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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pen The Agents of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies horised to receive subscriptions for The Librarator.

The following gentlemen constitute the Fin Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :-Fearcis Jacksox, Edward Quincy, Edward Jacksox, and Wessell, Phillips.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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VOL. XXXII. NO. 3.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1862.

WHOLE NO. 1621.

Refuge of Oppression.

"A TREASONABLE MEMORIAL."

On our third page may be found a well considere n Petition to Congress, signed by William Cullen Bryant, William Curtiss Noyes, and William Cullen Bryant, Winam Curdes Royes, and other highly respectable citizens of New York, asking that body to abolish slavery, under the war power, for hat body to abolish stavery, unter the way hysterical, he cogent reasons therein set forth. The hysterical, sequi-loyal, rabidly pro-slavery, and venomously hy-lrophobic editor of the Boston Courier is thrown into corrulsions at its appearance, and raves about it in the didwing Bedlamitish strain, which indicates that a following Bedlamitish strain, which indicat straight-jacket might prove serviceable :— Though we consider the whole emancipation or

Though we consider the whole emancipation organization utterly contemptible, as a practical thing, —that is to say, that they would be routed by the force of two-thirds at least of the people of the free States, should it ever come to a decisive question—yet by secret and indirect action they are doing infinite mischief to the cause of the country. They and their abetto's have brought the war upon us, and they have exerted themselves to the best of their ability, since it began, to aggravate it, and to prevent any possibility of ending it. They are resolved to destroy, if they can, the last vestige of hope for the future Umon of the States. An emancipationist, of course, is an enemy to the Constitution, and of course to the Union—since only by returning to a sacred regard for the Constitution, could any rational mind expect the restoration of the Union, either now, or at any future time.

And yet here and elsewhere, as opportunity is found

nal mind expect the restoration of the row, or at any future time.

Ind yet here and elsewhere, as opportunity is found and this class of sentimental disorganizers is also the look-out to seek it—some from a maudin ilanthropy, others for the want of something else do—and others still who see that with a restored soft their political schemes for personal promotion at an end; for then those who have been active withstanding the restoration will be seen in all as at an end; for then those who have been active is withstanding the restoration will be seen in all the naked deformity of their purposes, and will be detested accordingly—this class of men are constantly at work. But in concert with sober viers on this point, such as ought to regulate the opinions and action of every sober friend of his country, we see in the Chicago. Times the following paragraph, well worthy of profound cogsideration:

"The son AT HOME. A Democratic paper at Flint, Michigan, makes a startling disclosure upon, it declares, perfectly reliable authority, to the effect that a secret political society has been organized in that city, in pursuance of a general plan designed to embrace the whole North, and upon which numerous societies have already been organized seewhere, whose single purpose is to make the war the engine of complete and entire emancipation. The Flint paper states that the society in that place is considerable in numbers. We conselves know the place to be a hot-bed of

Abditionism."

This undoubtedly refers to the "Emancipation Leggue," a meeting to inaugurate a branch of which took place in this city as few weeks ago, and which was so complete a failure, so far as any sympathy was manifested with it, except by the stereowiped list of old abolitionists. To the same purpose is the outrageous memorial to Congress, printed, drawn and signed by just the same set of men in New York, so far as we recognize their names at all. These are the proper inmates for Fort Lafayette and Fort Warren; and if they and such as they had been sent there in the beginning of our troubles, the breach might soon have been healed.

And what a ridiculously dishonest recital the memorial shows!—to say nothing of its bad English, of which at least Mr. Bryant, who heads it, ought to be ahamed; but when cant in morals gets possession of the man, cant in the use of language is its naturally perverse way of making it manifest. It begins by pretending that it expresses the wishes of the people of the United States. This throws aside altogether the people of fifteen of the States, because they notorously are in uter opposition to any such idea. And we should infer that the object of the memorial was to present dissolution as practically effected, and that the recolo of the United States were the This undoubtedly refers to the "Emancipation

And we should infer that the object of the memorial was to present dissolution as practically effected, and that the people of the United States were the citizens of the free States only,—if emancipation were not the plea urged,—that is, by force of arms, for there is no other way,—to attempt the Quixotic enterprise of setting the slaves free. And how? Against the unanimous and resolute sentiment of the South—axis the 'no less determined connection of against the no less determined opposition of thirds of the North—against the adamantine ob-de of the only possible means of effecting it— t is, the army, led by men who will fight only for is the army, led by men who will light only for Union and the Constitution, and against emanci-m and equancipationists, if to such a point it s, as it may. Can it be done by the breath of gress? Acts for such a purpose would be treat-as they would deserve, with derision and con-pter, By the order of the Admigistration? The rerument has taken a stand—and were there any by about it, it must take a stand—and were there any it, it must take a stand—utterly in oppo-

suon to the request of this petition, directly, unqualifiedly, constitutionally, or it cannot itself stand.

This memorial declares that we have departed from the "sounding generalities" of the Declaration of Independence. They were departed from and therefore rejected by the settlement of the Constitution under which we have lived. It declares that this departure has been caused by our attachsout incretors rejected by the settlement of the Constitution under which we have lived. It declares that this departure has been caused by our attachment to the Union and our conscientious fidelity to those with whom we have voluntarily made it. It proposes, therefore, to break away from that attachment and to violate that fidelity, contrary to our pledges and our consciences. It falsely declares that this departure has given birth to a mighty power,—which had in fact been born a hundred and fifty years before—and has consigned a class of persons to slavery, who had been in slavery a hundred and fifty years before "the solemn and undying truth" before unknown was declared; and, consequently, before unknown was declared; and not rouble whatever are necessary in question "for three-quarters of a century has disturbed the peace and harmony of the nation"—when it is notorious that no trouble whatever are fine in the legic of the memorial is—that we are released, upon these manifestly false statements, from every obligation to tolerate any longer a Constitution, to which we were so long by "an overshadowing attachment to the Union, and by conscientious fidelity to those with whom we had voluntarily united" for the purposes specified.

By breaking up and destroying the whole, we are

with whom we had voluntarily united" for the purposes specified.

By breaking up and destroying the whole, we are,
according to this impudent, seditious, and treasonable
memorial, to "complete the work which the Revolation began "—which Revolution ended in establishing those principles, upon which the nation enjoyed
unexampled happiness and prosperity, until Messrs.
Bryant, Goodell, Cheever, Sunner, Garrison, Greekey, Phillips and the rest began the nefarious work,
which has loosened the foundations of the Republic,
and through which it will sink to everlaging ruin,
and through which it will sink to a speedy close.

Selections.

"WHEN WILL THE TIME COME?"

"WHEN WILL THE TIME OOME?"

To the many urgent demands from every quarter of the North, that a proclamation should be made by the President, or an act passed by Congress, at once and forever freeing every slave in the rebellious States, the answer given by officials in and out of Congress is, "The time has not yet come." It is not at all contended that under no such circumstances would such an act be constitutional, or deserved by the rebel States; it is even admitted that the day may come when it must be done; and few can be found who do not say that slavery has received a shock from which it can never recover, that it may not last longer than the war. If the Union or slavery must end, every Northern man says slavery must end, every Northern man says slavery must be the victim. To save the country, we would not hesitate to destroy the system. Thus all admit the right of the President or Congress to destroy slavery to save the country. The only question is, whether the time has yet arrived when it is either proper or necessary to destroy the institution.

Let us inquire into this reply. What isit? It is the old ery of the pro-slavery party, to which the fathers of this country gave place in the formation of our Constitution. When the wisest statesmen of the Revolution declared that slavery must be abolished, or it would ruin the nation, the reply was, Yes, it is an evil, but it is so interwoven into our social and commercial organism that we cannot at once remove it; the time has not come yet. What would they do with all these ignorant, idle and helpless slaves let loose in their midst? What should we'd to to be overrum with such a population of paupers and theves? The time has not come yet. What would they do with all these ignorant, idle and helpless slaves let loose in their midst? What should we'd to be overrum with such a population of paupers and theves? The time has not come when we can see how to rid our selves of the action, it can be a population of paupers and theves? The time has not come when we ca

posed upon the people, and actually sustained what ithey professed to be anxiously endeavoring to remove.

And when, pray, may we expect that the time will come? It had not come when our Constitution was formed; it had not come when the anti-slavery party were pressing their arguments most vigorously; it had not come when Wilmot offered his provise; nor when the Fugitive Slave Law was passed; nor when John Brown went down to Virginia; nor when the Territorial question was discussed; and even now, when the subtle fiend has well nigh crushed the nation in his huge fold, and is straining every muscle to accomplish his work, the time to break his back, to dissever his head, is not come. If the time has not now arrived, when, pray, in the judgment of these gentlemen, will it come? If when every natural and artificial bond is ruptured, when every compact is broken; when the slaveholders have sought foreign aid; despised our entreaties and defield our arms; and sought by years of well-directed efforts to enlist foreign interference against us and our republican institutions; if when in cold blood they have murdered our brethren, and carried their heads on their bayonet points through the streets of their villages; if when all this is done, and all that is conceivable is done, by the slaveoracy, if now the time has not come when we shall be free, nay, required to strike the shackles from every bondman in rebeldom, when will it be proper? What more can they do? Only one thing is left, viz., our complete extermination. Already have they made us poor, degraded us in the eyes of every nation, and blocked degraded us in the eyes of every nation, and blocked the wheel of every enterprise. With these men, the time will never come to let the oppressed go free, until, like Pharaoh, they can no longer endure the divine judgments which involve them in stupendous rain. They have no aversion to doing wrong, so long as it pays. They have no real aversion to slavery; they rather love it as a condition gratifying to their love of power and lust. Who, judging from the past, could come to any other conclusion? If there is any such time, it will be when every influential man is in favor of emancipation, which will never be.

there is any such time, it will be when every influential man is in favor of emancipation, which will mover be.

Let no man listen to this deceitful cry, "Thom shalt not surely die." As there is a God in heaven, "in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." And now how sad must be the hour when the avenging angel drives us from our beautiful Eden, to walk amidst briers and thorns, and gain our living by the sweat of our face! O Herald, Times, and World, when will ye cease to prophesy smooth things, and cry peace and safety, when sudden destruction is at the door? To daub with untempered mortar, and heal the burt of our people sightly? Alas! that we have such leaders, who, without the excuse of blindness, with open eyes lead the people into the ditch! To the American people we say, to be recipilated to the first of the followed this counsel, and where has it led you? Into the foulest war ever known. And where may it be expected to land you? In the most disastrous ruin ever known to history. What greater calamity could have resulted from the counsels of the lovers of justice and freedom? Had their voice of warning been regarded, we should long since have removed slavery without war. Were their counsels to prevail now, our war would terminate in a very few months, and the nation be saved. To many the day appears dark, and grows darker. It will never grow lighter until we recognize the fact that the time has come, the set of the counsels to prevail now, our war word of the counsels to prevail now, our war word to be a support of the counsel of the provided the counsels to prevail now, our war were should long since have removed slavery without the cross of the provided the counsels to prevail now, our war were the c

day! This is the Sabbatical year—the year of Jubilee. Are our leaders so inflatanted that they do not know it? Will weeping angels yet say, "O that thou hackt known the things that belong to thy peace, but now are they hid from thy eyes?"—American Baptist.

DO THE SLAVES WANT THEIR FREEDOM?

Let the slaveholders themselves answer this que

tion.

If the light they have themselves given us, we can learn how much importance is to be attached to their present bragging, when the combined promises and threats of 30,000 or 40,000 armed white miduce a few hundred wretched, unarmed slaves to fight on their side, generally, without doubt, with no prespect but that of being immediately shot if they refuse.

refuse.

Judge St. George Tucker, of Virginia, Professor
of Law in the University of William and Mary,
published a letter to a member of the Virginia Legislature, in 1801. In the course of it, he says:—

"The love of freedom, sir, is an inborn sentime At the first favorable moment, it springs forth and defies all check. Whenever we are involved in var-if our enemies hold out the lure of freedom, they will have in every negro a decided friend."

In a debate in the Virginia Legislature, in the winter of 1831-2, Mr. Moore said:—

"I lay it down as a maxim not to be d "I lay it down as a maxim not to be dispute that our slaves are now, and ever will be, actuate by a desire for liberty. They will always be dispose to avail themselves of a favorable opportunity for a sering their natural rights. It may safely be assume that wherever the slaves are as numerous as the whites, it will require one-half of the effective for of the whites to keep them quiet."

On the same occasion, Mr. McDowell (since ernor) of Virginia said:—

"Sir, you may place the slave where you please, you may oppress him as you please, you may dry up to your uttermost the fountains of his feeling and the springs of his thought; but the idea that he was born free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality; it is the ethereal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach."

In the same debate, Mr. Preston said :-

"My old friend (Mr. Bruce) has told us that the "aly our iriend (air. Bruce) has told us that the Virginia slave was happy and contented. Mr Speaker, that is impossible. Happiness is incompatible with slavery. The love of liberty is the ruling passion in man, and he cannot be happy if deprived of it."

In the same debate, Mr. Gholson of Virginia said "The love of freedom, and the prospect of obtain ing it, would inflame their hearts and inspire revolu

McCall, in his History of Georgia, alluding to th

"This class of people, who cannot be supposed be contented in slavery, would grasp with avidity the most desperate attempts that promised freedom."

The Rev. J. D. Paxton, of Virginia, who was reared in the midst of slavery, and had himself been a slaveholder, published a volume of Letters on Slavery, in which he thus states the result of his observation.

William T. Allen, son of a Presbyterian clergy-nan in Huntsville, Alabama, published a statement n 1839, in which he says:—

" The slaves

"It is slavery itself, and not cruellies merely, that makes slaves unhappy. Even those that are the most kindly treated are generally far from happy. The slaves in my father's family are almost as kindly treated as slaves can be, but they pant for liberty."

The editor of the Maryville Intelligencer, Tenn. in a paper published October, 1835, says:—

in a paper published October, 1833, says:—

"We of the South are surrounded by a dangerous class of beings. It is the consciousness that a tenfold force would gather from the four corners of the United States, and slaughter them, that keeps them in subjection. To the non-slaveholding States we are indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection. Without their assistance, the white population of the Southern States would be too weak to quiet that innate love of liberty which is ever ready to act itself out." itself out.

From the above statements, it is evident that ther is an immense latent force at the South ready to wel-come liberty. Which side, in this great struggle will have practical wisdom enough to avail them selves of this ineradicable human instinct?

ARMING OF SLAVES BY THE REBELS.

A certain class of politicians and presses have made a great ado about Mr. Cameron's policy of using the slaves of rebels to help put down the rebellion. They shut their eyes, however, to the absolute fact, that the rebels themselves arm slaves to fight against the Government. No paper in the country has so violently denounced the Secretary of War as the Louisville Journal, and yet that paper publishes the fact of slaves being used by the rebels to man their guns without a word of dissent. A letter published in that paper, descriptive of the shelling of Camp Hoskins by the rebels, under Gen. Zollicoffer, which took place on the 3d of Denember, says:

wen. Zomeotter, which took place on the 3d of December, says:

"The enemy threw about one hundred shells, but not one of us was at all hurt. Most of their shells exploded before they reached us, their balls passing over and to the right and left of us. Gen. Schoepf to would not allow us to reply, as we had not then received our rifled pieces. The silence with which we received their first fire must have vexed them. We could distinctly see that Nos. 1, 2 and 3 at one of their quasasse among the chievalry. We only fired one shell from a little howitzer Col. Hoskins had in his camp, which killed or wounded an officer. We saw him fall from his horse, and four men carry him from the field."

Here is more testimony which cannot be dis-

"New ORLEANS, Nov. 24.—28,000 troops were reviewed here to day by Gov. Moore and Gens. Lovel and Ruggles. The line was seven miles long. There was one regiment of 1,400 free colored men. The military display was grand. One company displayed a black flag."—Lonisville Courier.

Another account states that there are several colored regiments, composed of both freemen and slaves, and commanded by colored, officers. They were not permitted to go on picket guard, but performed every other duty of soldiers.

What the rebels may do with impunity to sustain

their atrocious rebellion, the Government cannot be in the Copernitted to do to crush it.—Norrislown (Pa.) Olice and the Branch.

ATTACK ON OUR SOLDIERS BY ARMED NEGROES.

or of the Indiana 20th Regiment, now e or Fortress Monroe, writes to *The India* al on the 23d:

apolis Journal on the 23d:
Yesterlay morning, Gen. Mansfield, with Drake de Kay, Aid-de-Camp, in command of seven companies of the 20th New-York German Rifles, left Newport News on a reconnoisance. Just after passing Newmarket Bridge, seven miles from camp, they detached one company as an advance, and soon after their advance was attacked by 600 of the enemy's cavalry.

deiached one company as an advance, and soon after their advance was attacked by 600 of the enemy's it cavalry.

The company formed to receive cavalry, but the first cavalry advancing deployed to the right and left when within musket range, and unmasked a body of seven hundred negro infantry, all armed with muskets, who opened fire on our men, wounding two lieutenants and two privates, and rushing forward a surrounded the company of Germans who cut their way through, killing six of the negroes and wounding several more. The main body, hearing the firing, advanced at a double-quick in time to recover their wounded, and drive the enemy back, but did not succeed in taking any prisoners. The wounded men testify positively that they were shot by negroes, and that not less than seven hundred were present, armed with muskets.

This is, indeed, a new feature in the war. We have heard of a regiment of negroes at Manassas, and another at Memphis, and still another at New Orleans, but did not believe it till it came so near home, and attacked our men. There is no mistake about it. The 20th German were actually attacked and fired on and wounded by negroes.

It is time that this thing was understood, and if they fight us with negroes, why should not we fight them with negroes too? We have disbelieved these reports too long, and now let us fight the devil with fire. The feeling is intense among the men. They want to know if they came here to fight negroes, and if they find, they would like to know it. The wounded men swear they will kill any negro they see, so excited are they at the dastardly act. It remains to be seen how long the Government will now hesitate, when they learn these facts. One of the Lieutenants was shot in the back part of the neck, and is not expected to live.

GENERAL THOMPSON ON SLAVERY.

We give in our paper of to-day two articles on e question of American slavery, both appearing in We give in our paper of to-day two articles on the question of American slavery, both appearing in the Bradford Advertiser, and both from the pen of General Thomeson, formerly the member for Bradford. We regret that he is not so still. Though one of the articles appears anonymously, we happen to know that it was written by the gallant officer. The other is in the form of a letter to the Editor of our Bradford Contemporary, and is signed by General Thomeson. Both contributions from the General Thomeson, we will be found in another part of our paper. Those who, like ourselves, have for a long period of years read and admired the writings of General THOMESON, could easily have detected his pen in the above article. For acuteness in controversy, and a quaint raciness of style, he has few, if any the present day.

Thomson, could easily have detected his pen in the above article. For acuteness in controversy, and a quaint raciness of style, he has few, if any, rivals in the present day.

But admiration of a writer does not necessarily imply concurrence in his views, and we differ much from the gallant General's sentiments in relation to the Federalists and slavery. He is disposed to view the conduct of the Northern States, in connection with the cruel bondage of 4,000,000 human beings in the Southern States, in a much more favorable light than we can bring ourselves to do. Justice and right are, we firmly believe, in this, as they are ultimately in every case, but other terms for sound policy. Had the Northern States only made the extinction of the "domestic institution"—in other words, the emancipation of 4,000,000 sable bondmen in the Southern States—a part of their programme when they undertook the suppression of "the rebellion," they would have enlisted an amount of moral support, in the shape of sympathy in their favor, which, we feel assured,—with the accompaniment of the Divino blessing, which there would have been every reason to expect,—would have insured the success of their enterprise long ago. But they repudiated the idea of the abolition of slavery having anything to do, with their controversy, or, rather, their war with the South: and now they are righteously reaping the reward in the successful resistance of the Southern States, of their unrighteous conduct. righteously reaping the reward in the successful re-sistance of the Southern States, of their unrighteous

So long as we clung to the conviction that the So long as we clung to the convictor.

Northern States would make the annihilation of slavery in the Southern States part of their programme, we gave them all our sympathy, and all the aid as well, which it was in our power to render to them. But from the moment we saw that they had the "peculiar institution" as a thing too

in the Commons, and in the Lords the Royal Princes and the Bishops are against it."

Would it not be plain that foreign friends had made a great mistake, and we might justly say to them, "Call ye this backing up your fellows?"

Or, suppose again, that in the context upon the Corn Laws—a year, we will say, before the final decision—our friends abroad had said, "It is nonsense to talk of England being in favor of Free Trade. If England were polled at this moment, two-thirds would be against it. A few fanatics make a great noise, but they are not England. And three-fourths of those who join have no pure moral motive. They have all some reason of their own, political or commercial. It is an attempt to play with a great moral principle, and degrade the vaunted immutability of justice. Therefore, let the hungry masses starve, till the barrier can be broken through by a rush of men with pure moral motive." Could there be a better way to prop the Corn Laws?

Hoping that this may lead to further opportunities, I have great satisfaction in thinking on the classes before whom the question will be laid by its appearance in your pages, and remain,

Yours, very sineerely.

Yours, very sincerely, T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Eliot-vale, Blackheath, Dec. 27, 1861. MR. SUMNER ON THE TRENT AFFAIR.

"The feature of Congress to-day," says the Washington correspondent of the New York World, " we ington correspondent of the New York World, "
the speech of Senator Summer on the surrende
Slidell and Mason. The Senate galleries were cre the speech of Senator Sunner of the sattender of the Slidell and Mason. The Senator galleries were crowded to repletion, while the floor was occupied by large numbers of notables, including the Austrian and French Ministers, and several representatives of the other legations. Lord Lyons was not present. After the conclusion of the speech, Mr. Sumner was congratulated by M. Mercier, the French Minister, and several other diplomats." He fully sustains the action of the Government in giving up Mason and Slidell. The points he makes and decides are three: First, that the seizure of the men, without taking the ship, was wrong, because a navy officer has no right to substitute himself for a judicial tribunal; second, that the ship, even if taken, would not have been held liable on account of the rebel emissaries, inasmuch as neutral ships are free to carry all persons not apparently in the military or naval service of the enemy; and, third, that dispatches are not contraband of war. The speech is one of masterly ability, and concludes as follows:—

If I am correct in this review, then the conclusion

If I am correct in this review, then the conclus is inevitable. The seizure of the rebel emissaries on board a neutral ship cannot be justified according to our best American precedents and practice. There seems to be no single point where the seizure is not questionable, unless we choose to invoke British precedents and practice, which beyond doubt led Captain Wilkes into the mistake which he committed. In the solitude of his ship he consulted familiar subspirities a board and the first of the consulted familiar. ted. In the solitude of his ship he consulted fami authorities at hand, and felt that in following Va ted. In the solitude of his ship he consulted laminar authorities at hand, and felt that in following Vattel and Sir William Scott, as quoted and affirmed by eminent writers, reinforced by the inveterate practice of the British navy, he could not err. He was mistaken. There was a better example; it was the constant, uniform, unhesitating practice of his own country on the ocean, refusing to consider dispatches as contraband of war—refusing to consider persons, other than soldiers or officers, as contraband of war; and protesting always against an adjudication of personal rights by the summary judgment of a quarter deck. Had these well-attested precedents been in his mind, the gallant captain would not; even for a moment, have been seduced from his allegiance to those principles which constitute a part of our country's glory.

Mr. President, let the rebels go. Two wicked men, ungrateful of their country, are let lose with the brand of Cain upon their foreheads. Prison doors are opened; but principles are established which will help to free other men, and to open the gates of the sea. Never before in her active history has Great Britain ranged herself on this side. Such an event is an epoch. Novus sectorum nascitur ordo. To the liberties of the sea this Power is now committed. To a certain extent, this cause is now under the test the resulties of wearing the per the person that the test the rewer is now under the test the rewer is now committed.

an event is an epoch. Nortes seems an event is an epoch.

To the liberties of the sea this Power is now committed. To a certain extent, this cause is now under her tutelary care. If the immunities of passengers, not in the military or naval service, as well as of sailors, are not directly recognized, they are at least implied; while the whole pretension of impressment, so long the pest of neutral commerce, and operating only through the lawless adjudication of a quarterfeeck, is made absolutely impossible. Thus is the freedom of the seas enlarged, not only by limiting the number of persons who are exposed to the penalties of war, but by driving from it the most offensive pretension that ever staked upon its waves. To such conclusion Great Britain is irrevocably pledged. Nor treaty nor bond was needed. It is sufficient nunciation of early, long continued tyran her bear the rebels back. The considerat ple; for the sea became free as this penite crossed it, steering westward with the s errand of liberation.

well, which it was in our power to render to them. But from the moment we saw that they regarded the "peculiar institution" as a thing too sared to be touched, we ceased to assist or even to sympathize with them. Nor can we understand how Gen. Thompson, whose anti-slavery principles had feelings are as strong as our own, can reconcile his ardent friendship for the Northern States, and his anxiety to see "the rebellion" put down, with a sanxiety to see "the rebellion" put down, with a sanxiety to see "the rebellion" put down, with the decided anti-slavery principles. We have said, that the gallant General is one of the most accomplies. The early efforts of its best negotiators the patriot trials of its soldiers in an unequal warbing the controversialists of the present day. We should like to see a specimen of his dialectical ingenuity in the endeavor to vindicate his consistency in this matter.

So far as we are concerned, we hold, and ever have held, that slavery in every form, and under any conceivable class of circumstances, is an evil and a wrong. American slavery is the most enormous wrong, the most colossal inquity on which his the universe of the state of the stat

The Congress of Paris, in 1856, where were assembled the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey, has already led the way. Adopting the early policy of the United States, often proposed to foreign nations, this Congress has authenticated two important changes in restraint of beligerent rights; first, that the neutral flag shall protect enemy's goods except contraband of war, and secondly, that neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag. This is much. Another proposition, that privateering should be abolished, was defective in two respects; fast, because it left nations free to employ private ships under a public commission as ships of the navy, and, therefore, was nugatory; and, secondly, because if not nugatory, it was too obviously in the special interest of Great Britain, which, through her commanding navy, would thus be left at will to rule the sea. No change can be practicable which is not equal in its advantages to all nations; for the Equality of Nations is not merely a dry dogma of international law, but a vital national sentiment common to all nations. This cannot be forgotten; and every proposition must be brought sincerely to this equitable test.

But there is a way in which privateering can be effectively abolished without any shock to the equality of nations. A simple proposition that private property shall enjoy the same immunity on the ocean which it now enjoys on land, will at once abolish privateering, and relieve the commerce of the ocean from its greatest perils, so that, like commerce on land, it shall be undisturbed except by illegal robbery and theft. Such a proposition will operate equally for the advantage of all nations. On this account and in the policy of peace, which our government has always cultivated, it has been already presented to foreign government by the United States. You have not forgotten the important paper in which Mr. Marcy did this service, or the recent efforts of Mr. Sewar

and still further to banish belligerent pretensions, con-traband of war should be abolished, so that all ships traband of war should be aboushed, so that an is may freely navigate the ocean without being expote any question as to the character of persons things on board. The Right of Search, which, the occurrence of war becomes an omnipresent ranny, subjecting every neutral ship to the arbitrinvasion of every belligerent cruiser, would it disappear. It would drop as the chains drop from the company of the company of

invasion of every beligorent cruiser, would then disappear. It would drop as the chains drop from an emancipated slave; or rather it would only exist as an occasional agent, under solemn treaties, in the war waged by civilization against the slave trade; and then it would be proudly recognized as an honorable surrender to the best interests of humanity, glorifying the flag which made it.

With the consummation of these reforms in maritime law, not forgetting blockades under international law, war would be despoiled of its most vexatious prerogatives, while innocent neutrals would be exempt from its torments. The statutes of the sea, thus refined and elevated, will be the agents of peace instead of the agents of war. Ships and cargoes will pass unchallenged from shore to shore; and those terrible belligerent rights under which the commerce of the world has so long suffered, will cease from troubling. In this work our country began early It had hardly proclaimed its own independence before it sought to secure a similar independence before it sought to secure a similar independence before it sought to secure a constitution for its own government before it sought to establish a constitution similar in spirit for the government of the sea. It did not prevail at once, it was because it could not overcome the unyielding opposition of Great Britain. And now the time is come when this champion of belligerent rights "has checked his hand and changed his pride." Welcome to this new alliance! Meanwhile, angidst all present excitements, amidst all present trials, it only remains for us to uphold the constant policy of the republic, and to stand fast on the ancient ways.

Rev. Newman Hall made a noble speech in favor of peace before 3000 working-men in Surry Hall, London, on the 9th. He concluded as follows:—

London, on the 9th. He concluded as follows:

Once more, working-men, I beseech you, do what you can to allay the unreasonable, unchristian war spirit that now prevalls. Ponder on what I have said, and, in opposition to much that you hear and read, let my arguments, if you deem them valid, persuade you to do your utmost for the preservation of peace. I am not one of those who condemn war under all circumstances; but I consider in this case wor would be most wicked. I am not one of those who advocate peace at any price; but I do earnestly plead for peace now, and I ask you all to help. Let each do what he can to roll back the tide of angry passion. O! by all the untold horrors of angry war; by the tenfold terribleness of a war between brothers; by the sufferings of a negro race, who look on with alarm leet you should join their oppressors to rivet their chains; by the aspirations of the long downtrodden people of Hungary and Italy, whose enemies will exult if the great champions of freedom contend with each other, instead of making common cause against tyranny; by the interests of the world, which will look on aghast to see its civilizers and evangelists engaged in mortal combat, instead of prosecuting, in holy rivalry, enterprises of benevolence; by the principles of Christianity; by the example of Jesus; by the law of God—I beseech you cast in your influence on the side of peace, and loudly proclaim, "We will have no war with America." [Loud and repeated applause.] with each othe

ed applause.]
On the same subject, the London Star says:-

On the same subject, the London Star eays :—
"The blatant outery for immediate submission or
instant war is meeting with a check which those
who raised it did not reckon upon. The clear common-sense of the English people, who desire nothing
more than that right should be done, is not to be
misled by any amount of rhetorical artifice and halting casuistry. It is proof, too, against those wicked
appeals to pride and hatred so industriously made in
order to raise a clamor which it was hoped might
drive the Government into a war with the Federal
Union.

drive the Government into a war with the Federal Union.

Although the general opinion remains steady in condemning the conduct of Capt. Wilkes as contrary to international law, and an aggression on the rights of nations, every day multiplies proofs that it is not considered as sufficient cause of war, or at any rate that it is a proper case to which to endeavor to apply the principle of arbitration, as proposed by Lord Clarendon at the Paris Congress, and solemnly adopted by that body.

War with America could not be carried on for three months without causing sharp distress and provoking loud discontent in every poor man's home. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and every cottage cupboard. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and every cottage cupboard. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and severy cottage cupboard. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and severy cottage cupboard. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and severy cottage cupboard. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and severy cottage cupboard. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and severy cottage cupboard. It would be a war extending to every baker's shop and the promoters with the promoters of the causes of quarrel, but not so powerless to avenge themselves on its promoters."

British aristocracy formented the Abolition excitem in this country in order to distract us and break the Ution: now that they have effected their purpose, they side with the slaveholding rebels, order to complete our national rolu." The sim fact that the British aristocracy never did favor Alition disposes of the whole fabrication. There liberal aristocrats, just as there are white negro but the Aristocracy, as a class, never busied the solves in any way with American slavery. Extending the manipation of the slaves in the British W. Indies—in which Mr. Calhoun affected to discernlot for our overthrow—was wholly impelled by Indies—in which Mr. Calhous affected to discern a plot for our overthrow—was wholly impelled by the Commons—it was suggested, strugled for, and carried by the arguments, contributions, entreaties, votes, of the great middle class, and preeminently by the Dissenters, whe were in good part hostile to slavery far in advance of even a respectable handful of she Aristoracy. The Government was finally, constrained to yield to these democratic influences which, under the newly reformed Parliament, it was not strong enough to defy and persistently defeat: hence the act of financipation which has reflected so much unfading glory on the British name. The smallest share of credit for that noble act—the credit of ceasing to resist it when resistance could no longer avail—s all that is due to the Aristocracy.

George Thompson was one of the early apostles of abolition among its, and was libelled, defamed, and mobbed in consequence. Though always of the most advanced Liberal school of British politicians, he

mobbed in consequence. Though always of the m advanced Liberal school of British politicians, was roundly always of the

the slaveholders.

Mr. Thompson recently gave a lecture on the American struggle at Leeds, England, wherein he evinced more knowledge of the subject than any British speaker or writer of the time— a knowledge that is explained by his intimate personal acquaint ance with this country. He evinces throughout the most entire and ardent sympathy with the Nation in its grapple with the Rebellion: but this is not all: his views and statements are characterized by great in the sympathy with the statements are characterized by great the following exhis views and statements are characterized by great caution and moderation. Witness the following ex-tract from his lecture:

[The extract printed by the *Tribune* is the first of he passages quoted from Mr. Thompson's speech on

our third page.]

This surely is not the language of a fanatic, of a narrow-minded bigot, but of a sensible, moderate, considerate statesman. And such has been the spirit evinced by the great body of British abolitionists and advanced Liberals. They have spoken a good word for us when all other voices were blended in one common howl of hostility and aversion: they have declared our cause that of Humanity and Guilization when Ministers and leading journalists conspired to betray the public mind with irrelevast statements and the interposition of false and misleading issues. Whatever the future may have in store for us, we shall remember the British abolitionists as the firmest and most considerate of the European defenders of our National cause.—N. Y. Tribune.

The speech of George Thompson, Esq. (a name dear to American abolitionists), which occupies a large portion of the first page, entities that eloquent champion of liberty to the gratitude of every one who has at heart the preservation of free government on this continent. If he were not the most generous of men—if the love of a great and noble cause did not lith him above all personal vimittiveness, surely we might expect now to hear his voice generous of men—if the love of a great and nobecause did not lift him above all personal vindictiveness, surely we might expect now to hear his voice prominent in the roar of that tide of British disparagement of the North which comes; swelling across the Atlantic. No other Englishman was ever so maligned by the American press; no other could find in his personal experience such plausible excuses for taking sides against us in this crists of our country's fate. But, forgetful of the insults heaped upon him by Americans in former years—the slanders of the press, the fierce howlings of the mobs which put his life in peril—he stops forth, sow to vindicate the American cause before the people of Great Britain. His thorough knowledge of all the peculiar features of the American government, his familiarity with all the causes of the Southern rebellion and with every step in the Anti-Slavery movement, and above all, his thorough devotion to Republican institutions, qualify him in a preeminent degree to explain to his countrymen all the mysteries of the deadly contest between slavery and freedom in this country. Such speeches as that which we this week print cannot fail to exert a powerful influence in Great Britain, and it will be a shame if the American press in not prompt to recognize their value and to do justice to their eloquent author.—National A. S. Standard.

DR. BROWNSON ON LOYAL HARMONY.

DR. BROWNSON ON LOYAL HARMONY.

In a recent review of an article by Archbishop lughes, Dr. Orestes A. Brownson makes the follow-

whatever tends to keep the North divided, and to prevent the loyal States from entering into the contest with the hearty sympathy and co-operation of their whole population, is really and undeniably aid and comfort given to the enemy, and is therefore, under the Constitution of the United States, virtual-life of formally treason.

under the Consulty, treason.

It, if not formally, treason.

Party divisions, and especially party rivalries and party divisions, and especially party rivalries and animosities, are now mistimed and mischievous. They animosities, are now mistimed and strengthen the ly, if not formally, treason.

Party divisions, and especially party rivalries and animosities, are now mistimed and mischievous. They weaken the friends of the Union, and strengthen the hands of the rebels. We know, and can afford to know, until the robellion is crushed out, no party divisions, and no division but that between loyalists and rebels. Hushed should be all party strift between loyal men, and even the usual oftum theologicum should be suppressed. All loyal men—Protestants or Catholics, Democrats or Abolitionists, whether black or white, red or yellow—who are prepared to stand by our common country, and detend it, if need be, even to the last gasp, are our party, are our friends, our brothers, and we give then our hand and our heart. If there are differences between us to be settled, we will adjourn them till we have put down the rebellion, saved the Union, and made it sure that we have a country, homes, and fresides that we may enjoy in peace and safety; and when that is done, perhaps it will be found that most of those differences have settled themselves, or at least, wherein personal or political, not worth reviving. We must be united, and not like the maddend Jews, when their chief city was beleaguered by the Roman coherts, and Roman battering-rams was beating down the walls of their citadel, divided Jews, when their chief city was beleaguered Roman coherts, and Roman battering-rams beating down the walls of their citadel, divided into factions, and wasting, in spilling each other blood, the strength acceded to save our national exist ence from destruction.

This is no time for an Archbishop or any other

man to make war on Abolitionists, and to crack man to make war on Abolition Brigade, and the valor or want of valor of its auggested Brigadier. Such things are untimely and mischierous. The very existence of the nation is threatened, and threat-ened, not by Abolitionists or their sympathizers, but by the slaveholding aristocracy of the South, and very existence of the nation is threatened, and threatened, and threatened, and threatened, and their dupes, tools, aiders, and abetters, in the loyal States—men who have no Abolition sympathies, but as strong antipathy to all Abolitionists as John Randolph of Roanoke had to sheep, which made him say that he would at any time go a mile out of his way to give one a kick. The danger that threatens us is not on the side of the Abolitionists, but on the side of the friends and supporters of slavery, and very ordinary wisdom would counsel us, if we are true men, to face the danger where it is—not where it is not. There is no usen in trying to gain credit with the loyal North by saying the Union must be sustained, and with the disloyal South by rutuperating Abolitionists, and denouncing as Abolitionists all who would not indeed overstep the Constitution to abolish slavery, but would abolish slavery as a means of saving the Constitution. No man can now be suffered to say: Good Lord and Good Devil. He must choose either the Lord's side or the Devil's side, and take the consequence of success or failure.

JUgder which king, Bezonian? Speak or die!"

We see by our English papers that Rev. J. Sella Martta, the well-known colored minister of this city, is making a very agreeable impression abroad. He has lectured in several towns, including old Botton, on the subject of the American war, with much acceptance. In London, a soince was given in his honor by the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M. P., which was attended by many distinguished persons. A recommendatory note was read from Rev. Dr. Kirk of this city, and a "brilliant oration," it is stated, was deliwared by Mr. Martin, in advocacy of the cause of our Government.—Boston Journal.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1862.

ANNUAL MEETING Of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.
The twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Massa-Hubsetts Abri-Slavery Society will be held in Socion, at Aliston Hall, (corner of Tremont and Bromfield Streets.) on Thursday and Friday, Jan.

23d and 24th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. Three sessions will be held each day.

Though a great change, equally surprising and cheering, has taken place in public sentiment at the North, on the subject of slavery, since the "SLAVE-HOLDERS' REBELLION" broke out, yet the times demand of the uncompromising friends of freedom all the vigilance, earnestness, activity and generous cooperation, that it is in their power to give, for upon them devolves the task of creating, deepen-ing and guiding that moral sentiment which is to rmine the fate of the republic. Their work, as Abolitionists, will not be co commated while a slave holder is tolerated on the American son, or save clanks his fetters beneath the American flag. Theirs is the truest patriotism, the purest morality, the noblest philanthropy, the broadest humanity. So far from listing any affinity with, or bearing any likeness to the traitors of the South, there is an impassable gulf between the parties, as well as an irrepressi conflict. Now that, by the treasonable course of South, the Government, by the exigencies in which it solemnly bound to improve the opportunity, undis-solemnly bound to improve the opportunity, under the war power, the duty of the hour is to bring every influence to bear upon it, to induce it to exercise that power without delay, and thus to speedily crush the rebellion, and establish liberty and peace in every section of the country. In this work of humanity and righteousness, of reconciliation and union, it is oblig-atory upon all cordially to participate.

Among the speakers expected are Wm. Lloyd Gar-

rison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Parker Pillsbury, Samuel May, Jr., Rev. Wm. R. Alger, Henry C. Wright, Rev. J. M. Manning, Rev. A. A. Miner, Hon. N. H. Whiting, F. B. Sanborn, J. S. Rock, Esq., Giles B. Stebbins, and others.

At the opening session, Thursday morning, Wen dell Phillips, Rev. Wm. R. Alger, and others, wil speak. An early and full attendance is earnestly requested. At the evening session, ten cents admission will be charged to defray expenses.

By order of the Managers of the Society,
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, See'y.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Ladies who have for so many years received the subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the favor of their company, as usual at this time of the

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 22d, IN MUSIC HALL BOSTON.

As it is quite impossible for us to send invitati friends of justice and freedom, that they may obtain special invitations (without which no person is admit-ted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, and of the ladies at their respective h

L. Maria Child, Mary May. Louisa Loring Henrietta Sargent, Sarah Russell May. Anna Shaw Greene, Sarah Blake Shaw, Caroline C. Thayer, Abby Kelley Foster, Lydia D. Parker, Augusta G. King, Mattie Griffith, Mary Jackson, Evelina A. Smith, Katherine Earle Farnum.

Sarah P. Remond, Mary E. Stearns, Sarah J. Nowell, Elizabeth Von Arnim. Anne Langdon Alger, Eliza Apthorp, Sarah Cowing, Sarah H. Southwick, Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Sarah C. Atkinson, Mary Jane Parkman. Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephen Abby F. Manley,

Mary Willey, Ann Rebecca Br

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in untry towns, with whom we have been so long in e, are earnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, at this moment of deep and anxious inter est,—when the unstinted contributions of our Northern people to defeat the wicked and rebellious designs of people to defeat the wicked and recember and selection of Slavery make it difficult to raise money in large sums,—to take up collections in their respective neighborhoods, using all diligence to make the am smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the times may occasion in the larger ones. Now should be the time of our most devoted effort; and abundant opportunities are afforded us for reaching the conscience. ones. Now should be the and hearts of the people with a power and to a de-gree never before known. It is hoped that no town, which has ever manifested an interest in the cause of freedom, will be unrepresented now; and that no in dividual whose heart is in unison with ours on this subject will be found wanting to our list. We hope to welcome as many as possible at the evening Reception ;-at all events, to receive their subscriptions by

The Germania Band has been engaged, and

Each invitation must be inscribed with the name of the guest, as last year, before presenting at the patriotism of these Northern States has furnished the door. Cloaks and shawls may be left in the care of attendants at the entrance.

If in any case a donation or subscription can-ot be forwarded in season for the Anniversary, it sent as soon afterwards as circumstances permit.

TO THE PRIENDS OF THE STAFF

We trust that all those who believe we ought to remember those in bonds as bound with them," will 22d, and will give us aid, either in person, by proxy

One party is talking of subjugating slaveholders and another of compromising with slaveholders; but who, except the "old Abolitionists," fully recognizes the rights of the slave, and our duty towards him, as our brother, in the sight of God? While politicians look at emancipation only as a "necessity of war," and seem to consider colored men and women as an be imbued with principles of justice and feelings of humanity towards those whom they have so long oppressed. Help us to do this righteous work, we In behalf of the Committee of Anti-Slavery Ladies

L. MARIA CHILD

Gen. Simon Cameron on Monday resigned the artment of War, and Hon. Edwin M. Stanton wa Department of War, and Hon. Edwin M. Stanton was promptly nominated to fill his place. Much speculation exists as to the cause of this resignation. The New York Times represents that it was Mr. Lincoln's act, and that no one was more surprised at it than Mr. Cameron himself. The Hunker papers rejoice in the nomination of Mr. Stanton. Instead of "drifting" towards an Emancipation policy, the President seems to be actively working against that policy. The army authorities, too, seem to be far less anxious that the rebels shall run than that the slaves shall not. THE TIMES.

A LECTURE elivered in the Fraternity Course, at Treme Temple, Boston, Tuesday Evening. Jan. 7th,

WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

PROSOGRAPHIC REPORT BY J. M. W. YERRIN

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN We have been told that this is the closing lecture of this course,—a course, the marked ability and earnest ness of which must have done much to educate the public mind. Fourteen months ago, in November, I had the honor to open the one which preceded this. I believe I then expressed the almost unanim-feeling of the Northern States when I welcon Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the Uni States with the sincerest confidence and good-will ths ago, in April, at the Music Hall, I enjoy d the satisfaction—rare to me—of name of the majority of New Engla Amen and God-speed to the purpose of the Cabinet in lifting the guage of battle which the South had thrown down to us at Sumter. Nine months have passed ince—nine long, weary, eventful months. Whatecord have they borne to the history of these United States 1 The people, with a patriotism and readiness with an energy and enthusiasm, which find hardly parallel in history, have placed at the command of their Government everything: money without stint armies that almost equal the fabulous levies of Asia We have levelled every barrier of civil right; we have annihilated every mark of constitutional interty and over the broad, unfenced surface of the Empire the Cabinet has wielded the sceptre of despotic pov er. Twenty millions of people have raised a hundred millions of dollars, and their credit has hardly oscillated on the exchange. We have mills that coevery three months; prodiweapons; and yet, to-day, ten months since the guration of the Cabinet, these rich, active, well-fur nished, twenty millions of people, stand checkmated capital besieged by ten millions of enemies, nmand a dollar on any exchange of mills to clothe their army; and ship, whose singular, unmatched ability holds an un-willing people and a fettered race quiet while threat-ened by such a foe. Ten months, of which the history is hardly anything but disaster and disgrace Ten months-its first epoch marked by the flag tha never feared a foe lowered to an insurrection, then contemptible, at Sumter; its second epoch by a fligh which gave us the jeers of the world for a comment and the third, by the stars and stripes trailed in to ready, humiliating submission to the threats of the mother land. Ten months, such as the world never saw, of the willingness of millions to pour out treas re and blood! Public opinion has stood behind the Cabinet with the heartiest enthusiasm and support From every section, from the pulpit and from liters ture, every voice has been God speed and auxiliary. From the press came that most remarkable of all ut terances, perhaps the most eloquent that the exigency has called out—"The Rejected Stone," from the per of a native Virginian, published in this city by Walke als, even in this vicinity, who hate slavery, and who desire to aid in its entire obolition, and, if possible, by moral and peaceful means, we would say to all the which no other expression has reached. The pulpit which no other expression has reached. The pulpit Maine to the Mississippi, from the humblest local pulnest utterances to the largest religious press, the voice has all been in support of the Government. And I may say, in passing, that nothing shows more emphatically how much the unfaithfulness of the pit for thirty years has forfeited its natural influ on the intellect of the people, than the very little in finence which this unanim ous utterance, in such a of the people. Ten months—nothing is its record!
We have not yet turned the first flank of the foe. More than that, the Cabinet has neither made nor met a question. I call it the Apology Cabinet. It is the only Cabinet in the history of the nation whose whole record is a series of apologies. Sumter !--why did it fall? In long columns, with elaborate excuse, with minute detail, the Cabinet will tell you why. Norfolk Navy Yard and Harper's Ferry!—why were they Listen! and if you will listen long enough the Cabinet will elaborately explain how. Manassas! a disgraceful defeat—why? If you will be patient, sit down and stay a week, the Cabinet will convince you how necessary and inevitable and beneficial it was, without anybody's fault. Mason and Slidell on oat instead of in a Massachusette

> Understand me. I mean to find no excessive faul with the Administration. They are in due course of being educated; but, unfortunately, it takes too long. Every hour is big with the fate of the Union, and meantime, the scholars at Washington have not got beyond the first form. If we had an American fo President, and not a Kentuckian, we might have had the satisfaction of knowing, that in the effort to save Kentucky, we had not lost the Unionfort to save Kentucky, we had not lost the Union. I have addressed many audiences in the different cities during the last ten months. We have all waited with matchless patience for the action of this body o nen to whom the helm of State has been entrusted They have raised an army such as the world never saw. England, with her thousand years of history, with her flag given to the battle and the breeze for so many centuries, by forced impressment and pinched levies, cannot put one man in ten in the field, to what waits for the people to do more. For one, with no in tention of disrespect, with no bitterness of criticism tience with the Cabinet at Washington. (Applause.) divide the guilt of these ten months of inaction will settle that. History will assign measure of responsibility to the masses and to their leaders. All I have to say, here and now, is, that in my opinion, if History shall find that the heedless in apacity of leading men, that the mousing and ill-med ambition of the Administration, that the fact en for the Administration who could see noth ing at present but their chances for the Presidency,national disasters and humiliation, posterity will henceforth divide the curses that have usually been monopolized by Aaron Burr and Bezedict Arnold. The treason which attempts the surrender of West Point is attended with less bitter results than that Point is attended with reso other results than that ill-timed ambittion which obliges a nation to such humiliation, and brings us into our present jeopardy. Everybody agrees that this last month, we could do nothing else that surrender the Commissioners to Great Britain. Blon surrender the Commissioners to Great Britain. Blod din on his tight rope is in no condition to resent as insult; neither is this nation in a condition to hazard a war with Great Britain. There could nothing else us to this condition? Who wasted the enhancem of last summer? Who kept half a million of men idle since the first day of October? Who omitted to put on the banner of the Union that motto which would have checkmated every Emperor and Cabinet of Enrope, by an appeal to the sympathies and conscience of the people, and thus harred them from daring to insult the great and distracted Republic? I throw

fort! Listen! and the three columns of Mr. Se-

retary Micawber, ever waiting for "something to turn

will explain to you exactly why. (Laughter.)

my share of the humiliation of these last twenty days on the heads of those men, who, having in their hands the tools of conquest, the means of saying to the despotism of Europe. "Thus far, and no farther," for the past six months, have wasted both time and means—I care not why, but wasted them, until we stand to-day where we are.

nothing from the Cabinet at Washington. So far as they are concerned, the game is up; the Union is severed; the men who were murdered at Baltimore—their lives are half wasted. We have poured out two million a day, and we have purchased nothing but disgrace, except this sublime uprising, which shows the omniputence of self-government, and whose whole merit except this sublime uprising, which shows the omnip-otence of self-government, and whose whole merit-belongs to the people. If there is no resort else-where, if there is no appeal to any other part of the Government, the cause is closed, the verdict is rendered, and the Court may adjourn.

Let me tell you why I think so. But before that,

let me say a word personal to the party with which have been associated. I say it with all seriousness and for the next three months, there is no American who can afford to be anything but serious. Men and their faults, their ambitions, their successes, their virtheir faults, their amoutons, their success at the majesty of the cale suicide. It was to complete, to make harmonious, issue. In the next three months, I more than half expect disunion; two confederacies; a North subjuinterests. Within sixty days from to day, if we have ted by events, smarting under defeat, bankrupt in hip and character. Some of us have said-I may have said—in times past, that Democracy was on trial here. It was a mistake. Democracy has never been on trial. Except in our Northern State Governments, we have never had a Democracy in this country. We have had an attempt at a free govern-ment, an attempt at fore institutions, advanced, the it, an attempt at free institutions, poisoned, tainted, ditioned on a toleration of the system of slavery The Abolitionists have said for thirty years, and ev-ery thoughtful man on the other side of the water has echoed the sentiment, that it was a grave question whether the public and its leaders in the free States had not been so demoralized, so much weaken-ed in their moral sense, so much dulled in their appreciation of the responsibilities of self-government by the influence of slavery, as to make it impossible t crisis. The anti-slavery red their confident belief that the slavery question was so radical that this Union could not endure it and melancholy fact, that the monarchic institutions Great Britain, a ship of State burdened with million fifty years, and outlive the storm of anti-slavery agit tion; and as long ago as during the life-time of Dr. Follen, it was the sad but confident belief of many leading men in the anti-slavery party, that this Re publican community had been so poisoned by sixty years of compromise and submission, as to rend uch a result almost hopeless here. It bids fair to be in view of that summer upon which we soon shall with two Confederacies, let me say one word about that disunion sentiment which I have so long repre-

We advocated disunion, we planned disunion, not,

cause we did not see how broadly it ministered to

understand us, because we undervalued Union,

peace, to commercial prosperity, to large material-life, to the development of the noblest manhood, to great national institution, in the presence of which, if he had any hopes of political advancement, or pubhe had any hopes of political advancement, or pub-lic favor, he must be silent. It was a Union whose fundamental conditions violated justice - a Union whose cement was the blood of the slave. It was such Union that we opposed; and when, in the spring of the last year, Slavery unfurled her banner against that Union - when, laying laying a corner-stone of the to take possession of Washington, and dictate term to the nation-mark you! not secession. The Gulf States never read to us the programme of secess The first plan, threat, proposal, was to take posses of Washington,-to prevent the inauguration of Lincoln,-to demand the recognition of Europe as the United States of America. -to call the roll of their fiance to this Southern confederacy based on slave-ry, we, like our fellow-citizens, said "All hall to the North! sheeping, but not dead. The North of which no man dreamed—who has been resting on her musket since Bunker Hill—but at the first sound of a worthy challenge starts up ready for the bat-tle. (Loud cheers.) The North, that men thought cankered with gold, bought and smothered with cotton, the North, that springs to arms for an idea, and sends her message to every hovel in the Carolinas, that the pledge of '76 shall yet be a reality, and all ose. Like all of you, we country and the Cabinet any little item of influence that might be in our hands. and for ten long months we have waited to see what that Administration and that Cabinet would do. They have trailed the banner we gave them in the dust and blood of every possible humiliation. They have the history of 1861; no act of the Government at thought of which an American must not put his hand upon his lips and his lips in the dust. If the nation lives, it is the untaught energy of the people which has shown the world, that outside of Washington there is still a Democracy vital and sufficient for the hour. (Applause.)

What is, as far as any man can learn it, the pur pose of the Government? As far as we can learn i pose of the Government? As far as we can learn it from any act, from any official source, it is to recon-struct this nation on the basis of '89. It is to put back all the institutions of the country where they were on the 1st of January, 1860. The only property which the Administration will not touch is the pretended right to a slave. Charleston herself may be ruined; right to a slave. Charleston herself may be ruined; we may stop up the harbor which God's own hand has scooped, and blot out of existence a great city; but one single slave that walks upon its dust, the Government is not brave equagh to touch. The Government stands to-day with no avowed purpose whatever, but to put this nation where it was on the 4th of March, 1860. Every man with his eyes open, from Charles Sumner downward, has said again and again, that

The Administration was forced into its position by the people, and the people must carry it forward. We have three things to do. We must avoid war with wife—"cover(" by Gen. McClellan. The Cabinet—those of them who are not plotting for the Presidency of a Union that has so little chance to exist,—are wait ingland; we must avoid an insurrection of the al ing for Mr. Secretary Micawher; the President is lumb; and there is no living man in the Government but General McClellan. He announces that within thirty days, he expects to crush this rebellion. Lying on a bed of sickness, to be raised by the providence of God into ordinary strength, he announces that in thirty days he means to give us a victory so declaive, so immediate, that it will practically be an end of the war. Grant it! If he does so, he saves the Union. (Applause.) If he does so, he puts France and England on their good behavior. (Applause.) But, mark you! you are hanging your Union—and I value it as much as you do, as much as any man does; I know the momentum interests we served when we bought Florida, and rounded the nation to the Gulf. Large interests of pages, broad reasons of trade, arrong considerations of peace, broad reasons of trade, strong considerations of a well-fortified neighborhood—I know the strength of that necessity which led defferson to override the Con-stitution and buy the Missiasippi. Peace, trade, the nterests of the West,—I know the gain, I recognize the temptation, which bowed the ambition of Webster to that scheme of Texan annexation which was politic with glory from Port Royal to Memphis, from the to New Orleans, the Union is safe. (Ap-But, Mr. President, it is a momentous game. plause.) But, Mr. President, it is a momentous game.
"On the nice hazard of one doubtful hour," as Hotspur says,—twenty million of people, who have spent two million of dollars a day, and sent their sons by half millions to die by disease and the nice hazard of one doubtful hour" determination of such a question. Why should it to so? Why were no other attempts, no proba-ble success, no other chances evoked in October? Why are we crowded up to this great, last danger What if we do not succeed, if we have but half-and half success † Does any man believe we shall wholly ucceed † With a hundred thousand men at Washing-on, who have been looking in the faces of a hundred ousand on the other side of the Potomac for months with a scattered army, which has never met a South ern foe without finding him superior in numbers, is it absolutely certain; beyond all question, that we shall gain nothing but victory! Are you quite sure, are you ab-solutely confident that nowhere in the broad circle, of debt, with vast evil institutions, with a Nobility and | East Tennessee, the Potomac, Port Royal, Mobile,driving the foe in together, -is it absolutely certain that nowhere we are to meet a check? If we do, if our success is mixed, if our victory is uncertain, if out of four battles we lose two, if we are driven back, if we stand on the 4th of March anywhere as we stand out the insurrection, what thoughtful man doubts tha Spain, France, England, who even now keep their fleets afloat in the Mexican Gulf, and at Halifax, prophecy satily fulmined. Before I pass on, nowever, needs about in the section of the summer upon which we soon shall with an army in Canada—who doubts that these enter, and which, I think, unless somebody more potent; and which is private note, and which six weeks ago, that the recognition by either or all of these States would mean nothing but war with this Republic: and if the eight or nine States in rebellion

France and England stand on their side ? Ladies and Gentlemen, I say to you what I believe to night—sixty days settle whether we are to have one bought by submission to slavery. It was a Union that meant has a time when the Carolinas, and gags in New York. It was a Union that meant Massachusets with the right to say so much, and only so much, as South Carolina would permit. It was a Union in which no man dared to follow out the logical inferences from right and wrong, because he ran against a great national institution, in the very radical change of the manufacturing chanical interests of these nineteen States; two Unions mean a frontier stretching from the Potomoc to the Gulf, and every ten miles a smuggler; two such Unions mean John Brown in every Northern village, and fear in every Southern Harper's Ferry that he attacks; two such nations mean war all along the border—races the most ingenious and persistent, ours and the South carrying on a constant, bloody, bitter strife, until per haps in thirty or fifty years natural laws kill slavery. It strikes me that hazard is too great to lay upon the power and the capacity of Gen. McClellan. If the Cabinet rests wholly on him, we have got something to do to save this Union of ours. What right have we, Mr. President, to claim the control of this Union? What right have we to say that these our Northern Hall. It was a conspiracy to govern this belt of the continent. It was a conspiracy to put at the head of No right but this—that we are the better—not that we the Union the guiding star of American slavery.

When that phase presented itself to the public, when What right has England to rule India? The right of Lincoln—the only act that will immortalize his conquest is too bare, without real basis. Her right name, the only act that gives the world evidence that he did not leave his conscience and his brains in Kenand her subject is barbarism. Why should we claim he did not leave his conscience and his brains in Kentucky when he removed to Illinois—when Mr. Lincoln said, "The flag of Sumter shall never be lowered by an order signed with my name,"—when the collection of liberty to say to a Boston audience, the South has shown the better right to succeed. She has shown like our fellow-citizens, said "All hail to the sleeping, but not dead. The North-of skill, she has held eight millions of unwilling people quiet, four millions of slaves quiet, marshalled large armies, larger in proportion than any State ever raised, and gathered them from a reductant people. She has coined finances out of nothing, and bread out of stones she has made ten millions overmatch twenty

A Voice—I don't believe that doctrine, for one.

Mr. Phillips—Well, my friend, facts are hard things; I wish it was not true. She has subsidized men on the continent shall be as God created them, every press and every court in Europe. Whence free and equal." (Prolonged applause.) When that comes it? I am not, mark you! saying that her voice came from nineteen States, and twenty millions means are moral. I speak only of ability, efficiency. of people,—that the corner-stone of the Union should How does South Carolina subsidize the Times? In question. She spread Texas scrip over nineteen States; worth nothing, paper, when she gave it away; worth seventy cents on a dollar when Northern votes, so bought, had made Texas a part of the Union. has subsidized the literature and sources of opinion in Europe in the same manner—with Confederate scrip, by the million—worth nothing to-day—worth a hundred cents on a dollar perhaps, for a while—long enough for shrewd men to realize—if the Thunderer of London and the Despot of Paris can make that Confederacy a fact, instead of a myth. She, like a sagacious pilot, has weathered every storm until to-day, and deserves to succeed. She is true to her idea, Slavery. She makes everything hend to ft. Our idea is Liberty. Instead of proclaiming it, living by it and for it, our Government is trying to tread on eggs, without breaking them. (Laughter and applause.) Our Government dare not whisper the idea on which it rests. Hardly a political meeting dare speak of the sore that consumes the body politic. The North sends her armies into the field, and the only thing they have done for ten months is to catch negroes and find out ner armes into the held, and the only thing they have done for ten months is to catch negroes and find out owners for them. We have not yet vindicated out title to govern by the exhibition of a civilization and ess of ideas superior to the South. I know, ladies and gentlemen, this is unwelco

truth; but is there any other way to explain our pos-tion! Certainly, we have not conquered. The stat and stripes do not float over New Orleans. Richmon is not beseiged, and Washington is. Beauregard can ride a hundred miles in either direction, and General McClellan cannot. Explain for me the problem there was not strength enough in twenty States to save slavery and the Union; and every voice from Europe, of impartial judgment, echoes the sentiment. The ten months the Cabinet has announced its choice of the alternative, and to-day stands pledged to save slavery. How? There is but one will in this nation. I look upon the Cabinet and the President as absorbed, swallowed up, hidden, "covert," as the law calls a gun by statesmen; it has not been carried on by them.

England; we must avoid an insurrection of the slave, and we must write something on our banner, that will appeal to the people of Europe, against the Cabinet. How do you propose to check the palpable and unmi-takable plan of Great Britain and France to acknowle takable plan of great Britain and France to acknowl, edge the Southern Confederacy within four months! McClellan proposes to check it by victory. God speed him! (Loud cheers.) He proposes to check it by encamping in Richmond., God speed him! (Renewed cheering.) He proposes to check it by putting the stars and stripes over New Orleans. I say, Amen! (Loud applause.) If he will only do it, there is nothing more recessary: we have exampled and the proposes of the proposes of the proposes of the proposes. ing more necessary; we have conquered, and there is an end; and although I shall regret, for one, that it doubt his ability. I do not believe in the possibility of doing it within ninety days. It seems to me no san-man, who has looked at the last ten months, can believe it. And if we do not succeed in that time it is death. By the first of April, that Southern Confed. eracy will be acknowledged. There is one exception, one other contingency. The slaves may rise. There may be an insurrection. These blacks, of whom the complacent white man is constantly asking, "What shall we do with them?" may rise up and say, "We have concluded to do something for ourselves!" Its, it is possible. It would be the foulest blot on states manship; it would indicate a deplorable defect in our civilization, to say of twenty millions of people, rich and well fed, armed to two-thirds of a million, that they could not pilot the slave to safety, without his murdering his master, and burning from New Orlean to the Potomac. It would be bankruptcy to national rears of successes would hardly erase. avoid that. For our character, still more for human-ity's sake, we must prevent it. We must avoid was with England. It is useless to boast. We cannot no fight England. We cannot fight England when sh speaks the sentiments of Christendom, and when she stands behind those twelve States in rebellion. She will not move until she moves with France, and Spain, and possibly the rest of Europe at her side; and you know, every one of you that thinks, that the Despos of Europe, naturally, constitutionally, inevitably-those of them that are not fit for a mad house - hate dread and envy this Republic. The Earl of Shafe-bury, we are told, has said so in a public meeting in Great Britain. It is natural they should; we must take it for granted they do. I appeal to every man before me, familiar with English literature, familiar with English politics for the last thirty years, whether it is not a foregone conclusion, that the Tory party of Great Britain, much more that of the Conti and would seek every honorable means to destroy, this Republic. On the fourth of March, we shall have been one year at war; on the first of June, we shall have been fifteen months at war; and if Europe is able to say—"You have tried it and cannot succeed; you have done your utmost; you have neither state-inanship nor armies worthy the name; this fratricial strife, this disgrace to civilization, this destruction of the markets of the world, this starvation of the industry of Europe, must cease "-why should she not say so? I tell you an open secret, when I tell you that have kept us ten months at bay, does any man believe many a member of Congress at Washington expects it? McClellan may be victorious. That is one way. that these States are sufficient to subjugate them when There is a better. Do you remember that Daniel Webster said, "There is something sharper than bay onets, there is something stronger than thrones"
"It is," he says, "that public opinion which tottow the conqueror home from the scene of his ovation, which tells him that the world, though silent, is indignant; which denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened age; which turns to bitterness the car of his rejoicing; which stings him with the consciou-ness that he has outraged the opinion of mankind." To that public opinion we can appeal. Let these ninteen States say to the world this--" We have struggled for ten months to treat this rebellion as an ordinary is urrection; to preserve untouched the social arrange ments of every State. We find ourselves unable. We ments of every State. recognize the central disease from which these trouble periog. We pronounce it a struggle betwirt Freedom and Slavery, and the Government announces, after long and patient trial, that this is a war for Libert, that only impartial Liberty can save the Unice, and hence of necessity, it proclaims that ever man that sees the stars and stripes shall be free!" (Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.) Let McClean put that upon his banner, so broad that it can be seen in London, and Earl Russell will write no more haughty notes to Mr. Seward. We shall checkman any Cabinet in Great Britain. If my Lord Palmet any counter to continue designs of peace toward such a North, my Lord Derby will succeed him; and that religious, anti-slavery, enlightened middle class which has not been heard from at present, which finds so voice in "Blackwood's Magazine," or in the "Edis-burgh Review," will say to Earl Russell—"In the name of Clarkson and Wilberforce, hold your tongue!
(Cheers.) These brothers of ours on the other size

> at least of friends in the very territory he invades. interest in politics springs from my sense of the justice which this country owes to the victim race. [A] plause.) I want to see a Democracy educated to the level of the Roman boast, that it pulls down the expressor, and lifts up the oppressed. (Applause.) i want to see a religion in the North that recognizes the responsibility of strength to protect weakness. to see a sense of justice planted in the soul of ever American citizen, so that of our mere motion we shall American citizen, so that be willing and desirous of meteing out this justice " be willing and desirous of meteing out this justice the negro. But I confess that, to-night, I do so speak from that motive: I speak from a broad motive—as an American citizen, charged with the velfare of all races, white and black, foreign as native. (Applause.) F speak from what I thought I had torn up by the roots—pride in the fay which floated over our fathers' heads. (Renewed applause.) I confess I shall feel humiliated if, three months hence, at the bidding of hostile nations, this union is severed in halves. I shall live, I hope, to make my reckoning with the men who have betrayed us the last six months, for during all that time, this Union might have been placed beyond the reach of us beyond the contingency of expeditions to Savannah to Port Royal, to Beaufort, and nobody knows where and New Orleans, on contract, on the first day of July, and finished it by the first day of October. (Laugh I know nothing that the Cabinet has done but hold

the Atlantic are engaged in a struggle which mean

Magna Charta. In the name of John Millon, d

at issue to trust it to the single expectation of military

at issue to trust it to the single expectation of minus/ victory. I am willing to wait as long as any man for the drill of Gen. McClellan. I am willing to wait us-til he has made an army as perfect as that of the great Napoleon. But I know an army already drilled; drilled by a hundred years of bitterest oppression; every drop of their blood in earnest; covered by Gol with black faces, so that you may know them at a dis-tant the second of the strate of familiance). I know as

nce, and always to be trusted (applause); I know sa

army that are spies at every hearth-side of the South; they will make every step safe while he walks to New

Orleans; and whether Manassas is a barrier on one

side or Richmond on the other, he shall find betwee

mpden, and Wilberforce, our hearts go out to then God save the great Republic!" (Loud applause)
There is no other appeal possible for the people of this
continent; and it seems to me that we have too unde

I know nothing that the Cabinet has done but hose the people back; and I confess that to my mind, there is infinitely more danger to-day in red tape than in despotism; infinitely more danger from the men who think of nothing but routine, than those who are resty

to trust every power to the Government necessary for the salvation of the Union. My idea of Democray is this: it must rest on educated masses. Unlike despotism, it cannot rest on anything else. That very element of Democratic institutions makes it safe trust Government, in an emergency, with the gravest powers. France cannot trust them—she is a wreck, as she stands to-day, when she does. Germa-ny annot; Austria cannot; Italy cannot; England ent of Democratic instituti hardly could; but we can. As John Adams sa ny hanno; Alexandre and As John Adams saidsaid could; but we can. As John Adams said"The reason why George Washington was not
Cromwell was because we would not permit it." So,
to day, you trust your Government with despoic
powers; and the reason why no man becomes a Napoleon Bonaparte is because there are twenty million
of men, Yankees, to ask him why:—educated, selfsufficient, strong hearted men, who know their rights
and mean to maintain them. And thess twenty milJoos of men would have put this Union beyond
doubt, if they had had a man, not a Kentuckian, to
lead them the last ten months.

*Now, I make no complaint of Abraham Lincoln.
No man can be broader than his cradle. (Laughter.)

JANUARY 17.

Now, I make no companie of Abraham Lincoln No man can be broader than his cradle. (Laughter, No man can be broader than his cradle. (Laughter.) Unfortunately, he was born in Kentucky; and slavery had produced such a state of things in this nation this it was not possible to choose for President an unmixed loyal Northern man. That spirit of compromise which had been inocclated in our blood ever since '80, obliged us to choose such a man, and the result is the bitates. nad been inocutated in our another exert since of, ourget us to choose such a man, and the result is, the history of the last months. I do not blame him that he is no of the last months. I no not some that are a last of a Daniel Webster, an Oliver Cromwell, a George washington, or any one else. Incapacity is no man's facil. What I dread is, that a man in the wrong place fault. What I dread is, that a man in the wrong paace should baulk and defeat twenty million of people. Woe to such influence! He is in the hands of abler, deeper men than himself. Woe betide those who stand beside him, with some little title to the name of tand beside him, with scheme, one race shall rise up and tatesmen, if, years hence, one race shall rise up and that it has been baulked of its highest ambition

nd the other of its dearest hope 1 But it is no longer Gen. McClellan and the Cabinet But it is no longer Gen, McCleilan and the Cabinet.
Ever since the 4th of Dosember, we have had another
tribunal. Congress is sitting. The representative of
the public sentiment is in Washington. Men fresh
from the midst of us are there, endowed with the powfrom the most of us are there, ennowed with the pow-er to cope with this rebellion. As John Quincy Adams says—Government—the Senate and the House of Representatives, to whom the Constitution gives the power to make war, have therefore inevitably, as matter of course, an unlimited power to carry it on as they please. It is a power conferred by the Constia constitutional power, but not one limited by the Constitution. It is a despotism. Every dollar, every musket, every right of the nation is in the hands of Congress. The principle is, that when the ship is , the captain may throw the cargo overboard to save the hull. So, to-day, in this storm and con-vulsion, Democracy vindicates its title to be a Govnment. It would not otherwise be so. To the hands of its great functionaries, it entrusts des-potism for national safety. Recollect, liberty does polism for national safety. Recollect, liberty does not mean universal suffrage. Louis Napoleon was chosen by universal suffrage. Liberty does not mean the ballot-box and primary schools. Liberty does not mean the greg-shops of Boston at liberty doeso its Mayors. (Applause.) Liberty means institutions the eye of Napoleon Bonaparte, seeking a throne, they were no institutions to check him; only twenty-five millions of unorganized uneducated half-crazy Fronchmen, and he put them under his right hand course he could. But we are taught, from the very of course he could. But we are taught, from the very cradle up to the Presidency, every one of us, to be part of and preside over public meetings, initiate and work all the machinery of civil government—to epose, not individuals, but well-planned inbittutions and old habits, to all efforts of tyranny. We are a nation, old habits, to all eflorts of tyranny. We are a nation, the institutions of which guarantee fiberty. Why, a Yankee baby, six months old, is ready to manage a town-meeting. (Laughter.) He inherits it. If a dozen Yankees, or five hundred, find themselves on the prairies, they extemporize a Constitution or a State. No other race could do it. The correlative of that power is, that it is safe to trust governmen gravest despotism. Lancets, knives and surgeons' saws are terrible instruments-dangerous. What is the use of surgeons? It is, that when you need lancets, somebody knows how to use them. Just se with Democracy. It is a government that, when, for a moment, despotism is necessary, it can be safely cartrised. As John QuinoyAdams says, therefore, Congress has the power—let her use it. Let Congress to row abolish slavery in every State by an aushority equal to the Constitution, which says there shall not be nobles in any State. Let her add to it that every loval man shall be compensated for any loss that he can show; and we cover two great dan-gers. If there is a Unionist at the South, who is not a negro, we search him out. The magnet of compen sation draws him to the surface; he shows himself; he finds his voice. Those men trembling to-day at Richmond and Norfolk, those dumb friends of ours in northern Arkansas, in the upper counties of Alabama, at Macon, at Columbus, in every small town of the South, if they knew that a people strong enough to enforce their will, and capable of finding it out, had proclaimed that the success of the Union troops sh be to them safety, would (if there be any such) make themselves known. Then, on the other hand, we say to Europe, "Let four thousand miles of salt water roll between you and us; we can manage this quarrel."
On a sound basis, I do not want the advice nor the sympathy of Great Britain. On a sound basis, I have to fear of her thousand frigates, or of her hundred thousand soldiers. On a sound basis, this nation is equal to anything. The brains of nineteen millions of Yankees, with a territory four times as large as France, make no second rate power. If we can only survive this war, we are safe. If Jefferson Davis is not able on war, we are say. If deferson Davis is not accomplished and the say—"There are nineteen millions of people who wanted to be accomplices with me in slaveholding, and I would not let them; there are gineteen millions of

needs to live only a hundredth part of the years w wish him, to see its end It is too great a stake for a single card. I ex tt you, therefore, not as I usually have done the negro, but for the honor of the fathers us show ourselves worthy of our blood. If no other State speaks, make Massachusetts utter her voice. We have always been the brain of the Union—claborate ideas for her now. Massachusetts the greatest stake in this issue. Her mill of men grow nothing, almost, on her barren acres and her granite; we have only cunning fingers. The cus-tomers of the South and West are our wealth. Our sins across the Atlantic are this day cheating them out of our hands. Children of Hancock, of Adams, of Jay, of the statesmen of '76, show that you value your government, and have the sagacity to preserve it! Checkmate Encour. it! Checkmate Europe; inspirit, give courage to Jonr Cabinet; make your army's expense win some-thing; let the year 1862, by its successes, blot out the

Yankees who were willing to sink the Declaration of Independence, provided only they could have cotton

enough to keep Lowell going, and I held them as fish

to my hock as long as I wanted them, and then I

tossed them, half-dead, into the sea "-if we do not g out of this war bankrupt in statesmanship and bank

rupt in character, I have no fear for the future of the

nation. But there is a better hope, there is a nobler aim, there is a more glorious destiny for us in the innerty days that are coming. We can override this Cabinet. We can at least ask Congress to do its duty-

e can at least ask of the Government that it shall show Democracy equal to the struggle. To-day is the accepted time! To-day is the hour of our salvation

naduess to trust so much to the vigor of on

brain, to the uncertain fate of a single great battle If you do, I fear that venerable man, who still, in

own city, the oldest of our statesman, lies on a b

of sickness, who, a boy, saw the formation of the Union,

disaster and the disgrace of '61; and if we can never bring back those Commissioners, if we can never wine bring back those Commissioners, if we can never wipe out that stain on the flag of the Union, for Heaven's sake, let us put ourselves in such a condition that no sake, let us put ourselves in such a condition that no Lord Russell of Great Britain, no aristocrat of Europe, can dictate terms a second time to the nineteen States of this Union! (Loud applause.) This week, this fortnight, has been sad enough. You know its record. The seaboard dictates submission because of mercantile interests and the mercantile interests, and the country bows its head, with ill-concealed grief, to the very power that for sixty years has claimed the right to stand on our quarter-decks, any time, and take anybody therefrom.

Bear with me a moment, while I tell you why I differ from the popular view of this question. I allow the surrender was unavoidable. In our present circumstances, we could not fight England. Let them bear the shame whose shuffling policy has brought us to this necessity. But let us not deceive our selves as to its real significance or the world as to our reasons for doing it. We did it because we could not reasons for doing it. We did it because we could not help it, because we were not in a condition to resent the insult; not because international law, or any National pledge or course in times past, required it. No President would have dared or dreamed of doing it from 1800 to 1860. Let us, fellow-citizens, so bestir ourselves that no President will again be obliged to do it. So much for our reasons; and I think our wisest, most dignified way would have been femally to have said so in the face of the world. been frankly to have said so, in the face of the world and sent the Commissioners to England.

Now for the meaning and consequence of the act. For one, I do not see that our surrender of these men, in present circumstances, binds England to any principle of international law heretofore disput that, by accepting it, she relinquishes any of her for-Earl Russell simply demands "certain individuals," forcibly taken from on board a Brit ish ship, "pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage."
Now, that statement, and that only, binds the British
Government. No matter what the Times has said what French journals or British speakers have said. The British Government rests its case on Russell's despatch. Observe its language—"certain individuals." It is very significant, he no where even allows that they are Americans. They are "four persons," "four gentlemen," "certain individuals." Now, sup-The British Government rests its case on Rus pose our Government, instead of running with such undignified haste to surrender, (the only business they have not dawdled over for months since they came into office,) had replied—"Yes; certain indi-viduals were so taken; they are American citizens. We took them as you have often taken British subinto office,) had replied-"Yes; certain indijects from the decks of our ships, merchant and national, pursuing lawful and innocent voyages, in time of peace, without your having resort to any judge or tribunal." It is by no means evident, non constat, as the lawyers say, from anything in Russell's despatch, that his Government would not have admitted the exception, the precedent, or at least submitted the question to arbitration. As Earl Russell's letter stands, Great Britain has a right, clear and undisputed, to demand the surrender of individuals forcibly taken from her ships. That is the general rule. The its Mayors. (Applause.) Liberty means institutions anchored in the habits of the people, become a part of their moral and intellectual nature, sufficient for any crisis that can come over a country. When France, in her great revolutionary convulsion, met the eye of Napoleon Bonaparte, seeking a three

despatch to forbid it. Again, I except to the whole argument of Mr. Sewis only a pretext to serve a turn. It is absurd to say that any nation is bound always to act on the side she has usually chosen of disputed rules of international law. International law is common sense as recognized by nations; it is natural justice as nations now under-stand it, not as any one man or one nation fancies it. Hence, while so considerable a maratime nation as act on either side she seea best at the time. Indeed, the only way to make those governments which maintain a cruel practice surrender it, is to let them feel the smart of it from other hands. Now, the question whether a government may arrest its clitzens anywhere, at any time, is open. England keeps it so. Practise it on here as a more of the smart of t Practise it on her, as we rightfully may, till she surrenders it. So as to Mason and Slidell being or not being belligerent, Eugland cannot urge that question; she so considers them. So of this talk of refugees, like Kossuth and Mazzini, under the British flag. Everybody knows Mason was no refugee; he was the public agent of a strong government passing to his post; in no sense whatever a refugee, and he would disdain the excuse. If we subjugate the South, Davis and his officers may become refugees, and then this question may come up; but not yet. So of their not being contraband because men are not contraband, or only soldiers are, certain decisions and treaties having so affirmed. This is all idle. International law is no fantastic relic of feudalism or curious old machine, painfully adapted to new times, like some other laws. It is common sense, as national emergencies call it into action. Now, why are soldiers contraband? Beinto action. Now, why are soldiers contraband? Because they are tools of an enemy—helps to him. The same reason makes agents, ambassadors, contraband. A wily agent, passing from land to land, may do a belligerent more harm than forty colonels or a characteristic of the same for some A blue and the same for some A. sand men in arms. A blue or red coat, or metal buttons, do not make contraband. It is the hostile purpose and probable use of a person or thing. Let us not smother our sense with the dust of such tri-We are dealing with a code that knows no basis but common sense, not fanciful, arbitrary, or ob-solete distinctions. This is the way Sir, Wm. Scott,

who created so much international law to meet new and would have looked at this case No; England claims the right to take her subjects from our decks while at peace with us, and does not condescend to tell us why she wants them. That right she refused even to discuss with Webster, as late as 1842. That, therefore, the practice of a great na-val power, is allowable, to-day, in international law. We may therefore claim the use of such a rule, wh it, however much, on general principles, we may wish to see it changed. Jackson or either Ad-ams would have said so, and might have put this Nota Bene at the bottom of such an answer the record of the Chesapeake and Leopard, off Hamp-ton Roads, June 22, 1807." All our disgrace hitherto ton Roads, June 22, 1807." All our disgrace hitherto was domestic. Our flag, lowered at Sumter, might be atoned by its triumphant folds floating over Charle ton; the flight at Manassas by McClellan encamped in Richmond This last disgrace reverses our arms, and hacks off our spurs in the temple of the world's knighthacks off our spurs in the temple of the world's kinght-hood. There is no cure for that humiliation but in twenty millions of people using their brains to make themselves strong enough to prevent any nation on earth from repeating the insult. (Loud applause.) I wish to be a citizen of a great, strong, righteous State. (Renewed applause.) I wish to be a citizen of that country which our fathers won, acting on those principles which they announced, and able to set the principles which they announced, and able to set the world at defiance. (Cheers.) Hitherto we have done world at defiance. (Cheers.) Hitherto we have done so. The next fifty years promised that neither Russian or Great Britain could stand up in our presence. Sia nor Great Britain could stand up in our presence. The contemptible root of bitterness, American bondon age, has poisoned the future of this Republic, and age, has poisoned the future of this Republic, and age, has poisoned the future of this Republic, and age, has poisoned the future of the series of the garth. The your contented, subdued politicians are waiting for the victory of a single General to save all that Hanprevious government on the face of the earth. The
the victory of a single General to save all that Hanprevious government on the face of the earth. The
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previous government of the previous that the revolution and the war of 1812 have handed down to us. Let us demand of the Senate and House of Representatives that they conquer with a better are contending for national existence. With them, 'To be or not to be,' is the first great question. Our Government, shall it stand or fall to our than any you have yet raised. When I meet you Constitution, shall it be vindicated, or left to be tram. that the Revolution and the war of 1812 have !

again, I hope I may be privileged to meet you in the face of a triumphant country, with the stars and stripes covering only free men, and owning from Boston to New Orleans, from the Atlantic to the Gulf. May God grant that you wake up in time! (Loud ap-

ANOTHER SPEECH BY GEORGE THOMPSON

A second lecture on the American Question was delivered at Leigh, Lancashire, (England,) to a large and deeply interested audience, by Garonos Thourson, Esq. It was very able, lucid, sensible, and eloquent. So crowded are our columns this week, that we can find room for only the following extracts:

"Let us survey the theatre of that civil war which is now raging so fiercely on the other side the At-lantic. It is a war between the States which main-tain slavery and the States where slavery has no ex-istence. It is a war between the North and the South. It is a war between nine million on the one side and eighteen million on the other. It is a war, on the one side, for national existence—for the maintenance of government—for the preservation of the Constitution devised and founded by the fathers of ment of treason, and reintegration of the State on the other, for the establishment of an empire upon the absolute and perpetual degradation of one race for the benefit and exaltation of another race. The South is fighting for slavery and nothing else The North is fighting for the Union, the Constitu tion, the honor of the national flag, the limitation, within certain bounds, of the institution of slavery, the recistablishment of the authority of the Federal Government, and its own freedom from the domination of the Slave Power which has hitherto ruled the entire country. The North is in the right, the South is in the wrong. In the cause of the South are united all the elements of cruelty, despotism and irreligio while in the cause of the North is bound up every thing that is precious to man in connection with his freedom, progress, and future welfare. Looking upon the war as inevitable and irrepressible, looking to th combatants engaged in it with reference to their an-tecedents, their character, and their objects; looking to the results which would follow from a victory by the South, and those which would crown the success of the North, I must say, 'God speed the North!'
And this I must say without being the admirer, the
friend, or the advocate of war. I hate war. I hold it to be unholy, and, to the followers of Christ, unlawful. I know and deplore the passions, excesses, cru-elties and crimes of war; but if war there must be, and if success on the one side must be followed by the establishment of the reign of slavery, while success on the other will be the defeat of a vile confederacy on the other will be the detent of a vine conscueracy of despots, and the deliverance of a race from bondage, I caunot but desire that the final issue may be that which will promote justice, and ensure the freedom of the oppressed. (Cheers.)

"Just before I came to this meeting, I glanced at the

contents of a speech made by Lord Russell at New-castle the night before last. His lordship expresses his belief that the North will be unable to bring the South either to surrender or to submit. In this opinion I concur. That the North will, in the end, what-ever may be their temporary reverses, prove the stronger party, I have no doubt. Should the North be determined to prolong the war, the resources of th deck. All nations claim the right to take an enemy's soldiers from neutral decks in war time. To bind soldiers from neutral decks in war time. To bind England to any new principle, we should have replied claiming the exception; and if she then still claimed the men, spite of her own practice, she must have been held to have renounced her pretensions. But she will, as the case stands, take a British sailor this year or next from a Boston brig, whenever she wants him; and I do not see anything in Russell's would be the entire abolition of slavery in the South (Cheers.) This would necessitate the inauguration of wholly new state of things, and deprive the rebels South may be exhausted, and their country be over a wholly new state of things, and deprive the rebels satch to forbid it.

gain, I except to the whole argument of Mr. Sewort is merits, as well as that the nation knows it on its merits, as well as that the nation knows it of the South of that for which they are now fighting, and for which they will contend to the last. Why, then, it may be the next to the second of the south of that for which they have gone 4. asked, does not Mr. Lincoln proclaim emancip It is, of course, impossible for me to state Mr. Lin-coln's reasons for not doing so, but I may conjecture some of those reasons. He may think that such an act would altogether transcend his constitutional powers. He may think that it would lose him the support he now receives from the slave States which are yet have serious doubts both as regards the practicability and safety of that measure which, doubtless, many in the United States would rejoice to see him adopt. It is within my knowledge, however, that very many of the most sincere and uncompromising Abolitic of the United States are of opinion that, though the war is not ostensibly and declaredly for the abolition of slavery, it is as practically and really an abolition war as if it had been officially declared to be one; while, at the same time, the war, in its progress, is more and more educating the people of the North into the conviction that the interests of the country, as well as the claims of humanity and justice, require the utter extinpation of slavery from the soil of their country. Moreover, they deem it probable that the exigencies of the war at some future stage will furof the North, to abolish slavery in the exercise of that power which is always vested in those who have the chief military command. For myself, I do not le to official utterances so much to learn the views and policy of the Government, as to form a judgment re-specting the influence of the popular sentiment upon the minds of the Government. For eight and twenty years, I have watched with anxiety the spread of anti-slavery opinions in the United States. My observation of the growth of those opinions goes back John Quincy Adams stood alone to the time when upon the floor of Congress, as the advocate of the right of petition, and when Edward Everett, the Govrnor of Massachusetts, recommended to the Legture of the State the passage of laws to prohibit free-dom of speech and publication on the question of sla-very. When I look at the present state of public inion at the North, I am constrained to excl What hath God wrought! Yes, I know how few comparatively, are Abolitionists from a genuine and thorough conviction of the sinfulness of slavery, and a sincere desire to give the slave his rights l he is a man. I know, too, how various are the mo-tives which lead hosts of men at the North, at the ounce slavery. I do not won present moment, to de

> public opinion, should pause ere by any act of theirs they proclaim the war one for the change that yery. In the meantime, I rejoice at the change that claim the war one for the extinction of als very. In the meantime, I rejoice at the change has been effected. I rejoice to see the imp tone of the public journals of the country. joice, above all, in the knowledge that by every that is struck, some damage is done to that institu-tution which, but a few short months ago, seemed to rest on immutable fou "Let it not be forgotten, that this war on the part of the North has been caused by a wide-spread and treathe North has been caused by a wide-spread and trea-sonable combination for the overthrow of a National

ler, therefore, that the Administration at Was

held back by constitutional considerations, and better

d than we can be respecting the real state of

pied in the dust! Our common country, shall its integrity be preserved, or shall its fairest and sunniest portions be surrendered, henceforth, to support a government based on principles the reverse of their own, and is alliance with the enemies of human freedom the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalisted upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalisted upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalisted upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalisted upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalisted upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalisted upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalisted upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalised upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance, yet it has not only not been inalised upon, but an indulgence of thirdeness of the paper should be made in advance. and in alliance with the enemies of human introughout the world? Thank God? the Unif America can only gain their object by the plishment of ours. Union without alavery, o

of America can only gain their object by the accomplishment of owrs. Union without slavery, or entire and perpetual separation, are the only alternatives. Once I feared a compromise; now, I believe the day of compromise is past. The ferocity, infatuation and madness of the South forbid it. The spirit, deltermination and awakened conscience of the North forbid it. The circumstances and necessities of the war forbid it, and the future peace and welfare of the country forbid it.

"I should like to say a few words respecting the real strength and numbers of that party at the South with which the North is at this moment contending. The South ins always been ruled by a few thousands of wealthy slaveholders. Their slaves, which were themselves wealth, and the capital of the country, were the producers of that which brought to their owners additional riches, and enabled them to live in luxury and idleness, devoting themselves to pleasure, polities and war—war being the means of extending their slave territory. After their slaves who tilled the soil, overseers, merchants, brokers and agents did the rest. Education in the South has always been confined to the children of the wealthy. The rest of the Southern white population is poor, ignorant, victious and degraded. The slavocracy of the South have been the gentry, landholders, knowledge-holders, office-holders, and rulers of the country. I have explained by what means they sequired, and, until the election of Mr. Lincoln, retained, the control of the affairs of the entire country, and secured all their sectional and selfish objects through their predominant influence, and always at the cost of the resources and reputation of the North. A portion of these men have succeeded in calling into existence the Southern Confederacy. They have staked every thing upon have succeeded in calling into existence the Southern Confederacy. They have staked every thing upon the issue of the conflict. I believe that, were it possible to arrive at a knowledge of the real sentiments of all the people at the South, it would be found that the majority desire the restoration of the Union, even though its restoration should involve the overthrow of inough is restoration should involve the overtinow of slavery. Unhappily, however, the secessionist war party is the controlling party, and are able to suppress the true opinions of the rest of the people. The time will come, nevertheless, when the millions of poor whites, when the helpless women, when the free col ored people, and when the slaves themselves, will be able to speak out. There is a body of men in the free States who have yet to be called into action. I refer to the hundreds of thousands of the colored population, multitudes of whom are fugitives from slavery. If the war should continue, they have an imtant part to play in this crisis, and will not be for wanting. Nay, they are even now ready and eager to assist in demolishing that system of oppression of which they have been the victims, and under which many of their dearest friends still groan. Recogni ing the war in America as a fact, and having carefully studied the history of its causes, and its probable re-sults, I must declare my conviction that it is likely to eventuate in the overthrow, at no distant day, of that institution which for more than seventy years has been the disgrace of the American republic. More, I do More, I do not deem it necessary to say. The white race will take care of themselves. Respecting the future welfare, prosperity and greatness of the North, I have no fears. My sympathics are with the enslaved, and my humble prayer is, that when the smoke of battle sha have passed away, when the sword of civil war sha have passed away, when the sword of civil war shall have returned to its scabbard, and the heavens are nce more clear, we may behold upon the cont America four million of emancipated slaves, and

FORM OF PETITION TO CONGRESS.

whose Constitution shall prohibit all fu-the bodies and the souls of men."

CIRCULAR.

The undersigned, having prepared with care, and after mature deliberation, the accompanying petition on the subject of "Emancipation," recommend it to the public for general adoption and circulation. Copies may be obtained from either of the subscribers.

New York, December, 1861. W. C. Bryant, Wm. Curtiss No. H. A. Hartt, M. D. J. W. Edmonds, Wm. Curtiss Noves. James McKaye, Wm. Goodell, Sam'l R. Davis, Oliver Johnson, J. E. Ambrose Edward Gilbert. Mansfield French, Andrew W. Morgan Nathan Brown, Edgar Ketcham, Andrew Bowdoin. James Wiggins, Geo. B. Cheever, D. D. John T. Wilson, J. R. W. Slo S. S. Jocelyn, Theodore Tilton, Dexter Fairbanks, James Freeland. Samuel Wilde, Charles Gould, Alexan Wm. C. Russell. Alexander Wilder

PETITION.

To the President of the United States and to Congress : The people of the United States represent: That they recognize as lying at the very foundation of our nent, on which has been erected the fabric of our free institutions, the solemn and undying truth, that by nature all men are endowed with an unaliena-

ble right to liberty.

so far as this great truth has been in any respect departed from by any of our people, or by any course of events, the toleration of such depar-ture has been caused by an overshadowing attach-

very shall be wiped out of the land utterly and forever.

Therefore, we who now address you, as co-heirs with you in the great inheritance of freedom, and as en of America, most earnestly urge upon th

Tribuns, who are now getting their deserts; the Yankees who have married Southern plantations, or otherwise taken up their residence and cast in their lot with the slave-drivers. Contempt and ruin are their meri-

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 thirteen months has hitherto been granted delinquent subscribers, before proceeding [always, of course, with great reluctance] to erase their names from the subscription list, in accordance with the STANDING BULB hid down by the Financial Committee. But, in consequence of the generally depressed state of business, this indulgence will be extended from January J, 1861, to April 1, 1862, in cases of necessity. We trust no advantage will be taken of this extension on the part of those who have usually been prompt in complying with our terms—pagement in advance.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

THE PATH OF SAFETY.

The time seems rapidly coming for decision of the great question whether this nation is to be saved or dashed in pleces. Saved it can be only by repentance and reform. Whether or not McClellan shall gain and reform. Whether or not McClellan shall gain that promised group of decisive victories for which we have been so long waiting, unless slavery is ut-terly overthrown, and the rights of man constitution-ally established in its place, there is no peace, quiet-ness or prosperity in store for this country. It is preposterous and utterly impossible to suppose that either side will consent to such quiettude. While a slaveholding power remains, it must seek to exte and fortify its tyranny. While a single friend of justice and freedom remains, he must exert himself in dence of justice and freedom, in opposition to the incessant invasions of a system of tyranny so thorough and so shameless. Until slavery is exterminated, our battle remains to be fought. Until the existing war is turned against slavery, no decisive progress is made towards the overthrow of the rebellion, or the reëstab-lishment of law and order. Until the Government shall begin a systematic assault upon that which is at once the weak point of the enemy and the cause and object of their hostile movements, every day is so much lost time, every appropriation is treasure wast-ed, every life lost is lost by the fault of the Adminis-tration, and every battle is a series of murders. And if this fatal neglect of duty is continued until the failure of the North to succeed causes the recognition and aid of the South by European nations, the whole situ-ation will become still more complicated, and still more

If the Cautain is deaf or heedless in time of extreme danger, the crew should repeat and emphasize their demand upon him to save the ship. It seems plain that Seward and Lincoln will go in the right direction only as they are driven. Let urgent calls be made upon Congress, therefore, by men and women in all parts of the country, to do that one thing which alone can save us—Emancipate every slave. Let such safeguards be added to the measure as Congress may deem necessary; but let this one thing be done out delay. It is our one thing needful.—c. K. W

The crowd of matters pressing upon our colmns for months past must be our excuse for not hav ing earlier noticed the excellent sermon of Rev. S. J May, preached at Syracuse, N. Y., last Thanksgiving day. This notice must not be longer postposed by waiting till we have room for extended comments. His thanksgiving is uttered in view of the fact that the progress of slavery has been arrested, and that we have not been suffered to continue the quiet tolerance of so great an iniquity. The lesson which he enforces is, that we should use this occasion to destroy slavery altogether. Let all the people say, Amen!

The Post and Courier here, and the Journal of Commerce in New York, agree in frequently repeating the sentiment, that the overthrow of slavery would be as ruinous to the country as the triumph of the South ern rebels. Not now, any more than in the time of Jesus, do we find grapes on thorns, or figs on thistles.

A WORTHY APPEAL. A colored man named Levi Ward has called upon us, whose simple story, which seems to be well sustained by vouchers, illustrates what a colored man can do under the greatest difficulties. He with his family were slaves in Somerset county, Maryland. By extra labor, economy and per-severance, continuing over a period of sixteen years, he bought his freedom for \$1300. He then went to work to secure the freedom of his wife and, two chil-dren, for whom he was to pay \$1400. By his own la-bor, and by the contributions of the benevolent, he has already secured all but \$310—his wife and one child eing now free. He is now in this city endeavoring to ecure the balance, in which we hope he will succeed. Ward has worked for the Hon. William H. Seward ong others since his freedom, who gave him the following letter:-

"I am satisfied that Mr. Levi Ward's statements are true, and that he is worthy of confidence and sympa-thy in his efforts to buy the freedom of his two chil-dren. Auburn, Aug. 29, 1800."

The above letter, the original of which we have een, is endorsed by Gov. Curtin, of Pennsylvania. Ward also has letters from other distinguished gentle-men, including some who have employed him. He is a fine specimen of what is called down South "a smart negro," able to turn his hand to anything, from making a garden to navigating a vessel. He professes to be familiar with all the bays and creeks in Chesapeake Bay, having sailed over those waters for several years. whom he calls cannot fail to be interested in his simple history.

ment to the Union, and by conscientious fidelity to those with whom we had voluntarily united in forming a great example of free government.

That such departure—whether willing or unwilling, whether excusable or censurable—has nevertheless given birth to a mighty power in our midst—a power which has consigned four millions of our people to slavery, and arrayed six millions in rebellion against the very existence of our government; which for three-quarters of a century has disturbed the peace and harmony of the nation, and which has now armed nearly half a million of people against that Union nearly half a million of people against that Union which has been hitherto so dear to the lovers of freedom throughout the world.

had now no existence under our Government; that the loyal slave States, by their negative position, were delaying the progress of our arms more as friends than they could as open enemies; that we should arm That by the very act of the Slave Power itself, we have, all of us, been released from every obligation to tolerate any longer its existence among us.

That we are admonished—and day by day the conviction is gathering strength among us—that no heart of the strength among us—that no heart of

ANOTHER FIGHT IN KENTUCKY.—Prestonbury, Ky., January 11th. CAPT. J. B. FEY, A. A. G.:—I left Pointaville on Thursday noon with 1100 men, and drove in the enemies pickets two miles below Prestonburg. The men slept on their arms. At 4 o'createrday morning we moved towards the main body restorday morning we moved towards the main body free men of America, most earnestly urge upon the President and upon Congress—

That, amid the varied events which are constantly cocurring, and which will more and more occur during the momentous struggle in which we are engaged, such measures may be adopted as will ensure emacipation to all the people throughout the whole land, and thus complete the work which the Revolution began thus complete the work which the Mesic Hall.

Special Nortice. Contributions of articles for the refreshment-table, at the Twenty-Eighth Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, should be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, until 2 o'clock, P. M., of Wednesday, the 22d; from that hour to 5, P. M., directly to the Music Hall.

Col. Commanding Brigade.

DEPARTURE OF THE BURNEIDE EXPEDITION. The Burnside expedition sailed from Fortress Monroe on Saturday and Sunday last. It is supposed that the destination of the expedition is Pamilico and Albemarie Sounds. A few days will remove all doubt in the matter. There are five Massachusetts regiments in the expedition.

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

That the people may have an opportunity to ex-ercasons presented in this crisis of our country's ons presented and patient of the slaves.

A COURSE OF SIX LECTURES will be delivered, under the auspices of the Em

will be delivered, League, in TREMONT TEMPLE,

Tuesday, Jan. 21, by ORESTES A. BROWNSON. Subject—"Abolition of Slavery."
Wednesday, Jan. 29, by M. D. CONWAY, a native of Vir-

ginia.
Subject..." Liberty, challenged by Slavery, has the right
to choose the weapon. Liberty's true weapon is Free-

Wednesday, Feb. 5th, by FREDERIC DOUGLASS.
Subject—"The Black Man's Future in the Southe States."

Subject - "The barStates"

Nednesslay, Feb. 12th, (to be announced.)

Wednesslay, Feb. 19th, (to be announced.)

Organist - JOHN S. WRIGHT.

Doors open at 6 1-2 o'clock, and the Lectures will com-nence at 7 1-2 o'clock.

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY .- The next quar terly meeting of this Society will be held in Abington Town Hall, on Sunday, 19th inst., at 10 o'clock, A. M. Parker Pillsbury, Charles L. Remond and others will be

in attendance.

"Rule or Ruin" has been long the Soufdern cry. Give
us Steersy, or give us Death, is its last variation! How
shall it be met by the North! is the most card question
ever submitted to this generation. How shall it be met by
the Abolitionists of the Old Colony? Let a mass meeting of the Abolitionists of the Aboli

SAMUEL DYER, Sec'y.

SF AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the American S. Society, will speak at the following places in the State

New York :			
Dover Plains,	Tuesday,	Jan.	21.
Washington,	Thursday,	44	23.
Verbank,	Friday,	110	24.
Washington Hollow,	Sunday,		26.
Clinton Hollow,	Tuesday,	a	28.
Salt Point,	Thursday,	"	301
Pleasant Valley,	Saturday,	Feb.	Y.
			300

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. The Sixth Annual Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of New York will be held in ALBANY, at Associ-ATION HALL, on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, February and 8th, commencing at 10 1-2 o'clock, A. M. Three sions will be held each day. [Particulars next week.] 7th and 8th, com

Twelfth Baptist Church in Southac Street, (Rev. Mr. Grimes's,) on Monday evening, Jan. 20. Subject: The People of Color-Their Relation to the Country, and their

CHARLES LENOX REMOND will speak at the

F. A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Slave-y Society, will speak on "The War," in Johnstown, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 19.

EF E. II. HEYWOOD will speak in the Univarian hurch at Neponset, Sunday evening, Jan. 19.

DIED - In Pembroke, Mass., Dec 28, of typhoid fever, Moses Brown, youngest son of Samuel aged 26 years.

Seldom doth the dark messenger fold his wings over one greater profitise, one more universally beloved and la-tented. Gifted by nature with a mind of no ordinary ca-acity, well-cultivated by a liberal education, (being a data of Datament Callers) and Ground social intergraduate of Dartmouth College,) and frequent social inter-course, with a remarkably high-toned and conscientions principle, and a kind hear the down-trodden and oppressed, these noble traits served to render him an object of peculiar interest, a star of un-common brightness. Alas! it has gone down ere it had reached its meridian height, and fond hearts are left to reached its merician neight, and took means are east on mourn his absence, though they would not call him back, for, through faith in his Redeemer, "death lost its sting, and the grave its victory," and another soul is safely an-chered in the haven of eternal rest—another redeemed

one gathered early to our heavenly Father's fold. z. [Most deeply do we sympathize with the aged parents, ers and sisters in their afflictive bereavemen devoted brothers and sisters in their amouter breeaveness in the death of the promising young man whose symmetry of character is so truly though briefly portrayed above. He had been a reader of the Liberator from earliest youth, which he highly approciated, and which, we trust, was no small instrumentality in making him what he was—one to be esteemed and loved for his virtues, and admired for his talents. 1-Y.

In Rockport, Jan. 4, Lulle, second daughter of L. B. and Eveline Pratt, aged 7 years

"Farwell ! If ever foundest prayer
For others' weal availed on high,
Mine will not all be lost in air,
But waft thy name beyond the sky.
"I were vain to speak, to weep, to sigh!
Oh! more than tears of blood can tell,
When wrong from guilt's expiring eye.
Is in that word—Farewell! Farewell!

DEATH OF REV. J. W. LEWIS, HAYTI. By a letter in the Pine and Palm, we learn of the death of Rev. John W. Lewis, at Hayti, on the 29th of August. He went to Hay-Lewis, at Hayti, on the 20th of August. He went to Hay-ti, it may be remembered, at the head of a company, some of whom seemed to be earnest Christians, and who, having been members of different churches in this country, united themselves together, in church relations, just before, start-ing for Hayti. Mr. Lewis was to be their pastor, and, is as expected, would perform other missions was much respected in Haytl, and hi ted in Hayti, and his death is sin-

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

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

rely regretted by the government

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

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hais.
She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair, Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.
She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly benefoial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from

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

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER. Dec. 20.

The Life and Letters of CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN,

WHO was Executed at Charlestowe, Virginia, December 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack upon American Stavery: with Notices of some of his Confederates. Edited by Richafton D. Warn.—This very valuable and interesping 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 male at the Auti-Stavery Office in Boston, 211 Washington street, Room No. 8. Also in New York, at No. 5 Beckman street; and in Philadelphia, at No. 106 North Tenth street.

PRIVATE TUITION.

Thaving been deemed advisable to suspend, temporarily, the Hopedale Home School at the expiration of the
present term, amouncement is hereby made, that Mrs.
A. B. HAYWOOD, one of the Principals, will be pleased to
receive a few Young Ladies into her family for Institution in the English, Branches, French, Drewing and Painting, and Music. The term will commence on Widnamary
Jan. 1, 1862, and continue Firther Wages.
For particulars, please address
ABBIE B. HAYWOOD

For particulars, please address
ABBIE B. HAYWOOD
Hopedals, Milford, Mass., Dec. 10, 1861.

* Hon. Josiah Quincy, Sen: .

"ON TO FREEDOM! re has been a cry, "On to Richmond er cry, "On to England!" Better than On to Freedom!"—CRARLES SUMMER. Freedom! On to Freedom!

The the everlasting cry

Of the floods that strive with Ocean,
Of the storms that smite the sky;
Of the atoms in the whirlwind,
Of the seed beneath the ground,
Of each living thing in Nature

That is bound !
T was the cry that led from Egypt,
Through the desert wilds of Edom:
Out of Darkness—Out of Bondage—
"On to Freedom! On to Freedom!"

O! thou slony-hearted Pharach,
Vainly warrest thou with God!
Moreless, at the palace portals,
Moses waits, with lifted red!
O! thou poor barbarian, Xerxes,
Vainly o'er the Pontic main
Flingest thou, to curb its utterance, Scourge or chain!
For the cry that led from Egypt, Speaks alike through Greek and Hebrow
"On to Freedom! On to Freedom!" rt wilds of Ed

In the Roman streets, from Graechus, Hark! I hear that cry outswell ; And on Switzer hills, from Tell ! Up from Spartacus, the bondman,
When his tyrants' yoke he clave;
And from stalwart Wat the Tyler, Saxon slave !

Still the old, old cry of Egypt,
Struggling out from wilds of Edom,
Sounding down through all the ages:
"On to Freedom! On to Freedom!"

God's own mandate : "On to Freedom!" God's own mandate: "On to Precuous."
Gospel-cry of laboring Time!
Uttering still, through seers and heroes,
Words of Hope and Faith sublime!
From our Sydneys, and our Hampdens,
*And our Washington, they come;
And we cannot, and we dare not,
Make them dumb! Out of all the shames of Egypt, Out of Darkness—out of Bendage— "On to Freedom! On to Freedom!" A. J. H. DUGANNE.

New York, Dec. 25, 1861.

RESPONSE.

Inscribed to the National Hymn Com BY M. NORTON. A voice from the people comes sounding along,
"Give us, ob give us, a National Song!
Words that shall thrill through the hearts of men,
Music to breathe them o'er hill-top and gien;— Spirit of Poesy, speed it along— Give us, oh give us, a National Song!"

What say the poets throughout the land? List, the response to the People's demand: "Never—for ever—for ever—never," Answers the Muse for every endeavor. "Never till broken for ever its chains, Never till broken for ever its chains, Never till righted this terrible wrong, Call on the Muse for a National Song.

"Crush out Rebellion—erush out its cause, Give to the white and black similar laws, Give to the bondman a right to his life. Give to the husband a right to his wife: Wait for the triumph of freedom—and then Call for a National Anthem again.

"Then o'er the dashing of ocean's shere O'er the Northern lakes and the ea And over the prairies and mountains grand, And the orange groves of a Southern land, And through the old forest, dark and dim, Shall sweep a worthy National Hymn; And the song of the angels be heard again
Peace on earth, and good will to men."

SLAVERY OR DEATH. Fools who have from Union fied-Fools whom pride has oft misledleome to your new-made bed, Made for Slavery.

Now's the day, and now's the hour-See the walls of Pickens lower; Stay the spread of Freedom's power; ah Slavery.

Ye who love the traitor knoves, Ye who sell your souls for slaves, Ye who spann the patriots' graves, Fight for Slavery!

Who for human rights and law Dare for Freedem stand or fa', Make him turn and flee.

By oppression's woes and pains By your sens in service chains, By the blood that fires your voins, Let them not be free.

By your altars and your fires the strength of your desires

ed not the graves of your sires ;

Lay the bold reformer low;
Freedom falls with every foe;
Slavery's in every blow,

From the Beston Pilot. OLD WINTER.

w-plume of white on the wings of the breeze, A diamond mail on the bare coated trees,
A whir of dead leaves as the wind whistles by, Pile up the good fire, boys—ring cheer upo For jolly old Winter is King of the year!

Then cheer, let us cheer, boys—each blast that floats by Is strength to the life-blood, and light to the eye; had travelled life's pathway as now, When the sunsnine of callaneed was origin on each The Queen of the Springtime might do for us then, But jolly old Winter's the menarch for men!

Hurrah, boys, hurrah! There as life in his breath, That would shake its grim spear from the white hand

The kiss of his lips bids the brave heart rejoice And the pulse rushes free at the sound rejoice, See! over the grey hills the Autumn has flown, And Winter, King Winter, has mounted his throne!

No longer the Summer will woo us to rest, With the birds in her hand, and the buds o The wind of the North rushes down to the strife, And our spirits awake to the contest of life; Old Time has full many a chief at his call, But jolly old Winter is King of them all !

Then obser once again, boys—and send, as it rings, One prayer to the throne of the great King of kings, One prayer to use introde of the great of the That to we may live, as the reasons roll on, When the flowers of our Summer are withered and gone, We may smile with as hearty a gledness as now, When the mows of life's Winter are white on each brow! South Quincy, December, 1861.

THE RAINBOW.

God of the fair and open sky!
How gleriously above us springs
The tented dome of heavenly blue,
Suspended on the rainbow's rings!
Each brilliant star that sparkles thre Each gilded cloud that wanders free n evening's purple radiance, gives The beauty of its praise to thee !

The Tiberator.

"THE SWORD IN ETHICS."

The state of war in which we now are, and is The state of war in which we now are, and in the maintenance of which the country is perfectly united—for most of the few who have been accustomed to oppose war are now silent upon that subject, and the voice of the remainder is as a whisper amid the roar of Niagara—has brought out a large crop of sermons and essays in justification of the use of the sword. These apologies for war of course vary very widely both in positive sufficiency of argument for the end proposed, and in candor towards the advocates of peace. Some, like Henry Ward Beccher, are content to rest their cause upon transparent sophisms, of peace. Some, like Henry Ward Beecher, are con-tent to rest their cause upon transparent sophisms, deliberately presenting the wolf and the tiger as valid precedents for the soldier, and symmetrically filling out their plya by misstatement of the position of peace-men; while others attempt a justification of the sword by serious appeal to philosophy and religion, with neither bitterness nor unfairness to those who think differently. The ablest production of this latter class that I have seen is an article in the Christian Examiner for January, entitled—"The Sword in Ethics.

The closing sentence of this article is as follows:—

"Man may lawfully use no other sword than that which pure Heaven puts into his hand; but the sword that Heaven gives, if he make it not sharp against those that deserve its edge, will become sharp against himself."

Thoroughly agreeing in both parts of this state ment, and rejoicing in the rare opportunity of meet-ing so just and candid an opponent, I propose to give a fair and full abstract of the course of the Examiner's argument, and to give, as far as it can be done in sur-brief space, the reply made to it by Non-Resistance.

The writer begins by referring to the laws of the material world, and of the lower orders of the animal

creation. He thinks it plain that Nature is no nonsistant, since every one of her laws is a force that cuts its own way, with never a "By your leave," nor the least offer to desist in case of objection made. Among the lower animals, the class, the genus, the species, that lacks vigor to support and protect itself, ceases from off the earth. Taking creatures by kinds, it is the inexorable rule, that those which cannot mak good a place for themselves shall have no place.

good a place for themselves shall have no pince.

Consequently, in the construction of any creature,

Nature has always in mind the thought of self-preservation, commonly of direct self-defence, and works
this, generally largely and openly, into its organization.

The question arises, Does nature desist from this

portion of her plan on arrival at man? True, he has that Nature has always very dearly at heart; that, namely, of compelling man to an exercise of his un-derstanding. Sile makes self-preservation a mental discipline, and will allow her best-beloved to be safe as he is intelligent. One might as well argue against clothing from the nakedness of man's cuticle, as against his use of weapons from his want of fangs

But the above question, our author thinks, has a broader and more sufficient answer. Nature never does abandon any leading idea. Accordingly, having once found the idea of self-defence in her hands, we be sure that it is never cast aside. With higher may be sure that it is never cast aside. With ingine organizations, there are higher expressions of every leading thought; and therefore, on arriving at man, we find that the provisions for defence partake of the general elevation, and are, for the most part, much removed from a beastly simplicity of biting and scratching. For physical defence, man is weaponed the power and cunning of the hand, but far that command of natural forces which the finer cunning of understanding confers upon him. For subtler encounters, he has the powers of the eye and the voice. These, then, are man's natural weapons; body for the defence of body, and mind for the

Man, therefore, having a higher nature, has a higher order of weapons than the brute. The question ther should be not trust to these alone for protection? The answer, the writer thinks, is easy. In all defences, you necessarily use a weapon not onl

Our author answers his own question thus: When ever a man is a wolf, as too many men are, then weepon against wolf is weepon against him. Is it declared, on the other hand, that men cannot properly be called wolves? Let us see! What is a wolf! or, civilization. Terror is the service of love hold in other words, what is that fact in the wolf-nature which of right exposes the creature to odium and deadly assault? Not the fact that he is a four-footed animal of the canine family; but simply that he is a lawless depredator and destroyer. The wolf is shot, not as a beast, but as à beast of prey; and the men of prey are in the same category with him in the fulness of that fact which alone condemns him to death. It is the habits and purposes, not the anatomy, against which the sword is turned; it is base and bloody dispositions that instify the recriminations of battle. Wolf is wolf

Nature's ordinances are instincts; and the instinct of the human race points undividedly to defence of your own person and rights, and still more, and with added dignity, to protection of those whom nature has left in some degree defenceless—babes and children, disabled persons, weak minorities, and women. Moreover muscular resources are second. demands of this instinct. The man who sees a child braced; of the honorableness and sacredness of war or a woman brutally assaulted feels the tides of force in the vindication of justice, else trodden under foot or a woman brutally assaulted feels the tides of lorce of the constant uses of possible (which must some streaming towards his hands, and doubling their of the constant uses of possible (which must some strength; the bidding of the highest authority to an times be actual) war, as the guardian of a noble times be actual) war, as the guardian of a noble times be actual) war, as the guardian of a noble times be actual) war. torfere and the power to interfere with et terfere, and the power to interfere with emeacy, ourn palong every artery, thrill down every sinew; and Society, except in so far as it seeks peace by the promotion of justice. Let the sword be baptized, not who shall gainsay them? Who shall gainsay, unless motion of justice. Let the sword be baptized, not be prepared to show that Nature is superfluous, broken. Let charity, faith, intelligence, wield it; not he be prepared to show that Nature is superfluous

al, wicked? To object to these instincts as "brutal" is a misuse To object, we call those ac-tions or impulses of men brutal which are unnaturally base, fierce or obscene; but it will not do to assume base, heree or observer instincts man has in common with brutes are bad; in other words, that a part of his nature is unnatural. All that brutes do is not, in the opportious sense, brutal. The instinct of resistance in man, as in the inferior animal, has just that dignity which is afforded by the affections which support and surround it.

But perhaps the final intrenchment of the extreme pholders of peace is found in the doctrine that evil-nust not be rendered for evil, or in the yet stronger lemand that good shall be rendered for evil, and en-

demand that good shall be rendered for evil, and emmity met only with love.

But what is a doing evil ! To confront perfldy with
peril, is that evil ! To apply the great laws of retribution, is this a doing of evil ! If so, the universe itevil is chargeable with guiltiess; for it is the law of the
universe that danger, danger to life and limb, danger
to the top of menace, shall confront injuity. Either,
therefore, the universe is in fault, or the principle of
making wrong-doing dangerous to the wrong-doer
stands vindicated.

It is the crime itself, not the pains and penalties

It is the crime itself, not the pains and per which oppose it, that is hurtful to the criminal. To do wrong is the worst that can befal any man; next worst it is, not to be directly punished for the wrong, having done it.

The highest service we can ever render a human being is to breed and incite him to virtue; the next highest service is to dissuade him from purposed vice; but these being excluded, the only remaining service is to oppose with impassable barriers a wicked will, to which reason and right are no barrier. If, to withhold success from accurated purposes, you meet them with the most biting, inexorable edges at resistance, you still bless where you smite, and are in-finitely kinder to the culprit than he to himself. To refinitely kinder to the culprit than he to himself. To re-move any of the perils necessary to hold in check in-cipient iniquity is cruelty instead of kindness. The hope of impunity is the nurse of crime, and one suc-cess breeds a thousand attempts. We therefore betray and injure our brother when we make it safe, or less

than utterly unsafe, for him to become a ville

than utterly unsafe, for him to become a villain.

To the objection that, since prevention of crime destroys not the intent, it cannot benefit him by whom the criminal intent is cherished, our author rejoin that the objection is not true; that, by walling up the doors of opportunity, we tend more and more to stiffe criminal wishes, and thus to help the growth of the natural (though tardy) crop of good; while submission and forbearance to evil may so encourage tyranny to bear all the fruits, though they want all the animus of hate and injury. Confidently affirming this, he nevertheless willingly admits that Mercy will commoncome bringing tender counsels; that love is often ly come bringing tender counsels; that love is oftened shown by long-suffering and meckness; that life is precious, and not to be lightly taken; and that men err far more frequently by over-suddenness of wrath than by excess of charitable forbearance. Yet the Italians and ourselves have erred otherwise; they yielding too much to the Bourbons, and we to the daveholders.

As to peace between nations, excellent and desiraportion of her pian on arrival at hian? Are, he has no ostensible natural weapon; but why? Because ble as it is, there are discriminations to be made, he is to command the use of all. Moreover, in this obtaining where justice prevails, the other where it is disregarded and undesired. These stand to each other as yea and nay, as life and death, as heaven and hell. Not to distinguish between them is to elect the worse; while to choose the true peace is so to deny and abhor the false, that war, with all its fearfulness, shall be incomparably less fearful. War is worthy of all good men's choice, in comparison with a peace of perfidy and corruption. d corruption.

Peace is indeed precious when it means intelligen munion in justice. But if any one affirm that communion in justice. But it any one aimm that jus-tice is less precious than the outward circumstances of peace, he is a traitor not only to right, but to peace herself; since true peace follows after purity, and only as it is worthy can be enduring. There is a dead only as it is worthy can be peace; but upon the heels of death treads decay, and its soldier, the worm. No allegiance therefore to peace can there be without due recognition of the fact that war, whenever it takes place in needful vindic that war, whenever it takes place in nections, we have in the tion of justice, is honorable, noble, sacred, so far as the champions of justice are concerned. Therefore, a Perce Society that respects outward peace only or chiefly is the very Judas of the time, not only selling God's justice for a price, but in the end hanging its cause and treated on a tree. itself on a tree.

For wars in and of themselves we have no word

either of praise or extenuation. Wars are great evils; but barbarous tyranny, and the submissions that flat-ter and perpetuate it, are great crimes. And between evils and crimes there is but one choice.

Consider, further, the preventive function of war Possible war is the gage of actual peace. The alter In all defences, you necessarily use a weapon not only fit for you, as a man, to employ, but appropriate also to the foe or danger that threatens you. Powder and ball are the proper weapons against wolves; therefore the use of the rifle is not intrinsically unsuitable to a man. The only question then is—Is ever a fellowman one of those foes against whom the rifle may be man one of those foes against whom the rifle may be maded contact with savage passions and brutish apprehensions all rost, as their basis of security, unon no hensions, all rest, as their basis of security, upon other foundation. A nation is a nation only as it i religiously banded and bound to support a social orde

civilization. Terror in the service of love holds the world together. Terror serving love and guided by reason is our only safeguard from constant risk and dread of hostility. Society begins there where tw men say, implicitly or otherwise, "We two will guarantee each other's defence, and between us reason and right shall be for a law." And this pact, widened, reads, "We twoscore, or twoscore thousand, will up hold the law of reason and justice over such a terr tory; it shall be binding on all within that limit; we pledge to good understandings and rational modes

to us only as he is a murderer of the flock; man is man to us only as he is human, not inhuman.

To these general provisions (our author proceeds) nature has added the force of a special commandment.

Nature's ordinances are institute.

wantonness and outrage.

Now comes the question of limits. First, only fire is to be met with fire—only the sword quelled by the is to be met with fire—only the sword quelled by the sword—only the destroyer visited with destruction Rightful war is always defensive, for ourselves or others. It is only the armed hand of injustice which the use of these hindrances can be superseded by pos-itive attractions toward reason, right and good, superthe use of these hindrances can be superseded by positive attractions toward reason, right and good, supersed without blame. Is this true?

If a man swallow arsenic, does Nature say, "Homan life is inviolable," and therewith dismiss him without consequences? Nature takes life in mere fidelity to physiological law: can human life be amenable to this, and not amenable to the more sacred law of justice? Nature draws her line and says—"On one side is life, and on the other death"; may not justice, speaking by the hearts and working by the hands of innocent men, in like manner draw her bounds, and utter her solemn warning, "Pass this limit, and you pass forbearance"? If nature may thus commission a stone, she may thus, with yet more reason, commission man.

Thus capital punishment is shown to be justifiable. The State and every social body is bound to indicate, and to indicate with emphasis, a more precious estimate of justice, freedom, and the honor and innocence of man and woman than of mere physical life; and, failing flagrantly to do this, it is ere long weighed in the balances, and found wanting.

Its author has composer of war, yes, even a Non-Resistant, can thoroughly accept and adopt. Heartily and thoroughly agreeing in that final statement, and in very many of the previous statements of this able and candid writer, I shall attempt, in another article, to show wherein his main argument is unso

A THANKSGIVING SERMON.

To Rev. Linus H. Shaw, Minister of the First Parish in Sudbury; Mass.:

A friend has sent me a copy of your Thanksgiv-ing Sermon, upon which I propose to make some com-ments, not because I consider it particularly good, or bad, (though it has excellencies and defects,) but be-cause I consider it a fair expression of the average ideas of the great body of ministers and people at the resent time

present time.
You give (p. 4) as the position of the Abolitionists, that "it (slavery) should be destroyed at once, by law, or by force, or by whatever way it may best be done; but that it be done entirely and immediately." You also say, that "no person who knows what an Ab olitionist is, can name more than five or ten persons in all our free States who are persons of distinction in an our iree States who are persons of distinction and influence." I will not stop to criticise either of these propositions, though I think you greatly under-rate their influence, or that of the truths they inculcate. You say, p. 10, "If we would find the root and say of our present its would find the root and

You say, p. 10, "If we would find the root and germ of our present war, we must go back to 1620, when the cargo of slaves landed at the mouth of James river, and also to the landing of the Puritans at Plymouth, two plants opposite in their name, opposite in their nature, opposite in their fruits and consequences, planted in the same national field, growing, as it were, side by side." You say also, p. 11, in asking for the cause of the present state of things, that it is the natural and necessary growth of the two that it is the natural and necessary growth of the two antagonistic principles; that it has taken this long period to grow and develop themselves, and reach their maturity. You also say, p. 14, 15, that you do not cast any particular blame upon the South; that it is in their circumstances. All this is right. There is no controversy between you and the Abolitionists as to the "cause," the "germ," the "root," and necessary fruit. The whole controversy lies in the treatment of the disease.

The few Abolitionists say, remove the cause, and

the effects will cease. But all the other doctors, of whatever stripe, either of law or divinity, say, touch not the cause. Among these you mention, p. 5, Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Franklin, Randolph and Clay, of former times, and say there are many now. You endorse this mode of treatment yourself. You refer us, p. 12, to 1787-'9, when our Constitution

soundly. But all the other great and wise doctors, from Washington to Lincoln and Shaw, say no; let the cause remain; it will be painful to lance the sor and remove the core just bring it back to its incipi-ent stage, when there was comparatively but little in-flammation and pain; counteract the laws of cause and effect so that it shall never come to a head. after all, you seem to have some forebodings that Dr. Garrison's mode may yet be resorted to as a last re sort, as a measure of necessity, not of right; you do not intimate that you would go so far.

"John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave, But his soul is marching on."

SOUTH CAROLINA ITEMS.

The Port Royal correspondent of the Chicago

I do not remember whether in my last I acquainted you with the fact that several of the soldiers at Fort Walker were shot for refusing to fight, or rather for declaring that they would not fight. This was before our arrival. Two or three are believed to have been shot down by their officers the day of our victory: and during the time they were building the works, an average of fifty men were at work with ball and chain, for attempting to escape. These were the non-slaveholding recruits, called "crackers," who were forced into the Southern army; and that the Southern army is full of such, I do not the least doubt. Much must be deducted from the statements of the negroes, but not so much in matters of this sort as you may imagine. On all points which could be tried and tested and compared with known facts, they have been strangely truthful.

THE CONTRABAND BILLY. REREL SOLDIERS SHOT

THE CONTRABAND BILLY.

facts, they have been strangely truthful.

THE CONTRABAND BILLY.

While in occupancy of the Seabrook plantation, with our company, during the past week, I had long conversation with "Billy" the body servant of an officer of the Beaufort Guerillas, who were posted on the Island. He is intelligent and smart—a mulatto. By the way, I had underrated the general intelligence of the negroes here. Even the field what. They make common cause, and what "Billy" hears read from the newspapers at his master's table, becomes common property in the "quarters" with Gumbo and Cuffee, within twenty-four hours. All bints, all expressed mistrust, even hidden fear on the part of whites incautiously exposed, is caught by the watchful ears of men and women who have long hoped and looked for an event like the present. Even the looks and actions of confident masters are translated by the watchful eye of supposed trusty servants, and are promolgated among the "hands." TIR TRUSTY WILLIAM.

Talk of "trusty servants who will fight for their masters"! the thing is a monstrous absurdity. If such people exist among the slaves, they do not exist in South Carolina. There is no such thing. Fincking, after his hasty flight to the main, resolved to return and burn his buildings, some full of corn and cotton. (He owned Pinckney Island, which lies right opposite the Seabrook place, and we made visits there, containing three fine plantations, workshow had driven on Espetango plantation for over thirty, years, and whom he had taken with him to the main, discouraged him by saying "The Yankees are all around the Island, master, and they will around how to proceed, etc., etc., much of which he detailed to me, but Mr. Pinckney has not seen William since. "I am old," said William to me, "but I want to die rather than go back to Master Pinckney."

If THE SLAVES ONLY KNEW THEIR STRENGTH.

now. You endorse this mode of treatment yourself, You refer us, p. 12, to 1787-9, when our Constitution was formed by wise men. You say, p. 14, "This natural result of slavery could have been averted but in one way, and that is, by keeping it schere the futhers left it." Had this been done, all our present war, and a vast proportion of our national troubles, would have been avoided; for slavery, in one way or another, has been the prolific source of most of these troubles." The italics are mine.

Now you have had all but about half a dozen of the great, wise and influential men, and nearly all the little and uninfluential ones, and you have not been able to stop the "natural and necessary" growth of this cause and consequent effect. Not a very high recommendation of your course of treatment.

To illustrate: There is a healthy flow of blood through the system. Something poisonous or antagon nistic may be introduced or get into the system, which will produce a disease or a sore. It takes time to develop it; the part swells, and is inflamed, and causes irritation to the system. Physicians are called. Dr. Garrison says, expel the cause. It is now nearly to a head, lance it, take out the core, it will the night of the soundary. But all the other great and wise doctors, soundary. But all the other great and wise doctors, is from Washington to Lincoln and Shaw, say no; its constant is the part swelly to hand the near the near the properties of the part well be nainfalled to lance the sore.

THE CONTRABANDS IN KANSAS,

We find in one of the most pertinacious of our pro-slavery journals, The World, a letter from a correspondent at Fort Scott, Kansas, containing some statements respecting the negroes liberated in connection with the recent march of Gen. Lane's brigade into Missouri, which are so remarkable that we transfer them to our page, as follows:—

after all, you seem to have some fore-bodings that Dr. Gorrhon's mode may yet be resorted to as a large to see the second of the provided of t

FORTRESS MONROE, January 7, 1862.

Every day brings fresh arrivals of the fugitives from bondage. As the enemy withdraws, a portion of his property is destroyed by fires, and thus takes to itself wings of smoke and flame and flies away, and other "property," household chattels, takes to itself legs, and runs off to the Fortress as fast as a possible. Ungrateful beings, to desert masters and mistresses who have been so kind, and to leave a state of servitude which South-Side elergymon declare to be almost Elysium! What ignorant fools,

to prefer freedom to slavery! And here, Mr. Editor, let une contradict a report which has appeared in your columns as well as elsewhere, that the contrabands in this region are unwilling to work, and have many of them run back to their masters.

Both statements, involved in this report, are untrue. The contrabands are, as a general thing, willing to labor, though complaining much that the Gorsernment does not pay them wages, as they had been led to expect. But I speak from personal observation when I say they are anxious for any employment reasonably remunerative. My tent door has been besieged with applications from boys and mendesiring to be servants. I was over-personaled, at last, to take a contraband youth into my service for a few days, who proved diligent, faithful and indestrious beyond my expectations. I had engaged another servant for the place, who yesterday arrived, but I have seen enough of this poor African lad to know that some of his race, at least, are skilful, truthful and energetic. On board the U. S. fageahin Minnesota, there is a boat's crew of contrabands. I was assured by one of the officers the other day, when visiting the frigate, that this crew excelled in fidelity, and was the only one which needed not an officer to accompany them when they went ashore, as not a man of them would get drunk or desert.

As to their returning to rebediom, it would not have been a matter of surprise if some few of a race proverbially affectionate had returned to their former homes and masters, (no doubt some of them kind ones), and, above all, to their kindred left behind when they fed; but after thorough inquiry, I cannot hear of one such instance, and an assured by those who are in a position to know, that not one such case has occurred. I have been thus particular in this refutation, because here the colored race are being tested as to their desire for freedom and adaptedness to it. The question is one which must and will soon interest the whole nation, and a decision cannot long be postponed.—Correspo

CONVERSATION WITH A CONTRABAND AT HIL-TON HEAD. In speaking to Israel yesterday, I am afraid I made him uncomfortable for the rest of the day. Said I—

day. Said I—
"Do you like stopping here better than on the

plantation?"

"Oh! yes, sir," he said promptly.

"What will you do when the soldiers leave here?" At this question, the look of surprise which passed over Israel's face was irresistibly droll. He finally replied—

"Pd go wi 'em!"

"But suppose they won't let you?" I said.

"Den I jump into de boat!"

"Ah!" I answered, "they might put you out again!"

again!"

It was evident that no such contingency had presented itself to his mind before. He simply ejaculated, with great emphasis, as if overwheimed with astonishment and fear at the bare idea—

"Christ A'mighty!"

I asked him what he was afraid of, and he replied,

"I Massa Elliott Garrard catch me, might as well be dead—he kill me, certain." I reassured him of his safety before we parted.—Correspondence New York Times.

PARKER Sewing Machines, PRICE PORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a Silver Medal at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable. Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

Sales Room, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice. ston, Jan. 18, 1861. IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association "FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACRINES. This Machine is constructed that it embraces the combinations of the va-ous patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler room pacene owners and the second of the sec eing adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such

that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which manner that they cannot get deranged. The leed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double look-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon the back quite fast and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that ac-

PARKERS SEWING SIGNING MAY BE MADE AND THE SEVERAL PARKERS TO THE SEWING MADE AND THE chine in the Fair. Its motions are all positive, easily adjusted, and it leaves no ridge on the back of the work. It will bem, fell, stitch, run, bind and gather, and work. It will not need to remain the work and to a gamer, not the work cannot be ripped, except designedly. It seeks from common spools, with silk, linen or cotton, with equal facility. The stitch made upon this machine was recently awarded the first prize at the Tennessee State Pair, for its uperiority .- Boston Traveller.

We would call the attention of our readers to the Me wound can the attention of our reasons of cardwittement, in another column, of the Parker Sewing Machine. This is a licensed machine, being a combination of the various patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilton, and Grover & Baker, with those of the Parker Sewing Machine Grover & Baker, with those of the Parker Sewing Machines Company: consequently, it has the advantage of ruch machines-fart, in being a licensed machine; seeded, from the fact that it embraces all of the most important improvements which have heretofore been made in Sewing Machines; third, it requires no readjustment, all the various parta being made right and pinned together, instead of being adjusted by serews, this avoiding all liability of getting out of order without actually breaking them; and being adjusted by serws, thus avoiding an insuring to the necessity of the purchaser learning, as with others, how to regulate all the various motions to the machine. The favor with which the Parker Sewing Machine has all ready been received by the public warrants us in the belief that it is by far the best machine now in market. outh Reading Gazette, Nov. 24, 1860.

THE PARKER SENING MACHINE is taking the lead in the market. For beauty and finals of its workmanship, it cannot be excelled. It is well and strongly made—strength and utility combined—and is emphatically, the cheepest and best machine now made. The indies are delighted with it, best machine now made. The inside are singular and when consulted, invariably give Parker's machine the preference over all others. We are pleased to learn that the gentlemanly Agent, George E. Leonand, 188 Washthe gentiemany Agent; usoner h. LEGNARD, 100 Wal-ington street, Boston, has a large number of orders for these machines, and sells them as fast as they can be man-ufactured, notwithstanding the dullness of the times, and while other manufacturers have almost wholly suspended operations. This fact, of itself, speaks more strongly in ts favor than any thing we can mention; for were it not for its superior merits, it would have suffered from the genfor its superior merits, it would have sunered from the careful depression, instead of fourishing among the wrechs of its rivals. What we tell you is no fiction; but go and buy one of them, and you will say that "half of its good qualities had never been told you." Every man who regards the health and happiness of his wife should buy one of these machines to assist her in lessening life's tollsome task.—Mariboro Gazatte, July 13, 1861.

Diseases of Women and Children. WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and

MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, Acco H AVE opened an office at 274 Washington Stret,
Boston, and will devote special attention to the
treatment of the above diseases.
Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.
Boston, Oct. 4, 1861.

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