thus using the slave to suppress treason, the necessary of inevitable aubsequent result shall prove to be that slaves future freedom, treason, not loyalty, will be non-weaklet for the result. The motto of our candidate chaough this war will be: 'Live the Republic though disvery perish' (applause); but never that other santiment, which seems to run through the lase speech of his competitor: 'Live is avery though the Republic perish.' "What—when this unholy war shall have brought to a close, and rebellion been made to hi head in dishonor and in shame—what shall then

This winescase from the lips of Abraham Lincoln would set the nation in an ecstacy of delight, and alter the whole policy of the war; would instantly restore Gen. Fremont to his rightful field, the western department, and empty Missouri of traitorous hordes. This sentiment from the lips of Congress and the Commander-in-Chief sould have set every slave in the rebel States free, and given us a jubilee more glorious than was ever known in Jewish history; the double jubilee of a rebellion crushed, four millions of slaves forever freed, and a nation saved. This sentiment, now finding utterance in Congress and in the order of Secretary Seward to Gen. McClellan, inspires our hopes and fires our devotion to liberty and our land. May Mr. Ophyke never retract these sentiments, and show that he is no farther removed from the abolitionists.—American Baptist.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE REBELS.

Some say, the Abolitionists are as much to blame as the rebels. It is true, they have been for years warning the nation to put away her sins; without friends of freedom, there would be no opposition—of course not. This was the language of the Scribes and Pharisees of old; a pestilent fellow, a son of discord; away with him I crueify him I he it is that stirs up this trouble! What they said was true. If there had been no lesus, there would have been no there had been no Jesus, there would have been no fuse at that time. Jesus and his agitating disciples were as necessary to sir up the row, as Judas and the thief priests; one is as famous as the other; yet history ascribes their deeds to very different motives. By their fruits ye may know which to follow. Mas-

sachusetts, the hot-bed of Abbittonism, is the abode of the most intelligent, freest, happiest, and noblest men and women on the earth. Nowhere else are life, property, and personal security, so perfect. South Carolina, the most perfect specimen of the Slave Power, where no Abbittonists have ever been produced, is, on the contrary, the abode of the vilest, most turbulent, meanest, and most effeminate race in America.—Old Soldier's Advocate, Cleveland.

The Liberator. BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1861.

NOTICE TO DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS.

Though by the terms of the Liberator, payment for the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been insisted upon, but an indulgence of thir teen months has hitherto been granted delinquent subscribors, before proceeding (always, of course, with great refuctance) to erase their names from the subscription list; in accordance with the STANDING BLIA laid down by the Financial Committee. But, in consequence of the generally depressed state of business, this indulgence will be extended from danuary 1, 1801, to April 1, 1802, in cases of necessity. this indulgence will be extended from to April 1, 1862, in cases of necessity.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

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

THE WAR.

LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

was crowded on Thursday evening of last week, to listen to a lecture on the Rebellion by Wendell Phillips, of Boston. The rumors which had been afloat in the city—propagated by those who at heart favor the Rebels in their nefarious attempt at disrupting the Government—that a riot would ensue upon the appearance of Mr. Phillips, put the police upon their guard, and a strong deputation, under the supervision of Superintendent Kennedy, was within the body of the hall to quell any symptoms of disturbance. They were conspicuous at the entrances and in different parts of the hall. Two powerful metropolitans stood on the

Oliver Johnson called the meeting to order, and an-nounced that Theodore Tilton would lecture in that hall on the next Wednesday evening, and that Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, would soon be invited to give the public his views of the war in this place— (Cries of "Bravo," and applause.)

Dr. H. A. Hartt, of Dr. Cheever's church, introduced

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Wendell Phillips of Boston is a national man, and needs no introduction or eulogy from me. For more than a quarter of a cenconquers; my lips will not form that word—but if she cloquent expounder of great ethical principles. Unconnected with Church or State, yet a Christian and patriot, he has devoted himself to the advocacy of the natural, political, and religious rights of man. [Applause.] Without commission from the nation, or authority from any ecclesiastical court, vet announced by Without commission from the nation, or au-from any ecclesiastical court, yet announced by sential, fundamental and eternal truths, which accredited priests and sages have repudiated and despised. Gifted with genius and fortune, and all the aids by which he might easily have attained the highest positions and offices in the nation, he has deliberately knew that, by inevitable consequence, he would be-come an object of incessant persecution and reproach. In an age of materialism, in the midst of a popular sentiment which insisted upon the toleration and support of a cruel and infamous system of oppression, he upion of the inherent worth and dignity of man; to place him in his true position, infinitely above all considerations of commerce, policy, Unions, Constitutions and Governs, and to demand for him the recognition of his nable rights. In the spirit of that divine affirmation, that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," he has maintained that Governorator, to cast around the cause of justice and human because he believes that out of the terrible

be for man and his rights. (Cheers.) WENDELL PHILLIPS came on the stage samid loud

myself of your patience to speak to you, as I have been invited to do upon the war. en invited to do, upon the war.

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that actions not words—are the fitting duty of the hour. Yet, still, cannon think in this day of ours, and it is only by putting thought behind arms that we render them worthy, in any degree, of the civilization of the nine teenth century. (Applause.) Besides, the Government has two-thirds of a million of soldiers, and it has ships sufficient for its purpose. The only question seems to be, what the Government is to do with these forces; sufficient for its purpose. The only question seems to it must be worthy of respect it I am to monor to be, what the Government is to do with these forces; in what path and how far it shall tread. You and I sibility he lays upon us? An empire, the hou

the account on the night of the 16th of December, 1773; but that teachest was not the cause of the Revolution, neither is Jefferson Davis the cause of the rebellion. (Applause and laughter.) If you will look upon the map, and notice that every slave State has joined or tried to join the rebellion, and no free State has done so, I think you will not doubt substantially the origin of this convulsion.

stantially the origin of this convulsion.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you know me—those you who know me at all—simply as an Abolitionis am proud and glad that you should have known in Now that Congress is in session, and various propositions have already been submitted to it on the subject, let there be no unnecessary delay in forwardig emancipation petitions to that body. Send them directly to the proper Senators and Representatives from the various States and Districts. They will, of course, go free of postage. Already, large numbers, numerously signed, from various parts of the country, have been presented in both houses of Congress, and promptly referred to appropriate committees. The aggregate promises to be commanding. Send them in It was a prompt of the town from which it came. Will any one give us the residence of the signers!

Now have and good and and any man before me—but in the quarter of a century that has such. (Applause.) In the twenty-five years that as such. (Applause.) But, is also and genular than the power of the five years that as such. (Applause.) But, is also and genular than the five years that as such. (Applause.) But, is also and genular than the power years that as the power years that as uch. (Applause.) But, is also and genular than the power years that as the po lass been comortably celebrated in the last climpter. (Laughter and applause.) I know the danger of political prophecy,—a kaleldoscope of which not even a Yankee can guess the next combination,—but for all that, I venture to offer my opinion, that on this continent, the system of domestic slavery has received its death-blow. (Loud and long-continued applause.) Let me tell you why I think so. Leaving out of view war with England which I done terreet there are but three with England, which I do not expect, there are but three paths out of this war. One is, the North conquers; the other is, the South conquers; and the third is, a compromise. Now, if the North conquers, or there be a compromise, one or the other of two things must come—either the old Constitution or a new one. come—either the old Constitution or a new one. I believe that, so far as the slavery clauses of the Con-stitution of '89 are concerned, it is dead. It seems to me impossible that the thrifty and pains-taking North years, at the cost of two million dollars a day; after that flag lowered at Sumter; after Baker and Lyo and Ellsworth and Winthrop and Putnam and Wes selhoft have given their lives to quell the rebellion field and workshop to save the Capitol, have be murdered on the pavements of Baltimore,-I can mardered on the pavements of Baltimore,—I cannot believe in a North so lost, so craven, as to put back Slavery where it stood on the 4th of March last. (Cheera.) But if there be reconstruction without those slave clauses, then in a little while, longer or shorter, Slavery dies—indeed, on any other basis but the basis of '80, she has nothing else now to do but to die. (In the contrary if the South—no I cannot say die. On the contrary, if the South-no, I cannot say conquers; my lips will not form that word—but if she balk us of victory, the only way she can do it is to along the coast, the South can never spring into sepalong the coast, the South can be basis of negro freedom; and I, for one, cannot yet believe that the North will consent again to share his chains. Exclu-sively as an Abolitionist, therefore, I have little more interest in this war than the frontiersman's wife had in his struggle with the bear, when she didn't care ter.) If it be so, we have reason to be proud of it; now, like Mammon, saw nothing even in heaven but the golden pavement; to-day she throws off her chains. We have a North, as Daniel Webster said. chains. We have a North, as Daniel Webster sa This is no epoch for nations to blush at. Engla might blush, in 1620, when Englishmen tremble people cut off his son's head. Massachusetts might have blushed a year or two ago when an insolent Virginian, standing on Bunker Hill, insulted the Commonwealth, and then dragged her citizens to she holds that same impudent Senator an acknowledged felon in her prison fort. (Uproarious applause.) In my view, the bloodiest war ever waged is infinitely better than the happiest slavery that ever fattened men into obedience. (Cheers.) And yet I love peace mob law in New York; not peace that meant chains around Boston Court-House, a gag on the lips of statesmen, and the slave sobbing himself to sleep in curses. No more such peace for me; no peace that is not born of justice, and does not recognize the rights of every race and every man. (Loud cheering.)

riew it as an American citizen, proud to be the citizen of an empire that knows neither black nor white, neither Saxon nor Indian, but holds an equal scepcome here to-night, not to criticise, not to find fault of every race, every creed, every tongue, to whose with the Cabinet. We come here to recognize the clitzens is committed, if not the only, then the grand

stance, that the writ of habeax corpus, by which Gov-ernment is bound to render a reason to the Judiciary before it lays its hands upon a citzen, has been called the high-water mark of English liberty. The present that habeas corpus, free meetings like this, and a free press, are the three elements which distinguish liberty from despotism. All that Saxon blood has gained in from despotism. All that Saxon blood has gained in the battles and toils of two hundred years are these three things. But to-day, Mr. Chairman, every one of them—hobeus corpus, the right of free meeting and a free press—is annihilated in every square mile of the Republic. We live to-day, every one of its, under martial law. The Secretary of State puts into his heatile, with a warrant as irresponsible as that of bastile, with a warrant as irresponsible as that of Louis, any man whom he pleases. And you know that neither press nor lips may venture to arraign the thority as despotic as that of Louis—three times as many as Eldon and George III. seized when they trembled for his throne. Mark me, I am not complaining. I do not say it is not necessary. It is necessary to do anything to save the ship. (Applause.) It is we may float. It is a mere question whether you prefor the despotism of Washington or that of Richmond. I prefer that of Washington. (Loud applause.) But, nevertheless, I point out to you this tendency because it is momentous in its significance. We are tending with rapid strides, you say inevitably—I do not deny it; necessarily—I do not question it; we are tending toward that strong Government which frightened Jefferson, toward that unlimited debt, that endless army. We have already those alien and sedition laws which, in 1788, precked the Federal party, and summoned the Democratic into existence. For the first time on this continent, we have passports, which even Louis Napoleon pronounces useless and glious. For the first time in our history, Government spies frequent our great clies. And this modal of a comment, if you reconstruct it on the old basis, is to be mise it by reconstruction, to whom are you to give Reconstruct this Government, and for twenty years you can never elect a Republican. Presidents must be so wholly without character or principle, that two angry parties, each hopeless of success, contemp-tuously tolerate them as neutrals. Now, I am not exaggerating the moment. I can parallel it entirely It is the same position that England held in the times of Eldon and Fox, when Holcroft and Montgomery, the poet, Horne Tooke and Frost and Hardy went into dungeons, under laws that Pitt executed, and Burke praised—times when Fox said he despaired of English liberty but for the power of insurrection—times which entitled to an opinion who had not £3,000 a year Why! there is no right—do I exaggerate when I say that there is no single right—that Government is scru-pulous and finds itself able to protect, except the right

of a man to slaves! (Laughter.) Every other right has fallen now before the necessities of the hour. Understand me, I do not complain of this state of things; but it is momentous. I only ask you that out gold. the crisis through which you have passed. No Gov-ernment of free make could stand three such trials as this. I only paint you the picture, in order, like Hot-spur, to say, "Out of this nettle, danger, be you right eminently sure that you pluck the flower, safety." (Applause.) Standing in such a crisis, certainly it commands us that we should endeavor to find the root of the difficulty, and that now, once for all, we should put it beyond the possibility of troubling our peace again. We cannot afford, as Republicans, to run this risk. The vessel of state—her timbers are strained beyond almost the possibility of surviving. The outlive. We cannot afford, thus warned, to omit any thing which can save this ship of state from a seco

commendation before the every inference before does for every inferred before the every inferred

sed into a swelling sea of State pride, Northern

there is not an element of good in it. I mean, there is not an element of good in it. I mean, there is nothing in it that we might not have gotten better, fuller and more perfectly in other ways. And yet it is better than the craven past, infinitely better than a peace which had pride for its father and subserviency for its mother. Neither will I speak of the cost of war, although you know that we never shall get out of this one without a debt of at least two or three thousand millions of dollars. For, if the prevalent theory prove correct, and the country comes together again on any thing like the old basis, we pay Jeff Davis' debts as well as our own. Neither will I remind you that debt is the fatal disease of Republics, the first thing and the mightiest to undermine Government and corrupt the people. The great debt of England has kept her back in civil progress at least a hundred years. Neither will I remind you that when we go out of this war, we go out with an immense disbanded army, an intense millitary spirit embodied in two-thirds of a million of soldiers, the fruilful, the incritable source of fresh debts and new wars; I pass by all that; yet lying within those causee are things enough to make the most and more perfectly in other ways. I have a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat steals a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat steals a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat steals a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat teals a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat teals a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat teals a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat steals a brother is a gentleman, and he that theat teals a brother is a gentleman, and he that makes his living is sovery mide that steals a brother is a gentleman, and he that that steals a brother is a gentleman, and he that makes his living is not treat that theat steals is living is sovery with the constitution, which was the his living is not that teals a brother is a gentleman, and he that that teals as brother is a g perilous freedom of discussion, the flavor of our ideas perilous freedom of discussion, the flavor of our ideas, the sight of our growth, the very neighborhood of such States, that constitutes the danger. It is like the two vases launched on the stormy sca. The iron said to the crockery, "I won't come near." "Thank you, thank you," said the weaker vessel; "there is as much danger in my coming near you." This the South feels; hence her determination; hence, indeed, the imperious processity, that she she also designed. sour reess; nence aer decermination; hence, indeed, the imperious necessity, that she should rule and shape our Government, or of sailing out of it. I do not mean that she plans to take possession of the North, and choose our Northern Mayors, though she has done that in Boston for the last dozen years, and here till this fall. But she conspires and aims to control just so much of our policy, trade, offices, presses papiris cities as is sufficient to examp the undisturbed existence of slavery. She conspires with the full intent so to mould this Government as to keep it what it has been for thirty years, according to John Quincy Adams—a plot for the extension and perpetuation of slavery. As the world advances, fresh guarantees are demanded. The nineteenth cenfresh guarantees are demanded. The nineteenth century requires sterner gags than the eighteenth. Often as the peace of Virginia is in danger, you must be willing that a Virginia Mason shall drag your citizens to Washington, and imprison them at his pleasure. So long as Carolina needs it, you must submit that your ships be searched for dangerous passengers, and every Northern man lynched. No more Kansas rebellions. It is a conflict between the two powers, Aristocracy and Democracy, which shall hold this bilt of the continent. You may live here, New York men, but it must be in submission to such rules as the quiet of Carolina requires. That is the meaning of the oft-repeated threat to call the roll of one's slaves on Bunker Hill and dictate peace in Faneuil Hall. Now, in that fight, Igo for the North, for the Union.

In order to make out this theory of "irrepressible

In order to make out this theory of "irrepressible conflict," it is not necessary to suppose that every Southerner hates every Northerner, (as the Atlantic urges.) But this much is true: some 300,000 slaveholders at the South, holding two thousand millions of so-called property in their hands, controlling the black and the state of the st keep the Government in dread, dictate terms by threatening disunion, bring us to its verge at least twice, and now almost to break the Union in pieces. A power thus consolidated, which has existed seventy years, setting up and pulling down parties, controlling the policy of the Government, and changing our re-ligion, and is emboldened by uniform success, will not burst like a bubble in an hour. For all practical pur poses, it is safe to speak of it as the So poses, it is safe to speak of it as the South: no other South exists, or will exist, till our policy develops it into being. This is what I mean. An Aristocraey rooted in wealth, with its net-work spread over all social life, its poison penetrating every fibre of society, is the hardest possible evil to destroy. Its one influence, PASHION, is often able to mock at Religion, Trade, Literature and Politics combined. One half the reason why Washington has been and is in petil—why every move is revealed and checkmated—is, that your President is unfashionable, and Mrs. Jefferson Davis is not. Unseen chains are sometimes stronger than those of iron and heavier than those of

It is not in the plots, it is in the inevitable char acter of the Northern States that the South sees her danger. And the struggle is between these two ideas. Our fathers, as I said, thought they could be left, one to outgrow the other. They took gunpow-der, and a lighted match, forced them into a stalwart cannon, screwed down the muzzle, and thought they could secure peace. But it has resulted differently

Butler, and Bryant, and Cochrane, and Cameron-not Boutwell, and Bancroft, and Dickinson, and others—but the old set (laughter)—the old set say to danger of the kind.

Well, what shall we do! The answer to that question comes parily from what we think has been the cause of this convulsion. Some men think—some of (Cheers.) It seems to me that like causes will pro-

ture us like a schoolmaster his seven-years old boy? Why does England use a tone such as she has used for half a century to any power! Because knows us as she knows Mexico, as all E-knows Austria,—that we have the cancer cone that we have the cance plunge the country into millions of dept, send our stocks down fifty per cent., and cost thousands of lives. Reconstruction is but making chronic what now lives. Reconstruction is our making curonic what how is transient. What that is, this week shows. What is transient. What that is, this week shows. What that is, we learn from the tone Eugland dares to assume toward this divided Republic. I do not believe reconstruction possible. I do not believe the cabinet intend it. True, I should care little if they did, since intend it. True, I should care little if they did, since I believe the Administration can no more resist the progress of events than a spear of grass can retard the step of an avalanche. But if they do, allow me to say, for one, that every dollar spent in this war is worse than wasted, every life lost is a public murder, and that any statesman who leads these States der, and that any statesman who leads these States back to reconstruction will be damned to an infamy compared with which Arnold was a sain, and James Buchanan a public benefactor. (Slight disturbance in the rear part of the hall, gives of "Pat him out," &c.) I said reconstruction is not possible. I do not believe it is, for this reason: the aoment these States begin to appear victorious, the moment our armies do anything that evinces fina cess, the willy statesmanship and unconquerable of the South will write "Emancipation" or day, you need not doubt that they will have it. In-telligent men agree that the North stands better with religent men agree that the North stands better with Palmerston for minister than she would with any minister likely to succeed him. And who is Palmers-ton! While he was Foreign Secretary, from 1848 to '61, the British press reliculed every effort of the 761, the British press reliculed every effort of the French Republicans—sneered at Cavaignea and Ledra Rollin, Lamartine and Hugo—while they cheered Na-poleon on to his usurpation, and Lord Normansby, then minister at Paris, the 3d of December grasped the hand still wet with the best blood of France, congrat-ulating the Despot on his victory over the Reds, applying to the friends of Liberty the worst epithet that an Englishman knows. This last outrage lost Palmerston his place; but he rules to-day—though rebuked, not changed.

The value of the English news this week is the

indication of the nation's mind. No one doubts now,

that should the South emancipate, England would

haste to recognize and help her. In ordinar stead of England's impressment and pinched levies, patriotism marshals six hundred thousand relunteers in six months. The English merchant is jealous of our growth: only the liberal middle classes really sympathize with us. When the other two classes are divided, this middle class rules. But now, Herod and Pilate are agreed. The aristocrat, who usually de spises a trader, whether of Manchester or Liverpool, as the South does a negro, now is secessionist from sympathy as the trader is from interest. Such a union, no middle class can checkmate. The only danger of war with England is, that as soon as Eng-Southern Confederacy, immediately, just as she stands, slavery and all, as a military measure. As such, in the heat of passion, in the smoke of war, the English people, all of them; would allow such a recognition even of a slaveholding empire. Indeed, the only way, the only sure way, to break this Union, is to try to eight or ten months be as little successful as the last, nd Europe will acknowledge the Southern Con-War with England ensures disunion. When England declares war, she gives slavery a fresh lease of free to Davis. So far, the South is sure to succeed, either by victory or defeat, unless we anticipate ber We shall never conquer the South without her tryi emancipation. Do you suppose that Davis, and Ber regard, and the rest, mean to be exiles, wandering con temned in every great city of Europe, in order that they may maintain slavery and the Constitution of 89? They, like ourselves, will throw everything overboard before they will submit to defeat—defeat conciliation is possible, nor do I believe the Cabinet have any such hopes. Indeed, I do not know where you will find the avidence of any purpose in the Ad-ministration at Washington. (Hisses, cheers, and laugh-ter.) If we look to the West, if we look to the Potomac, what is the policy! If, on the Potomac, with the aid of twenty Governors, you assemble an army, and do nothing but return fugitive slaves, that proves you competent and efficient. If, on the banks of the Misissippi, unaided, the magic of your presence summon assipp, manded, the mage of you drive your enemy an army into Existence, and you drive your enemy before you a hundred miles further than your second in command thought it possible for you to advance, that proves you incompetent, and entitles your second d to succeed you. (Tremendous applause,

ment announcing a policy in South Carolina. What is it! Well, Mr. Secretary Cameron agy to the Gen-eral in command there, "You are to welcome into your camp all comera; you are to organize them into squads and companies; use them in any way you please, but there is to be no general arming." That is a very significant exception. You recolled in is a very significant exception. You recollect in Charles Reade's novel, Never too Late to Mend, (a very good motto,) the heroine flies away to hide hero, announcing that she never shall see him agai Her letter says, "I will never see you again, Edwar You, of course, won't come to see me at Mrs. Young's, at No. 126 Bond street, (laughter,) between 11 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon, because I shan't see you." (Laughter.) So Mr. Cameron says there is to be no general arming, but I suppose there is to be a very particular arming. (Laughter), that he goes on to add, This is no greater interference with the institutions of South Carolina than is necessary, than the war will cure. Does he mean he will give slaves back when the war is over \$11 don't know. All I know is, that the Port Royal expedi-tion proved one thing—it laid forever that ghost of an argument, that the blacks loved their masters— it settled forever the question whether the blacks were with us or with the South. My opinion is, that it settled forever the question whether the blacks were with us or with the South. My opinion is, that the blacks are the key of our position. (A voice—"That is it.") He that gets them wins, and he that loses them goes to the wall. (Applause.) Port Royal settled one thing—the blacks are with us, and not with the South. I know nothing more touching in history, nothing that art will immortalize and petry dwell upon more fondly—I know no tribute to the Stars and Stripes more impressive, than that incident of the blacks coming to the water side with their little bundles, in that simple faith which had endured through the long night of so many bitter year. They preferred to be shot rather than be driven from the sight of that banner they had so long prayed to see. And if that was the result when nothing but General Sherman's equivocal proclamation was landed on the Carolinas, what should we have seen, if there had been 18,000 veterant with Francor, the statesman solder of this war, at their head, (loud applause.) and over them the Stars and Stripes, gorgeous with the motto, "Freedom for all, freedom forever"? If that had had gone before them, in my opinion they would have marched across the Carolinas, and joined

Brownlow in East Tennessee. (Applause.) The bulwark on each side of them would have been 100,000 grateful blacks; they would have cut this re-bellion in halves, and while our fleets fired salutes across New Orleans, Beauregard would have been ground to powder letween the upper milistone of McClellan, and the lower of a quarter million of black McClellan, and he lower of a quarter million of blacks rising to greet the Stars and Stripes. (Great cheering,) McClellan may drill a better army—more perfect soldiers. He will never marshal a stronger force than those grateful thousands. That is the way to save insurrection. He is an enemy to civil liberty, the worst enemy to his own land, who asks for such delay, or perversion of government policy, as is sure to result in insurrection. Our duty is to save these four millions of blacks from their own passions, from their own confusion, and eight millions of whites from the cunsequences of it, ("Hear, hear!") and in order to do it, we nineteen millions of educated, Christian Americans are not to millions of educated, Christian Americans are not to wait for the will or the wisdom of a single man—we are not to wait for Fremont or McClellan—the Gov-ornment is our dictator. It might do for Rome, a herd of beggars and soldiers, kept quiet only by the weight of despotism—it might do for Rome, in mo-ments of danger, to hurl all responsibility into the hands of a dictator. But for us, educated thought ful men, with institutions modelled and matured by the experience of two hundred years—it is not for us to evade responsibility by deferring to a single man. I demand of the Government a policy. I demand of the Government to show the doubting infidels of Europe that Democracy is not only strong enough for the trial, but that she breeds men with brains large enough trai, out that are orecus men and wills hot enough to fus to comprehend the hour, and wills hot enough to fus the purpose of nineteen millions or people into one decisive blow for safety and for Union. (Cheery. fou will ask me how it is to be done. I would have it done by Congress. We have the power.

When Congress declares war, says John Quincidans, Congress has all the powers incident to carry Adams, Congress has all the powers incident to carry-ing on war.* It is not, as unconstitutional power; it is a power conferred by the Constitution; but the mo-ment it comes into play, it rises beyond the limit of Constitutional checks. I know it is a grave power, this trusting the Government with despotism. But what is the use of government, except just to help us in critical times? *All the checks and ingenuity of institutions are arranged to secure for us men wise and able enough to be trusted with grave pow ers-bold enough to use them when the times req Lancets and knives are dangerous instruments.
use of surgeons is, that when lancets are n of surgeons is, that when lancets are needed, sebody may know how to use them, and save life. someony may know how to use them, and save life. One great merit of democratic institutions is, that resting, as they must, on educated masses, the government may safely be trusted, in a great emergency, with despotic fower, without fear of harm, or of wrecking the State. No other form of government can venture such confidence without risk of astions Doubtless the war power is a very grave power ruin. Doubtless the war power is a very grave power; so are some ordinary peace powers. It was a grave power in 1807, in time of peace, when Congress abolished commerce; when, by the embargo of Jefferson, no ship could quit New York or Boston; and Congress set no limit to the prolibition. It annihilated commerce. New England asked, "Is it constitutional?" The Supreme Court said, "Yes." New England asked, "Is we find that the state of the said of the said set land sat down and obeyed. Her wharves-were worth less, her ships rotted, her merchants beggared. She asked no compensation. The powers of Congres carried banksuptcy from New Haven to Portland but the Supreme Court said, it is legal, and New Eng land bowed her head. We commend the same cu to the Carolinas to-day. We say to her that, in order to save the Government, there resides somewhere despotism. It is in the war powers of Congress That despotism can change the social arrangement of the Southern States, and has a right to do it. Every man of you who speaks of the emancipation of the negroes allows it would be decisive if it were used You atlow when it is a military necessity, we may use it. What I claim is, in honor of our institutions. that we are not put to wait for the wisdom or the courage of a General. Our fathers left us with no such miserable plan of government. They gave us a government with the power, in such times as these, of doing something that would save the helm of State in the hands of its citizens. (Cheers.) We could eade the Carolinas. I have sometimes wished we could shovel them into the Atlantic. (Applause and laughter.) We can cede a State. We can do anything for the time being; and no theory of government can deny its power to make the most unlimited change. Two only alternative is this: Do you prefer the despetians of your own citizens, or of foreigners? That is the only question in war. (Cheers,)

Now, this Government, which abolishes my right of about corpus which strikes down, because it is neceshobers corpus—which strikes down, because it is necessary, every Saxon bulwark of liberty—which proclaims martial law, and hooks every dollar and every coan at the will of the Castrice do you turn round and tell me that this same Gavernment has no power to stretch its hands across the Potomac, and root up evil which for seventy years has troubled its peace and now culminates in rebellion? I maintain, there fore, the power of the Government itself to inaugurat a policy; and I say, in order to save the Union, do tice to the black. (Applause.)

I would claim of Congress,—in the exact language of Adams, of the "government,"—a solemn act abolishing slavery throughout the Union, securing compensation to loyal slaveholders. As the Constitution forbids the States to make and allow nobles, I would now, by equal authority, forbid them to make slaves or allow

This has been the usual course at such times. Na This has been the usual course at such times. Nations, convulsed and broken by too powerful elements or institutions, have used the first moment of assured power,—the first moment that they clearly saw and fully appreciated the evil,—to cut up the dangerous tree by the roots. So, France expelled the Jesuits, and the Middle Ages the Templars. So, England in her great Rebellion abolished Nobility and Fatablished Church; and the French Revolution gave to each child an equal share in his deceased father's lands. For the same purpose, England in 1745 sholished clauship in Scotland, the root of the Stuart faction; and we in 76 nobles and all tenure of estates savores and all tenure of estates savor ing of privileged classes. Such a measure supplies the South just what she needs—capital. That sum which the North gives the loyal slaveholder, not as acknowledging his property in the slave, but a m of conciliation,—perhaps an acknowledgment of its stars of the guilt,—will call mills, ships, agriculture into bing. The free negro will redeem to use lands

where of the guilt,—will call mills, ships, agriculture into boing. The free negro will redeem to use lands (1) "Sit," a the authority given to Congress by the Constitution of the United States to declare nor, ALL THE TOWNERS MICHESTAM, United States to declare nor, ALL THE TOWNERS MICHESTAM, United States to declare nor, ALL THE TOWNERS MICHESTAM, WHE THE STATES HAVE THE STATES OF THE STATE

never touched, whose fertility laughs Illinois to see and finds no rival but Egypt. Such a measure bit the negro to us by the indissoluble tie of gratitud

hooks of steel,—make it as lasting as the granite that underlies the continent.

People may say this is strange language for me—a Dismionist. Well, I was a Dismionist, sincerely, for twenty years. I did hate the Union, when Union meant lies in the pulpit and mobs in the street, when Union meant making white men hypocrites and black men slaves. (Cheers.) I did prefer purity to peace; I acknowledge it. The child of six generations of Puritans, knowing well the value of Union, I did prefer disunion to being the accomplice of tyrants. But now, when I see that the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see that you cannot have Union, without meaning justice; and when I see twenty millions of people, with a current as swift and as inevitable as Niagara, determined that this Union shall mean justice, why should I object to it? (Loud applause.) I endeavored honestly, and am not ashamed of it, to take nineteen States out of this Union, and consecrate them to liberty; and twenty millions of people ahawer take nineteen States out of this Union, and consecrate them to liberty; and twenty millions of people ahawer me back, "We like your motto, only we mean to keep thirty-four States under it." (Cheers.) Do you sup-pose I am not Yankee enough to buy Union when I can have it at a fair price! (Applause and laughter.) I know the value of Union; and the reason why I claim pose I am not Yankee enough to buy Union when I can have it at a fair price? (Applause and laughter.) I know the value of Union; and the reason why I claim that Carolina has no right to secede is this; we are not a partnership; we are a marriage: and we have done a great many things since we were married in 1789 which render it unjust for a State to exercise the right of revolution, on any ground now alleged. I admit the right. I acknowledge the your come to this question from an idolatrous regard for the Constitution of '80. But here we stand. On the other side of the cocan is admit the right. I acknowledge the great principles and the right. I acknowledge the great principles admit the right. I acknowledge the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, that a State exists for the liberty and happiness of the people, that these are the ends of government, and that who government ceases to promote those ends, the peop have a right to remodel their institutions. I acknowledge the right of revolution in South Carolina; but at the same time, I acknowledge that right of revolution only when Government has ceased to promote those ends. Now we have been married for seventy years. We have bought Florida. We rounded the Union to We have bought Florida. We rounded the Union to the Gulf. We bought the Mississippi for commercial purposes. We bought Texas for slave purposes. mercial interests, great interests of pe perfect shape; and the money and sacrifices of two generations have been given for this purpose. break up that Union now is to defraud us of m advantages relating to peace, trade, national security, unnot survive disunion. Why did we buy Texas? Why have we allowed the South to strengthen herself? Because she said that slavery within the girdle of the Constitution would die out through the influence of natural principles. She said : through the inducate of natura principles. She same, "We acknowledge it to be an evil; but at the same time it will end by the spread of free principles, and the influence of free institutions." And the North said: "Yes; we will give you privileges on that account, and we will return your slaves for you." Every slave sent back from a Northern State is a fresh eath of the South that she would not secede. Our fa-thers trusted to the promise that this race should be left under the influence of the Union, until in the maturity of time the day should arrive when they would be lifted into the sunlight of God's equality. I claim it of South Carolina. By virtue of that pledge, she took Boston, and put a rope around her neck in that infamous compromise which conher neck in that infamous compromise which conher neck in that infamous compromise which conhered to the control of the co signed to slavery Anthony Barns. I demand the fulfilment on her part even of that infamous pledge. Until South Carolina allows me all the in-fluence that nineteen millions of Yankee lips, asking infinite questions, have upon the welfare of those for millions of bondmen, I deny her right to secode. (A plause.) Seventy years has the Union postponed th For seventy years has he been beguiled with the promise, as she erected one bulwark after anothe

and right, South Carolina has no right of revolutione till she fulfils her promise in this respect. I know how we stand to-day, with the from nnon of the English flect ready to be thrust out o portholes against us. But I can answer England with a better answer than William H. Seward car write. I can answer her with a more statesmanlike paper than Simon Cameron can indite! I would answer her with the starse and stripes floating over Charleston and New Orleans, and the itinerant Cabinet of Richards. mond packing up archives and wearing apparel to move back to Montgomery. (Great applause.) There is one thing, and only one, that John Bull respects; and that is, success. (Applause.) It is not for us to give counsel to the Government on points of diplomatic propriety; but I suppose we may express our opinion, and my opinion is that if I were the President of these thirty-four States, while I was, I should want Mason and Slidell to stay with me. (Great laughter and ap-plause.) I say then, first as a matter of justic to the slave, we owe it to him; the day of his deliverance has come. The long promise of seventy years is to be fulfilled. The South draws back from the piedge. The North is bound, in honor of the memory of her fathers, to demand its exact fulfilment, and in order to save this Union, which now means justice and peace, to recognize the rights of 4,000,000 of its victims. This is the dictate of Justice. Justice, which at this hour is craftier than Seward, more statesmanlike than Cameron; Justice, which appeals from the cabinets of Europe to the people; Justice, which abases the proud and lifts up the humble; Justice, which disarms proud and lifts up the humble; Justice, which disarms England, saves the slaves from insurrection, and sends home the Confederate army of the Potomac to guard its own hearths; Justice, which gives us four million proclamation down to the Gulf-Freedom to every of friends spies soldiers in the planted each one at their very hearth-sides; Justice, which inscribes every cannon with "Holiness to the which inscribes the first point of the first point point

around slavery, that he should have the influence of our common institutions. I claim it to-day. Never, with my consent, while the North thinks that the

Union can or shall mean justice, shall those 400,000

South Carolina slaves go beyond the influence of Bo

ton ideas. That is my strong reason for clinging to the Union. This is also one main reason why, unless

upon most imperative and manifest grounds of need

This is also one main reason why, unless

and finds no rival but Egypt. Such a measure binds the negro to us by the indissoluble tee of gratitude—the loyal slaveholder by strong self-interest—out ponds are all his property—the other whites, by prosperity, they are lifted in the scale of civilization and activity, educated and enriched. Our institutions are then homogeneous. We grapple the Union together with hooks of steel,—make it as lasting as the granite that underlies the continent.

People may say this is strange language for me—a Dismionist. Well, I was a Disunionist, sincerely, for twenty years. I did hate the Union, when Union meant making white men hypocrites and black men slaves. (Cheers.) I did prefer purity to peace; I acknowledge it. The child of six generations of Puritans, knowing well the value of Union, I did prefer disunion to being the accomplice of tyrants. But now, when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last; when I see what the Union must mean, in order to last when I see twenty millions of people, with a current as swift and as inevitable as the conditions.

Bankrupt in character—omitted in statesmanship. Our record would be, as we entered the sisterhood of nations—"Longedand struggled and begged to be admitted into the partnership of tyrants, and they kicked them out!" And the South would spring into the same arena, written on her brow—"She got rid of what she thought gainful and honest, in order to gain her independence!" A record better than the gold of California, or all the brains of the Yankee.

Richtempers is recognition. You who recognitions are the statement of the same of

Righteousness is preservation. You, who are to not rear is—out holding out to the South the intima-tion of her willingness, if she will but change her gar-ments, and make herself decent—(laughter)—to ac-cept her under her care, and give her assistance and protection. There stands England, the most sel-fish and treacherous of modern Governments. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) On the other side of the Potomac stands a statesmanship, urged by personal Potomac stands a statesmanship, urged by personal and selfish interests, that cannot be matched, and between them they have but one object—it is in the end to divide the Union.

Itinerto the negro has seen a nated question. The Union moved majestic on its path, and shut him out, eclipsing him from the sun of equality and happiness. He has changed his position to-day. He now stands between us and the sun of our safety and prosperity, and you and I are together on the same platform—the same plank-our object to save the institutions which our fathers planted. Save them in the service of jus-tice, in the service of peace, in the service of liberty; and, in that service, demand of the Government at Washington that they shall mature and purpose. That flag lowered at Sumter, that flight at Bull Run, will rankle in the heart of the Republic for centuries. Nothing will ever medicine that wound but the Government announcing to the world that it knows well whence came its trouble, and is deter-mined to effect its cure, and, consecrating the banner mined to effect its cure, and, consecrating the banner to liberty, to plant it on the shores of the Gulf. (Great applause.) I say, in the service of the negro do not forget the white man, the eight millions whites, thinking themselves our enemies, but who are really our friends. Their interests are identical with our own. An Alabama slaveholder sitting with me a year or two ago, said :

year or two ago, said:

"In our Northern counties they are your friends. A
man owns one slave or two slaves, and he eats with
him, and sleeps in the same room—(they have but
him, and such as your hired man eats at the table
with you. There is no difference. They are too poor
to send their sons North for education. They have
no newspapers, and they know nothing but what they
are told by us. If you could get at them, they would
be on your side, but we mean you never shall."

In Paris, there are one hundred thousand men who icature or epigram can at any time raise to barri Whose fault is it that such men ex ist? The Government's; and the government under ist? The Government's; and the government under which, such a mass of ignorance exists deserves to be barricaded. So with the Government under which eight millions of people exist, so ignorant that two thousand politicians and a hundred thousand aristocrats can pervert them into rebellion, deserves to be rebelled against. In the service of those men I mean for one, to try to fulfil the pledge my fathers when they said, "We will guarantee to every State a republican form of government." (Applause.) A privileged class, grown strong by the help and forbearance of the North, plots the establishment of aristocratic government in form as well as essence,—conspires to rob the non-slaveholders of their civil rights. This is just the danger guaranting student rights. This is just the danger our national pledge was meant to meet. Our fathers' honor, national good faith, the cause of free institutions, the peace of the continent, bid us failfil this pledge—insist in using the right it gives us to preserve the Union.

I mean to fulfil the pledge that free institutions

shall be preserved in the several States, and I do snail be preserved in the several States, and I demand it of the Government. I would have them, therefore, announce to the world what they have never done yet. I do not wonder at the want of sympathy on the part of England with us. The South says, "I am fighting for lakery." The North says, "I am not fighting against it." Why should England interfere! The people have nothing on which to have their expressive.

on which to hang their sympathy.

I would have Government announce to the world that we understand the evil which has troubled our peace for seventy years; we know well its characte Democracy, unlike your governments, knows that it is strong enough to let evils work out their own death—strong enough to face them when they reveal their proportions. It was in this sublime consciousness of strength, not weakness, that our fathers re-cognized the admitted evil of slavery, and tolerated it until five viper we thought we could safely tread on, at the touch of disappointment, starts up a flend reaching to the heavens; but our ch man beneath the stars, and death to eve that disturbs our peace, or that threatens the future of the Republic! (Applause.)

WAR WITH ENGLAND-ITS SPIRIT.

was with the cry of "Justice, immediate, absolute Justice!" And if I dared to descend to a lower level, I should say to the merchants of this metropolis, demand of the Government a speedy settlement of this question. Every hour of delay is big with risk. Remember, as Gov. Boutwell suggests, that our present financial prosperity comes because we have corn to export in place of cotton; and that another year, should Europe have a good harvest, and we an ordinary one, while an inflated currency tempts extravagance and large imports, general bankruptcy stares us in the face. Do you love the Union 5. Do you really think that on the other side of the Potomac are the natural brothers and customers of the manufacturing ingenuity of the boat of the relation in the same seroll with justice to the negro. The hour strikes. You may win him to your side; you may anticipate the South; you may are twelve millions of customers. Delay it, let God grant McClellan victory, let God grant the Stars and Stripes over New Orleans, and it is too late.

Jeff. Davis will then summon that same element to his side, and twelve millions of customers are added to Lancashire and Lyons. Then cosmences a war of tariffs, embittered by that other war of shegred nationalities, which are to hand this and the other Confederacy of the American self-styled aristocracy rests on African salire and Lyons. Then cosmences a war of tariffs, embittered by that other war of shegred nationalities, which are to band this and the other Confederacy of the American self-styled aristocracy of the other confederacy of the restrict of the same stringly and natively and the service of the same serious of the family to the the same and Lyons. Then cosmences a war of tariffs, embittered by that other war of shegred nationalities, which are to band this and the other Confederacy of the same stripes of manufacturing the same almost of the same stringly and natural broaders and deoper, was design of the Alinghty to relate the proposition of the american stripes of manufacturi The Mexican war began and ended in the service

rashing anstocracy is the growth of centuries. Its all-grashing ambition has by slow and steady pace won to itself power, wealth and renown. It takes no back racks, but holds on. It yields only to superior force, never to the dictates of reason or justice. Slavery of the people is its corner-stone, with its accustomed gnorance and degradation, and so it hates all effort to store marking to its original, native rights, which ome through freedom. It therefore hates American publicanism, because its great animating soul lies respect for man as man; because it believes trough culture to make the most of all rational huah power. To the true Republican, or better, the up Democrat, or better still, the true Christian—all to and identical, when rights interested will have true Democrat, or better still, the true Christian—all one and identical, when righty interpreted—all human beings, with all their powers and faculties, are held to be divine in origin and destiny.

On this continent, these principles have been planted. They have both taken root and germinated. In the soft air, amid the dew and rain from the sweet has root air, amid the dew and rain from the sweet.

heavens, they are now pushing up into life to yield both leaf and fruit for the healing of the nations. All these and bare, on this aide the Atlantic, are now in course of experiment. It has its drawbacks, to be

lish aristocrats, do not like republics, and so they pro-pose to enter into an alliance to put the free people of these United States down; and they mean to have at least nine millions of the black and white victims these United States down; and they mean to have at least nine millions of the black and white victims of the "institution," together with the great mass of the honest English people, misused and trodden upon—they mean to have their help.

upon—they mean to have their nelp.

Not so, say some. The English people are all right.

They hate our slavery and love our liberty. They rejoice at our prosperity. True; but who and what are the people, without knowledge, and cheated and hoodwinked by tyrants? As well may the loyal men of the North say, the people in the South love the Union, and would fight for it if they could; but a Union, and would fight for it if they could; but a handful of as arrant tyrants as ever cursed Greek or Jew use them only to abuse. Tyrants, with their minions, never fight for ideas. They are destructives ever. The one aspires to perpetual dominion—the other, witlessly to abridge its own freedom and to reivet its own chains.

Are we, then, through the rascally representati

of lying emissaries in the pay of traitors, to be dragged into a war with England! We are; so says the English newspaper press, which, like our own, is daily introduced to the secrets of the Cabinet! And what is to be done to us? The blockade is to be broke Northern ports are to be blockaded, the South sone, and the North is to be held, it is presumed, as in a conquered province. But it may be in this, as in other cases, that the war will hardly come up to the high-sounding phrase of the manifesto. Pray, what see we to be doing all this time! First of all, the rebellion will engage a more serious attention than hitherto. It must be no longer a mere boxing match with gloves. Not sods, but stones. To catch the "misguided brethren," and compel them, against their wills, to "swear a prayer or two," while they trample the Constitution under their feet, and then let transpice the Constitution under their rect, and then let them go, will not do. It is very expensive. It makes large tax bills. But there is a cheaper and better way than this. It is to strike rebellion under its fifth rib. This will be a quick refnedy, and, if cautiously administered, not a violent one. England may then open or seal the ports hermetically, if she can; it is all the same to us. Not a bale of cotton or bushel of corn will she get by this process; and she may work at it ten years, if she can, while we make money by at it ten years, if she can, while we make money by the operation. A few years' grass growing in our city thoroughfares would be a less evit than the extremes of wealth and poverty now so common, and we should have less occasion to contrast stupendous piles of brick and mortar—the erections, in too many cases, of a vulgar pridt—with a multitude of starvelings, who can get no houset work. If in the end we are saddled with a national debt, we will bear it at least as well as the nations of Europe. If it is bad to be too far in debt, it is worse; to be too far out and above-board. If the spendthrift and bankrupt are to be deprecated, so also should the meanly rich and selfish. the spendthrift and bankrupt are to be de also should the meanly rich and selfish.

also should the meanty rich and sellish.

Blockade either the ports of the South or England, and they go to decay. The South lives by raising the and they go to decay. The South lives by rais raw cotton, England by its manufacture—near clusive interests; and when the gates are through which they go to market over the sea, then they are powerless. Both powers are dependent on a large marine. Not so with the North. Foreign comthey are powerless. Both powers are dependent on a large marine. Not so with the North. Foreign commerce is with us but comparatively an incident now, whatever it may once have been. The bulk of what comes water-borne to our shores, we could easily dispense with, and find ourselves healthier and wiser thereby. The seabourd would suffer, but the great interior would be stimulated to its highest productive reactive. Easy and clean substatence, and a rational capacity. Easy and cheap subsistence, and a rational degree of prosperity, would be open to all. Fortu-nately for us, if we are to have a foreign war, we have

a diversity of callings, and find our true independence in our own abandant resources.

This is supposing the worst to happen to our seaports. No blockade, however, can be so effec-tual as to stop the errors of the newton. case, where is English commerce ! Nor can England stop the creation of a navy among us—and what then !
No one courts a foreign war at this juncture. At any time, it is but a sad and terrible necessity. The government and people will join hands in due apology if any government agent has unjustly clashed with the rights of a neighboring nation. They will be preceasily inclined and one to executive inclined and one to executi pesceably inclined, and open to conviction; but if, on a candid consideration, it should be felt that we have

pesceably inclined, and open to conviction; but if, on a candid consideration, it should be felt that we have done no wrong, then should no threat or open declaration of war, even, deter us. But, come weal or woe in such a war, when all shall be over, it will take many generations to efface the conviction, that whether in the character of her present "neutrality," or by lending her power and influence to the base attempts of conspirators at the reconstruction of American society on a slave-basis, or by scizing the opportunity presented by our present embarrasements to strike a blow at the hopes of freedom and happiness not only of a single nation, but of mankind—England is not only mean, but criminally selfash.

In the next quarter of a century, if we are prosperous as in times past, there will be upwards of aeventy millions of people here. This prospective greatness of a Republic, and that the first power among the nations, disturbs the dreams of John Bull. To become a whipstick in the hands of this wretched man-stealing traitor of the South is surely a great business for proad old England; another instance as foolish as it would be flagrant of "vaulting ambition overleaping itself."

27 Though the tone of the English press is de-cidedly pugnacious, and the popular feeling there ap-pears to be not and blustering, and though Gen. Scott has suddenly returned home from France in the steamship Arago, yet we do not believe that England and America will come to blows on this question.

ESSEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-avery Society was held at the Silsbee Street Chapel, ann, on the afternoon and evening of Sunday, Dec.

red by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, and a chapter from oshua, pertinent to the times, was read by Mr. Gar-

rison.

On motion of James N. Buffum, Esq., W. L. Garrison, Jr., was chosen Secretary pro tem., and a Finance Committee, consisting of Messrs. Buffum and Merrill, and Miss Maris Page, was appointed.

The President, in opening, referred to the past experience of the Suciety. Their work, which had been so valuable in the past, was by no means ended. Never were the efforts of anti-alavery men more needed than now. The times demanded earnest action. He closed by cordially inviting all to speak who should feel moved to.

The following resolutions were presented by Mr. Pillsbury:—

The following resolutions were presented by Mr. Pillsbury:—
Resolved, That while we rejoice in all the assurances of the advancing state of public sentiment on the subject of Southern slavery, we still deem the mission of the Abolitioniats unaccomplished, so long as a slave wears a chain, or a nominally free colored man is subjected to any proscription, political, educational, or ecclesiastical, on account of his complexion.

Resolved, That slavery is the sin and crime to-day, which it has ever been; and is the sin of the North as well as of the South; and the present fearful collision between the North and South is but a penalty for that sin, and a just retribution on the Northern

for that sin, and a just retribution on the Norther for that sin, and a just retribution on the Northern States for long complicity in the greatest crime of all the ages—and without waiting for that meanest of all motives to emancipation. "A MILITARY MECESSITY," it is the duty of the North, both government and people, immediately to repent of the sin by blotting our slavery forever out of existence, as an act of justice, of humanity, and of obedience to God, whatever consequences might attend to subline as set. quences might attend so sublime an act.

The meeting was then addressed, in an earnest and able manner, by William Lloyd Garrison and Parker Pillabury, whose remarks were received with strong demonstrations of approval by a large audience.

again delivered highly impressive and stirring es, preceded by a brief but eloquent address by the President. It is believed that an excellent impression was made, favorable to the cause of immediate and universal emancipation. Many signatures were ap-pended to the Anti-Slavery Memorial to Congress, and a collection of more than eighteen dollars taken up in

the cause.
CHARLES LENOX REMOND, President. LIDIA M. THANT, Secretary.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

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

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly ex

It is true that noon and treasure at a suguinary re pended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary re bellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of pended to put down a most wicked and sauguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAYERY. 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 internace should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor aunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary; there has neverbeen 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 "estimated of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are pecculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way

need of being convinced or time obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convic-tions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever

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 free-dom, all who believe that the effect of righteouness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of symplethy, 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. entous and trying crisis.

Mary Willey,

Ann Rebecca Bramhal.

Sarah P. Remond,

Mary E. Stearns,

Sarah J. Nowell,

Elizabeth Ven. L. Maria Child, Mary May, Louisa Loring,

Henrietta Sargent, Sarah Russell May, Helen Eliza Garrison, Anna Shaw Greene, Sarah Blake Shaw, Caroline C. Thayer, Abby Kelley Foster, Lydia D. Parker, Ayousta G. King, Sarak C. Au
Mattie Griffish, Abby Franci
Mary Jackson, Mary Jane H
Evelina A. Smith, Georgina Oit
Caroline M. Seperance, Abby F. Ma
Kaherine Earle Farnum.

con, Elizabeth Von Arnim,
Anne Langdon Alger,
Eliza Apthorp,
r, Sarah Cowing,
Sarah H. Southnick,
Mary Elizabeth Sargent
Sarah C. Atkinson,
Abby Francis,
Mary Jane Parkman,
Georgina Otis,
mee, Abby H. Stephenson,
Abby F. Manley,
e Earle Farnum.

Elizabeth Von Arnim

THE INDEPENDENT. Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. J. P. Phompson, and Rev. Dr. Storrs have retired from the ditorship of the *Independent*. They have edited the aper ever since it was started, thirteen years ago. Itemy Ward Beecher is now to be its editor. Dr. Deavitt and Theodore Tilton still retain their editorial connections with the paper.

We print this morning the hillips on the war, delivered is the scottments of the speaker awakened each enthe static responses as were hardly to have been expected in the city of New York. Mr. Phillips regards the negro as the key of our position. Whichever side takes the negro by the hand will win if the contest takes the negro by the hand will win if the contest to the contest of the property of the property of the backs, and a wall ourselves of their services, Jeff stice eventually tr cks, and avail or

The speech here referred to by the Tril give entire in our present number, as revised and co rected by Mr. Phillips. It has all that terseness thought and expression, masterly ability, and rare el-quence, which so unifornly characterize Mr. P'a pul-lic addresses, and will be read, of course, with absor-ing interest. In length necessarily averlades our new ing interest. Its length necessarily excludes variety of matter, and all details of the variety conflicts in Missouri and Kentucky, every instance have resulted in the discomfit rebels.

The A lady who left Savannah on the 24th ultimo, and whose statements are entitled to the fullest credit, says that there was the greatest terror in that city when the news of the Federal victory at Fort Royal became known. Everybody ran off who could ran, and every one carried as much as he or she could take. The lady says:—

became known. Everybody ran off who could ranand every one carried as much as he or she could
take. The lady says:

"A number of the wealthlest clitizens removed evrey valuable movable thing in their houses to some
places in the country, and placed combustible material
in the rooms, preparatory to firing them as soon as
the Yankees landed. Cotton was sent inland as fast
as it could be carried. But the Yankees did not land,
no movement was made toward Sayamah, and the
senses of brave Southrons began to come back to
them. They telegraphed to different points of their
danger, and in a few days there were 17,000 troops in
the city; the fort was reinforced, the batteries manned,
new works of defence erected, and preparations made
to give the Yankees a warm reception when they
made their appearance. The women get over their
fright, and after an absence of five days in the country, Miss A. returned with her friends to the city.
The slaves of Sayannah expressed very great fear of
the Yankees, and ran away with the women and children, except such as were kept in town by their masters. At Beaufort, all the good slaves went away
with the whites, only the vicious ones remained in the
place. One slave-owner, who made up his mind to
leave Beaufort very suddenly, called all his elayes together, and asked how many of them would go with
him. Out of over a hundred, but ten refused to go.

He took them to the back yard, and deliberately shot every
me of them."

GEN. HUNTER'S PLATTE COUNTY POLICY. A Committee of the citizens of Platte county, (Mo.) visited Gen. Hunter on Monday, the 2d. The General said to them: "Tell the Trustees of Platte county, that unless they give up Gordon and his gang, and break up every rebel camp, I shall send Colonel Jennison over there with orders to burn every house in the county. I am getting tired of the whole subject."

Committee—Will you put that in writing?"

Gen. Hunter—" I will."

That brief interview satisfied Platte, committee.

Com. Hunter—"I will."
That brief interview satisfied Platte county, and the colley indicated will satisfy Kansas and the county.—Chicago Tribune.

DETENTION OF REBELS CLAIMING SLAYES. General Heintzelman has within the past few weeks added to the population of Alexandria several Virginians whose desire to recover fugitive slaves outran their discretion. When they presented themselves at his headquarters in search of their lost bondsmen, he informed them that the soldiers of the National army were not slave catchers, and when, satisfied that he meant what he said, they cessayed to return to their farms, he declared that he could not permit civilians to go beyond or to remain within his lines. One of them has, in consequence, been a month in Alexandria waiting for the army to advance to the other side of his plantation. "Dark-skinned Union men" continue to seek Gen. Heintzelman's camp, but fewer rebel ownseek Gen. seek Gen. Heintzelman's camp, but fewer rebel own-

Congress. In the U.S. House of Repres

Mr. Wilson's resolution requesting the Milliary Committee to report a bill for the enactment of an additional article of war, prohibiting officers in the milliary service of the United States using forces under their command for the return of fagitive slaves, was considered and passed; ayes 67, nays not counted. The punishment for violations is dismissal from service.

vice. A communication was received from W. H. Lamon, Esq., Marshal of the District of Columbia, in answer to a resolution of that body requiring him to show by what authority he receives and retains slaves in the jail of this District. The reply of Col. Lamon is in substance that the practice is acquiesced in by him on account of the universal custom based upon some valid law into which he has made no investigation.

Esca World August Here will be an Anna-Stavery meeting in Georgetown, on Sunday, 19th inst., to be continued through the day and evening, at the usual hours. In the present position of our national mairs, no argument can be required to induce a large attendance the genuine lovers of liberty, not only of Georgetown, but

all the contiguous towns.

CHA'S L. REMOND, S. S. FOSTER, H. C. WRIGHT and PAR-KER PILLSBURY will address the meetings.

G. B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., will speak at North Abington, Sunday, Dec. 29, on "The Slave-holders' Rebellion—Its Cause and Cure."

EF A. T. POSS, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak at Milford, N. H., on Sunday, Dec. 29 ; and at Groton, Mass., Jan. 5.

EF WORCESTER.—There will be an Anti-Slavery meeting at Worcester, in Washburn Hall, on Sunday, Jan. 5, at the untal hours, morning, afternoon and evening. Particulars will be given in next Liberator.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 695 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Par-ticular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. Reference.—Luther Clark, M.D.; David Tanyer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

PRIVATE TUITION.

T having been deemed advisable to suspend, ten Iy, the Hopedale Home School at the expiration present term, amouncement is hereby made, the A. B. HAWWOON, one of the Principals, will be pictories a few Young Ladies into her family for iton in the English, Branches, Franch, Dramme and ny, and Masic. The term will commence on Widdyshia Jan. 1, 1862, and continue Firens, Wesses. For particulars, please address Hopedale, Milford, Mass., Dec. 10, 1861.

PARKER Sewing Machines, PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licemed under the patents of How, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents orned and used by those parties, and the patents of the Farker Sewing Company. They were awarded a Silver-Medical at the last Bair of the Michanice' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

Sales Room, 188 Washington's

GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

Agents wanted everywhere.

All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.

Boston, Jan. 18, 1861.

5m.

PARKIN'S SERVING MAGRISHS have many qualities that recommend them to use in families. The several parts are recommend them to use in families. The several parts are finned together, so that it is always adjusted and ready for work, and not limit and the product of repair. It is the best faished, and most firmly and substantially made machine in the Pair. To motions are all positive, its tension saily adjusted, and it leaves no reige on the back of the rock. It will hem, fell, sitch, run, blud and gather, and he work cannot be ripped, except designedly. It sews from common spools, with alls, lines or cotton, with such facility. The zaich made upon this machine was recently warded the first price at the Tennessee State Pair, for its majoriority.—Bessee Tenedler.

JOHN S. ROCK.

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, No. 6 TREMOST STREET, - BOSTON

THE SLAVE'S APPEAL TO THE STAR-SPAN-GLED BANNER.

Proudly o'er the world you wavs, Xet, beneath you sighs the slave ! Starry banner, wave for me, Break the bonds of Slavery!

Lovely banner, floating high, Thou hast heaven's own arme dye; Shall thy stars that gleam so bright, Leave me ever here in night?

Turn my eyes to thee in vain?
Starry banner, wave for me!
Break my chains, and set me free!

Till he, too, can look to thee, And rejoice shat he is free ! Fing of Freedom ! over me Wave, and give me liberty !

> From the Christian Inquirer ANGELS OF BARTH

Though, while on their earthly mission,
They are robed in forms of clay,
To our spiritual vision
Brighter than the sun are they.

Deck the wings on which they move; For these engel ones are ever Borne, upon the wings of love.

Of the world-deserted one, beering homes the selfish only Know of to avoid and shun;

Of the scoffer's voice unheeding.

Solacing the child of shame,
And her trembling footsteps leading
Back, her virtue to reclaim.

And his torpid soul awaking Unto life and strength again.

Of the dungeon, dread and fearful, Oft the penderous door they ope, To the wretch, in accents cheerful, Whispering courage, whispering hope; O'er the couch of sickness bending, When the leech's skill is vain,

Often at the death-bed kneeling, In the fervency of prayer, Heaven note the seal revealing. That was sinking with despair;

rith godlike love, to shun the fields of gore, When unheeded all their preaching Healing up the wounds of war;

Childhood's guileless nature warning From the paths that lead astroy; Fitting manhood's early morning For the labors of the day;

Shedding bitter tears of sorrow O'er the ills they cannot stay, Ever hoping for to-

Surely, when, their task completing They to better worlds shall fly, They shall meet a friendly greeting From their brethren in the sky.

A TRACT FOR OUR ARMY AND NAVY

Hurrah, my boys, I'm strong enough . To beat the whole creation!

ng pretty handy.

Can't scare me now—I'm strong enough
To conquer all creation!

WINTER.

winter comes I and all his heralds blow helr gusty trumpels, and his tents of mow map the fields from whence and Autumn flee-nimm, that finds a Southern elime, or dies, as excama are dumb with wes; the forcet givers, alling the loss of all its nummer leaves; a more fond Rachel on her children breast map her this hands where once her young were put and flings her empty arms into the sir; and swells the gale with her convulsed dampaly.

THE ANTHEM OF FREEDOM.

Like some old organ-peal, Solemn and grand, The anthem of Freedom

The Tiberator.

not, perhaps, be without interest, as foreshadowing the solemn events which are now transpiring in our country, and as indicating the propitious results to which they are tending.

THOMAS McCLINTOCK.

Philadelphia, 10th mo. 30th, 1861.

11th mo. 24, 1851.

My Daughter—At the earnest desire of one who for his country contended while he inhabited the rudimental sphere, do I now announce to thee the presence of George Washington, who wishes to write a

of her parents. They saw but in part the beauty, the

holiness of that perfect liberty which the children of light are called into, and hence transmitted to their posterity imperfection, whose giant growth now over-spreads the land of my love.

spreads the land of my love.

O, America! the magnitude of thy errors is as a mountain piled up to heaven. It shall be shaken by the mighty power of God. It already totters to its base. It is swayed to and fro by the winds of heaven. Its volcanic elements will burst it asunder, and not a fragment shall be left. On its site then will be reared a structure of beauty, of goodness, fit for the children.

fragment shall be left. On its site then will be reared a structure of beauty, of goodness, fit for the children of purity to inhabit; for on its door posts will be blazoned her motto of liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all. The seed of oppression will not be left with in her portals to strike root and rear its gigantic head,

sending forth poison to infect the land.

Then, all who dwell in the soil of freedom, from

whence are to be dug the foundation stones on which this structure is to be built, cease not to exhume

them from their resting places, in order that they may

be ready when called for. Then will the earth a

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

We have organized an Emancipation League here, and the following persons have been chosen its officers:—George Keely Radcliffe, President; Michael C. Teel and Oliver J. Gerrish, Vice Presidents; Edward

would fain inspire them to keep his memory ever green by words and deeds of charity and good-will to

tent, would have created the only policy by which armed traitors, marauders and pirates can be effectu-

Haverhill, Dec. 14, 1861.

G. K. RADCLIFFE, President

their fellows, without distinction of caste or color. Resolved, That the sublime principle inaugurated by John C. Fremony, if carried out to the fullest ex-

FRIEND GARRISON:

11th mo. 2d, 1851.

"Watchman, what of the night?" How goes the conflict? Are we approaching the hour of emancipation, or are we rolling back into barbarism? Hop whitspers, all will end well. God and Right will triumph. PROPHETIC COMMUNICATION. W. L. Garrison:

Dear Friend—The following prophetic communication, purporting to come from the spirit world, was written,—at the period of its date, now about ten years since,—by a lady in Western New York, who, under similar influence, penned many beautiful and interesting articles, bearing the names of different individuals. Her mind and hand purported to be controlled by her father, who was an excellent man, and then about thirty years in the angel world, and without whose permission none others could have access to her. She wrote with rapidity, though seeing but a word at a time, and could not tell, when a communication was finished, whether or not there was in it any connec-

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small—
Though with patience he stands waiting,
With exactness grinds he all."

SIDE GLANCES AT THE WAR.

It really, however, seems and that a lessen so current in all the pages of the Testament can only be mastered in the achool of war. A poor comment is here afforded to the labors of the thousand "legates from the skies," that Christian union should reveal itself only in time of carnage and blood. If soldiers in the camp can joyfully sing one song, pray cannot the soldiers of the Cross thus sing and love in union when at the Lord's altar? We will not be overmuch critical, but rather rejoice that unity of spirit is deemed essential even by soldiers in the army.

Is it said, this is being thankful for small favors? Not at all. Religious creeds, based on the dogmas of the church, amount to but little as tests of character. Men and women believe enough—perhaps too much. But in making an application of what is assented to comes the trial. The war has thus far proved to be eye-salve in clearing the vision respecting the hair-willying of the lockerish bulliments. ence of George Washington, who wishes to write a few thoughts.

"Woe, woe to America! A woe is pronounced against her from heaven. She hath forsaken her God. She hath bowed herself to Ambition and Avarice. She hath encompassed see and land to make proselytes. She hath sought to enlarge her boundaries, and to be amongst the mighty of the earth. But the day of her humiliation is at hand. Her government shall be broken up. Her children shall rise in rebellion, and cause her to become a by-word and hissing among the nations of the earth. My soul goes out in mourning at her degeneracy. Better had she never been born to inherit the mal-organization of her parents. They saw but in part the beauty, the

comes the trial. The war has thus far proved to be eye-salve in clearing the vision respecting the hair-splitting of theological beliligerents.

Another glance cheers us with the thought that geographical distinctions vanish away. A man 's a man for his worth in duty. The spirit of caste is also contraband. The soldier does not hunt up the birth-place of his comrade to measure his worth. An Irishman is as good as a Yankee, if he prove faithful. So, then, the world does move. To learn the simple truths of righteousness may cost a treasure of blood and intense suffering; and if we are too depraved and stupid to profit by any other process. we must and stupid to profit by any other process, we m welcome this. God pity us for our folly, and save

rom our darkness!
Milford, Dec. 16, 1861. G. W. S.

THE BEAUFORT NEGROES.

THE BEAUFORT NEGROES.

We think that enough tears have been shed over the pilferings and other "outrages" of the negroes at Beaufort, who are said to have gutted some of their masters house, after the latter had shot several of them, and descred the rest. True, it was a sad exhibition of human depravity for those ignorant slaves to rob and defile the mansions of such high-born rebels as Barnwell Rhett and Gen. Drayton! But have we not bemoaned it about long enough? Would it not be better for our officers at Port Royal to cease denouncing the blacks, and look after their rebel masters awhile? Two weeks have clapsed since Com. Dupont cleared away the obstacles to a landing for our troops, and the only thing we have heard from that quarter since is, that Gen. Sherman sent his proclamation ten miles into the interior by the hands of a lieutenant and a surgeon, who tried to force it upon a rebel clergyman, who wouldn't take it, but who finally consented to deliver it to another clergyman, who claimed to be a British subject.—the lieutenant assuring all persons whom he met that the outrages perpetrated at Beanfort were committed by negroes. How said it was that Sambo and Cuffee should have abused the confidence of Mr. Rhett and Gen. Drayton during their absence!

It was supposed that Gen. Sherman went to South Carolina to fight the most desperate gang of proach the angel sphere, and they will descend with their influence to cause it to come forth clad in its robes of strength and power, to resist all opposing forces."—[A Voice from Heaven, through George Wash-

cers:—George Keely Radciiffe, President; Michael C. Teel and Oliver J. Gerrish, Vice Presidents; Edward Everette Emerson, Secretary; Charles H. Philbrick, Treasurer.

At a meeting held by this League on Saturday evening, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed in the newspapers, particularly the Liberator, and Pine and Palm:—

Resolved, That in the recent death of Francis Jackson, Esq., of Boston, that city has lost one of its most upright, far-seeing, warm-hearted and nobleminded citizens, whose works follow him only in praise, and whom every good man should strive to emulate.

Resolved, That in the double espacity of President of one Anti-Slavery Society, and Treasurer of another; for a long series of years, he magnified and made honorable a noble cause, and discharged his duties in these, as well as in all other positions of trust, with marked efficiency, and without reproach. That we especially honor him for his fidelity to the slave, and his humanity toward all fugitives from the prison-house of bondage; and that we rejoice further, that in his last will and testimony, this hunted and oppressed race were remembered, to his evertasting honor.

Resolved, That we rejoice further, that in his last will and testimony, this hunted and oppressed race were remembered, to his evertasting honor.

Resolved, That we rejoice further, that in his last will and testimony, this bunted and oppressed race were remembered, to his evertasting honor.

Resolved, That we rejoice further, that in his last will and testimony, this bunted and oppressed race were remembered, to his evertasting honor.

Resolved, That we rejoice further, that in his last will and testiment, the pioneers of the Anti-Slavery cause were not forgotten; and we commend most heartly his example in this respect to all wealthy and philanthropic people who desire to all wealthy and women, and secure to the rising generation a proper education in works of philanthropy to their fellowlarge the sphere of userumess of noise men and women, and secure to the rising generation a proper education in works of philanthropy to their fellow-men, however persecuted and degraded. Resolved, That we sympathize kindly with the relatives and friends of the lamented deceased, and

Beaufort slaves.—Chicogo Tribune.

One of the most remarkable features of the new life in South Carolina is afforded by the negroes. Black servants have been hired by many of the officers, as waiters, washermen and women. Black gangs have worked on the shore, or been used as souts and guides in the reconnoissances. Crowds of the women and children may be seen in various parts of the camps, but especially near headquarters, where they inhabit their old huts still. There they receive their rations, there they build fires to cook their food or do their washing, and cluster into odd-looking groups, picturesque for all their squalor. The men and boys join them at night, and always, after supper, in a dilapidated outhouse, is held a prayer-meeting. I listened ontside, last night, and heard ardent ejaculations of thanksgiving for the favorable chance God had given to "my colored brudden." The jargon was alsurd, but it was carnest; the singing was out of time and time, but it was forvent. In some quarters, the blacks are less religious, and held We have associated ourselves together for the pur-pose of diffusing all the information possible pertinent to the crisis now upon us, and which we hope and trust

pose of diffusing all the information possible pertinent to the crisis now upon us, and which we hope and trust will soon come to an end by the utter extinction of slavery, its undoubted cause. No other cure but Emancipation can be effectual; and we agree with you that colonization, as broached by the President, would only produce "fresh agitation and unerding conflict." And we endorse, to the fullest extent, your very apt remark, that "Tresident Limcoln may colonize himself, if he choose, but it is an impertment act, on his part, to propose the getting rid of those who are as good as himself." No man who cares a "snap" for genuine Republicanism, Democracy or Christianity, can tolerate this scheme for a moment. Every friend to oppressed and persecuted humanity ought to flout and scout it, no matter from what source it comes. This hounding down an innocent and unfortunate people,—according to Theodore Parker, the most docile and affectionate race in the world,—seems to us as cowardly as it is cruel. But I will not dwell upon the matter. Let me add, that we are utterly ashamed of the metropolis of this State in again electing Wightman as Mayor, a man who would be repudiated by Massachusetts for any offlice that might be named. And we have just about as much reason to be ashamed of the daily press of Boston. With the exception (not wholly, sither, of the contract and unfortunate people. The first contract and unfortunate people, making trained as a warlike disposition have been detected. The Goston With the exception (not wholly, sither, of the other population toward our camps. I doubt whether they would be guilting to the State in again electing Wightman as Mayor, a man who would be repudiated by Massachusetts for any office that might be named. And we have just about as much reason to be ashamed of the daily press of the schole population toward our camps. I doubt whether they would be guilting of the State in again electing with the country of the Transcript and Traveller, no press in the United States is more office that might be named. And we have just about as much reason to be ashamed of the daily press of Boston. With the exception (not wholly, either,) of the Transcript and Traveller, no press in the United States is more beartless, mendacious and vaciliating. Is Boston never to be rid of such nuisances as the Courier and its mercenary and deprayed panderers and backers! Let her be warned that the people of this Commonwealth never will know any such "actious" as molecratic suggest or proclinated presses. Mark that!

Allow me to say, in conclusion, that the officers of our League are all printers—steady and true men. Documents sent to sither with be gratefully received, read and pondered. "Circulating the truth" is one of our grand objects.

PENTUCKET.

OUR MULATTO VICE PRESIDENT. The Memphis Acadanche has an article on the "mulatto" Vice President of the North. It remarks:—"We have only been able to account for the remarkable lukewarmness of Hannibal Hamlin in regard to the Abolition war, by attributing it to the general distrast of Abolition inscrity entertained by his race. With a decided infusion of African blood in his veins,—a fact never yet accessfully controvered—we may approse that he asson of African blood in his veins,—a fact never yet successfully controverted,—we may suppose that he shares the sentiments and feelings of his African kin. Neither is it improbable that an instinctive sense of the incongruity and impropriety of an individual of negro extraction railing over white people induces his reticence and modesty. Every well-bred negro or mulatto would shrink from such an anomalous position as unbecoming; and Hannibal may be supposed to be well-bred, having received an education superior to that usually bestowed on free mulations."

well-bred, having received an education superior to that usually bestowed on free mulations."

**The Among the facts assertained by our troops in their scouting expeditions from Port Royal is the following: that the contrabunds are far more numerous than has hitherto been believed. They exist in great numbers in every direction. On St. Helena Island alone, on the plantations of Jenkins and Coffin, about two thousand were employed; half or three-quarters of that number, it is estimated, still remain. They are living on the provisions which were left by their masters; they also endeavor to dispose of it to parties of our troops who sometimes land there.

It is estimated that by far the greater portion of the blacks employed on extensive plantations yet remain. Many, of ocurse, followed their masters; others are within our lines. But those who take care of themselves have very peculiar ideas of their own independence, and even of their proprietary rights. When asked where their masters are, they reply, with much gusto, that they have none; that they are their own masters; "Massa left when de Yankees come; dey ron away, when old white neck (the Wabash) sent de hotten shot."

The negroes represent themselves as the legal owners of all the live stock, sweet potatos, and every description of provisions or available means which have been left in their possession by their masters. They ampose they have the best of whatever right of ownership may now exist. They (those yet on the plantations) are doing no work, living on such provisions as they can find, and sell quantities to our troops.

**The A letter from Hilton Head eavy the negroes who come in all express a desire to be free, and work for themselves. They all complain of harsh treatment by their masters. On Mr. Seabrook's plantation, a child had been taken by the master part and malmest every family, in the hope of inducing the rest to follow. On one plantation, a negro was found who had been shot, and 'et lying in the preplace, nearly burnt to a cinder—a fact whic

highly probable.

De A contraband at Beaufort thus describes the flight of the robels: "Fust de Alabamians run, den de Georgia cavairy went after dem, and dey didn't come back, den de Souf Carolinians run, and lef de Dutch to be killed." The Germans manned their

guns.

27 General Drayton, in a letter to the Governor of South Carolina, says the negroes are behaving well, and while he admits that the negroes of a few plantations were insubordinate, he says:

"I would respectfully advise that all planters and overseers, who are not mustered into service, and are owners or agents of property upon the main land, should, without delay, return to their several neighborhoods, and thus by their presence prevent a recurrence of that excitement among their people which has been due in a great measure to their absence."

The Philadelphia January thus relates how a

of that excitement among their people which has been due in a great measure to their absence."

27 The Philadelphia Inquirer thus relates how a naval officer "caught a Tartar":—

"A naval officer was so unfortunite, a day or two since, while enjoying his dinner at Willard's Hotel, as to denounce what he was pleased to term 'Abolition movements,' and to add that 'that Abolitionist Henry Wilson is as bad as any of them.' To his surprise, a gentleman who had been quietly dining at his side, said in firm tones: "Sir! I am Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and I will suggest that you had perhaps better confine yourself to your duties, instead of induging it such personal criticismes, which are in bad issie. The rebukel officer shut pan,' and soon left the table, to wait for the Senator in the hall, and humbly applogies for his remark."

Shaart Hirs. Rev. Mr. Manning, in his lecture at Institute Hall, recently, referred to Messrs, Mason and Sildellas Commodore Wilkes a "contrabands." He also referred to Mason as the vindictive persecutor of John Brown, and said, that while the gathering hosts of Freedom were chanting on the Potomac, "John Brown's soul is marching on," the Virginia Senator, under the shadow of Bunker Hill, at Foet Warren, whines out, dolefully, "O carry me back to Old Virginy," — Rowery Journal.

ENWIY CROSWELL, for many years the editor of the Albany Argus, the leading Democratic maper, in New Albany Argus, the leading Democratic maper, in New

Old Virginny."—Rozbury Journal.

EDWIN Chowwell, for many years the editor of the Albany Argus, the leading Democratic paper in New York, has published a letter, in which he fully endorses the position taken by Col. John Cochrane, on the question of emanciparing the slaves, as enuriciated in his recent speech. We have now upon the record the views of the leading Democrats of the country, such men as Bancroft, Butler, Cochrane, Croswell, Dix. Dickinson, and other prominent men of the party, whose names we do not recollect, all of whom concur in the sentiment, that the confiscation of the slaves, and their employment by the Government against its enemies, is the proper method to end the rebellion, and the only one which will squelch it speedily, and effectively.

effectively.

EF New Orleans, at this senson of the year, was formerly the scene of joyohs life, brilliant galety, large business, and a "Rialto where merchants most do congregate" from all parts of the world. Now, it situation under the blight of secession is vividly painted by the Albany Journal, with its levee deserted—ships rotting by the river side—storehouses abandoned to the rats—shops closed at noondayson Canal and St Charles streets—the grass cropping from the chinks of the pavements. Nothing "doing"—no veasels coming in or going out—nobedy having money—nobedy paying his debts. And then every thing is or aristocratically dear! Pork 845 per barrel; lard 45 cents per pound; bacon 55 and 40 cents per pound; as this Disunlos? Insurrection, and no potatoee in the merket. In addition to this, crime rampant—dennkenness and licentiousness panting rabble des—strong the property of the proposed to the property of the property ting public decency to the blush—a hostile fleet a few hours distant, threatening to destroy the city. So Johnson, San'l, do. 80-81 Jackson, Andrew, Testically and the figure of the first of treason property and so terrible have been the fruits of treason of the figure of the figure of the first of treason of the figure of

Lincoln's Position,
Legislature and Free
Speech,
Lincoln's Journey to the
Capital,
Lincoln's Journey to the
Letter from a Western
Lincoln's Journey
Letter from a Western
Letter from Southern III,
Stater from Southern III,
Letter from Letter from Southern III,
Letter from Southern III,
Letter from Letter f

On Saturday, 7th instant, 2500 men passed through Nashville for Bowling Green, carrying black flags embellished with a skull and cross-bones. They were mostly sixty days men, armed entirely with shot

E. In the New York regiment of Col. S. Wallace Cone, there are no less than three companies of sol-dies composed wholly of members in Baptist church-es. The Colonel bimself is a son of the late Rey. Dr. Spencer H. Cone, of New York.

Cruelty to wives is cheep in Iowa. William Hartwell, of North McGregor, in a fit of passion, recently seized his wife, stripped her of her clothing, and held her upon the stove until her body was burnt to a crispin places. He was fined only \$100 for this awayge conduct.

Bay The ship Harvey Birch, which was captured and burnt by the Confederate steamer Nashville, was 1482 tons burthen, seven years old, and was owned by Mesars. J. H. Brower & Co. of New York.

DECEASE OF AN OLD CORRESPONDENT. The Rev. Joshua N. Danforth, D.D., died at Newcastle, Delaware, Nov. 14th, in the 64th year of his age. He was a naive of Berkelite, Mass, and was for many years the pastor of a Prestyterian church in Alexandria, Va. He was for many years an "Occasional Correspondent" of the New York Journal of Commerce, generally writing from Newcastle, Alexandria, or Washington city.

INDEX

VOLUME XXXI.

ns Compromies 9
Rapur, 13
Andrew, Gov., Speech of 147
Inil Meeting of Mass.
S. Society, 17
Iva sin and object, 158
Anderson's Memor. Vol., 168
Anderson's Memor. Vol., 168
Abditionista & Slavery, 168
Outpham, 29
Attacks on Emantiper
tionists, 172
West of Mass. WorkTell Memor. 172

Anderson's Memor. Vol., 168
Attacks on Emantiper
tionists, 172

Attacks on Emantiper
Attacks on Emantiper
Attacks on Emantiper
Attacks on Emantiper

Total Memor. 172

Total Memor. 172

Total Memor. 172

Total Memor. 173

Total Memor. 174

Total Memor.

Address of Mass. Work ingmen, 33 At Home, 178 Anderson, Maj., Polley of 45 A Disappointment, 184 APure Despotism, 61 Abolition and Secession, 185 Anderson, Maj., in N. T., 72 A Contraband Incident, 186 Apure and Butter on Slave Lasurrections, 73 Abolitionist Traitors to Slave Lasurrections, 74 An Artial Dodge, 188 Anniversary Week, 92 Abouthern Christian Appeal, 105 A Posscript, 205

maks on the Personal
Liberty Bill,
asse Recommendation,
surleigh, C. C., Letter of 11
Speech of 52
Badfialo Moborrary,
Booth, S. M., in the C.
jail,
Battles, A., Letter of
Boasted, "Land of the
Free."

War, Letter of
Bosted "Land of the
Free."

Beecher's Bermon on the
War, 162
Beecher's Bermon on the
War, 162
Beecher on Fremont and
South S. M. Service of 172
Beecher on Fremont and
South S. M. Service of 172
Beecher on Fremont and
South S. M. Service of 172
Beecher on Brama pation, 197
Beecher on Brawell, Goo. S., Lee-

Constitution and Union, 2
Consultation and Union, 3
Contrabands at Fortress
Munore, 117
Course for Scocssion, 52
Convey, M. D., on Compression and Contrabands at Fortress
Contrabands at Fortress
Munore, 117
Compression and France, 117
Compression and Contrabands at Beaufort, 192
Charles John South again be trusted? 117
Cowdin, Colonel, turned 5
Siave-Catcher, 115
Common Sonse, 142

Dissolution of the Union, 2 Destruction of Presses, 133
Debon, Rev. Mr., to Dr.
Vinton, 3 Destruction of Presses, 133
Diokinson's Speech, 137
Demands from the South, 44
Dana, R. H., on the Abolitionists, 49-5
Davis's Proclamation, 67
Davis's Proclamation, 67
Douglas on the Was. 69-70
Davis o Jone cannot be Undone, 149
colltionists, 49-52 Death of Barciay Copie, 154
Davir's Proclamation, 67 Dalias, G. M., on the
Douglas on the Was, 60-10 War,
Disunion Avowed, 73 Darby Vassall, 188
Douglas, Death of 95 Doigs in So. Carolina, 192
Davir & Wise's Speeches, 97 Dir, Gen. John A 194
Douglas, S. A., 104 Dickinson, D. S., Speech 198
Duty of Abolitionists, 114 Douglas, F., in Boston, 198
Death before Slavery, 129

Epistolary Correspond'ee, 31 Exeiting Scene at Flushing, 31 Exciting Scene at Flushing, 31 Exeiting Scene at Flushing, 31 Exercit on Secession, 112-Excisement at Flushing, 32 Exercit on Secessi Every Letter to a virginian, 94 Ede Exposure of Pro-Slavery Em Sophistry, 104 Em Emancipation Celebra'ns, 133

Free Speech,
Famine in Kanea,
Fask Appointed,
Fugitives and the Liberty Act,
Freedom and Slavery,
Freedom and Slavery,
Free Speech in Albany,
Free Speech in Albany,
Free Speech in Albany,
Free Speece in the W. I. 61
Follen, Charles, Letter of 66
Free Discussion,
Free Discussi

Gov. Andrew's Message, 5 Garrison, W. L., Speech
Uov. Andrew, 7 of 111-118
Gaarison to Harey, 46 Golden Wedding, 120
Green, Berish, Letter of 60 Grew, Mary, Speech of 131
-53-79 Government Ingrasticate
Gavrison on Havitan Em. to the firsh. 149 Garrison on Haytian Emigration, on American Stavery, on American Stavery, 86
God and our County, 93
Griffing, J. S., Letter of 103
Griffing, J. S., Letter of 103
Griffing, J. S., Letter of 117

68 In Memoriam,

M.

Mob Spirit in Boston,
Meeting in Fitchburg,
Mr. Manning's Fast Day
Sormon,
Maryland Revolutionists, 13
Metropolitan Police Bill, 15
Mobocraey, 16-19-29-21-33
Mothodiat Church & Sia.
Methodiat Church & Sia.
Methodiat Church & Sia.
Milliangy Correspondence, 172
Milliangy Correspondence, 173

Methodist Church & Sla-very, 20-54-56-57 Mob at the Temple, 40

H. Holler than Thou, 1 liskman, John, Speech of 1 linkman, John, J

Commodore Levy, owner of the Monticello estate in Virginia, has prepared his will, in which he leaves the Jefferson homestead, and 8100,000 to keep it in repair, as a legacy to the United States.

Mashington city.

The nine surviving daughters of the late Ama-tals Shuttick of Millord, N. H., met on Thanksgiving a Chelmsford, with all their husbands save three, and hildren enough to make up the number to 40 persons. The ages of the sisters range from 42 to 50 years, and

THE LIBERATOR,

Abury, P., Letter from 8
bury, P., Letter from 8
sidential Fast, 8-24
sillips, Speeche of 16-18
17-42-30-50-100-125-138
Protest of Colored Citizens, 33
Prisser, 16-18
Pris

Phillips, the Abolitionist
Orator,
Ora

Redpath on St. Domingo, 58 Returning Fügitives, 100-

Resumson, M. H., Letter of 8 Reasons for Repeal, 108 Redpash to Brougham, 29 Redpash to Brougham, 29 Redpash to Cause, 47 Robinson, C., Letter of 47 Republicanism, 51 Recreant Irishmen in the 5 South, 93

Southern Church,
Store, Mrs., on the President's Message.
Section, 4-13-48-49-53
1-3-4-13-11.
Sand Firm,
South Carolina, Strength
and Weakness of 9
Simith, Gerrit, to Senator Breckindee, 128
South Carolina, Strength
and Weakness of 9
Simith, Gerrit, to the DeSouthern Lying, 139
Southern Chiefal.

Secession, 4.7-i-3.48-49-35

57-67-69-89-18-38-51-14
134-142-177.

Sand Form Strength
and Weakness of
Seward on the Crists, 10
Strength with Shavery, 11
Spirit of the Northwest, 13
Seward and the Liberator, 20
Slade, Lacity, Letter of
Southern Opinions of
Northern Men, 24
Sibare-Hunting in Mass. 24
Southern Opinions of
Northern Men, 24
Sibare-Hunting in Mass. 24
Southern Opinions of
Northern Aniversary, 24
Sibarey and the New
Testamen, 25
Senator Seward, 33
Senator Swamer's Speech, 33
Senator Swamer's Speech, 33
Southern Aniversary, 34
Southern Activative, 41-42
Southern Outrages, 41-42
Southern Outrages, 41-42
Southern Outrages, 41-42
Southern Outrages, 41-42
Southern Activative, 41-43
Southern Activative, 41-43
Southern Activative, 41-43
Southern Agression, 51
Slavery in the District of
Columbia, 35
Sander, 58-80-113-136-182
Slavery and Sects, 41-42
Southern Agression, 51
Slavery has Sects, 41-42
Southern Agression, 51
Slavery has George and Sects, 51
Slavery and Agression, 51
Slavery has George and Sects, 51
Slavery and Sects, 52
Sumer and Fremon, 19
Schemator Section Section

Contraband of War, 114-118-120-127-131-134-143 118-120-127-131-134-143
Courage of Americans, 144
Commencement at the
Normal Institute, 148
Chesson, F. W., Letter of 150
Cushing's Views, 154
Child, Mrs., Letter of 162
Contrabands at Fortress

Voice from Vermont, 3 Vindication of Slavery, 45 Vinton, Dr., Letter of 37 Visit to Washington Jail, 200

5 Wright, B. G., Letter of 107 of 12 -108 6-163 Whiting N.H. L. 108

IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing,

"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

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

Mo. 31 WINTER STREET,
where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.
She is sure to cure in nine case out of ten, as she has
for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there
are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.
Her Restorative differs from that of any one size, being
made from the roots and herbs of the forest.
She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in the
Country, and which is shighly beneficial to the hair before
using the Restorative, and will, prevent the hair from
urning grey.
She also has another for restoring grey that to tract
all color in nearly all cases. She is not spaid to speak of
her Restoratives in any part of the weights at they are use
the Restorative in any part of the weights at they are
out the every city in the country. They are also packed for her
outdoners to take to Europe with place, enough to last they
abroad like them.

MADAME CARPEAUX BANNISTER,

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

Dec. 20. The Life and Letters of

CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN,

W HO was Excented at Charlestown, Virginia, December 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack upon American Slavery; with Notices of some of his Confederate. Edited by Richard D. Winn,—This very valuable and interest work, which has met with a most favorable reception and ready sale in England, has been carefully prepared by one of the most intelligent and experienced friends of America in the old world. For sale at the Anti-Shawry Oles Moston, 212 Washington street, Room No. 6. Also Nov. York, at No. 5 Beekman street; and in Philadelphia, No. 106 North Tenth street.

Diseases of Women and Children.

Notes from the Capital,
No Union with Slavehold
ers,
Northern Diemicoleta,
No Prescription of Citirens,
Northern Editors and
Preschers,
Northern Editors and
Preschers,
Northern Editors and
Preschers,
Northern Colored PosNational First,
National First,
Northern Colored PosNational First,
Northern Colored PosNational First,
No Mobs,
Northern With Stavehold
Northern With Stavehold
No Mobs,
Northern With Stavehold
Northern With Stavehold WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, Accordingly,

AVE opened an office at 274 Washington Sire

Boston, and will devote special attention to the

treatment of the above diseases.

Boston, Oct. 4, 1881. O. Our present Danger, 177

64 Our present Danger, 177

m. 76 Our National Administration, 179

tration, 179

ife, very the and the whole who were the symmetry to successful the symmetry the symmetry to successful the symmetry to successful the symmetry to successful the symmetry that symmetry the symmetry that symmetry the symmetry the symmetry that symmetry the

Fing of Freedom! unto thee White men look, and boast they're free Must I still, in grief and pain, Starry banner! onward wave! Float in mercy o'er the slave,

Dona M. WEST

There are angels, angels many
Even now upon the earth,
Dark as it may seem to any
Creature of celestial birth.

Tints the world could give them never,

'Mid earth's scenes of mirth and glad Look not for these forms of light; Oft'ner, 'mid its gloom and sadness, Will you see their faces bright. Of they seek the dwelling lonely

Now in kindness ministering To the needy and oppressed; Now the drooping spirit cheering. Giving to the weary rest;

Often may you see them shaking . From the slave his galling chain,

Aid to fainting nature lending, Giving life and health again;

Now, with godlike love, beseething

Ever toiling, ever striving
Man to teach his aim and worth,
And God's holy law reviving,
Are these angels of the earth.

From the Anti-Tobacco Journal.

I'm beat! There, boys, I'll give it up,
This cursed trick of drinking!
I've nursed the devil long enough
For my own good, I'm thinking.
\$0, here goes notick, PIPS, CHAR,
The vile confederation!

Come Jack, come Joe, come comrades all,
And quit your drunken capers;
This Mr. Trook is "up to mun,"
I tell you in thece Papers.
He shows the thing up mighty smart—
And, what's the very best on "s.
It's true as Goopel, all he says—
Too true to make a jest on "t.

re served the devil, boys, you know, In shape of FIFES and BEANDY, ntil he's come to count on me He wants me, soul and body!

His terms,—you know them well enough,—
Tonacco, pirzs, and rondy.

I have a mother, boys, at home, And, when I was a shaver,
She used to talk a deal to me About my "good behavier."

I've made her old eyes water since;
But now, I'll tell you what, sir,
I'll make her ery on t other side;
I'll be no more a sot, sir.

Then here goes awaring, Rus, Chars,
The whole vile crew together!
God helping me, I'll stirer through,
In spite of wind and weather.
Hark! there's the drum! To arms, my boys!
The whole Confederation