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The Agents of the American, managements, Pen-ylyanis, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are athorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan B The following gentlemen constitute the Pinancial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Edukun Quincy, Edmund Jackson, and Wendell, Phillips.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-listy sethority takes, for the time, the place of all munic-ipal institutions, and SLAYERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE USFITED STATES, but the CONVENERS OF THE ABOV, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAYES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war-crytic service or foreign from that instant the

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 4.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1862.

### WHOLE NO. 1622.

# Refuge of Oppression.

A MYSTERY UNSOLVED.

A MYSTERY UNSOLVED.

The Liberator furnishes its explanation of the disuse of its motto. It seems to amount to this, namely,—that, whereas the Constitution is now abrogated in relation to the South, "a covenant with death, an agreement with hell" and longer exists. Cansequently, that tenderness of conscience, for which abolitonists in general and the Liberator in particular are distinguished, rendered proper the habling down of the flag in question. This, it will be perceived, assumes the dissolution of the Union as a fact accomplished, and is as treasonable, though not quite so irreverent and profane, as the Liberator's old use of Scriptural language. But will this assumption answer? Is there not a covenant with Kentucky—an agreement with Maryland? Is not the declared policy of the Government to restore all things, to the uniost jot and tittle, under the Constitution, interfering with slavery only just so far as the unavoidable necessity of the case may demand? If, therefore, on any such theory as the Liberator professes, it has lowered its treasonable Black Flag, it is surely leaning on a brokep reed.

any such theory as the Liberator professes, it has received is treasonable Black Flag, it is surely ing on a broken reed.

denies, however that it has received any intion, appropriate to its seditions character; which he suff. Summer's movement for the freedom of the still unaccounted for. Nor does it speak well he vigilance of the Government, while they are to way of sending imputed traitors to State pristhat they should overlook the very worst traitors land—the source of "all our woe." By way tort to our suggestion, however, Mr. Garrison is us with a personal recollection of his own, and "he remembers that it is not long since the izer required a significant popular intimation as seditious course," &c. There was certainly a period, many months ago, when every newsthown to be in favor of maintaining the Conton and the Union in their integrity was exits selitious course," &c. There was certainly a of period, many months ago, when every newserknown to be in favor of maintaining the Constion and the Union in their integrity was exel to insult by a faction which has subsequently to ite true character evident in the eyes of all men and perhaps from other earnest but misguided pers, who have since seen their error. Intimations, w, and always anonymous, certainly came to us n, which were treated with the contempt which downly attempts deserved. But at the same we had other more gratifying intimations, growstronger and stronger, until they become faith-assurances, that if any attack threatened the off of the Courier, thousands would be instantly on, ready for its defence, and prepared.

y for its defence, and prepared.

nothing of the sort ever occurred; but
member an incident of the time, which
son's reference to his own recollections
to bring forward, and which always seemurisons recovered, and which always seems to bring forward, and which always seems to have a highly humorous turn to it.

s to have a highly humorous turn to it.
was, it is said, a sort of conference of a certof persons, about "mobbing the Courier,"
and become somewhat brave in words, and it I almost likely that they might actually pass colution on the subject, when one of the compoke up and said, "Yes, boys, we'll mob the contained," but all things in order—let's because of the contained of th spoke up and said, "Les, boys, we'll more the rier certainly,"—but all things in order—let's bewith the beginning. We must go to Garrison's or first—that has been preaching open treason these twenty-five years,—and when we have put down, we can then take litto consideration the of the Courier, which has always been in option to the unconstitutional doctrines of Garrison and his riew." Thereupon, the meeting dissolved.

Our abolition neighbor, the Transcript, thus ansounces a very bad, but very silly course of lectures;

referring to the advertisement,

Upon referring to the advertisement, we see that the first lecture is to be delivered by that pure and peaceable divine. Dr. Cheever; the second, by that weathercock of politics and religion, O. A. Brownson; the third, by M. D. Conway, said to be "a native of Virginia,"—we suppose to remind us of the proverb about the jil bird and its oven nest; and the fourth, by the negro, Fred Douglass.

The Transcript sets these forth, including the remaining two lecturers, not yet assertained, as "some of the ablest advocates of emancipation." Let us hope that nothing serious will happen in consequence of their efforts; but we give them this notice gratuitously, because we forbade the appearance of their advertisement in our columns formerly, and as they have not called for the money paid at our counting-room in advance, according to request, intending, sa we understood, to bring a suit for failure to fulfil a contract, we wish to square the account.—Ibid.

# TREASON RAMPANT IN BOSTON.

TREASON RAMPANT IN BOSTON.

Treason is still rampant in Boston, as well as in Charleston. South Carolina, and we may ask where are the authorities that such treason is tolerated here, when thousands of the sons of Massachusetts, on the line of the Potomac, and on the Southern, seaboard, are risking their lives to put it down? The Liberator once paraded at its head, "the Constitution is a -bovenant with death, and an agreement with hell." This was as strong with treason as any words ever uttered by Yancey or Rhett, or any other minion of Secession. In all probability, the District Attorney gave the Liberator notice that this offending was too rank in the nostrils of this loyal people to be longer continued with safety. The Liberator complies, and crases the words, but with a dexterous sleight-of-hand the same treason now leers out of these other words at the head of its column, "No Union with Slaveholders"; which is incukating a spirit of disloyalty to that Constitution whose unbocken integrity makes a Union with slaveholders a legal necessity. Yet the Liberator remains unaestricted in its circulation through the mails, unimprisoned for its treason. Let, the authorities again show their sword of justice, if they would save the property and the lives of Massachusetts men now imperilied to undo the treason these men have accomplished.

We must also pay our most gracious compliments to Mr. Phillips.

supplished.

We must also pay our most gracious compliments of the same category of the same

Constitutional Duties. In renewing my subscription, I can but express my gratitude to you for the faithful discharge of your duties as public journalists. In view of all that is now being enacted, what real patriot does not mourn that your counsels have been so disregarded for the last eighteen months? Hud those counsels prevailed, peace now would have been achieving its most splendid victories; the sum of human happiness would have been larger than ever before. But the Abolitionists say that it is the Lord's doings, that His ways are marvelous in our sight. Do you believe that? Can you believe that they and their twin brothers in crime, the Secessionists of the South, can escape their own guilt by laying it to the Lord? If so, then all guilt is bunished from the earth, and Providence is responsible for all the wickelness committed. But this is not so; every intelligent being is responsible for the natural consequence of his own acts. By this rule, some men of the North are just as responsible for this war as the South. We together have made a Constitution. We have prosacts. By this rule, some men of the North are just as responsible for this war as the South. We together have made a Constitution. We have prospered beyond all expectation under that instrument When slavery became unprofitable in the North, the slaves were sold to the South, and the cash paid for them. Now, shall we turn right about, and carry on the war to liberate the slaves of the South?—Letter of a subscriber of the Journal of Commerce.

## Selections.

## MEN, NOT SLAVES.

There are four millions of black people in the rebellions States of this republic. A portion, and possibly the whole of them, are, in the providence of God, to be freed-from their subjection to white masters, and brought under the control of the Federal Government. Its duty to them may be complicated and manifold; the relation to such a people is a new one, and time and events must define it in all its bearings. But one thing is plain—one thing, as a starting-point, admits of no doubt, needs no hesitation: Let us forget that these blacks ever were slaves, and repember only that they are MEN. With this as our first principle, we cannot go far wrong. As the strength of a chain is in its weakest part, so the power and the virtue of a government are in its protection of the rights of the weakest and humblest of the people. To strike a man when he is down is the part of a bully and a coward; and this is as true of a State as it is of an individual. To wrong a man because he has been a slave, and cannot assert his own rights, is to act in the spirit of a slaveholder. It is only to strike a man when he is down. Let us not, if we can help it, be guilty of this meanness.

He who has been a slave may be helpless. Is that

down. Let us not, if we can help it, be guilty of this meanness.

He who has been a slave may be helpless. Is that a reason why we should gob him? He may, degraded and enervated by bondage, be a fix subject for peculiar care and peculiar training. Is that a reason why our guardianship should be only a mitigated form of slavery? If we do not at first see our duty clearly to these people, our sight will be anointed if we can remember that we are dealing with men whom we would raise to all the dignity of manhood, and forget that they have been slaves, belonging to a despised race, worth so many cents a day as laborers. The mistake would be as fatal as that of Cardinal Ximenes, who, that he might redeem the Indians from bondage, and make them Christians, procured the importation of heathens from Africa for the Spanish colonies, and made them slaves. It is the spirit of slavery that we must rid ourselves of, and not merely a particular form of it.

It is this error into which Congressional legislation seems likely to fall. Wherever, in the Southern country, the war strikes a blow, the Federal forces are met by a people who welcome their coming as deliverers; who, abandoned by those who have hitherto controlled them, hold up their hands, yet

to law, was strikes a bion, a people who welcome their who, abandoned by those who have introlled them, hold up their hands, yet the manacles that have just dropped from helplessness, "What will you swers: "Slaves! numb from the manaeles that have just dropped from them, and ask, in their helplessness, "What will you do with us?" There are two answers: "Slaves to will take care of yous level?" If their helplessness of the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the peals to us, let not their manhood be dumb. To the mand their children. We do not stop to ask how deep the wounds are that the brand of suffering of the wounds are the the wounds are the the wound

cause it would lead to the development of mankind and the development of the black man." He commends the South in this manner, by saying that she "descreed to succeed because she had exhibited better statements are listened to in Boston, by Boston audiences, and they are applauded. On the line of the Potomac these words uttered would consign him to Fort Lafayette; in Boston they consign him to Fort Lafayette; in Boston they consign him to the Elysium of the Abolitionists.

By Congressional assumption of power, by the influence of our Greeleys, Bryants and Cheevers, of New York, and Garrisons and Phillipses of Boston, there, is serious danger of Secession becoming revolution, and of the utter thwarting of all the attempts which have been made, and may be made, for the restoration of the Union. But the loyal men of the North must, stand firm, and the right will precail.

Boston Post.

Constitutional Duties. In renewing my subscription, I can but express my gratitude to you for the faithful discharge of your duties as public journalists. In view of all that is now being enacted, what real patriot does not mourn that your counsels have been so disregarded for the last eighteen months? Hut those counsels prevailed, peace now would have been achieving its most splendid victories; the sum of human happiness would have been larger than over before. But the Abolitionists say that it is the Lord's doings, that His ways are marvelous in our sight. Do you believe that? Can you believe that they and their twin brothers in crime, the Secessionists of the South, can escape of a pro-slavery prejudice, the unreasonable and un-reasoning hatred of a race that owes us nothing but the remembrance of centuries of wrong, is called statesmanship! If it were not so wicked, one could laugh at its utter foolishness and blindness. But it is as unworthy of us as Christians as it is as discredi-table to us as freeman.

able to us as frommen.

No; let us treat the blacks as men—simply a

That is very decent behavior for negroes under a negro leader, matched against the elite of Napoleon's soldiers! In the siege of Crete-a-Fierror, the same determined, steady courage was displayed by the class and privileged institutions, we must keep contact the blacks. The French made the first assault on the blacks. The French made the first assault on the 4th of March, 1802. They rushed forward to the attack with bravery and enthusiasm, but were hurled back discomfaed. The general-in-chief, Dabelle, was wounded as well as brigatier-general Davaux. The division fell back with a loss of 400 mm. Soon another assault was made. General Boadet was wounded When his division was on the point of perishing, that of General Dayau came up. That general was struck down; only one general officer kept the field. The blacks charged, and the Franch were again repulsed. This second attack cost them \$800 men. Preparations for a third attack were obtained. Encouraged by them, Rochambeau was embolilened to attempt to carry a battery, but failed with the loss of \$00 men. The garrison finally cut its way out with the loss of less than half its number, leaving to the assainants only a pile of rinis. The contest was finally renewed elsewhere. By the basest trachery, Leelere entrapped Toussaint, whom he could not vanquish in the field. But other leaders were found. The French army was decimated by disease, and by its contests with an active foe. The splendid army was completely reduced, and Napoleon was compelled to send out another army of 20,000 men. But he still failed of his purpose. The blacks rose throughout the island under the command

the head.

Tases are some salient points of the contest in Hyti. The negroes minitested fortitude, courage and enthusiasm through the long war. They were intrepid in attack, steady and unfilmeling when assailed. They met face to face the best troops the world had then, and proved themselves "foemen worthy of their steel." They were organized and led by negroes who had just been freed from slavery. The history of the Hytien Revolution is positive proof that negroes have mide good soldiers.

—Burlington (VI.) Times.

QUIETISM.

There have been in all periods a class of persons who, either from natural disposition or from personal or class interest, have been opposed to all innovation upon established institutions or usages, and averse to all change in the constitution of society. We may call them Quictists. They are forever praying for peace and harmony. They deprecate all discussion and agitation. They may acknowledge the existence of alleged evils, but bey that these may not be disturbed in their day. "After us the deluge. Let us eat and drink, marry and give in marriage, and let our descendants look out for themselves. As for this Noah who goes about preaching so much of his righteousness, and finding fault with our way of living, and predicting some terrible disaster which is soon to overtake us, he is only a noisy fauntic, seeking popularity with the masses whom be delules by his talk. Hy ought to be put down, and not be allowed to create all this strife and discussion, and overturn the foundations of society, and disturb the peace and repose of his betters."

Such is a specimon of the arguments in all ages of the Quietists. Suns of them are honest, and some are dishonest. The former might be suffered to bibble away, for they could never exert any influence on the general current of affairs. They could pore over their books, or retire to their country seats, lamenting over the unsettled state of affairs, and deploring the passions of men, but they are of no particular consequence. It is only when interested men take up the same strain, and seek to proven the existence of bad institutions in religion, government or society, that it is worthy of notice, and the necessity and duty of discussion and agitation need to be boldly asserted and practised.

The Northern friends of slavery have been the greatest quietists in this country from the beginning. Both the sincere and the insincere have endeavored to prevent discussion, to put down agitation, to stifle the voice of those who were seeking to arouse the people to its inju

out, "waat a nandsome animal he is! What smooth fur, and pretty stripes, and soft tread, and meek look he has! There is no harm in him. Let him alone." And so the people have been quieted, and the tiger has revived his nature, and has gone on devouring men and women, and seeking further prey for his insatiable appetite. And those who have declared his true character, and warned against his continuance in the land, have been stigmatized with the most opprobrious epithets, the vilest prejudices have been excited against them, until the name of Abolitionist has become one of more terror than that of the tiger himself they have sought to destroy. And so we have come down to our times. And the savage beast slavery has developed its nature to the fullest extent, by seeking to rend the country in twain, and involving us in a civil war with all the untold and imaginable evils that accompany it. Having failed in establishing its lair in the national government, it has resolved to build a dea for itself, and to enclose a forest where it may roam and riot at pleasure. And are there quietists still? Are there men who, when we are engaged in this deally struggle, in which either liberty or slavery must triumph, bid us refrain from discussion, forget the causes which led to this lamentable strife, and conduct the struggle without reference to the causes in which it had its origin? One would deem it impossible. If in the war of the Revolution one calling himself a patriot American had stood up in Faneuii Hall, after the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and after the Declaration of Independence, and urged on the people to continue the struggle against Great Britain till independence was achieved, but for the future to make no mention of the causes of the context in which they were engaged, of the tyranny of the mocher country, of her hostility to the interests of America, of her intention by all means to prevent our growth and properity, would not the sound common sense of our fathers have booted high from the hadden.

sources of discord, of trouble, and of war that brought the present evils upon us, as a doubly ful legacy to our descendants. Let us not cowardly as that. Let us probe the matter

#### MANUFACIURING PUBLIC OPINION IN FAVOR OF THE SOUTH.

PAVOR OF THE SOUTH.

The slaveholders of the Southern States have one characteristic of the children of this world in a very high degree. They are wise in their generation. They have been preparing for their great secession for years with all the subtlety of the serpent; and they have, as one means of securing aid and comfort for their cause, sought and obtained a strong feeling in their favor in Britain and her dependencies. By artful representations that the secession movement was for liberty and free trade, when it was really for slavery, they have secured many powerful advocates; and they have been, it is believel, skifful in the use of still more direct inducements to manufacture public opinion in favor of their cause.

The results of this engineering are obvious. In the West Indies, for instance, British neutrality is very one-sied. Everything that can be done without transgressing the law of nations, is done for southern beningerents, and everything, within the same limits, against Northern belligerents. This is not very extraordinary, seeing the frequent intersecues of the course between the West Indies and the Southern States, and the aristocratic pro-slavery feeling which almost everywhere prevails among officials and officiars.

The leading paper of Britain, and perhaps of the

almost everywage pressure arms, and perhaps of the world, followed by a host of satellites, has gone thoroughly for the South and against the North, in a way that is a perfect disgrace to British fairness. Everything that tells in favor of one side is magnified and set in the most favorable light, whilst everything indirects to the other "is set in a note-book, when it is not the property of the

struggle, in which either liberty or slavery must triumph, bid us refrain from discussion, forget the causes which led to this lamentable strile, and conduct the struggle without reference to the causes in which it had its origin? One would deem it impossible. If in the war of the Revolution one calling himself a patriot American had stood up in Faneuul Hall, after the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and after the Declaration of Independence, and urged on the people to continue the struggle against Great Britain till independence was achieved, but for the future to make no mention of the causes of the contest in which they were engaged, of the tyranny of the mother country, of her hostility to the interests of America, of her intention by all means to prevent our growth and prosperity, would not the sound common sense of our fathers have hosted him from the platform, and would be not have been a marked man, suspected as regarded his fidelity to the cause ever after?

Equally absurd it is at the present day to carry on the persent contest, and ignore the causes which

Smith. We imagine you would say: "Boyths, do your duty, thoot the athathina." The soldiers from Southern Indiana do not know why receiving aid from negroes in the army any more puts them on an equality, than such aid as Mr. Smith receives in Washington makes equality there.—Ind. American.

### HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

The intelligent Washington correspondent of the Anti-Stavery Standard writes that paper under date of Dec. 3, that Mr. Sumner is doing a brave work

in the Senate:—

"Scarcely a day passes on which he does not give slavery a hard blow. The members from New Virginia, or Kanawha, have taken his attacks upon the institution in very bad humor. Each of them has made a bitter speech against slavery agitation and Abolitionists. When Senator Carlisle had finished his speech the other day, a Republican Senator remarked quietly, "A poor exchange for Mason!" The fact is, you can't cure a man educated under the influence of slavery of his love for the institution, though he may have no pecuniary interest in it for

er it will or not, Sumner will not give them rest. To see men like Bright and Powell sit still when Charles Sumner charged Baker's murder on slavery was worth at least ten years of anti-slavery privations. The pro-slavery interest in the Senate squite respectful, and does not indulge in the old time bluster and parade."

WASHINGTON, January 9, 1862.

applied to international law. In all this arguments and illustrations, he left our respected mother England "out in the cold." He demonstrated that, by all other leading European Powers, the American doutrine, had been reorganized and admitted for many years, and that England alone had opposed it. This inconsistency of the present position of England, with her policy in all the past was admirably illustrated, and the conclusion, that Great Britain is now stopped from any future assertion of her doctrine in reference to the right of visitation and search was brilliant and effective. The speech was impressively delivered. The galleries of the Senate were densely crowded. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the ladies' gallery was filled to over-

attributed to him, and the scathing expos British inconsistency in regard to the night of and the dignified rebuke he administered to E exhibited his capacity to regard public affai

the eye of a genuine statesman.

The applause accorded to this ready great produ
tion is universal and unqualified.—Washington co
respondent of the New York Herald.

## GLEAMS OF MORNING LIGHT.

"It now seems," says the Worcester Transcript, sif we could already catch the first gleam of the been residing for some months in Canada.—Montreal Witness.

CALEB B. SMITH ON ARMING THE SLAVES.

In his speech at the Prentice dinner at Washington, Hon. Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, and of the Cochrane Cameron proposition to arm the slaves:—

"Putting arms into slaves' hands! If this be attempted to any extent, the whole wolld will cry out against our inhumanity, our savagery, and the sympathies of all mankind will be turned against us as they were against the blacks, who murdered and drove the French from Hayti. And if it be attempted, the soldiers in the army from Southern Indiana, Illinois, all Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, Pennsylvania, nearly all, and from New York south of the Eric Canal, with the strong regiments from New Jersey, will, before God, protest against being this put on an equality with negrosoldiers in their ranks."

All very nice, Hon. Mr. Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith, with your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith and the Smith your sons comfortably housed around you in the Smith and the Smith an

these words that it will soon requires more courage not to say than to say them.

Our army is now upon enemies' territory. It i surrounded by tens of thousands of slaves who were deserted by their terrified masters. It must extend to them the rights of which they have been deprived. It must accept their services, and make the most of them. And the moment this is done, the 30,000 slaves around Beaufort are more terrible to the rebels than an army with banners. They are 30,000 missionaries to carry the gospel of emancipation to the millions of their fellow-bondmen, who have so long been kept from the light and knowledge which alone are necessary to make them freemen.

And the blow which has fallen upon South Carolina impends with equal certainty over all the robel States. One after another, they must fall before the Northern invaders, and slavery cannot survive in the presence of an army of freemen."

25 The U. S. Senate, after an Executive session of three hours on Friday, confirmed the nomination of Mr. Cameron as Minister to Russia, by a vote of 24 against 14.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1862. MR. GARRISON'S SPEECH AT NEW YORK.

The Abelitionists and their Relations to the War [Phonographically reported by ANDREW J. GRAHAN.]
[REVISED BY THE LECTURES.]

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON lectured at the Co Institute, in the city of New York, on Tuesday eve-ling, 14th inst., on "The Abolitionists, and their Re-lations to the War." Previous to the lecture, a lady lations to the War." Previous to the secure, a may [Mrs. Abby Hutchinson Paton] modestly advanced from one of the seats on the platform, and placed a bouquet of fragrant flowers beside the speaker's deak, and also an ivy wreath. The tribute was noticed by the audience with an outburst of applause. Among others present on the crowded platform were Rev. Dr. Tyng, Superintendent J. A. Kennedy, Rev. Mr. , and others of prominence.

Sioan, and others of prominence.

At 8 o'clock, Mr. Garrison arrived, e-corted by Mr. Theodore Tilton, who, after announcing a forthcoming lecture by Davis, the contraband, introduced the orator of the evening, as follows:—

SPEECH OF THEODORE TILTON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I put myself, for a moment, between you and him, [pointing to Mr. Garrison,] because I have been asked, and honored in the asking, to give to a genuine Yankee a genuine Yankee welcome; and I know not how to do it better than just to make the old-fashioned sign of the right hand, which is the Yankee token of good fellowship and in your name to offer it to WILLIAM LLOYD GAR

mrsow. (Applause.)
Mr. Tilton thereupon extended his hand to Mr. Garrison, who forthwith advanced, and was cordially welcomed. Mr. Garrison spoke as follows: SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—No public speaker, on rising to address an assembly, has any right to presume that, because at the outset he receives a courteous and even warm approval, therefore they are prepared to endorse all his views and utterances. Doubtless, there are some points, at least, about which very widely differ; and yet, I must frankly confess, know of no other reason for your kind approval, mising, irrepressible, out-and-out, unmistakable, Gar-risonian Abolitionist. (Enthusiastic applause.) By that designation, I do not mean one whose brain is crazed, whose spirit is fanatical, whose purpose is wild and daugerous; but one whose patriotic creed is the oral line of measurement is the Golden Rule whose gospel of humanity is the Sermon Mount, and whose language is that of Ireland's Lib-erator, O'Connell—"I care not what caste, creed or color alayery may assume. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual al. I am for its instant, its total abolition. I am fo justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God." (Cheers.)

Hence, what I wrote many years ago, I feel proud once more to affirm :-

"I am an Abolitionist!
I glory in the name;
Though now by Slavery's minions hissed,
And covered o'er with shame.
It is a spell of light and power—
The watchword of the free;
Who spurns it in the trial-hour,
A craven soul is he!" (Applause.)

I know that to be an Abolitionist is not to be with the multitude—on the side of the majority—in a popular and respectable position; and yet I think I have a right to ask of you, and of all who are living on the soil of the Empire State, and of the people of the North at large, why it is that you and they shrink from the name of Abolitionist! Why is it that, while you profess to be opposed to slavery, you neverth desire the whole world to understand that you are ld to understand that you are no What is the meaning of this Why are you not all Abolitionists? Your prare mine! What you have taught me T What you have taught me, I adopt What you have taken a solemn oath to support, as essential to a free Government, I recognize as right and just. The people of this State profess to believe in the Declaration of Independence. That is my Abolitionism. Every man, therefore, who disclaim Abolitionism, repudiates the Declaration of Independence. Does he not? "All men are created coust. and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty." Gentlemen, that is my fanaticism— that is all my fanaticism. (Cheers.) All I ask is that this declaration may be carried out everywhe in our country and throughout the world. It belongs to mankind. Year Constitution is an Abolition Constitution. Your laws are Abolition laws. Your institutions are Abolition institutions. Your free schools are Abolition schools. (Cheers.) I believe in them all; and all that I sak is, that institutions so good, so free, so noble, may be everywhere propagated, everywhere accepted. And thus it is that I desire, not to curse the South, or any portion of her people, but to bless her abundantly, by abolishing her infamous and demoralizing slave institution, and erecting the tem ple of liberty on the ruins thereof. (Loud applause.

ple of liberty on the runs thereof. Decaphases, I believe in Democracy; but it is the Democracy which recognizes man as man, the world over. (Cheers.) It is that Democracy which spurns the feter and the yoke for livelf, and for all wearing the human form. And therefore I say, that any man who pretends to be a Democrat, and yet defends the act of making man the property of his fellow-man, is a dis-sembler and a hypocrite, and I unmask him before the nulyers. (Lond charge)

We profess to be Christians. Christianity-its ob ject is to redeem, not to enslave men! Christ is our Redeemer. I believe in Him. He leads the Anti-Slavery cause, and always has led it. The Gospel is el of freedom; a a Christian, and to have within him the same mind that was in Christ Jesus, and yet dares to hold his fellow-man in bondage, as a mere piece of perishable property, is recreant to all the principles and obliga-tions of Christianity. (Applause.)

the Empire State, that there are no slaves here! Four millions of people, and not a single slave among them all! On what ground was slavery abolished in the State of New York! On are ground of policy or expediency, or because an immorality, a crime, an outrage, and there ot to be tolerated by a civilized and Chu Hence I affirm that the people of this State nmitted to radical, "ultra" Abolitionism. And so I have a right to expect everywhere a friendly hearing and a warm cooperation on the part of the people when I denounce slavery, and endeavor to bring it to the dust, and to take the chains from those people when to the dust, and to take the chains from those bring it to the dust, and to take the chains from those who are laboring under the lash of the slave-driver. You-have abolished slavery, because it can have no rightful existence here. You allow no man to decide whether he can humanely hold a slave. So of Maswhetter he can humanely hold a slave. So of Maswhetter he can humanely hold a slave. teen free States. Slavery is pronounced a curse by them all. Every man before the law is equal to every other man; and no man may lay his hand too heavily in the shoulder of his brother man, except at hi

ous notice of this lecture last Sur In the very generous notice of this iccure last Sun-day, by Henry Ward Beecher, he said that he fully accorded with me in my principles, which strike at the foundation of slavery. All slavery is wrong, un-just, immoral and unchristian, and ought to termi-nate, but he expressed some difference of opinion in regard to my methods for its abolition. I am confiregard to my methods for its abolition. I am dent that, upon further reflection and investigation, he will find my methods of Abolition are as unexceptionable as my principles. My method is simply this:

when I see a slaveholder, I tell him he is bound by every consideration of justice and humanity to let the oppressed go free. That is God's method, and I think there can be no improvement upon it. (Applause.) And when I find an accompilee of the slaveholder sustaining him in his iniquity, I hid him repent, and demand that he bring forth fruits meet for repentance. That is my method. (Benewed applaces of the slaveholders)

pent, and demand that he bring forth fruits meet for repentance. That is my method. (Renewed applause.)

Now I say that if we are right in establishing our institutions upon the foundations of equal liberty, we have a right to endeavor to propagate those institutions all over the country and throughout the world. We have a right to say to those in the slave States, "Your system of slavery is inherently wrong and dangerous. Regard your slaves as men, treat them as such, establish free institutions, substitute for the lash a fair compensation, and you will be blest, wonderfully blest." Have I not a right to say this I is not a natural, God-given, constitutional right! On derfully blest." Have I not a right to say this "is is not a natural, God given, constitutional right! On the other hand, they have a perfect right at the South to endeavor to proselyte us in regard to their institutions; and I think they have done their best—that is, their worst—in that direction.

I never have heard any complaint in regard to the unlimited freedom of speech on the part of Southern slaveholders and slave-traffickers. We are told by

pro-slavery men here, that we have no right to discuss this matter! They point us to our national compact. They gravely tell us to remember that, at the organization of the Government, the slave State. existence, and came into the Union on terms of equality, and, under the compact, we have no right to criticise or condemn them because of their holding slaves. Now, my reply to them is, in the first place, that no I see my fellow-man unjustly oppressed. (Appla I care not when or where the compact was m by whom it was approved. My right to de tyrants and tyranny is not derived from man, not from constitutions or compacts. I find it in my own soul, written there by the finger of God, and man can never erase it. (Applause.) I am sure that, if it case; if you were the victims of a com-denied the right of any one to plead for your deliverance, though you were most grievously op-pressed—though your children and wives were for would exclaim, "Accursed be such a compact! Let none be dumb in regard to our condition!"

My reply again is, that the compact, bad as it is in is pro-slavery features, provides for the liberty of speech and of the press, and therefore I am justified in saying what I honestly think in regard to slavery and those who uphold it. The Southern slaveholders, I repeat, have always exercised the largest liberty of speech. They have denounced free institutions to an speech. They have denounced free institutions to as unlimited extent. Is the right all on one side? May I not reciprocate, and say what I think of their slave as? Yes, I have the right, and, by the help of God, I mean to exercise it, come what may. (Grea

applause.)
The times are changing. Yes, it is spoken of with exultation,—and well it may be as a cheering sign of Abolitionists. O, no! You are only Anti-Slaver progress,—that even Dr. Brownson has been able to Dare you trust yourself in Carolina, except, perha eak against slavery in the city of Washington, with ing in peril of his life; that even Horace Greeley and George B. Cheever have been permitted to stand up in the Capital of their country, and utter brave words for freedom; and nobody mobbed them (Applause.) And I am told it is expected that my eloquent friend, and the friend of all mankind, Wennd, and the friend of all mankind, Wendell Phillips, (cheers,) will also soon make his appearance at Washington, to be heard on the same subject, without running any great personal risk. This
is something to boast of 1 And yet I must confess,
we shall be pretty sure, if caught, to hang separately that I feel humiliated when I remember that all this is rendered possible, under our boasted Constitution, only because there is a Northern army of 150,000 sol-diers in and around the Capital! (Applause.) Take that army away—restore the old state of things—and assume to be each one the true sect, as against every it would not be possible for such speeches to be e, but while we have Gen. McClellan and 150.00 Northern bayonets in that section, a N at Washington, "Let the Declaration nce be applied to all the oppressed in the land," and his life is not specially endangered in so doing! (Cries of "Hear, hear!") If that is all we boast of now, what has been our condition hitherto?

Now, I maintain that no institution has a right to claim exemption from the closest scrutiny. All our Northern institutions are open for inspection. Every man may say of them what he pleases. If he does not like them, he can denounce them. If he thinks he can suggest better ones, he is entitled to do so. No-body thinks of mobbing him, nobody thinks of throw-ing rotten eggs and brickbats at his head. Liberty! y, she is always fearless, honest, open-hearted.
e says, as one did of old, "Search me and try me, and see if there be anything evil in me." But, on the other hand, we are not permitted to examine Southern institutions. O no! And what is the reason? Simply because they will not bear examination! Of course, if the slaveholder felt assured that they could, he would say, "Examine them freely as you will. I will assist you in every way in my power." Ah "'tis conscience that makes cowards of them all!' will assist you in every "tis conscience that makes cowards of them all!"
They dread the light, and with the tyrant of old they cry, "Put out the light—and then put out the light!"
That is their testimony in regard to the rectitude of their slave institutions.

The slaveholders desire to be let alone. Jeffer The slaveholders desire to be let alone! "The Davis and his crew cry out, "Let us alone!" The Slave Oligarchy have always cried out, "Let us alone!" It is an old cry—1,800 years old at least—it was the cry, of those demons who had taken possession of their victims, and who said to Jesus, "Let us alone! Why hast thou come to torment us before the alone! Why hast thou come to torment us before the time!" (Laughter and applause.) Now, Jesus did time!" (Laughter and applause.) Now, Jesus did have them in derision." "Though hand join in hand, yet shall not the wicked go unpunished." Yet, not at all mistake the time; he was precisely in time and therefore he bore his testimony like the prince of and therefore he bore his testimony has been emancipators, and the foul demons were cast out, but not without rending the body. The slaves of our country, outraged, lacerated and chained, cry out agonizingly to those who are thus treating them, "Let Now I will agree to let the slaveholders let their slaves alone, and not till then. (Applause.)

"Let this matter rest with the South; leave slavery in the care and keeping of slaveholders, to put an end to it at the right time, as they best understand the whole matter." You will hear men, claiming to be intelligent, talking in this manner continually. They do not know what idiots they are; for is it anything better than idiocy for men to say: "Leave idolatry to idolators, to be abolished when they think best; leave idolators, to be abolished when they think oest; leave intemperance to drunkards; they best understand all about it; they will undoubtedly, if let alone, in God's own time, put an end to it (langhter); leave piracy to be abolished by pirates; leave impurity to the licen-tious to be done away; leave the sheep to the considerate humanity of wolves, when they will cease to prey upon them!" No, this is not common sense; it is not sound reason; it is nothing but sheer folly. Salvation, if it comes at all, must come from wi who are not drunkards must save the drunken those who are not impure must save the impure; those who are not idolators must combine to put down idola who are not idotators must containe to put down idola-try; or the world can never make any progress. So we who are not slaveholders are under obligation to combine, and by every legitimate method endeavor to abolish slavery; for the slaveholders will never do it abolish savery, for the saverbook, and a send your missionaries abroad? Why do you go to the lales of the sea, to Hindostan and Burmah and other parts of the beathen world with your meddlesome, impertment, disorganizing religion? Because you affirm that your

established ideas, so that old things shall pass at and all things become new. But how is it in re-to slavery? You have something to do—aye, a deal to do with it. You ought to know prec deal to do with it. You ought to know precar where you stand, and what are your obligations in lation to it. Only think of it! Under your bear Constitution, two generations of slaves have be driven to unrequited toil, and gone down into blo graves; and a third generation is going through same terrible career, with the Star Spangled Bar floating over their heads! This is by your compli-men of the North! Oh, how consentingly the N has given her aympathy to the South in this iniq of slaveholding! How everywhere the Anti-Slav movement has been spit upon, and denounced, beast, that could not be tolerated safely for an hour in the community! What weapon has been left unused against the Abolitionists of the North? How there nity! What weapon has been left unused Abolitionists of the North! How thoroughly have the people been tested everywhere, both in Church and State, in relation to the slave system of the South! But "Wisdom is justified of her children." verdict of posterity is sure; and it will be an honorable acquittal of them from all the foul charges that have been brought against them by a pro-slavery

people.

I do not think it is greatly to the shame of Abolition (Laughter and applause.) I do not think it at all to their discredit that the Journal of Commerce thor-oughly abominates them. (Laughter.) I do not think they have any cause to hang their heads for shame be cause the New-York Express deems them fit only to be spit upon. (Applause.) I do not think they have any reason to distrust the soundness of their religion be ause the New-York Observer brands them as infidely (Applause.) Capt. RYNDERS is not an Abolitionist (Great laughter.) The Bowery Boys do not like Abo itionism. (Laughter.) And as it was eighteen hu dred years ago, so we have had, in this trial of the nation, the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees on the one hand, and the rabble on the other, endeavoring by lawless means and murderous instrumenta ties to put down the Anti-Slavery movement, which is of God, and cannot be put down. (Applause.) The slaveholders who have risen in rebellion to overthrow the Government, and crush out free institutions, are in the mood of mind, and ever have been, to hang every Abolitionist they can catch. I hold that to be a good certificate of character-(applause)-and wh I add, that the millions of slaves in bondage, perisl ing in their chains, and crying unto Heaven for de-liverance, are every ready to give their blessings to the Abolitionists for what they have done, and they run away from their masters come to us who are represented to be their deadliest enemies, it seems to me we have made out our case. every honest, humane, upright and noble soul ought to

ndorse as right. And, besides, I say it is a shame that we should any longer stand apart-I mean we of the North. What are all your paltry distinctions worth? You are no O, no! You are only Anti-Slavery at Port Royal? (Laughter.) You are r Anti-Slavery man; there is nothing ultra about you You are only a Republican! Dare you go to New Orleans? Why, the President of the United States chosen by the will of the people, and duly inaugurate by solemn oath, is an outlaw in nearly every slav State in this Union! He cannot show hims except at the peril of his life. And so of his Cab we shall be pretty sure, if caught, to hang separately (Laughter.) The South cares nothing for these nice distinctions among us. It is precisely, on this mat other, and we are free in our denunciation of this ticular theological creed. What does any such distinction? Whether we are High Church copalian or Methodist, Quaker or Universalist belief, we are all heretics together; and she make mpromise. Just so with slavery. If we avow that we are at all opposed to slavery, it is enough, in the judgment of the South, to condemn us to a coat of

tar and feathers, and to general outlawry. I come now to consider what are the relations after a heated Presidential struggle with three candidates in the field, ABRAHAM LINCOLN was duly and constitutionally chosen President of the United States. Now where are we? At that time, who doubted the stability of the American Union? What power in the stability of the American Union? universe had we to fear? Was it not prot strong was our mountain, and how confident our ex-pectations in regard to the future! And now our country is dismembered, the Union sundered, and we are in the midst of the greatest civil war that the world has ever known. For a score of years, prophetic voices were heard admonishing the nation, "Because ye have said. We have made a covenant with death and with hell are we at agreement; when the over-flowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves. \*Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Judgment will I lay to the line, and right-eousness to the plummet; and the waters shall over-flow the hiding place; and your covenant with death yet shall not the wicked go unpunished." Yes
America! "Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle
and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence

will I bring thee down, saith the Lord Who are responsible for this war ? If I should go utraged, lacerated and chained, cry out
to those who are thus treating them, "Let
but the slaveholders give no heed to that
Now. I will agree to let the slaveholders
lar of the vile, "It is all owing to the d—d Abolitionohter.) If they had not meddled with th subject of slavery, everything would have gone or well; we should have lived in peace all the days of our lives. But they insisted upon meddling with what doesn't concern them; they indulged in censoriou and harsh language against the slaveholders; and the ion is upturned, and we have result is, our nat bostile armies looking each other flercely in the face and our glorious Union is violently broken asunder. Let me read an extract from the New York Expres (laughter,) for your express edification

"Our convictions are, that Anti-Slavery stimulated and is the animating cause of this rebellion. If Anti-Slavery were, now, removed from the field of action, Pro-Slavery would perish of itself, at home, in its own conto

such nonsense than was made by your Chairman, in s brief letter which he sent to the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society at West Ches-ter, a few weeks ago, and by his permission I will read it:—

read it:—

"My opinion is this: There is war because there was a Republican party. There was a Republican party because there was an Abolition party. There was an Abolition party because there was Slavery. Now, to charge the war upon Republicanism is merely to blame the lamb that stood in the brook. To charge it apon Abolitionism is merely to blame the skeep for being the lamb mother. (Laughter.) But to charge it upon Slavery is to lay the crime flat is the door of the wolf, where it belongs. (Laughter.) To end the trouble, kill the wolf. (Renewed laughter.) I belong to the party of wolf-killers." (Applause and merriment.)

the heathen world with your meddlesome, impertuent, disorgatizing religion? Because you affirm that your object is good and noble; because you believe that the Christian religion is the true religion, and that idolatry debases and deludes its votaries; and to abolish it, or to endeavor to do so, is right. And yet you have no complicity with heathenism abroad. Nevertheless, your missionaries are there, endeavoring to effect a thorough overturn of all their institutions and all their. They are comparatively a mere handful. And yet

hey have overturned the Government! They have een stronger than all the parties and all the religious odies of the country,—stronger than the Church, and tronger than the State! Indeed! Then it must be ecause with them is the power of God, and it is the truth which has worked out this marvellous result.

this country? We have, I believe, three or four thousand journals printed in the United States; and how many Abolition journals do you suppose there are? (Laughter.) You can count them all by the are? (Laughter.) You can count them all by the fingers upon your hand; yet, it seems, they are more than a match for all the rest put together. (Loud cheers and laughter.) This is very extraordinary; but, our enemies being judges, it is certainly true. And now, what has been our crime? I affirm, before God, that our crime has been only this: we have endeavored, at least, to remember those in bonds as bound with them. I, for one, am guilty only to this extent:—I have called aloud for more than thirty years to my beloved but guilty country, saying:—
"There is within thy rates a pest."

"There is within thy gates a pest,
Gold, and a Bablytonish vest;
Not bid in sin-concealing shop,
But bread against the sun displayed!
Repent thee, then, and quickly bring
Forth from the camp it 'secured thing;
Consign it to remoreless from the "Art of the State of is within thy gates a pest, and a Babylonish vest ;

And what if the Abolitionists had been heeded thirty years ago? Would there now be any civil war to talk about? (Cries of "No.") Ten years ago? five years ago? one year ago? And all that time God was patient and forbearing, giving us an opportunity of escape. But the nation would not hearken, and went on hardening its heart. Oh! how guilty are nspirators of the South in what they have done! How utterly unjustifiable and causeless is their rebel-lion! How foul and false their accusations against the Government, against the Republican party, again e of the North! Utterly, inexcusably and and condemnation as a people, that the guilt is not all and concemnation as a people, that the guilt is not all theirs. I assert that they have been encouraged in every conceivable way to do all this for more than thirty years—encouraged by the press of the North, by the churches of the North, by the pulpits of the North, (comprehensively speaking.) Abolitionists North, (comprehensively speaking.) Abolition have been hunted as outlaws, or denounced as a fanatics; while the slaveholders have been encounced as wild aged to go on, making one, demand after until they felt assured that when they struck this b they would have a powerful party at the North with them, to accomplish their treasonable designs; and it is only by God's providence we have escape ruin. (Loud applause.) Therefore it is that the vials of Divine retribution are poured out so impartially. We are suffering; our blood is flowing, our property is melting away—and who can see the end of it?
Well, if the whole nation should be emptied, I should say: "Oh! give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good, for his mercy endureth forever!" Our crime against these four millions of slaves, and against a similar number who have been buried, cannot be adequately described by human language. Our hands are full of blood, and we have run to do evil; and now a heavy but righteous judgment is upon us! Let us reverently acknowledge the hand of God in this; let us acknowledge our sins, and put them away each man put the trump of jubilee to his demand that the chains of the oppressed shall be bro

(Cheers.) litionists have used very irritating language"! I know it. I think, however, it must admitted that that charge has been fully offset by Southern slaveholders and their Northern accompli-Southern savoures me, they have used a great deal of irritating language about the Abolitionists. In-dicci, I do see home of any abustre, nite, protane, ma-licious, abominable edithets which they have not applied without stint to the Abolitionists yount of tarring and feathering, and other brutal out rages, in which we have never indulged towards them ! Why, gentlemen, all that we have said is, "Do not steal," "Do not murder," "Do not commit adultery," and it has irritated them! (Applause and laughter.) of course, it must irritate them. The galled jade will wince. John Hancock and Sam Adams greatly irritated George the Third and Lord North. There was a great deal of British irritation at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and it culminated at last at Yorktown. (Loud cheers.) Well, it is certain that a very remarkable change has taken place within a short time. They who have complained of our hard language, as applied to the slaveholders, are now for throwing cannon and bombshells at them! (Laughter and applause.) They have no objection to blowing out their brains, but you must not use hard language! Now, I would much rather a man would hurl a hard epithet at my head, than the softest cannon ball or shell that can b found in the same of the North. (Laughter.) As a people, however, we are coming to the conclusion that, after all, the great body of the slaveholders are not exest, honorable and Christian men that we mistook them to be. (Applause.) It is astonishing, when any wrong is done to us, how easily we can see its true nature. What an eye-salve it is! If any one its true nature. picks our pocket, of course he is a thief; if any one breaks into our house, he is a burglar; if any one un-dertakes to outrage us, he is a scoundrel. And now that these slaveholders are in rebellion against the Government, committing piracy upon our commerce ating Northern property into all the horrors of civil war, why, of course, they are pirates—they are swindlers—they are traitors of the deepest dye! (Cheers and laughter.) Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you one thing, and that is, they are just as good as they ever were. (Cheers.) They e just as honest, just as honorable, and just as Christian as they ever were. (Laughter.) Circumstances alter cases, you know. While they were robbing four millions of God's despised children of a different comrights, selling them in lots to suit purchasers, and traf-ficking in their blood, they were upright, patriotic, Christian gentlemen! Now that they have interfered with us and our rights, have confiscated our property, and are treasonably seeking to establish a rival confederacy, they are downright villains and traitors, who

rederacy, they are downight vinants and traitors, who ought to be langed by the neck until they are dead. (Laughter and cheers.)

"Abolitionists should not have intermeddled with their faffairs," it is said. "We of the North are not responsible for slavery, and it is a very good rule for men to mind their own business." Who say this I become dissuppliers, men who are condemned out Hypocrites, dissemblers, men who are condemned out of their own mouths. They are those who are always justifying or apologizing for slavery, who are in relig-ious fellowship with these traffickers in human souls, who claim political affinity with them, and who give constitutional guarantees that fugitive slaves may constitutional guarantees that inguive sinves may be hunted and captured in every part of the North, and that slave insurrections shall be suppressed by the strong arm of the national government, if need be; and yet they have nothing to do with slavery! Hypocrites and dissemblers, I spurn you all! When I see a man drowning, if I can throw him a rope, I will do it; and if I would not be a murderer! hunted and cap it; and if I would not, would I not be a murderer When I see a man fallen among thieves, and wounded When I see a man failed among thieves, and wounded and forsaken, if I can get to him with oil and wine to bind up his wounds, I am bound to do it; and if I re-fuse, I become as base as the robber who struck him down. And when I see tyramy trampling upon my fellow-man, I know of no law, human or divine, which fellow-man, I know of no law, human or divine, which binds me to silence. I am bound to protest against it. (Cheers.) I will not be dumb. It is my business to meddle with oppression wherever I see it. (Applause.) It is said, again, "There was no trouble in the land until the Abolitionists appeared." Well, the more is the pity! Order reigns in Warsaw until Kosciusko

makes his appearance. It reigos in Hungary until Kossuth comes forward,—in Italy, until Garibaid takes the field. (Loud cheers.) No trouble until the Abolitionists came forward! The charge is false, to the slavery guarantees of that instrument. What is the testimony of John Quincy Adams on that point?

But when the powers of Government came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchament, till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which mo funigation could parity, so quarantine could extragally the freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly renow of Slavery was infused into the Constitution of Precious.

And so at the time of the Missouri struggle in 1820. There were no Abolitionists then in the field; yet the strongle between Freedom and Slavery was at that time so fierce and terrible as to threaten to end in a dissolution of the Union. (Cheers.) Oh! no stain of blood rests on the garments of the Abolitionists. They ndeavored to prevent the awful calamity which has come upon the nation, and they may wash their hands in innocency, and thank God that in the evil day they were able to stand. (Applause.)

friends, this fearful state of things is not of men; it is of Heaven. As we have sowed, we are reaping. The whole cause of it is declared in the emorable verse of the prophet: "Ye have not earkened unto me in proclaiming liberty, every man hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty, eve to his brother, and every man to his neighb hold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." That is the whole story. This is the settlement day of God Almighty for the unparalleled guilt of our nation; and if we desire to be saved, we must see to it that we put away our sins, "break every yoke, and let the of ed go free," and thus save our land from ruin.

Be not deceived:—this rebellion is not only to eter-nize the enslavement of the African race, but it is also to overturn the free institutions of the North. The slaveholders of the South are not only oppo-Northern Abolitionists, but to Northern ideas and by one or two quotations in point? Listen to the lan guage of the Richmond Examiner:-

"The South now maintains that slavery is right, nat-ural and necessary, and does not depend upon complexion. The laws of the slave States justify the holding of white men in bondage."

The Charleston Mercury says :-

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. The great evil of Northern free [mark you, not Abolition] society is that it is burdened with a servile class, mechanics and laborers, unfit for self-government, and yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and lave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child; and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. Their theory of free government is a deluzion."

Yet you are for free government, but not for Aboli-What do you gain by the disclaimer South is as much opposed to the one as she is to the other—she hates and repudiates them both!

"Two opposite and conflicting forms of society among civilised men; coexist and endure. The or give way and cease to exist. The other becomes an if free society be unnatural; immoral, unchristian, fall, and give way to slave society—a social syst as the world, universal as man."

An Alabama paper says :--

"All the Northern, and especially the New-England States, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred The prevailing class one mosts with is that of strengthing to be genteel, and small formers we own drudgery, and yet who are hardly fit for with a Southern gentleman's body-servant."

You see, men of the North, it is a war against free dom—your freedom as well as that of the slave— against the freedom of mankind. It is to establish an ligarchic, slaveholding despotism, to the extinction of all free institutions. The Southern rebellion is in full blast; and if they can work their will against us, there will be for us no liberty of speech or of the press-no right to assemble as we assemble here to our manhood will be trampled in the dust (Applause.) I say, therefore, under stances, treason consists in giving aid or counter to the slave system of the South-not merely to Jeff. Davis, as President of the Southern Confederacy, or to this rebel movement in special. Every man gives any countenance or support to slavery is a traitor to liberty. (Enthusiastic applause.) I say he n unsafe man (Renewed che is a dangerous and an unsafe man. (Renewed theers.) He carries within him the seeds of despotism; and no one can tell how soon a harvest of blood and treason may spring up. Liberty goes with Union and for Union, based on justice and equality. Slavery is ut-ter disunion and disorganization in God's universe.

(Cheers.) But, we are told, "hang the Secessionists on the one hand, and the Abolitionists on the other, and then we shall have peace"! (Laughter.) How very discriminating! Now, I say, if any hanging is to be done, (though I do not believe in capital punishment—that is one of my heresies,)—if any hanging is to be done, I am for hanging these sneaking, two-faced, pseudo loval go-betweens immediately. (Loud and enthusiastic applause. A voice, "That's the talk!")
Why, as to this matter of loyalty, I maintain that the most loyal people to a free government, who walk on the American soil, are the uncompromising Abolition-ists. (Cheers.) It is not freedom that rises in rebellion against free government. It is not the love of liberty that endangers it. It is not those who will not liberty that endangers it. It is not those who will not make any compromise with tyranny who threaten it. It is those who strike hands with the oppressors. Yes, I maintain, the Abolitionists are more loyal to free government and free institutions than President Lincoln himself; because, while I want to say everything good of him that I can, I must say I think he is lacking somewhat in backbone, and is disposed, at least to wake some compromise with alwayer, in order. least, to make some compromise with slavery, in order to bring back the old state of things; and, therefore, he is nearer Jeff. Davis than I am. Still, we are both

so bad that I suppose if we should go amicably together down South, we never should come back
again. (Laughter and cheers.)

"Hang the Abolitionists, and then hang the Secessionists"! Why, in the name of common sense,
wherein are these parties agreed! Their principles
and purposes are totally dissimilar. We believe in
the inalienable rights of man—in "liberty, equality,
frateraity." They disbelieve in all these. We believe
to rathing the law of God paramount to all because frateralty." I hey dispenses in all those. We believe in making the law of, God paramount to all human codes, compacts and enactments. They believe in trampling it under their feet, to gratify their lust of dominion, and in "exalting themselves above all that is called God." We believe in the duty of liberating is called tool." We believe in the duty of iberating all who are pining in bondage. They are for extending and perpetuating slavery to the latest posterity. We believe in free government and free institutions. They believe in the overthrow of all these, and have made chattel bondage the corner-stone of their new confederacy. Where is there any agreement or similarity between these parties? larity between these parties?

But it may be said, you are for the dissolution of the Union. I was. Did I have any sympathy with the spirit of Southern secession when I took that position † No. My issue was a moral one—a Christian one. It was because of the pro-slavery nature of the compact itself that I said I could not as a Christian compact itself that I said I could not as a Christian man, as a friend of liberty, swear to uphold such a Union or Constitution. Listen to the declaration John Quincy Adams, a most competent witness, l think, in regard to this matter :-

think, in regard to this matter:—

"It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South preserbed as a condition of their ament to the Constitution, three specific provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender ingitive slave —an engagement positively probibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinal; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representa-

ion of slaves-for articles of merchandise, under the

Freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyrang of the master, and grossly unequal and important, and grossly unequal and impolitie, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to their owner, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for when their masters are privileged with nearly a double share representation. The consequence has been that this faint representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's person above his brethern has ravined as a welf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil."

Hence I adopted the language of the prophet Hence 1 adopted the Constitution, in these par-ticulars, to be "a covenant with death, and an agre-ment with hell." Was I not justified as a Christian ment with hell." Was I not justified as a Christian man in so doing! Oh, but the New York Journal of Commerce says there seems to have taken place a great and sudden change in my views—I no longer place this mottor at the head of my payer. Well, it I did not think I would live to get married." (Laughter.) And when I said I would not sustain the Con stitution, because it was "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," I had no idea that I would live to see death and hell secode. (Prolonged applause and great laughter.) Hence it is that I am nov Government, to enable it to constitutionally stop the further ravages of death, and to extinguish the flames of hell forever. (Renewed applause.)

We are coolly told that slavery has nothing to do with this war! Believe me, of all traitors in this country who are most to be feared and detested, they m think, from the Southern rebels, comparatively: it is those Northern traitors, who, under the mask of loyalty, are doing the work of the devil, and effectively at ing the secessionists by trying to intimidate the ma-tional government from striking a direct blow at the source of the rebellion, who make our position a disrous one. (Applause.) What! slavery nothing h do with this war! How does it happen, then, that the war is all along the border between the Free and the Slave States? What is the meaning of this? For there is not a truly loyal Slave State in the Union-not one. (Voicea—"That's so.") I maintain the Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri are, by their feignel loyalty, greater obstacles in the way of victory the Carolina, Alabama and Georgia. Nothing but the pre-ence on their soil of the great army of the North keen them loyal, even in form, and even under such a presure they are full of overt treason. They have to be enticed to remain in the Union as a man said he one enticed to remain in the Union as a man said he obseinted a burglar out of his house—he enticed his with a pitchfork! (Laughter:) Withdraw your troop and instantly they will fall into the Southern Confederacy by the law of gravitation. That is the while of it. But this is not to be loyal—this is not a white support of the Constitution and Union. No: On its other hand, every Free State is true to the Govern-ment. It is the inevitable struggle between the chadren of the bond-woman and the children of the fre (Applause.).

Treason-where is it most rampant? Just whe there are the most slaves! It disappears where there are no slaves, except in those cases to which I have are no saves, except in the state of the saves, exempt the mask of loyalty, and yet having the heart of traitors. (Applause.) What State led off in this atrocious rebellion? Why, South Carolina, of course; for in that State, the slave population outnumbers the white And so of Louisiana, out of which every avowed. Unionist has been driven by violence: more than half of her population are slaves. Charleston and Ne head-quarters of slavery. Besides, do not the rebe proclaim to the world that the issue they make is the perpetuation of their slave system and the overthrow government? Commend them for their oper they avow just what they mean, and what the desire to accomplish. Now, then; for any party at the North to say, "Don't point at slavery as the source of the rebellion—it has nothing whatever to be with it-the Abolitionists are alone to be held respon sible "—why, I have no words to express my cont for such dissemblers. I brand them as worse the rebels who are armed and equipped for the seizure

It is loudly vociferated in certain quarters,

s not a war for the abolition of slavery, but solely to naintain the Union." Granted, ten thousand time over! I, as an Abolitionist, have never asserted the contrary. But the true issue is, in order that is Union may be perpetuated, shall not slavery, it cause of its dismemberment, be stricken down to the earth? The necessity is found in the present improled state of the Government, and in the fatal exper ment of the past. There cannot again be a union of the States as it existed before the rebellion; for while will not underrate Northern valor, but believe the Northern soldiers are competent to achieve anythin hat men can can do in the nature of things, I has no faith in the success of the army in its attempt subdue the South, while leaving slavery alive upon soil. If any quarter is given to it, it seems to me be our defeat is just as certain in the end as that 6d reigns. We have got to make up our minds to cord three alternatives: either to be vanquished by the rebel forces, or to see the Southern Confederacy shar-ly acknowledged by the European powers; or ds. for self-preservation and to maintain its supremar over the whole country, the Government must true orm every slave into a man and a freeman, henceforth to be protected as such under the national ensign (Applause.) The right of the Government to do this, sent fearful emergency, is unquestion in the present fearful emergency, is unquestionable. Has not slavery made itself an outlaw? And wis claim has an outlaw upon the Constitution or the Union? Guilty of the blackest treason, what claims have the traitors upon the Government? Why, the claim to be hanged by the neck until they are "dest, dead dead," nothing also (Amplanta).

dead, dead "-nothing else. (Applause.) What same man, what true patriot, wants the old Union restored—the Slave Oligarchy once more power over the free States—Congress under starcher ing mastership the army. supreme court, all controlled by the traffickers in he man flesh? No! No! Happily, the Government man now constitutionally do what until the secession had not the power to do. For thirty years the Aboli sent in their petitions to Congress, siling that body to abolish slavery in the District of Co lumbia, to prevent the further extension of slavery, repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill, &c., &c.; but not to a terfere with slavery in the Southern States. We n cognized the compact as it was made. But now, their treasonable course, the slaveholders may longer demand constitutional protection for their share property. The old "covenant with death" should property. Ane old Covenant with dealined never have been made. Our fathers sinned—sined grievously and inexcusably—when they consented be the hunting of fugitive slaves—to a slave represent tion in Congress—to the prosecution of the forest stave trade, under the national flag, for twenty yearto the suppression of slave insurrections by the whole
power of the Government. I know the dire extremty in which they were placed—exhausted by a serayears' war, reduced to bankruptey, bleeding at every
poors fearing that the adonates and the proposed in years' war, reduced to bankruptey, bleeding as etc.

pore, fearing that the colonies would be conquered is
detail by England if they did not unite—it was a we
rible temptation to compromise; but it does not exiserate them from guilt. The Union should not have
been made upon such conditions; but now that by South has trampled it under foot, it must not be, " South has trampled it under foot, it must not be restored as it was, even if it can be done. (Applause) But it cannot be done. There are two parties who will make such a reunion impossible; the first is, the South—the second, the North. Besides, what reliable guantee could be given that, after coming back the South would not accede within twenty-four hour! The right to secede ad libitum is her cardinal doctria. Moreover, she declares that she has taken her less of us forever; she will not unite with us on any terms. Let me read you an extract from Jefferson Davis's last message to the Confederate Congress:—

ast message to the Confederate Congress:

"Not only do the causes which induced us to separate till last in full force, but they have been strengthened; and whaterer doubt may have lingered on the minds of ny, must have been properties of the strengthened of the strength of the strengt

Now, this is open and above board, and it ought to be resolutely met by the North in the glorious spirit of be resolutely met by the Aorin in the giorious spirit of freedom, saying, "By the traitorous position you have assumed, you have put your slave system under the assumed, you have place government; and that you may be saved from destruction, as well as the country, may be saved from description and the country we shall emancipate every slave in your possession.

But—say the sham loyalists of the North, "there is But—say the sham loyalists of the North, "there is no constitutional right or power to abolish slavery—it would be the overthrow of the Constitution if Congress or the President should dare to do it." This is nothing better than cant, and treason in disguise. It should like to know what right Gen. McClellan has should like to know what right Gen. saccitetian has with an invading army of 150,000 men in Virginia? Is that constitutional? Did Virginia bargain for that when she entered the Union? By what right did we when she entered the Union? By what right did we batter down the fort at Cape Hatteras? By what right do Northern soldiers "descrate the sacred soil," of South Carolina by capturing Port Royal and occupying Beaufort? By what right has the Government half a million of troops, invaling the South in the South. pying Beautort! By what right has the Government half a million of troops, invading the South in every quarter, to kill, slay and destroy, to "cry havoe and let slip the dogs of war," for the purpose of bringing her into subjection! Where is the right to do this to her into suggestion? Where is the right to do this to be found in the Constitution? Where is it! It is in this section—"CONGRESS SHALL HAVE POWER TO DECLARE WAR"; and when war comes, then co the rules of war, and, UNDER THE WAR POWER, Con the rules of war, and, ENDER THE WAR JOHAS, Con-gress has a constitutional-right to abolish slavery if it be necessary to save the Government and maintain the Union. (Loud applause.) On this point, what better authority do we want than that of John Quincy Adams! Hear what he says:—

Adams! Hear what he says:

"I say this down as the law of nations. I say that military anthority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and statery among the rest; and that under that state of things; so far from its being true that the States where shaven states where exclusive management of the subject, must be rectured to the commander of the army, has poster to order the subversal conscipations of the factors. "A From the institution of the commander of the army, has poster to order the subversal conscipations, states become the theatre of a war, civil, service, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of subvery, in every way in which it can be interfered with a foreign and the states. I shall be subveryed, to the cession of States, burdened with alarey, in strong or the states, and the states of the states, and the states of the states of

I hope Gen. McClellan, or President Lincoln, will soon be inclined to say "ditto" to John Quincy Adams. (Applause.) Commander-in-Chief of the army, by the law of nations and under the war power given by the Constitution, in this terrible emergency you have the right and glorious privilege to be the great deliverer of the millions in bondage, and the savior of your country! May you have the spirit to do it!

There are some well-meaning nen who unreflectingly say that this is despotic power. But the exercise of a constitutional right is not despotism. What the people have provided to save the Government or the Union is not despotism, but the concentration of extraordinary power for beneficent purposes. It is as much a constitutional act, therefore, for Gen. Mcmuch a constitutional act, therefore, for Gen. Mc-Clellan, or the President, or Congress, to declare sla-very at an end in this country, as it is to march an army down into the South to subdue her-as it is to shelter and freedom to the thousands of contragive sieuer and recedum to the many sieder; and bands already set at liberty. The way is clear; and under these circumstances, how tremendous will be the guilt of the Government if it refuses to improve this marvellous opportunity to do a magnificent work of justice to one seventh portion of our whole population—to do no evil to the South, but to bestow upon her a priceless blessing, and thereby perpetuate all that is precious in our free institutions! I would sather take my chance at the judgment-seat of God with Pharach than with Abraham Lincoln, if he do not, as President of the United States, in this solemn estigency, let the people go. (Applause.) He has the pawer—he has the right. The capital is virtually in a state of siege—the rebels are strong, confident, defiant-scarcely any progress has been made in quelling the rebellion. We do not know where we are, of what is before us. Already hundreds of millions of dollars in debt-blood flowing freely, but in vain the danger of the speedy recognition of the Southern Confederacy by European Powers imminent—what valid excuse can the Government give for hesitating under such a pressure !. And when you consider tha slavery,-which, in itself, is full of weakness and danger to the South,—is, by the forbearance of the Government, made a formidable power in the hands of the rebels for its overthrow, you perceive there is ressing reason why there should be no delay.

Only think of it! Our colored population, bond and free, could furnish an army of a million men, from 18 to 45 years of age; and yet, not one of them is allowed to shoulder a musket! There are in als very more than eight hundred thousand men, capable bearing arms—a number larger than the two gre stile armies already in the field. They are at the service of the Government whenever it will accept them as free and loyal inhabitants. (Applause.) It will not accept them! But the rebel slaveholders are mustering them in companies and regiments, and they are shooting down Northern men, and in every way giving strength and success to the rebellion. Slavery the Government to the dust. That thunderbolt might be seized, and turned against the rebellion with fatal effect, and at the same time without injury to the South. My heart glows when I think of the good one to the oppressors as well as to the pressed; for I could not stand here. I could not stan anywhere, and advocate vindictive and destructive measures to bring the rebels to terms. I do not be ling or doing injury even to enemies That is not my Christian philosophy. But I do say, that never before in the history of the world has God vouchsafed to a Government the power to do such a work of philanthropy and justice, in the ex-tremity of its danger and for self-preservation, as he now grants to this Government. Emancipation is to destroy nothing but evil; it is to establish good; it is to transform human beings from things into men; it is to make freedom, and education, and invention, and enterprise, and prosperity, and peace, and a true Union possible and sure. Redeemed from the curse of slavery, the South shall in due time be as the garden of God. Though driven to the wall and reduc to great extremity by this rebellion, still we hold off, hold off, hold off, and reluctantly say, at last, if it must be so, but only to save ourselves from destruction, we will do this rebellious South the most beneficent act y this rebellion, still we hold off. that any people ever yet did—one that will secure historic renown for the Administration, make this struggle memorable in all ages, and bring down upon the land the benediction of God! But we will not do this, if we can possibly avoid it! Now, for myself ice to the oppressed and to serve the cause of freedom universally, I want the Govern ment to be in haste to blow the trump of jubilee. I ous and happy by substituting free institution for her leprous system of slavery. I am as much in terested in the safety and welfare of the slaveh

as brother men, as I am in the liberation of their poo

slaves: for we are all the children of God, and should strive to promote the happiness of all. I desire that the mission of Jesus, "Peace on earth, good will to men," may be fulfilled in this and in every land.

Bear in mind that the colored people have slways been loyal to the country. You never heard of a traitor smong them, when left to frectom of choice. Is it not most humiliating—ought we not to blush for shame—when we remember what we have done to them, and what they have done for us? I nour Revolutionary struggle they freely participated, and helped to win our national independence. The first participated that stained the pavements of Boston, in 1770, was that of Crispus Attacks, a black man. It was Peter Salem, a black man, who shot the British leader, Major Pitcairn, as, storming the breastworks at Bunker Hill, he exclaimed, "The day is ours?"

Throughout that memorable struggle, the colored men. at Bunker Hill, he exclaimed, "The day is ours!"
Throughout that memorable struggle, the colored men were ever ready to pour out their blood and lay down their lives to secure the liberties we now enjoy; and they were salmitted. they were admitted to have been among the of the brave. In the war of 1812, when New Orleans was threatened by a formidable British force, do you remember what Gen. Jackson said when he needed their help? He did not scorn them in the hour of peril: far from it. This was his proclamation:-

"HEADQUARTERS, SEVENTH MILITARY DISTRICT, MOBILE, Sept. 21, 1814.

To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana :

longer shall exist.

As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend
our most inestimable blessings. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for
valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages
cojoyed under her mild and equitable Government. As
fathers, husbands and brothers, you are summoned to rally
round the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear valorous support, enjoyed under her fathers, husband

round the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not with you to engage in her cause without renumerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. With the sincerity of a soldier and the language of truth I address you.

To every noble-hearted freeman of color volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty, in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz.: one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay, daily rations and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

As a divinet, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the ap-

any American soldier.

As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursu-ing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the ap-plause and gratitude of your countrymen."

Then again, after the struggle, he addressed them as follows :-

as follows:—

"SOLDIERS! When, on the banks of the Mobile, I called upon you to take up arms, inviting you to partake of the perils and glory of your white follow-citizens, I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could overcome hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew will have you leved your natire country, and that you, as well as curselves, had to defend what man holds most dear—bis parents, wife, children and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I have found among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things."

What a splendid tribute !- "I expected much from you, but you have done more than I expected "!

I do not believe in war, but I do say that, if any
class of men, being grievously oppressed, ever had
the right to seize deadly weapons, and smite their ssors to the dust, then all men have the same right. (Applause.) "A man's a man, for a' that."
If the right of bloody resistance is in proportion to the amount of oppression inflicted, then no people living

amount of oppression inner the would be so justified before heaven and earth in resisting unto blood as the Southern slaves. By that rule, any Nat Turner has right to parody the famous Marsellaise, and, addressing his suffering associates. ciaim:
"Ye fettered slaves! awake to glory!
Hark! hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
To arms, to arms, ye brave!
The patriot sword unsheath!
March on, march on, all hearts resolved
On liberty or death!"

Thus do I vindicate the equal humanity of the slaves. Let them be entancipated under law as the flag of the Union goes forward, and they will behave as well as any other class. They are not a bloodthirsty race; they are calumniators who make this charge. The Anglo-Saxon race are far more vindicthirsty race, in the Anglo-Saxon race are far more vinue-charge. The Anglo-Saxon race are feculiar-ty mild, gentle, forbearing, forgiving. So much in-deed do they dread to shed blood, that they cannot

and the army itself be broken up. Then they will be guilty of treason. [A Voice—"They ought to be hanged."] If such are the officers and such the soldiers, then the army is filled with traitors. But I believe the imputation to be as false as the prediction is intended to be mischievous.

There is no supermishness at the South, on the

There is no squeamishness at the South, on the part of the rebels, in making use of the slaves to carry on their treasonable purposes. They are used in every way, not merely to provide food and raise cotton, but to make rifle-pits, construct batteries, and perform military service. There are two regiments of black soldiers at Centerville, with more than a thousand men each, compelled to engage in the work of butchering those who are loyal to the Union! Yet of bettering those who are loyal to the Union! Yet of bettering those who are loyal to the Union! Yet of bettering those who are loyal to the Union! Yet of bettering those who are loyal to the Union! Yet of bettering those who are loyal to the Union! Yet of bettering those who are loyal to the Union! Yet of bettering those who are loyal to the Union of the Unio There is no squeamishness at the South, on the the dovernment can have them an any nour removes to ensure their liberty. Refusing to do this, is not the Government itself practically guilty of treason to that extent, and making its overthrow doubly sure! This is a serious inquiry, and it ought to be answered

tion for the rebels from loss of slave property, which the rebels themselves do not demand. I turn to the latter, and ask, "Do you claim anything of us?"
"Nothing, except to hate and spurn you." "Do you the rebels themselves and spur you." "Do you claim anything ask, "Do you claim anything as "Nothing, except to hate and spur you." "Do you "Nothing, except to hate and spur you." "Nothing, except of the Constitution!" "Nothing, except of the Constitution!" "Do cept the right to trample it beneath our feet." you deny that we have a right to abolish slavery, if we discharge one, till he began to feel it his duty to arm can, since you have treasonably withdrawn from Union?" "No—we do not deny it; we counted "No-we do not deny it; we counted the on, and took all the risk; you have not cost of secession, and took an ine in a constant of secession, and took an ine in our possession, but, [aside,] if you are not idiots, you will do so without delay." What if they had a in our possession, but, [aside,] i you will do so without delay." similar advantage on their side ! What if there were eight hundred thousand men at the North, qualified to bear arms, who, at a signal, could be made to cooperabear arms, who, at a signal, could be made to cooperate for the triumph of secession? Do you suppose they would allow such an opportunity to pass unimproved for one moment? If they do not pretend to have any rights under the old Constitution, are they have any rights under the color and the rebels who, here at the North, still insist that they have forfeited none of their rights as slaveholders under that instrument?

struggle can be happily terminated only in one way—by putting "FREEDOM FOR ALL" on our banner. We may then challenge and shall receive banner. We may then challenge and shall receive the admiration and support of the civilized world. We shall not then be in any danger from abroad. No ough England has seemed to be hot, and com-and inclining southward; although the English pative, and inclining southward; attitudge in English government has taken us at disadvantage, with a me-nacing aspect, in the Mason and Slidell affair; and although the London Times and other venal presses, bribed with secession gold, have indulged in contemptuous and bullying language towards the American Government; yet I think I know something of the English heart—and I hesitate not to say that, in spite of all these unfriendly demonstrations, the heart read. I also greatly admired Boutwell's speech before

he views comprehensive, the statements clear an conclusive. His plans for the campaign struck me a very judicious and practical. Ahl if we only had such a mind at the head of affairs !"

ents at Mochanie, wit origines are man and mochanical the discriminating, fearless and eloquent champion of freedom at home and abroad? He represents the people of England, in the best meaning of that word. RICHARD COMDEN, too, stands by his side, and readers the same enlightened verdict. (Applause.) And on that side of the Atlantic, there is not a more firm, on that side of the Adianic, there is not a more him, faithful and carnest supporter of this Government, in its struggle to uphold the democratic theory, and to put down the tory sentiment of the South,—for slavery is toryism run to seed,—than the calumniated but eloquent and peerless advocate of negro emancipation, Grange Transpase.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you a th defend country—a country—a country—a country—a whole country—a whole country—a country Constitution-a Union, and a just and glorious Union, that shall endure to the latest posterity; and when we shall see this civil war ended, every bondman set free, and universal liberty prevailing fro the Atlantic to the Pacific, we may exultingly repeat the language of one, who, in his youthful days, seemed to have the flame of liberty brightly burning

s soul—
"Then hail the day when o'er our land
The san of freedom shone;
When, dinmed and sunk in Eastern skies,
He rose upon our own,
To chase the night of slavery,
And wake the alumbering free!
May his light shine more bright,
May his orb roll sublime,
Till it warm every clime,
And illume from sea to sea!"—(Ap -(Applause.)

\* CALEB CUSHING.

Ward Beecher, after notifying his congregation of Mr. Garrison's lecture at the Cooper Institute, made the following generous observations :-

following generous observations:

"The lecture will be on a rather novel subject for Mr. Garrison: that is to say, on Abolitionism, the Abolitionists, and their Relations to the War. Probably, outside of the Indians, there is not a man, woman or child on this continent who has not heard that man's name, and heard it cursed. If there ever was a man, who, by other men's speeches, has been set upon and trodden down into the mire, it is William Lloyd Garrison. It seems a little unnuanly for me to speak in his favor now, when all the community are beginning to have some sense of that heroism which has sustained him against the most violent public opinion, in the Church and out of the Church, in the State and out of the State, for more than thirty years. I recollect that twelve or thirteen years ago, when Abolitionism was not so popular as now, and when no man thought it right to express a dislike of slavery, without first preparing the ear by cursing the Abolitionists—I recollect that at that far-away period, I took ocasion, much to the distaste of many of you (for then you were in a very different state of mind from that in which you are now, on this subject), to say that I thought this man heroic; that I admired him all the more because I did not agree with his extreme methods. I agree with Mr. Garrisson in the life-lone harred thought this man heroic; that I admired him all the more because I did not agree with his extreme methods. I agree with Mr. Garrises in the life-long hatred that he holds toward every form of oppression. I agree with him in every letter and punctuation of his belief, that the Bible abhors slavery, from end to end. I agree with will with him in this, that every man who is a man ought to give whatever influence he has, of head, and heart, and money, and power, to the extinction of slavery. In regard to the practical modes and instruments by which slavery is to be reached and extinguished, and almost only in that regard, have I had occasion to differ from Mr. Garrison. But after all, differences among men as to the mere methods of occasion to differ from Mr. Garrison. But after all differences among men as to the mere methods o carrying out principles are nothing in comparison with the value of the principles themselves. This mat has stood fearless and faithful amid universal defections for many years; but the days are soon continued when men will mention his name only with praise."

tive and revengeful; but the African race are peculiarly mild, gentle, forbearing, forgiving. So much indeed do they dread to shed blood, that they cannot successfully conspire to throw off the yoke without some one of them who has been treated kindly, and who desires to shield his master or mistress from harm, reveals the secret! When they are set free and protected as free men by the Government, there will be little need of a Northern army at the South; for they will take care of the rebel slaveholders, and the rebellion will speedily collapse. (Applause.)

It is further said, by way of intimidation, that if the Government proclaim enancipation, a large portion of the efficers in the army will instantly resign, and the army itself be broken up. Then they will be

I cannot thank you too warmly for the copy of "John Brown's Life and Letters," edited by our highly esteemed friend, Richard D. Webb. It is a book

over all other traits; and this is the true point of view from which to judge of him. His wife, conversing with a friend, soon after his death, said, "I am sorry they say so much about him as a fighter. He believed way; but fighting was not all there was to my hus-band."

Frederic Brown expressed a similar idea to me. He said that his brother John was very kind-hearted; that he never shot even a bird; that in fact he believed he never had a gun in his house, or knew how to

His character, as presented in this volume, in its just and true proportions, inspires me with more reverence and admiration than I ever experienced from the contemplation of any character in history. I know of no book I should be more desirous to place in lib ries throughout the country, as a model of manhood for the benefit of coming generations.

L. MARIA CHILD.

In a private letter from Mrs. L. MARIA CHILD,

"I am rejoiced beyond measure that the war with

England is averted. The prospect of it drove me almost to despair. Whether international law had been violated or not, was a question for lawyers to settle. Since the lawyers and statesmen, both of England and France, decided that it had been violated, and since our own statemen could not disprove it, it was plain-ly right on our part to admit that Capt. Wilkes had made a mistake. It would have been worse than foolmade a mistake. It would have been worse than soon-ish to have gone to blowing out brisins to show that we were not afraid to fight. I have no doubt that England wants to get into a war with us, but she must be very careful sone to have an adequate cause, or the whole world will judge her to be clearly in the wrong.

#### THE EMANOIPATION LEAGUE. DR. CHEEVER'S LECTURE.

object of this League is to urge upon the People and the Government EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, as a measure of justice, and as a military necessity. The lecture of Dr. Cheever, in the Tre-mont Temple last week, was the first of a course of six, to be given under the direction of the League, in Bos-ton. Its subject was "The Necessity of Emancipa-tion."

The lecturer declared his conviction that if we do not emancipate, we cannot conquer; and that if we do not conquer thoroughly and entirely, we are lost. In this war there have already been several opportunities eminently favorable for the adoption of such a policy, and a speedy end might have been put to the rebellion had the Government chosen to meet it in this manner. When Fort Sumter was surrendered, a proclamation of emancipation would have been received with approbation throughout the North. But the Government wanted to conciliate the border States, and so dared not touch the question of slaves. very. The Hatters expedition failed from the same cause; the neglect of a vigorous pushing of the firs success, an immediate occupation of the adjacen very. success, an immediate occupation of the adjacent country, and a summoning of the alaves of rebels to seek protection and take service with the United States. The treatment of Fremont by the Adminis-tration was yet worse. He would have done the work but for its active interference to forbid the only right olicy. And the success at Port Royal might have had results unspeakably more damaging to the rebels and beneficial to the country, had it not been curbed by tenderness for the Slave Power.

Justice to the slaves, and wisdom for ourselves, alike demand that they shall be set free. If John Brown had commanded the Beaufort expedition, (here, at the suggestion of a gentleman on the plat-form, the audience gave three energetic cheers for Carolina before this time, and would have doubled his

own force by freeing the slaves.

Dr. Cheever-declared, that by refraining from this policy, our Government had brought upon itself and ntry two very great evils; at once chilling the asm of the North, and losing the sympathy and aid which we might have had from Eur

id which we might have had from Europe. He urged in a most forcible and convincing that, by the act and process of the rebellion fiself, the slaves of the rebels had become free; that, as far as they are concerned, no additional legislation is needed; they are concerned, no additional legislation is neede that no barrier of law now prevents their using the freedom in any honest way; that in the Beaufort district, and elsewhere where their masters have be-come fugitives from them, they may properly hold and cossess the lands on which they have always worked the ownership of which those masters have lost in law by their rebellion; that the feelings of justice and hu-manity should lead all Northern men to help them to establish themselves securely in this relation, and th self-interest joins with justice in urging the U.S. Gov-

rnment to favor, protect and help th Dr. Cheever showed most conclus sition of the Constitution warranted the Government in viewing or treating these men, hitherto held as slaves by rebels, in any other manner than as free men and citizens; that the Government have no right to take possession of them, or transfer them, or remove them, or make any compulsory arrangements for them whatever, least of all to hold them in trust for the rebel masters, or offer the renewed possession of them as a bribe for the return of those masters to loyalty; that, the rebel States having taken themselves, with their laws and institutions, out from allegiance to this Government, and devoted themselves to the service of another Government, the state of slavery, as far a ur administration has to do with them, falls, and is sideration of interest honor, justice and humanity now calls upon our civi authority to protect and encourage its free black citi zens in those States.

The lecture was a vigorous and excellent one, and

The second lecture of this course,-a forcible and admirable argument for emancipation,—was given by ORESTES A. BROWNSON. He frankly admitted the very great difference between his present position and that which he had held for many previous years. He had never loved slavery, but had been willing to spare it for the sake of the Constitution, while the slaveolders were loyal to that instrument. Now that the are open rebels, they have utterly forfeited, not only formerly gave them but all consideration and advantage whatever. As he had opposed abolition for the sake of the Union in former years, so, to preserve the Union, in our altered circumstances, he would now favor the abolition of slavery. It is certainly not abolitionism which now endangers the Union.

of military necessity for the complete overthrow of the rebellion, next as a measure of justice to the slave,

nplexion forms not the slightest reason against the ession to him of every human right, including cit-hip. It is simply justice to the slave that he be izenship. It is simply ju made free. He was born of the same race as ourselves and redeemed by the same Savior, and is destin and redeemed by the same to be a compared to the same beatitude hereafter. People who talk this way have been called fanatics, but the earnest man is always a fanatic to the lukewarm. Right and wrong depend not on majorities. God will assuredly secure he triumph of the right.—c. k. w.

Our paper goes to press too early (if we had doings at the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Subscription Anni versary, at Music Hall, on Wednesday evening; or a he annual meeting of the Massachuset s Anti-Sla the annual meeting of the missiscensietts Anti-Slavery Society at Allston Hall on Thursday. Two additional sessions will be held this day, (Friday,) at Allston Hall; in the evening, at Music Hall, to be addressed by Wendell Phillips, Rev. Mr. Manning, Rev. Mr. Miner, and others. Advission has be the assession Miner, and others. Admission fee in the evening, 10

Our friends, who are visiting the city this reck, will doubtless be glad to be reminded of the new week, will doubtless be glad to be reminded of the new LIFE OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN, by Richard D. Webb, some copies of which still remain for sale at the Anti-Slavery office, 221 Washington atreet.

States."

Nouth's Carret and Playmars; a Magazine for Boys and Girls. Filled with interesting and instructive matter, and published monthly. Each number, besides containing excellent stories, has a page devoted to Enigmas, Charades, Conundrums, &c. It is edited by Mark Perrester, and published by William Guild & Co., 5 Water street, Boston. Terms—Sin year, if paid in advance, \$1.25, if not.

States."

Wednesday, Feb. 12th, (to be amnounced.)

Wednesday, Feb. 19th, (to be amnounced.)

Organist JOHN S. WRIGHT.

Tickets, admitting a geotteman and lady to the course, state to the foundation of the foundation of the course, and by J. H. Stephenson, 53 Federal street, and at Tremont Temple.

Doors open at 6 1-2 o'clock, and the Lectures with mence at 7 1-2 o'clock, and the Lectures with mence at 7 1-2 o'clock.

DEATH OF MR. FRANCIS TODD. The death of Mr. rancis Todd, of Newburyport, Mass., was amounced ast month, at the age of 83. Mr. Todd was, we believe, a worthy man in the ordinary relations of life. e a place in history, but for which he have been heard of beyond his narrow buryport. Thirty years ago, while Mr. influential citizen and a prosperous mer-means, another native of Newburyport tood was an influential citizen and a prosperous mer-chant of large means, another native of Newburyport, who had struggled along in the world, with little sid, and against many obstacles, poor and unknown, was at work as a printer in Baltimore. His name was Garrison. In 1829 he became associated with Benja-mia Lundy in conducting a little dingy sheet called The Gessus of Universal Emonepation, a paper repre-senting the Anti-Slavery party of that day. It hap-pened that the ship Francis, of Newburyport, came to Baltimore, where she took on board a cargo of slaves for New Orleans and a market. Whether it was that Garrison was moved by the fact that the ship, ensared

FEDERAL VICTORY IN KENTUCKY. repeate victory in a shrucky. A battle was fought at Somerset, Ky., on Sunday last, between the robel forces under Zollicoffer, and the Federal troop commanded by Gen. Schoeff, which resulted in the utter rout of the rebels, after a fight lasting all day. The attack was made by the rebel troops, but they were beaten off, with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat, leaving all their artillery, horses, ammunition camp equipage, &c., in the hands of the Union forces Gen. Zollicoffer was among the killed. The loss of the Union side is sunosed to have been considera camp equipage, &c., in the hands of the Union Increa-Gen. Zollicoffer was among the killed. The loss on the Union side is supposed to have been considera-ble, but the details have not yet been received. The tenor of all the official despatches indicates that the battle resulted in the most brilliant victory of the war. No prominent officers on our side were killed.

NEGROES FIGHTING ON THE UNION SIDE. The Martinsburg (Va.) Republican, of the 11th, appeals to the Governor to arm the negroes, asying, that at the late battle near Bath, the rebels were met by 700 negroes on the Union side, who killed three rebel officers, two privates, and wounded 50 members of the German Southern regiment.

STEPPING INTO THE SHOES OF SLAVES. A deserter from the rebel army makes the ominous statement that the slaves of Richmond in many instances are compelled to give up their shoes to the soldiers, and the present of the soldiers. We are informed that numerous he

The We are informed that numerous houses and barns, belonging to residents of Henry county, have recently been fired and burned to the ground by the negroes, and that in consequence a general feeling of insecurity prevails throughout the entire community.

—Frankfort (Ky.) Yeoman.

Transport (A.y.) Assumed the present time is about 850,000; the Austrian, 740,000; the Prussian, 720,000 the French, 825,000; the English pretend to must 634,000, but this includes 218,000 blacks in India 18,000 Colonists, 84,000 military and yeomanry, 140,000 volunteers, 15,000 pensioners, and 12,000 consta

We have a large number of communications on hand, unable to find room for them in the present crowded state our columns. Have patience, one and all!

### NOTICE TO DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS.

Though by the terms of the Liberator, pays the paper should be made in advance; yet it has not only not been insisted upon, but an indulgence of thir-teen months has hitherto been granted delinquent subscribers, before proceeding (always, of course; with great reluctance) to erase their names from the sub-scription list, in accordance with the STANDING RULE laid down by the Financial Committee. But, in con-sequence of the generally depressed state of business, this indulgence will be extended from January 1, 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—payment in advance.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

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

The exigencies of the slave's cause in the present Na-

tional crisis call for a full representation at this Conven-tion of the friends of freedom from all parts of the State. During the past year, the Islave States have dissolved the Federal Union, repudiated the United States Constitution, endangers the Union.

He urged the abolition of slavery, first as a matter of military necessity for the complete overthrow of the rebellion, next as a measure of justice to the slave, and still more as a necessity of the slaveholder. He looked upon the Union in its old form as gone, and had no wish that that form of it should be revived. The point in hand now is to save the life and integrity of the station. We have now to prove whether we are the sation. We have now to prove whether we are a nation, and when that question shall be settled, we may hope to establish a better Union.

The rebellion gires us the right to abolish slavery. Let it be abolished, not only because that measure is just in itself, but because it is the best and speediest method of quelling the rebellion. If we pretend to make war at all, let us do it vigorously and thoroughly. There has been too much false tenderness in this matter, too much precaution to carry on the war in such a manner as not to hurt anybody's feelings, especially if he is a traitor. The poorest and most inhuman method of making war is to conduct it on peace principles. Let the Government proclaim the negroes free, and call on them to ald the Government. A man's complexion forms not the alightest reason against the and tatal spell of summission to survey must not obtain, the slaves rescued from the vile grasp of traitorous oppressors, and thus, justice having been done, an abiding peace ensue. Let all who possibly can come to the approaching annual Convention, and contribute by personal presence, and wise counsel, to render its influence mighty

presence, and wise counsel, to resider its induced miguty and effective in the service of the sacred cause of liberty.

[The names of the speakers who will attend the Convention,—among whom are confidently expected Wim. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pilisbury and Theodere Tilton,—will be assounced hereafter.] rison, we unseed to a state of Arrangements,
In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,
A. M. POWELL.

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE. That the people may have an opportunity to ex-

ated in this crisis of our country's affairs ating the slaves A COURSE OF SIX LECTURES

will be delivered, under the auspices of the Emancipation League, in.

TREMONT TEMPLE, Wednesday, Jan. 29, by M. D. CONWAY, a native of Vir-

Yednesday, was a state of the s

EF AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the Am L. S. Society, will speak at the following places in the I New York:—

Salt Point, Pleasant Valley,

SOUTH ABINGTON.—PARKER PILLBRURY will fecture a South Abington, on Tuesday evening, 28th inst., at 7 clock. Subject, (by request)—"The Philosophy of the tail Slarer, Morenter."

NORTH BRIDGEWATER.—PARKER PILISBURY will lecture in North Bridgewater, on Thursday svenlag, 30th inst., at 7 o'clock.

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

#### \$40 PARKER Sewing Machines, PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

PRICE PORTY DOLLARS.

[Mills is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of flows, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its obstaction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents patents owned and used by these parties, in the patents patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents patents of the Parker Swing Company. They were awarded a Sitter Media at the last Pair of the Mechanice Charitable Association, and are the best finished and mag sabstantially made Family Machines now in the market.

[37] Sales Room, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861.
3m.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachu Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the va-cious patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Groyer & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from \$40 to \$120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, 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 factors. tribute. These together with Parker's improve 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 langer from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double the back quite flat and smooth, doing away, in a great measure, with the objection sometimes urged on that so-count."

recommend them to use in families. The several parts are pinned together, so that it is always adjusted and ready for work, and not liable to get out of repair. It is the pest finished, and most firmly and substantially made ma-thine in the Fair. Its motions are all positive, its tension coine in the rair. It motions are all property of the work. It will hem, fell, stitch, run, bind and gather, and the work cannot be ripped, except designedly. It sews from non spools, with silk, linen or cotton, with equal fa cility. The stitch made upon this machine was recently awarded the first prize at the Tennessee State Fair, for its

We would call the attention of our readers to the advertisement, in another column, of the Parker Sewing Machine. This is a licensed machine, being a combina-tion of the various patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilcon, and Grover & Baker, with those of the Parker Sewing Machine Company: consequently, it has the advantage of such ma-chines—first, in being a licensed machine; second, from the fact that it embraces all of the most important impor-ments which have heretofore been made in Sewing Machines : third, it requires no readjustment, all the varous parts being made right and pinned together, instead of being adjusted by screws, thus avoiding all liability of get-ting out of order without actually breaking them; and also the necessity of the purchaser learning, as with others, how to regulate all the various motions to the i ready been received by the public warrants us in the be-lief that it is by far the best machine now in market. outh Reading Gazette, Nov. 24, 1860.

THE PARKER SEWING MACHINE is taking the lead in the market. For beauty and finish of its workmanship, it can not be excelled. It is well and strongly made—strength and utility combined—and is emphatically the cheepest and est machine now made. The ladies are delighted with it, oest macanic now made. The indies are deligated with it, and when consulted, invariably gire Parker's machine the preference over all others. We are pleased to learn that the gentlemanly Agent, George E. Leonard, 188 Washington street, Boston, has a large number of orders for these machines, and sells them as fast as they can be manthese machines, and sells them as less the dependent of machines, and while other manufacturers have almost wholly suspended operations. This fact, of itself, speaks more strongly in its favor than any thing we can mention; for were it not for its superior merits, it would have suffered from the general content of the superior merits, it would have suffered from the general content of the superior merits, it would have suffered from the general content of the superior merits, it would have suffered from the general content of the superior merits, it would have suffered from the general content of the superior merits, it would have suffered from the general content of the superior merits. eral dep ession, instead of flourishing among the wrecks of eral depression, instead of flourishing among the wrects of its rivals. What we tell you is no fletion; but go and buy one of them, and you will say that "half of its good qual-ities 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 nask.—Marlboro' Gazatte, July 13, 1863.

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

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER WOULD 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 Hair.

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 herb is of the forest. She Champoes with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from tarning reve.

using the learning grey.

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 like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER, No. 31 Winter Street, Boston. Dec. 20.

The Life and Letters of CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN.

WHO was Excelled at Charlestown, Virginia, December 2, 1859, for an Armed Attack upon American Slavery: with Notices of some of his Confederates. Edited by Ricusan D. Wesse.—This very valuable and interesting work, which has met with a most favorable recopition and ready male in England, has been carefully prepared by one of the most intelligent and experienced friends of America in the old world. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, 271 Washington street, Room No. 6. Also in New York, at No. 5 Beekman street; and in Philadelphia, at No. 106 North Tenth street.

# Diseases of Women and Children.

WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and
Mrs. MARGARET B. BROWN, Accouchesse,
AVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street,
Beston, and will devote special attention to the
treatment of the above diseases.
Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, F. M.
Beston, Oct. 4, 1861.

## Boetry.

For the Libers JONATHAN'S APPEAL TO CAROLINE;

> Mr. North to Madam South Am-Je

You are going far away, far away, my little pet; There's no one left to love me non—oh, darli forget How I've always bowed to you, let you always have you

Now, dearest, don't ungrateful be, and tear yourse away !-Think of all I've sacrificed, just for you to keep you

children knaves ;—
Think, too, how I have compromised, every time you wished

you know: Carolins, 'tis a shame to treat your loving Johnny so!

Only think the gold I paid, buying all your lands State,
And then pursued the Seminole with war and deadly hate;
Taxas, too, I bought with blood, besides a heap of gold,
Because you mean that men shall be like cattle bought
and sold:
Then I've carried all your mails, letters, papers, all for

you,
And from my pocket I have paid most of your postage, too
Then to think how you have reled, in Congress, Church

and State,
And always had your President, nor cared to please y

iii. Now because, for once, my votes outdo all your swindlin plan, mean to break the Union up, and do what harm

Think to please you how I worked, down upon my kneed gers soiled.

you've called me wicked names, Yankee m

farmer small,
And yet I have a Christian been, and borne in meeknes Yes, you know I've borne all this, and a thousand other ills.

Just to live in peace with you, and run my cotton mills.

IV.
Then, you know, I've active been, mobbing preachers; is Say aught against your darling sin, hard was the fate the

Then to think I've caught your slaves, when they tried to run away,

And never let them stop to rest this side of Cauada!

Now it really makes me mad to think how foolish I have

How for your sake I've lost my peace, and steeped my sou in sin! And yet you have a traitor proved, and stole my gun away; But as I have a few more left, I guess I 'll stop your play

Madam, you will trouble see unless your temper

mended,

And much you'll wish you'd stayed with me, before the
war is ended;

But as you the war have brought, blame yourself for all the serrow

That now enbronds all hearts and homes, and fills on

Ind with horror.

Though I fight but for the laws, stand on the Constitu

Yet blame yourself if, midst the crash, down comes you institution;

And devoutly good men pray for such a consummation,

And wise ones say peace cannot come but by emancipation

Carolina, don't you see that we both have blinded been To think that God would always smile upon our nation.

sin?

Read the names of nations lost!—once they built their

Babel towers,

But sin bath swept them from the earth: will justice pass

Madam, I am half inclined to think that good men se

aright,
That naught but justice to the clave will bring our nation
light.
God of justice, grant me sight, show to me thy path more

And grant me strength to walk therein, untrammelled, to by fear!

From the Atlantic Monthly for February.

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC. BY MUSO JULIA WARD HOWE.

Mine eyes have seen the glary of the coming of the Lord: He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored; He hath loosed the inteful lightning of His terrible swift

His truth is marching on. I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling

camps;
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I have read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring

His day is marching on. / I have read a flory gospel writ in burnished rows of steel: "As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal;

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his Since God is marching on." sounded forth the trumpet that shall never

He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea, With a giory in his bosom that transfigures you and me: As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free While God is marching on.

From the American Baptist OUR FATHERLAND.

We love our glorious fatherland, The master work of Freedom's hand; Yes, thou of every land the trust, We love her very stones and dust Oh! let Thy love to her flow do

And be of liberty the crown ! Our mountains stand, colossal throngs; Our rivers flow, like heavenly songs; And o'er them Freedom's angels bend: This rich possession, broad and free, We consecrate, 0 God! to thee. From sea to sea ou And o'er them Fre

As he and and stars of even. As beam the radiant stars of even,
Within th unfathomed blue of heaven,
On Southern groves and Northern mow
So may the lamps of science glow.
Our moon is Peace, our rising sun
The Liberty our fathers won.

In discord's night, when treason shrouds The light of peace in thunder-clouds; In times of war, when empires shake, And slumbering kings in fear awake, God ! our Sovereign and our Rock, et Freedom's temple stand the shock

As, at thy word, th' effetgent sun Proclaimed the reign of Chaos done, So let immortal Freedom's light Rise o'er Oppression's starless nig ess night ; Rise o'er Oppression's starless night And ever may our country be The home of Liberty and Thee!

# The Liberator.

THE SWORD IN ETHICS.

The defender of war, an abstract of whose able ar-cle in the Christian Expansiver was given in last the Christian Expansiver was given in last the christian and the christia ticle in the Christian Expanser was given in last week's Liberator, sums up his argument with this sentence —"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." It singularly happens, that this very sentence precisely expresses the idea held by me, an opposer of war, and a Non Resistant. It can be the a profit-ide experies the sample the course ticle in the Chris isely wherein we differ, and which of our opposite positions is the sound one. Before commencing this examination, I must beg the reader to keep in mind that the word Non-Resistance is a title, adopt ed for its brevity, not by any means a definition that the Non-Resistant is not one who allows evil to have free course, but who seeks to overcome it with good, and with good only; and that what he repudi-ates is, not the use of bodily strength or of physical

force, but only of injurious force.

I am happy to be able freely to admit many of my sniagonist's positions, and the shift he begins his argument.

"Is the construction of any creature, Nature has a state of the construction of any creature, Nature has a state of the same of the sam onist's positions, and of this sort are those with

"In the construction of any creature, Nature has always in mind the thought of self-preservation, com-monly of direct self-defence; and works this into its

self-preservation or self-defence. Every creature has these impulses, and rightfully uses them. 2. Nature never abandons any leading idea; and man, as well as the inferior animals, finds wrought

into his organization the thought and the means o self-preservation and self-defer

Granted. But it is to be kept in mind that man sessing a higher degree of the reasoning faculty than other animals, is able to discriminate between defence and offence, as they cannot. Moreover, being en dowed with a moral nature, he is capable of distin guishing that the same great law which makes i wrong for others to injure him, makes it equally wrong for him to injure others. He is therefore bound to take care that his defence is free from complication with of ence, or injury of his antagonistic fellow-man. He is bound, further, to beware of letting self-preservation seduce him into the violation or the neglect of other duties. The shipmaster who, when his vessel is about to sink, jumps into the only boat, and leaves his passengers to drown, is not excused by the world, any more than by his own soul. He has a duty, in that case, antecedent to self-preservation; and many other duties may claim precedence of that one.

3: With higher organizations, there are higher ex-pressions of every leading thought. The provisions for defence in man partake of the general elevation, and are, for the most part, much removed from a beast ly simplicity of biting and scratching. For physical defence, man has the immediate powers and cunning of the hand, and the command of natural forces cor ferred by understanding. For subtler encounters, he has the powers of the eye and the voice. He has body for the defence of body, mind for the defence of

Granted; keeping in mind the distinction above

Since, however, man possesses a higher order weapons, why should he not trust to these alone for ection? In answer to this very pertinent inquiry,

ur author alleges—

4. In all defences, you necessarily use a only fit for you, as a man, to employ, but appropriate also to the foe or the danger that threatens you. The wolf is appropriately met with powder and ball. Therefore the use of the rifle is not intrinsically unsuitable to man. Granted.

From this he easily slides into the next question namely—Is ever a fellow-man one of those foes against whom mortal defences may be turned? And he re-

5. The answer is, that whenever man is a wolf, as to many men are, then weapon against wolf is wea-pon against him. Whenever man shows the special characteristic of the wolf-nature, in being a lawless depredator and destroyer, then he is to be considered a welf and killed as a wolf. wolf, and killed as a wolf. Here a most important discrimination is to be made,

which our author fails to make.

.It is true that man is often a wo

that man is often a wolf, a lawless depre dator and destroyer. But he is never merely a wolf.
Sometimes, unfortunately, he has so adopted and cultivated the wolf-nature that, to a superficial examina-tion, there seems to be nothing else in him. The ap-pearance is deceitful. The man also is invariably there, fundamental and permanent, while the wolfter, which has been taken on (with more or less guilt) under the influence of circumstances, is only fac-titious and temporary, and the ejection of it (which is necessarily to come sooner or later, since God reigns,)
may be greatly expedited by applying influences of
an opposite character. The wolf-man is certainly to
be restrained, and kept from doing harm, while his wolf-stage lasts. As certainly, the man underneath the wolf is to be helped, even against his perverted will, to get freed from this unnatural and beastly partnership. As surely as the wolf ought to be killed, so surely ought the man to be redeemed. Let us apply ourselves to both these needful things, instead of using the vulgar, penny-wise, pound-foolish expedient of

6. But defence, our author proceeds, is needed, and is demanded by the intensest natural instincts, not only for a man's own person and rights, but for pro-tection of those whom Nature has left in some degree weak minorities, and women. And he justly calls it an error to stigmatize these instincts as "brutal," and an error to stigmatize these instincts as "brutal," and justly protests against the implication that an entire category of man's powers and impulses is made only to be eradicated. Natural instincts, far from being brutal in the opprobrious sense, are sacred and author-

itative.

To all this I agree; only claiming, as above, that the natural should be held in subordination to the moral and spiritual. The native instincts of the immature human being are not despotically to clam-down the cultivated reason and enlightened conscien down the cultivated reason and enlightened conscience of the mature ope. The fact that our safety and that of our family is threatened, does not annihilate all our other duties, obligations and relations. What I claim is, that these opposing claims shall be fairly weighted, and the decision of right and justice follows:

State to its vicious members, I cordially agree: weighed, and the decision of right and justice follow-ed, at the expense of whatever self-denial or suffer-ing. Has not the whole world applauded him who refused to violate his trust and betray his country, even to save the lives of his children? Let us recog-nize the fact, that even such sacrifices may possibly be required of us.

7. Our author proceeds to deny the assertion that "human life is inviolable"; to quote, as sufficient disproof of this assertion, the fact that if a man swallow arsenic, he dies; and to draw from this quite irrelevant fact the following conclusion:—"Nature takes life in mere fidelity to physiological law: can human life be amenable to this, and not amenable to the more

The general strain of the article in question shows so much candor towards opponents, that I cannot doubt that its writer would have freely admitted, had this point been suggested to him, not only that his statement of the arsenic case is not just to his oppothis point been suggested to him, not only that his statement of the arsenic case is not just to his opponent, but that a fair statement of that vary case (so far as it goes) is in favor of his opponent. Nobody ever pretended that arsenic would not destroy human life. The idea (above referred to) of some opposers of war and capital punishment, is not that human life cannot are already as the first of the history at a statement of the number of criminals in a community, far greater, in the long run, than that now attained, are referred to a tract, entitled—"Non-Resistance."

of justice"! An important question inde nd decide it is bound to differ very greatly, in regard not only to these two

rticular cases. We are told that the great Cyrus, in chancing to meet a small boy with a jacket too large for him, and a larger boy with a jacket too small for or mm, and a isrger boy with a jacket too small for him, compelled them to exchange; and was surprised to learn afterwards, from his preceptor, that he had done injustice instead of justice. The question, Who is the authorized judge? is a very important one; the question, What is justice in a specified case? is yet ore important, and neither of these is so easily

function to perform in the matter; by what human head is it to be decided? and when

and by what human hand, is it to be executed?

Most men assume at once that the murderer is be killed; but whether by the witnesses of the nurder, or by the next of kin to the victim, or by some public functionary appointed for the purpose, has been much difference of opinion. Moreover what interval for calm examination, trial, and forms sentence, this retributive killing shall be done, an after what further interval for the murderer's repent tried and condemned, that even the murderer is man and a brother, and temper their judgment with some grains of mercy. Even our defender of the sword and the gallows counsels long patience and for bearance, and would have justice done not only justly but humanely. If we could accomplish these things without the sword or the gallows, it would be a decided improvement. But our author makes a further statenent. He says-

8. "The State and every social body is bound by sacred obligations to indicate, and to indicate with emphasis, a more precious estimation of justice, free dom, and the honor and innocence of man and we dom, and the more that movement man, than of more physical life, or of property, or of aught else; and failing flagrantly to do this, it is ere long weighed in the balances, and found wanting."

I heartily grant that the State is bound to provide as carefully and thoroughly as possible, for the main tenance of justice, and of the freedom and security o its citizens. Perhaps these points may be found to b best guarded without the deliberate shedding of blood by its functionaries. At any rate, the failure to at tempt these things is a flagrant failure in the duty of a State. But does not the entire fulfilment of th eastduty include one important exercise of the power of
sical
the State to which our author has not alluded
ning and which should come in place of his plan capital punishment ! I refer to the establishment of place of secure detention, with an apparatus of mean adapted to accomplish the reformation of criminals.

To "confront perfidy with peril" is not the w of justice. The crime and the criminal may have many mitigating circumstances, and of these justice as prevent the repetition of the offence, for the sak of the community. To kill even the worst of crimi-nals, on mere conviction of the fact, without inquiry how he first fell into guilt, and how he might possi-bly be yet reclaimed, would be very gross injustice. Even allowing aggravated guilt to be disposition to persevere in it also proved, punishmen is not necessarily the main duty of the community The disposition to treat a man as badly as he deserve is quite as nearly akin to vice as to virtue. Circur stances in the history of this very man may show him to be far more sinned against than sinning Justice is bound to investigate these circumstances much as to prevent a repetition of the offence; and und to make a prolonged trial of the ef fect of forcible seclusion from evil companionship, and the influence of appropriate medico-moral treat-ment, if thus possibly the bad man may be changed

to a good man, before proceeding to harsher measure.

Is it denied that such reformation can be effect upon the class of men and women in question? Is it further denied that they can be arrested and placed in the house of reformation without\* the use of in rious force? I reply, no government has ever tempted the latter at all, and the former has been tried only in a very imperfect and unsatisfactory manner Men can generally accomplish what they persistently determine upon, and labor for, especially when they have the resources of a State to work with. Until these two things have been faithfully tried, no one is authorized to declare them visionary or impossi-

Our author next comes to the very essence

kernel of the matter.

9. Perhaps the final entrenchment of the upholders of peace is found in the doctrine that ev should not be rendered for evil; that good should be rendered for evil, and enmity met only with love.

And this is conceded to be very clear—that "the good man will do good, and not evil: not evil, but good to all men, and under all circumstances."

I am perfectly satisfied with this concession. I ask no more than that our author shall hold to it. But he proceeds to ask—"What is doing evil? To con-front perfidy with peril, is that evil? To apply the great laws of retribution, is this a doing of evil?" I reply, the deeds here specified are needful and sal-utary when they are done justly, and done by the au-

and full application of " the great laws of retribution is something as much beyond the province as beyond the power of man. Who can certainly know how much peril to allot to how much perildy. Are we the hands of the Supreme Judge † Since the records of the best intentioned Courts have shown so many instances of error, perhaps our efforts had better be directed to the prevention of future evil, by the re straint and reform of criminals rather than to the infliction of punishment (especially irrevocable pun-ishment) for past evil. God will assuredly take care

State to its victous members, I cordially agree:—
"The highest service that we can ever render a human being is so to breed and incite him to virtue, that flagitious thoughts shall be foreign from his heart; next to this, the highest service lies in so bringing home good considerations to one's mind, as to disauade him from carrying into act an evil innest, though it have been harbored in his bosom; but these being excluded, the only remaining service consists in opposing with impassable barriers a wicked will, to which considerations of reason and right are no barrier."

no barrier."

When the writer adds to the foregoing that, in the last resort, the criminal should be killed rather than suffered to prey upon society, I must dissent; and I offer as a substitute this: that the whole power of the State should be applied to the work of placing him under restraint, secluding him from evil indusences and bringing good influences to bear upon him; and that this restraint, sectusion and beneficent tutorship

dea (above referred to) of some opposers of war pital punishment, is not that human life cannot retirely but that he is guilty who purposely deeither his own life or another's. The man lished by R. F. Walleut, 221 Washington street.

antil the State can return a good church munity from which it took away a bad on to me that this system would not only in the any given period, far more than ne. It se to me mat this syty, in any given period, far more
ty, in any given period, far more
one, but that all the improvement made would tentowards permanence, and would increase, in successive periods, in a geometrical ratio; constantly acsive periods, in a geometrical ratio; constantly accomplishing more and more permanent good; conless number of criminals for the pro-

10. Our autor manualy materials ap & the distinction of the position, and attempts next to show that the killing of a criminal who seems desperately and impersuasibly bent upon crime is an act of love, not to the community only, but to Aim. I think he utterly falls in that attempt. But, supposing him to have proved it, the love shown to the criminal by my subbed, is at common property of the provided in the th method is at once more obvious and more fruitful.

For its tendency will be towards the reform of all;
and if faithfully and perseveringly tried, it can scarcely fail to restore some, even of those who seemed most hardened and hopeless, to be worthy and useful members of society. And if this is true, the deliber-ate killing of a prisoner who lies bound and helpless in the hands of the State, without extended attempt in the names of the State, which extended with a this restoration, will appear nothing short of murder. And I see not how one who (like our author) has demanded absolute justice, and counselled extremest forbearance, can counsel the killing of a criminal who is already under restraint, and prevented from doing further harm, instead of proposing his permanent restraint, with or without the attempt at his

Moreover, if the killing of a man desperately and benefit to him, why should not this service be rendered him by some individual friend, or by any person be-nevolently disposed, who understands the criminal's character and necessity! Is the State to monopolize the bestowal of benefits! Must we summon Sheriff Judge and Jury before we can confer a favor upon on who stands in urgent need of it? And sgain, must the individual philanthropist postpone the bestowal of the great favor in question until his failure to be now it risks the loss of his own life?

it risks the loss of his own life!

The portion of the Examiner's articlo which treats of the distinction between a living and a dead peace—which insists that purity, justice and freedom rightfully take precedence of outward peace, and are to be ed even if that be sacrificed-and which stigmatizes as unworthy, treacherous and contempti-ble, any Peace Society which should disregard these distinctions, is thoroughly admirable and excellent It justly declares that, for us, in this nation, a war turned against slavery would be far better than a continued allowance of the tyranny of the slaveholder Heartily agreeing to this, I yet say that there was a better than either, which we should have

11. Our author next proceeds to claim for war a u ful preventive function; to claim that possible war is the gage of actual peace; and that 'the alternative Right or Fight secures right, and saves from the necessity of fighting."

The hardihood of this assertion, in view of the his tory of wars between nations, in view of the causes and the results of such wars, and in view of our ex-perience of the tendency of elaborate preparation for war, is no less than amazing. I utterly deny both parts of the assertion above quoted.

If powerful nations were always in the right in

their controversies with weaker ones, that statement would come a little nearer being true. But where there is much disparity of force, the powerful nation that offers war is almost always in the wrong; its de-mand therefore is—Submit to Wrong, or Fight. If the weak nation has spirit or sound principle enough to refuse such submission, it replies—Right, or Fight; and it fights and is heaten. Success is on the side of the strongest battalions, entirely irrespective of justice. Did the Seminole Indians beat us? Did the Mexicans beat us 1 Right is generally overthrown and trampled down in unequal wars. And to say that elaborate and systematic preparation for war secures peace between nations of equal strength, is much like asserting that the Southern habit of going armed with bowie-knife and revolver promotes quietness, good order, courtesy, and respect for the rights of others ommunity. Both assertions are alike prepos-

It is nevertheless true, as our author says, that "s nation is a nation only as it is religiously banded and bound to support a social order against all assault." It is true, as he further says, that right and justice are to be preserved by the ministry of "Terror serving love and guided by reason." And it is true again, as he well remarks, that "if love and reason will enif they refuse, terror will become the soldier of con-fusion." Yet these truths do not imply the rightfulness or the advantage of the abominable thing called war. The nation is bound to undertake the preserva-tion of social order, the vindication of justice, and the suppression of crime; and it may rightfully enlis bent to the solution of the question-with what leas amount of terror and violence can these important works be done; and at what point do the imperative voices of justice and right forbid us to use them fur ther? For there does come a time, now not less than in the first years of Christianity, when the advocate of right and truth finds himself hedged up from act ing, and when, for the time, he must reconcile himself to suffer, finding no right means by which either to evade or overcome the assailant.

The precise definition of the limits of a justifiable riolance and terror in the service of love is Because it is so difficult, I ask for it the deepest consideration of the profo wisdom of the nation. My own conviction is, that the use of these means should stop short of injury to the offender. Render him good, and only good, for his evil. This good may be in the form of very unpalatable medicine. All that I demand is, that it shall be actually designed, and actually suited, to effect his him as a man and a brother be not disregarded or ignored; and that the prodigal son be pitted and helped as a son, in all methods suited to bring him to a betas a son, in all methods suited to bring him to a bet-ter mind, even before he has spontaneously "come to himself." If the whole wisdom and power of the State, applied to the work of devising and accomplishing such reformation, can effect it upon even a proportion of the malefactors who are now merely proportion of the malefactors who are now merely punished, it would be a most honorable and advantage such means would triumphantly vindicate them, in the mind of every reasonable man, as far superior to our present system.

In like manner, since it is difficult to see how an offensive war is to be met without the use of just such barbarous and brutal methods of operation as the assailant uses, I would have the highest wisdom and goodness of the State applied to the solution of this question. In private life, the wise man does not fight, though in the course of his life he comes in contact with various insolent and injurious persons. He finds some better way, even when his antagonist finds some better way, even when his antagonist wishes to fight, and offers him various provocations to that end. What I say is, that this better way can be found by nations also, if they will set themselves to the inquiry. I hold it to be one of the most important duties of wise and thoughtful men, and especially of those intrusted with the government of nations, to make such inquiry. And I am sure the time will come when the wars, and the elaborate preparations for war, of the present age, will be classed, in point of folly and wickedness, with the old "ordeal by battle," and with the Southern duels of the present day, the attempts of two men to slaughter each other, with pistol and bowie-knife, upon "a point of honor."

time as long as it seems needful; that is, member that battle, whether between nations or indi-tage can return a good citizen to that comctorious. Battle no more secures tion for war averts war. Our wr like most writers in defence of w

han facts will wear, weighed its good.

When the Non-Resistant fails, deliberately declining to save himself by the return of evil for evil, he has not made so utter a failure as the warrior supposes. He is the inheritor of that promise—"He that will lost the inheritor of that promise—"He that will lost the inheritor of the same shall save it." I that declaration of a wise and brave man of old, that we may be "more than conquerors" after tribulation, and distress, and persecution, and famine, and nakedness. and peril, and sword, have done their worst upon us?

Death is not necessarily a failure; and one of the most obviously proper times to die is when life cannot continue without some unjustifiable action or omission. An important part of our business in this world is manfully to take the risks of fight acting, and of vielts refraining. right refraining.

Finally, the frank concessions of our author re specting the moral qualities by which war itself is to be restrained, if reduced to practice, would render im-possible the existence and action of any such army as now exists, of any army such as those that have hitherto made war, and of almost all the movements and methods now considered appropriate to war.

First among the duties of a State he reckons to First among the duties of a State ne receaus to see a precious estimation of justice, freedom, and the honor and innocentee of man and woman."—p. 9.

He declares that a right war, as well as the true peace, must be that "where justice prevails"— "where its supremacy is undisputed."—p. 15—And the thing which he deems so indispensable that a nation may even go to war for it is "intelligent com-

munion in justice."—p. 16.

His accepted national compact is—"We twoscore, or twoscore thousand, will uphold the law of reason and justice. . . . It shall be binding."—p. 18.—
What he upholds is "the honorableness and sacredness of war in the vindication of justice."—p. 20.

As to the persons who are rightfully to be assailed n war, he says-" Only the destroyer is to be visited

with destruction"; . . . "it is only the armed hand of injustice that justice with irresistible hand may nite."—p. 21.
"Finally, forbcarance is to be held in perpetual

honor."—p. 21.

Very well. Accepting these concessions as made in good faith, let us see what consequences inevitably from them to the army, and to the customary nethods of war.

If the war-making power restricts itself to n

just and honorable in raising an army, its recruiting officers will be forbidden, not only to impress men into their service, but to persuade them to enlist by delusive representations of the facts and probabilities of a soldier's life. A true representation of that life would deter most persons from entering upon it.
In like manner, if strict justice and honor are to

In like manner, if strict justice and honor are to rule the operations of the army after it is formed, the meanners of falsehood must be wholly avoided. No deceptions must be practised upon the enemy, no false representations made to keep up the spirits of the army.

Again, if justice, and the honor and innocence of the chizen-soldier are to be respected, the soldier must not be required to do any act which his conscience not be required to do any act which his conscience distinctly forbids. He has no more right to sin in the army than in the shop or on the farm; and his right must be conceded to say to his officer, "I cannot in conscience comply with this command." For the same reason, if, at any time, it becomes clear to him that the main purpose of the war is an unjust one, or if, in the prosecution of it, a part is assigned to him which he considers a direct violation of justice and right, the private, as well as the officer, must be allowed to resign and withdraw. Is an honest man, a humane man, a lover of justice and freedom, to be obliged to return men and women to slavery, or to refrain from helping them to freedom, because he is a soldier? Must be compelled to do any vicious act because he is a soldier? Yet military law commands implicit obedience, utterly irrespective of right and wrong. Shakspeare tells us

"It is the curse of kings to be attended
By slaves who take their humors for a warrant
To break within the bloody house of life;
And, on the winking of authority,
To understand a law."

The very thing that is here stamped as base in the parasite, is the thing imperatively required of the sol-dier. The act of culistment is the formal surrender of the soldier's conscience to whatever vulgar or vicious

man may chance to be his officer.

If only the destroyer is to be visited with, destruction, only the armed hand of injustice smitten, no injury must be done to those innocent men whom the enemy have compelled, against their carnest remon-strance and protestation, to march in their ranks, labor on their forts, or serve in their ships of war. And, above all, the fearful process of the bombardment of above all, the rearral process of the obnearation to towns, which mangles women and children, the aged and the sick, equally with the opposing officers and soldiers, must be repudiated with horror. It must be as carefully provided that shot and shell shall not hit the innocent, as that they shall hit the guilty. For the same reasons, in the reduction of a town by siege, no measures must be adopted which involve we-

siege, no measures must be adopted which involve we nen and children with soldiers in one common dis tress, such as the cutting off of water, or the keeping out of supplies of food, or the destruction of property,

or the stopping of letters.

If "forbearance is to be held in perpetual honor, ime and indulgence must be granted to the enemy when he demands it, a spirit of vindictiveness agains him must be sedulously discouraged, and any particu-lar injustice done him in the course of the war must

be immediately acknowledged and repaired.

These are but specimens of what honor, justice, for-bearance and a practical respect of the individual conment of an army, and in the prosecution of war. If the maintenance of these virtues (upon which our author has insisted as indispensable) be absolutely inauthor has insisted as indispensable) be absolutely in-compatible with war, which shall be relinquished? If a general disregard, and a frequent violation of moral rules—if despotic authority in the officer, and an utter ignoing of the soldier's reason and con-science—if a mingling of the innocent and guilty on the opposite side in one common destruction—if a sys-tematic stimulation of seal in support of one's own party, right or wrong, and of bitter resentment against the opposing party, right or wrong—if all these shal be found indispensable to success in war, does it no be found indispensable to success in war, does it not form an additional reason, profoundly momentous and important, for applying the highest wisdom of every nation to the search for some better method of adjusting national difficulties !—c. K. w.

CURE FOR FRONTED FERT. It is said that frozen feet can be speedily and certainly cured by being bathed and well rubbed with kerosene or coal oil for a few times at night before retiring to bed. Several persons have already tried it, all of whom unite in pronouncing it an effectual curre, which, if they are correct, is an easy and cheap mode of getting rid of a very sore and troublesome affliction. Those who have tried it inform us that the feet should be well warmed by a hot stove during and after application of the oil, and it will certainly effect a speedy cure. Persons antifering from the pain of frosted feet will no doubt do well in giving it a trial, for it is surely a very cheap ointment, and one which is very easily applied.

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of folly and wickedness, with the old "ordeal by battle," and with the Southern duels of the present day, the attempts of two men to slaughter each other, with pistol and bowie-knife, upon "a point of honor."

If Non-Resistance, the refusal to use injurious force, and thus return evil for evil, sometimes leaves the right defeated and the wrong victorious, we must re-

### MERITED TRIBUTES.

We copy the following critical notices from the la number of the Christian Examiner, which evince com-mendable candor and justness of appreciation in re-gard to the valuable publications referred to:—

gard to the valuable publications referred to :—

Under an appropriate and attractive title,\* the
American Anti-Slavery Society publishes a report
for the year ending May 1, 1860, which is already
of much value, and will gain in value as time passe.
It is a singularly clever and comprehensive resume
of the position of our great national controvery a
little prior to its passage into the present fiery phase.
Including, as the caption would lead one to expect,
a spirited account of the enterprise and death of
John Brown and his companions, and of the hypocritical hunt for treason, conducted by traitors, which
ensued, it embraces also instructive statements undecritical hunt for treason, conducted by traitors, which ensued, it embraces also instructive statements under many other heads, such as Kansas and Nebraska; Foreign Slave Trade; Domestic Slave Trade; Foreitve Slaves and Reseave Traits; Projects for New Slave States; Barbarism Rampant; Free Colored People; Congress; Action of States; The Church, &c. The Report must have been written by one who had long lived in the thick of this great contract. who had long lived in the thick of this great controversy, and grozen into an acquaintance with all it aspects. In character it may be described as standing about half-way between history and the newspaper, possessing in a good degree the accuracy of the one, with the detail, familiarity, and immediate interest of the other. To the future historian it will be invaluable. And any one will find it very interesting reading, who desires to study the existing contest, not as an accident, "a causeless war," but as a great passage in history, proceeding, as great feet in history always do, from antecedents that admitted of no other result. So far as moral justification is concerned, this is indeed "a causeless war," if ever one was; but considered as the prefuter of historical concerned, this is indeed "a causeless war," if ever one was; but considered as the product of historical forces, it was strictly inevitable. There are fewer accidents in history than one might fancy. Effects proceed from adequate causes. It is true, "tall from acorns. A lighted match will set a city on fire; but why? Because it is itself on fire, and so is an adequate cause for such effects.

Without intending to foreshadow any such result, this able report really does so. Whoever reads it in the light of passing events, will see that the preceding events were strictly preliminary to this. On either side the forces were marshaling. Here the reader will perceive the malignant ferment of slavery swelling against all its containing borders, rag-

y swelling against all its containing borders, rag-at restriction, certain to burst forth crelong. On other hand, he will see the love of freedom and justice, long murderously outraged and oppressed, also breaking through outward restraints, and issuing in the heroic failure of John Brown and his brave in the heroic lattice of some Brown and in state of followers. John Brown was the heart and conscience of the North flung before it in the fight, as the heart of Bruce was cast in advance of him by Donglas, ere he rushed to encounter the infidels. His attempt symbolizes the noble indignation, the hot love of justice, the dauntless courage, which in the besom of the North lay hidden under respect for usage and aversion to tumult and war.

the North lay hidden under respect for usage and aversion to tumult and war.

It is the more desirable that such works as this should be read, because most of us but half appreciate our national position. Have modern times furnished a parallel case? Has any other nation had an evil so gigantic and so firmly imbedded to lift away? Has there been demanded of any other, in order to the achievement of national success, a sympathy so broad, a faith so energetic, a reverence for its own ideas and ideal nims so deep? Would a little dimness of eye or feebleness of heart involve elsewhere results so disastrous? When before has it been said to a nation, as this war is thundering in our ears, "You must do ideal justice to a race antipodal to your own, and that in opposition to every conceivable temptation, or you must perish "?

• The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year being the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the America Anti-Slavery Society. New York.

being the Twenty-Seventa annua.

Anti-Slavery Society. New York.

The able and candid Scotch missionary, Buyers, in his admirable work on India, asserts with great emphasis the identity of the moral sentiment of India with that of England. Hardly anything, he affirm, is recognized as vice or virtue in England, but is equally so recognized in India, and reprobated or commended accordingly. But the calamity is, he says, that the popular religion of Hindostan does not support, or supports very imperfectly, its moral feeling and judgment. It is now a very grave question how far the same complaint would be just against the popular religion of our own land. There are immense establishments, sustained at great cost, for sending missionaries to other countries; but what do these missionaries bear with them? Do they carry a divine ethics, duly enshrined, or is it only another substitute for purity and spirituality? Those who are interested to obtain a true answer to this question,—and surely there are many whom it pointedly concerns,—should read the little book of Mr. Whiption,—and surely there are many whom it pointedly concerns,—should read the little book of Mr. Whipple. It may make them sadder, but can only do

ple. It may make them wiser men.

Mr. Whipple's is a book of facts and citations, with comparatively little of comment. With great industry he has traced out the relation of one great moral question,—of with comparatively fittle or connient. This gives industry he has traced out the relation of one great missionary Board to one great moral question,—of course finding all moral questions incidentally involved. He writes earnestly, but not uncharitably; with something of the ethical rigor characteristic of men who have extreme energy of conscience and clearness of understanding, but less of imagination flexibility, and. interpretative sympathy, yet with entire fairness; and he is inspired by a noble homage to justice, and a frank, though not exclamatory indignation against inhumanity and trickery, which must be acceptable to all honest men.

Some of the facts he adduces are not exhilarating; but all the more they ought to be known,—especially as the Board seem guilty of disingenuous coxcealments. And we mistake if he who reads these pages does not obtain some help toward the conclusion, that there is room for one denomination of Christians in America, whose position openly is, that men are to be saved hereafter by being saved from injustice, impurity, and all unmanliness and all ungodliness here.

Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for

Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery. By CHARLES K. WHIPPLE Boston: K. F. Wallent. 1861.

If the ultimate success of a reform depend upon the ability and fidelity of its advocates, the cause of "Woman's Rights" is on the high road to a triumphant consummation. Mrs. Dall, whose former admirable works—"Woman's Right to Labor" and "A Practical Illustration of Woman's Right to Labor"—have received our attention, offers a third book, which, touching as it does the root and foundation of the whole matter, might well have been the tion of the whole matter, might well have been the pioneer in her crossade against "man's inhumanity to." woman. As with her former works, the strength of this is in the abundance and conclusiveness of it facts, which have been collected with indetaigable industry, and are presented in all their native ogliness of outline. No intelligent man can read the copious extracts from the English Common Law and United States Law relating to women, without arriving at one of two conclusions—either that the me who made the laws have acted the part of tyrants, or that women are essentially inferior to men, and must be subject to the restraints of incompetent minority. tion of the

or that women are essentially inserior to men, and must be subject to the restraints of incompetent minority.

In the majority of statutes relating to properly, no argument is needed to convince any fair man of their injustice, beyond a simple statement of the law, and the presentation of a case falling under it.

With regard to the laws debarring women from office, and from voting, Mrs. Dall urges that their advocates entirely fall to make out a case. All the customary objections to their repeal she meets with frankness, and arguments which have at least the merit of being difficult to answer. She claims that the presence of women in the halls of legislation and at the polls would tend to purify those assemblies; that never till women are included on juries will a woman accused of crime be tried by her peers; that the preuniar qualities of the female mind are requisite to complement those of man in all the multiples affairs of business, political and social life; that men and mankind lose greatly by an arbitrary limitation of woman's "sphere." We cordially commend the book for the importance of its subject matter, its wealth of material and fact, its straightforward earnestness of purpose, its purity of style, and, not least, for its freedom from some unpleasant idiosyncrasics, pardonable, indeed, but which marked and marred the execution of its predecessors. It has also the rare quality of eliciting from the reader a regret that there is not more of it.

Woman's Rights under the Law. In three Lectures delivered in Boston, January, 1861. By Mrs. C. H. Dalla-Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 16mo. pp. 164.