#### EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

-AT-

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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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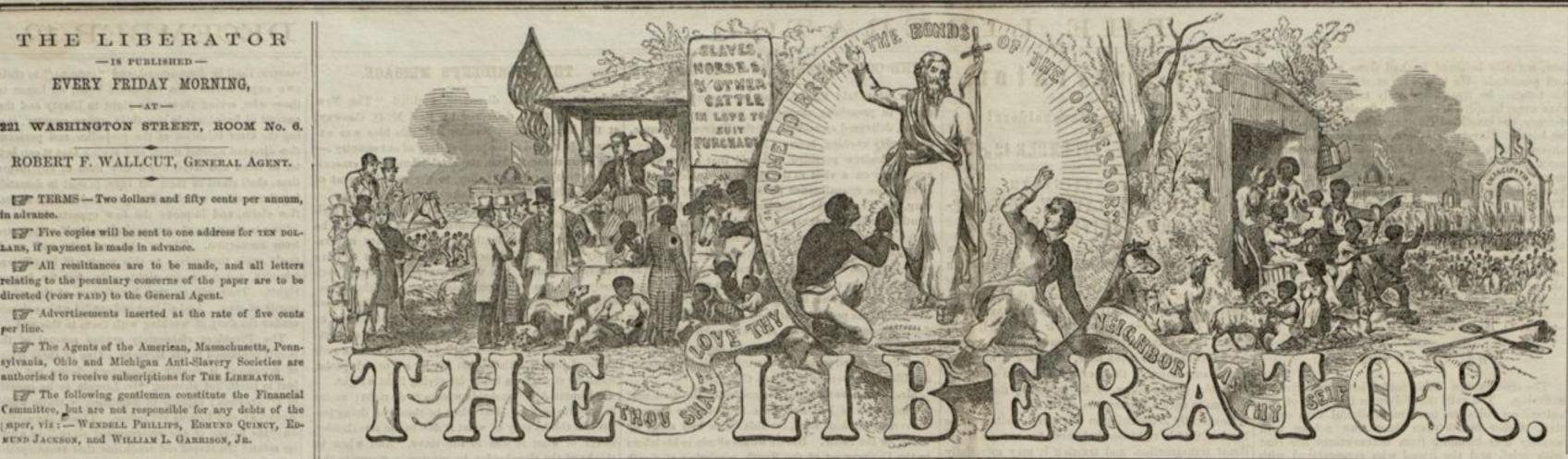
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MUND JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

W L L OY ) GARRISON, Editor.

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"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all munic-

ipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST;

and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF

THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-

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

CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers

of Congness extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED

WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-

stroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to

a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war

power; and when your country is actually in war, whether

it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress

has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, AC-

conding to the Laws or wan ; and by the laws of war,

an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-

tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE

PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial

array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-

cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."-J. Q. ADARE.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1862.

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

## WHOLE NO. 1662.

# Refuge of Oppression.

A TORY VIEW OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS. In Blackwood's (Tory) Magazine, for November, there is an article on "The Crisis of the American War," of which the following is a specimen :-

The past month has brought us to the veritable crisis of the great civil war in America. Brought to bay upon their own soil, the Federals in desperation have invoked to their aid the unutterable horrors of a servile war. With their armies baffled and beaten, and with the standards of the rebel army again within sight of Washington, the President has at length owned the impossibility of success in fair warfare, and seeks to paralyse the victorious armies of the South by letting loose upon their hearths and homes the lust and savagery of four million negroes. The die is cast. Henceforth it is a war of extermination. The North seeks to make of the South a desert-a wilderness of bloodshed and misery; for thus only, now, does it or can it hope to overcome the secessing confederacy. Monstrous, reckless, and the enemies will as the project is, we believe it will not sucpoint of the war. It shows that the North has shot its last bolt,-the effects of which we do not yet see, but beyond which there is no other. It proves what every one in this country was loth to believe, that rather than let the Southern States be independent, rather than lose their trade and custom, the North would league itself with Beelzebub, and seek to make a hell of half a continent. In return, this atrocious act justifies the South in hoisting the black flag, and in proclaiming a war without quarter against the Yankee hosts. And thus, within the bosom of civilization, we are called upon to contemplate a war more full of horrors and wickedness than any which stands recorded in the world's history.

At present the rival armies of the North and South stand arrayed against each other on the banks of the Potomac. They hold nearly the same position as they did at the opening of the war, before the battle of Manassas; but strategically the position of the Southern army is somewhat better, and morally and politically it has gained immensely in the interval. It has gained several great victories, and has not been worsted in a single pitched battle. It has rolled back the tide of invasion, overwhelming the invading armies in horrible disaster. It has even made a raid into Maryland, and now stands ready to close again with the invader whenever he shall attempt to renew his advance.

In the immediate effects, and so far as regards the position of the President, the Proclamation has been a success. The tub has been thrown to the whale. The Northerners can no longer account for their reverses by imputing them to the half-measures of the Government. It is extraordinary the amount of ferocity which exists among the population of the Northern States, especially among the Puritans of the New England States. The clergy, who are entirely dependent on their congregations, show themselves on this, as on former occasions, ready to pander to the worst passions of the people, and even take the lead in expressions of ferocity.

One might well be at a loss to understand the inhuman zeal which gives vent to such sentiments. The desire to uphold the Union will not explain it. Doubtless every Yankee would prefer to belong to a State which, in his own estimation at least, could "whip all creation." That is the only condition of existence which allows of his indulging in the unlimited impudence and braggadocio which have become part of his nature. But does any one who knows the Yankees imagine that they would sacrifice millions and millions of dollars for the sake of upholding an abstract advantage such as the Union? They do not care a straw for the Constitution: they have sacrificed both legality and liberty long ago, and without a murmur. Just as little do they care for the Union as a mere political arrangement. But the Union means far more than this. At first it meant a continued monopoly of the trade of the South: now it means the very existence of the North itself. It is an utter mistake to think that it is the South alone which is fighting for existence. The North is now in the same predicament. It was not so at first, but it has drifted into that position by the gradual operation of its own acts. First of all, and as at the outset, if separation takes place, New York will cease to be the entrepôt of the Southern trade. The "Empire City," which has grown fat on that trade, will dwindle-will become stationary or actually decline; while Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans will go ahead. The first act of barbarism, the choking up of the harbor of Charleston with stone-laden vessels, showed the bitter jealousy of the existence of a rival port in the South. New York must come down from its high place, half of its merchants will be beggars, if the South takes its trade his interferences with McClellan have endangered graves, on the Potomac, in that winter encampwhose fall is thus threatened? It is the centre of the North; it is the centre of nearly all the available wealth and ready shippers of the "almighty dollar." They give their worthy of his position? When he assumed power, ing their tents on the Potomac, marched them on the to seek other channels, they will rather see the South | There is a fatal slowness in all the public depart-

ism, and the other extreme measures which find changes must be made. May God save the Repub- were routed and demoralized, and that he should people. The small minority of which we speak can- in internal blunderers.—Boston (Catholic) Pilot. not be spoken of as the Democratic party; for the old Democratic party has almost disappeared; and, uneither in action or in speech, be discriminated from the majority who clamor for extreme measures. But it consists of Democrats whose old creed is now strengthened in their esteem by the concurrence of ous a man to be left at the head of a great army was repulsed, and the enemy's retreat secured. self-interest. The party is not entirely coofined to within a few days' march of the capital. What if, Gen. McClellan, the commander of an invading New York, but it is only in that city that it as yet gives relying on the good will of the soldiers and the army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, proof of its vitality. The views of this party are in favor of the prosecution of the war, but they are Washington, expel the incapable cabinet, and conthe Government that he would "try to hold the eneopposed to any measures calculated to destroy the duct or conclude the war on the principles of his my in check "-an enemy not half his own force, productiveness of the South, or to exasperate the own party? Such things have been known even in and just before routed, panic-stricken, and pushed feud beyond all hope of ultimate reconciliation. republics, and though McClellan's fault is excessive to the wall. He telegraphed an ignorant account of They are madly in favor of the Union, but they will caution, yet it is impossible to tell what a soldier the battle, doing gross injustice to the troops and accept the Union, or rather re-union, upon any terms. with great power in his hands, goaded by the attacks officers who did the fighting. by giving the chief In this war, commanders have had credit for latent Probably the people who remained upon these

them back the Union, in order that New York may still be the emporium of the South. They have hitherto clung to the belief that, even though the South triumph, there would be no separation. With an eye to such an issue, they were willing to recognize slavery, and enact Fugitive Slave Laws more stringent than ever. But the President's Proclamapossible on the part of the North concessions to the to the test of results which the ordinary mind can

policy of the North has been slowly approximating our resources.

port that independence by a demonstration of force, crans, came in and surrendered.

# THE SLOWNESS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

receded since that officer was sent home; and from the great patriotic Northern hive, and exalted him pacity of the commander. actual appearances, there will be no decisive bat- as the "creator" of such spirit and power. out; he circumvents our plans by plans that are better; and though we centuble him in all kinds of better; and though we centuble him in all kinds of was McClellan's first demonstration of generalship supplies, it is more than a probability that he has triumphantly eluded us for the present. We gave The Burnside expedition to take Manassas in the sions. honest intentions in him to bring the war to an plished adequate to so costly an expedition, he was demoralized and panic-stricken, his victory complete, support of themselves and families. In the operathere is much legitimate room for fear that the lon- Chief. The army of the Potomac was exposed to and panic-stricken condition, and said he would try laborers, teamsters, hostlers, in the landing and shipif the South is to go free, and if Southern trade is conducted, the prospect is exceedingly gloomy. dent then divided it into corps, and appointed the ling as rapidly as the men can move." Yet four days and lessen the burdens of our people. a desert, than other cities rising into rivalry with ments. The interests of faction seem to have pre-New York, with the gains which formerly poured dominated over the interests of the public. There of an army of 120,000 men between himself and is one remedy-the public indignation. Indignation the enemy. After months expended in this, he sat As usual in republican America, the tyranny of tion of that class is fermenting profoundly. Let it down at Yorktown for a small force of the enemy the majority allows little scope for the expression of break out from every man's tongue, and the nation to grow great, and inconsiderable intrenchments to the river. We may safely claim a victory." opposite opinions. Nevertheless, there is a section or party in the North who are opposed to abolition-

mous London Times wildly and absurdly says :-

South, without which there can be no reunion.

This party appears resolved to try its strength at command of the army of the Potomac, during the by divisions. The enemy had it all their own way. the approaching elections for the State of New greater part of which he controlled the entire mili-In order to propitiate the South, and retain its old enough to justify the nation in judging him by the force of the enemy was first precipitated on the un-In order to propitiate the South, and retain its old commercial preëminence, it is not improbable that, amongst the troubles consequent upon this war, we may see New York set up "on its own hook," and declare itself a free city—a Hamburg of the West—given to the rebel Confederacy the prestige of milidisowning all allegiance, repudiating all antipathy, and establishing itself as an independent power on "purely commercial principles!"

given to the rebel Confederacy the prestige of military impotence. And "purely commercial principles!"

the subordinate commanders was attributed to the subordinate commanders, who made it unavailing. He telegraphed and stablishing itself as an independent power on disgracing a division which had borne the brunt of disgracing a division which had borne the brunt of the subordinate commanders was attributed to the subordi purely commercial principles!"

tion of an appearance of military impotence. And disgracing a division which had borne the brunt of the fight, and dating his dispatch "On the battleThe a moral point of view, there cannot be two the national destruction, inevitable from a continThe fight, and difficult to get volt to leave Port Royal for other depots.

A population of four millions, true to leave Port Royal for other depots.

A population of four millions, true to leave Port Royal for other depots. opinions in this country as to the President's Procla- uance of such military failures, has been accelerated field," when the enemy were in possession of it, and was, and is, a defender of McClellan.

of the South as an independent State, without tak- The attack on Rich Mountain was made by General the terrible battle of Mulvern Hill, on which the exing any steps to put an end to the war, would be of Rosecrans on a plan proposed by himself to take the istence of his army hung, was left to the subordithus making an enemy without gaining a friend. ed and defeated the enemy's rear guard. The sound ed the issue.

Selections.

THE VERDIOT OF EVENTS.

each Power separately feels, by agreeing to under- whose infirmity of disposition made him hostile to carrying off all their material. aids, and rode through the streets surrounded by a career he was cut off.

tle for the next nine months. Burnside has much The restiveness of the people, under the delay, er are corroborative evidence of capacity. General of the confidence of the army; he has experience; was quieted by the constant promise of action, and McClellan's addresses to his army surpass Chinese he has ambition to outstrip every thing that has yet by the iterated announcement that the army was military literature in making himself terrible by ment upon which, under the law of 17th July, probeen done; and the unable, unpopular, unfortunate Abraham Lincoln and his Cabinet of politicians, the Ball's Bluff slaughter, which, with McCall's rible address to his army after taking the vacant charge of such persons is chiefly imposed, has not writhing under the public indignation, are doing division of ten thousand men, only ten miles off, Manassas, must conclude that we are a peculiar peoing himself with great spirit in the time his sagaci- thousand of the enemy. McCall, who was on the he is about to do and has done. The remarkable operations has thus far suffered from a scant, rather ty wrenches from the hands of the Washington Ad- Virginia side, in a situation to have cut off Leesburg. dispatch from Western Virginia we have alluded to. than from too great a supply of such labor. In ministration; his winter quarters are already struck was ordered to the right about, and all their forces It astonished all who knew the circumstances. And Louisiana, where, at one time, there were apprehen-

any belief at all that he was a splendid statesman, but sistent appeals to the President, and was sent to own, and the slaughter the result. From Manassas work of the Quartermaster's Department, and in rebellion would die of itself from the idea that he had some intellect exclusively North Carolina. Gen. Burnside protested; and, he dispatched a panie-stricken retreat of the enemy. cultivating some thousands of acres of the sea islands belonging to himself, and from undoubted signs of conscious that no results could there be accom- From Yorktown he dispatched that the enemy was of the coast, the products of which are used in the immediate end. But we have been changed; the careful, in his report, to emphasize the fact that all and he should push the enemy to the wall. From tions of the army on the James river, and upon the Chief Magistrate is not realizing all our hopes; he had done was on the plan of the Commander-in- Williamsburg he telegraphed his own demoralized Potomac, in the tortifications of Washington, and as played on every occasion, and against every disger he remains in office, the worse for the nation. unnecessary hardships, in the winter, to delude pub- to defend himself. He has never been near enough ping of stores, they have been of great service; and

der the pressure of the times, the mass of it cannot, the recent State elections in this country, the infa- McClellan refused to allow Hooker to be re-enforce-

shipboard, he failed to intercept the retreat, or ha- be established by some other proof.

tion of Emancipation has well nigh demolished their test of results. However much it may intrench it- suit. The retreating army went off victorious and been committed to such a man for a year, while, in hopes, by embittering the contest beyond the possi- self behind professional mysteries, above the combility of reconciliation, and also by rendering im- prehension of the masses, it must eventually submit to hold them in check, if they turned upon him. the rapids to the abyss. What horrible nightmare to the test of results which the ordinary mind can judge. The eighteen months of Gen. McClellan's hominy, where it sat down helpless, to be destroyed ties? The responsibility reaches beyond this imtary power of the government, have been time only to be abandoned when attacked. An inferior became apparent, the swift eulogies which hailed his of supplies, now at New York, to Hilton Head or

But the case would be far otherwise if our Govern- of the firing was heard by McClellan's troops, but On James River, Gen. McClellan was impotent But the most melancholy feature of the newsment were to act in this instance in the same man- he did not move. The next day, at nearly noon, for attack, and liable to be cut off from his supplies paper support of this terrible failure—because the ner as they did in the case of Greece and Belgium he arrived on the ground. Garnett had precipitate- by a blockade of the river. He wished to return, weakest—is that which arose purely from newspaper by the producer for what he needs. Their wants -that is to say, if they were to resolve not only to recognize the independence of the South, but to sup-Pope by a prompt march, but waited for him to be a just view of him. It is calculated to give human-The case has now become most urgent. For not A subordinate officer in McClellan's place would sacrificed. Gen. Pope's defeat by McClellan's ity sufficient humility to see such motives, in such a only does international law justify our recognition of have been cashiered for failing to co-operate accordthe Southern Confederacy, but humanity demands ing to the plan of the battle. Gen. McClellan tele- mand. He took a circuit around Lee, leaving the transcend the ordinary weakness of mankind. that we should take measures to put an end to so graphed that remarkable dispatch, claiming the vic- way open for his withdrawal, and delaying his The removal of General McClellan is the turning horrible a war. No doubt it would be a delicate tory, and exaggerating it, and asserting that he had march until Harper's Ferry, the key of the situation, of a course which tended inevitably to national dematter, and a matter also of doubtful policy, for liberated Western Virginia. Ever since that, he had fallen into the enemy's hands. At Antietam struction. It removes a horrible incubus from the England to intervene alone. But intervention of has been hostile to Morris and Rosecrans. The false he kept his reserves out of the battle, and prevented national energies. It shuts up a growing chasm some kind is now urgently demanded. And if the glitter of this dispatch, set in the dark background his Generals from achieving a victory. He reported which was swallowing the resources and patriotic Great Powers of Europe-or at least England, Rus- of the Bull Run disaster, which involved most of our that he was vigorously pursuing the enemy, and sacrifices of the people. No act that the President

ization, humanity, and mankind at large, and would show a better example of a "Holy Alliance" than the regular drill of the camp built up a great army, any which yet stands recorded in the pages of his- of which he was called the creator. He established is shown to be false. When he finally did move, it earnestness in subduing the rebellion shall be an inhimself in magnificent state, with a staff of forty was at the rate of a day's march in a week. In this dispensable prerequisite for military command.—

cortege more pretentious than an emperor's; and These are the chief features of Gen. McClellan's correspondents wrote that he was constantly in his military performance. We only allude to events, General McClellan was removed for slowness in saddle, creating his army. They looked upon the leaving the expression of feeling to the reader. On advancing his army to Richmond. But things have regiments as they swarmed into Washington from these results the public has a right to judge the ca-

The dispatches and general orders of a commandamong us, whose genius was equal to such preten- to Berwick's Bay opens up a territory in which

later no advance had been made, and he then tele- No aphorism is more universally received, than graphed: "Last night the enemy abandoned his that "the sole object of a just war is to make the position, leaving his dead and wounded on the field. enemy feel the evils of his injustice, and by his suf-We are again in pursuit. I do not know whether ferings amend his ways, he must therefore be at- States. he is falling back to an interior position or crossing tacked in his most accessible quarter." The power

After his four days' vigorous pursuit of the routed, labor, which keeps laborers on their plantations to demoralized, panic-stricken enemy, he telegraphed support owners who are devoting their time and that they had withdrawn from the battle-field in the strength to destroy our armies and destroy our Gov- Extract from the Rev. Dr. Putnam's Thanksgiving Sermon. favor with the Government and the majority of the lie! It is not more unfortunate in external foes than "push the enemy to the wall." His advance, under night, and he knew not where they had gone, but as ernment. Whenever that system is in hostility to Hooker, pursued and overtook the enemy, and, fol- they were gone he might safely claim a victory, the Government, it is, in my opinion, the duty of lowing the military maxim to always attack a re- which it seems was doubtful until the enemy's inten- those conducting the war to strike down the system, treating enemy, it went in, regardless of numbers, tions were known. On the same day he sent the and turn against the rebels the productive power Alluding to the seeming Democratic gains at knowing that a great army was following. Gen. remarkable dispatch: "Pleasanton is driving the that upholds the insurrection. Rightly organized enemy across the river. Our victory was complete. in the recovered territory, the laborers of the rebel mous London Times wildly and absurdly says:—

ed, and held, by his orders, thirty thousand men

"McClellan from that moment became too danger
within sound of the battle, by which his advance and Pennsylvania are now safe."

With uninten
tions, but their labor will, as in India, free the white tional candor he makes his victory to hang in the soldier from the most unwholesome exposure of the balance until he ascertained the intentions of the South. They will cultivate the corn and forage, enemy. If they intended to leave, he intended to which will feed our cavalry and artillery horses, and advance, and if four days after the battle they re- save the country a portion of the enormous burden rebellion and secession. The country must be cut tired, his victory was complete. Are these the dis- now attending their purchase and transport from in twain; vast territories, won by the valor or purpatches of a military genius which becomes a young the North. This cultivation would have been of chased with the treasure of our forefathers, must be Napoleon without smelling gunpowder? Are they greater advantage to us on the southeastern coast surrendered at the challenge of armed traitors, and evidences of military or any other ability, unless it than even that of the great staple of the Sea become foreign. Our national highways ours by be with that aboriginal weapon—the longbow? Islands.

ing that the South should conquer them. Only give friends, might attempt at the crisis of a great war." modify when he had informed himself. As the en-

emy continued their retreat, he did not persist in statement. That a general is treacherous to the holding them in check, but followed re pectfully. cause he pretends to fight for is no evidence that he South. The full ration for a horse weighs twenty-With the command of the river and a division on has either military capacity or courage. Taese must six pounds, that of a soldier three pounds.

rass it by pursuit. Retreats, regarded by military It seems incredible that the destinies of this great No genius, art or science can set itself above the enemy, are safer from McClellan than his own pur-

ceed. But it at least marks the crisis and turningnegro insurrection is simply intamous. In a point of view, we regard it as the greatest mis- building up the rebellion into respectability, and His generalship only held the army to be sacri- whose course has been a continual failure. But such once recovered. The principal staples of the South take which the North has committed. True, the prostrating the Government by the fearful waste of ficed. It has always, with superior numbers, exposed an inferior force to attack. The retreat to and loyal public opinion, and it operated to fasten tected upon the lands they have heretofore cultito this result; it is a natural climax to the mad The event justifies a review of the generalship James river sacrificed the splendid equipment of this terrible imbecility on the country. Even the vated, with some organization, and with support policy which has animated the North from the be- whose consequences threaten the national existence. The army, and showed the difficulty of retreatginning. It is the consummation of the mistakes of Gen. McClellan's campaign in Western Virginia was ing before an enterprising enemy. The abilithe North. Union in any shape is now doubly im- on a plan made by Gen. Morris before McClellan ty of the commanders of t possible. It remains to be seen, also, whether the took the field. He interposed long delay and a heroism of the troops repulsed the enemy's purplied up to sustain him. This was aided by cortemporary accord which the Proclamation has estab- greatness of preparation in striking contrast with the suit. About one-half of the army McClellan respondents of a treacherous press, sent into the thus occupied. lished in the North is not on the surface only, and enemy's force. He at last brought his army in comwhether the present lull of dissension will not give bined force to Laurel Hill and Rich Mountain, surwhether the present inn or dissension will not give battle: "McClellan was in the thickest of the enemy to cut the retreatway, ere long, to dissensions still more formidable. The peo-For England, singly, to give a formal recognition sible road for their escape toward the northeast. In ple bring forth their hoards, and of rallying the soldiers, and animating them by his ple bring forth their hoards, and offer them to the

> very little benefit to the South, and as a measure of enemy in the rear. McClellan was to attack in nate Generals. As soon as the advance reached the humanity would be of no use whatever. At the front. By a difficult march through by-paths, Rosesame time, it would give great offence to the North, crans reached the rear in the afternoon, and attack- on the gunboats, nine miles below, where he await-

sia, and France-would solve the difficulty which leading officers, and the favoritism of Gen. Scott, then waited four days for them to cross the river, could do would so revive the hopes of the people. Let us hope that the Executive effort which has dis-Cincinnati Gazette.

# IMPORTANT OFFICIAL TESTIMONY.

[Extracts from the Report of the Secretary of War.]

THE CONTRABANDS.

It will be seen that the Quartermaster's Departmany thousands can be profitably employed, if placed

seat of nearly an the available wealth and ready is seen that a force has been placed by the people and achieved successes. In March, the President is seen that a force has been placed by the people and achieved successes. In March, the President is seen that a force has been placed by the people and achieved successes. In March, the President is seen that a force has been placed by the people and achieved successes. In March, the President is seen that a force has been placed by the people and achieved successes. the State loans; but for them Mr. Chase might shut every man in the country thinks him unfit for his notified McClellan that a plan must be evolved, imup his office to-morrow. And who but they have place; and as there is a constitutional right for quest plying movement, or a removal would be made. Coinbeen foremost in equipping regiments, and offering tioning every thing he does, the privilege of impugn- cidently, the enemy evacuated Manassas. When that ditional feats of the longbow seem inconsiderable all the elements of warlike power than was ever bebeen foremost in equipping regiments, and offering bounties for recruits? Patriots?—they are but wor- ling him must be allowed. Will be do something was known, McClellan put 60,000 men in motion, leav- compared with such Napoleonic performances. Afmoney lavishly, in order that they may retain the the whole nation went for him. But he is condemn- vacant Manassas, and then left them to straggle ber 15th, that "the enemy is making for the river hand, to attack his armies and strong holds, to occupy source from which their money comes. They do not ed to-day by three-fourths of his countrymen, and back by divisions, suffering great hardships from the was "hurrying his ports, clear the great rivers of the West of his invincible, no enemy was ever so vulnerable, if the desire emancipation, nor a servile war; for that the remaining fourth are office-holders. This is just, want of shelter and of an organization for supplymeans the rain of their customers: but some of them He owes the people great things. Let him manifest ing sub-istence on the march. The fact was develassent to the Proclamation, in the hope that it may a capacity to discharge them, and the people will oped that the army had no organization for a camforce the South into submission, and others because give him the proper return. As things are now paign, and that the head was lacking. The Presi-

of the rebels rests upon their peculiar system of

If they cannot conquer the South, they are quite will- of his enemies and led on by the encouragement of his credit to the wrong troops. This he was obliged to military capacity on the score of their want of heart islands, within protection of our armies, could, under or interdict. Our river cities and the Capital itself

An army, well organized and equipped for active operations, with a due proportion of cavalry, artil-lery and baggage trains, will have not less than one horse or mule to every four soldiers; so that the weight of food for the animals is more than double that of the rations of the men.

How important an aid, how great an economy, in a long contest, therefore, would there be in raising by this cheap labor the greater part of the forage

A population of four millions, true to the interests of the Union, with slight assistance from the army,

rebels for sale or gift. Protect the laboring populaportion of the country we occupy, be transferred to us. As soon as the coast is thoroughly occupied, them to pay for what they use. A perfectly free trade may thus again grow up between the North and the South, and with greater or less rapidity it will spread over the whole country as our forces succeed in meeting and dispersing the rebel armies.

The greater part of the whole country which formerly produced the sea island cotton is now thoroughly restored to the Union. The laborers are there-the soil and climate. It needs only assurance of protection to revive the cultivation of the staple, as well as to produce vast quantities of corn and forage for our troops. Since this war must take a joint mediation, and, if necessary, interven- all the prominent officers, made McClellan Gene- He then waited a month before advancing against placed this fatal commander will rise to a determina- be conducted by marches and battles and sieges, tion, they would render an important service to civil- ral-in-Chief. The patriotism of the volunteers, the the enemy, over whom he had won a complete vicful, and their results permanent? It is worthy of notice that, thus far, the portions of territory which, once recovered, we have most firmly held, are precisely those in which the greatest proportion of colored men are found. By their assistance, our armies will be able permanently to operate in and occupy the country; and in labor for the army, in raising its and their own supplies, full occupation can be given them, and with this, there will be neither occasion nor temptation to them to emigrate to a northern and less congenial climate.

Judging by experience, no colored man will leave his home in the South, if protected in that home. All possibility of competition from negro labor in the North is avoided in giving colored men protection and employment upon the soil which they have thus far cultivated, and the right to which all in their power to push things to a successful ter- besides Stone's adequate force, he successful ter- besides Stone's adequate force, he successful termination. But the war lags; the enemy is recruit- ing Baker slaughtered by a force of less than six to tell the truth, and for puerile descriptions of what great territory has been permanently reduced without depriving the leaders of its people of their lands and property. It is these that give power and influence. Few men have commanding genius and talent to exercise dangerous influence over their fellow-men without the adventitious aid of money and property. By striking down this system of the President independent support for a good while; not because we approved of all his measures, or had

Under no circumstances has any disposition to servile insurrection been exhibited by the colored population in any Southern State, while a strong lovalty to the Federal Government has been discouragement. By the means suggested, rebellion may be disarmed and subdued, swiftly and effectually, and the lives of our own people saved fron slaughter on the battle-field. By the occupation of all their forts on the Mississippi and the sea-coast, a

of this continent, and bring it back to the Union, as loval States. So far from the Southern States being proposition for compensated emancipation and a voluntary return to loyalty be blindly rejected, still the proper application of the means at command of the Government cannot fail to accomplish the suppression of the rebellion, and a restoration of those peaceful relations which were designed to be established forever on this continent by the union of the EDWIN M. STANTON. Secretary of War.

THE PRICE OF PEACE.

We all want peace. We all wait and watch for it more than they that watch for the morning. But what peace? How? when? on what terms? There are some, I suppose, whose word is, or at least their thought and their wish is, peace by any means; peace at any price, instant peace, whatever shall come after it. Let us see what sort of peace they would get, and at what price.

The price of peace to-day would be a concession to all the demands of those who began the war with geography, by treaty, by use and necessity-must pass under alien control, and be subject to alien toll,

#### EXPRESSION OF FOREIGN SYMPATHY.

THE CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES. Address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having observed, with the deepest sorrow, the efforts which are being made to infuse into the minds of the people of this country sentiments friendly to slavery, feel it to be their duty to reiterate, and to commend to the serious consideration of their fellow-countrymen, the fundamental principle of the anti-slavery movement in England; that "slaveholding is a sin and a crime before God"; and, therefore, that unconditional emancipation, wherever slavery is maintained, is alone consistent with the Divine Law, and with the requirements of justice and

While the Committee believe that the efforts referred to have not yet pervaded the community at large, the tone and spirit of certain articles in a portion of the public press, the misrepresentation and perversion of facts, the biased addresses of many men of influence, all with the manifest tendency to bespeak favor for those who are contending for the extension and consolidation of slavery, and to disparage and discourage efforts directed to its extinction, impress the Committee with the painful conviction, that in some quarters a demoralizing effect has been pro-

The Committee deplore, and regard with profound grief, the fratricidal conflict between the two sections of the American Union; but, while anxious to avoid expressing any opinion likely to be construed into an approval of a war policy, they regard it as established beyond disproof, that the South was not only the aggressor, but designedly provoked an armed contest with the United States Government, with the express, sole object of founding a Confederacy to perpetuate slavery. On the other hand, the United States Government, embracing the political anti-slavery party of the North-commonly called the Republican partyhas initiated and carried into effect measures in furtherance of negro emancipation, which entitle it to the sympathy of all true friends of freedom. It has enforced the statutes against slave-trading, which former administrations, being pro-slavery, had allowed to become inoperative, and has prosecuted slavetraders to conviction and punishment; it has entered into a new anti-slave trade treaty with Great Britain, conceding a right of search which former Governments, overruled by the Southern party, had steadfastly refused; to promote the speedy settlement of the Territories, by a non-slaveholding population, it has enacted a Homestead Bill, giving a hundred and sixty acres of land to every immigrant, irrespective of his national origin; and, moreover, carrying into effect the policy of Jefferson, ratified by act of Congress in 1789, it has prohibited slavery forever in those Territories, upon which issue alone the Southern candidate for the Presidency was defeated at the election which immediately preceded the present rebellion; it has also abolished slavery in the District of Columbia; it has virtually repealed the Fugitive Slave Act, by prohibiting the rendition of slaves, escaping from the rebel States to the lines of the United States army, providing compensation on account of such as may belong to loyal citizens; it has recognized and entered into diplomatic relations with the Negro Republics of Liberia and Hayti; by the Confiscation Bill-considerately made non-retrospective - it, in effect, proclaimed emancipation to the slaves in the rebel States, within a specified period; a majority in Congress has ratified the President's plan of compensated emancipation for such Slave States as may elect to take advantage of it, and only recently, the President has announced that the details of the measure will be submitted to the next Congress, with a view to its immediate practical application; lastly, the President has lately issued a Proclamation, declaring absolutely and forever free all the slaves in those States which shall be in rebellion on the 1st of January next, and pointing to the measures in progress for the abolition of slavery in the loyal States, upon the principle of indemnification.

While the Committee deprecate a resort to arms, even with the avowed purpose of promoting the extinction of slavery, they reiterate the opinion, that the friends of the slave, in the United States, under whatsoever designation, have established a just claim upon the sympathy of the friends of freedom through-

In this spirit, and with the object of evoking such an expression of sympathy as shall encourage the Emancipation party in the United States, in their most difficult position, to persevere in their endeavors to obtain justice for the slave, the Committee issue the present address, earnestly commending it to the favorable consideration of their fellow-countrymen, and to the friends of humanity in all lands. On behalf the Committee,

THOMAS BINNS, Chairman. S. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.

27 New Broad street, E. C., London, 17th Nov., 1862.

To His Excellency, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America:

Sin-It has seemed desirable to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to issue, at the present crisis, an Address to the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, of which a copy is annexed.

In directing your attention to it, the Committee would take advantage of the opportunity to assure you of their personal respect and sympathy, and of their appreciation of the exceeding great difficulties of your position. Since your accession to office, they have watched with deep interest the progress of events, and especially the gradual development of a policy tending to promote Negro Emancipation. If certain measures in furtherance of that policy, and some apparently inconsistent with it, have not recommended themselves to the approval of the Committee. they have, nevertheless, recognized the majority of them with satisfaction as conducive, in the main, to the interests of the enslaved portion of the African

cease, and that, with the removal of the sole cause of tionary days. this strife, a way may open for a reconciliation upon the enduring basis of a community of interests, and a mutual forgiveness of injuries.

27 New Bond street, E. C., London, 17th Nov., 1862.

# LETTER FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.

the Party.

HARTWICH, N. Y., Nov. 25, 1862.

defective as it lamentably is in morals, is the one that here, in the very heart of Rebeldom! and there is no hope that a politician, in or out of disliked and feared.

be destroyed. Should Lincoln revoke it, its results from their little store. on the slaves will remain. It has unsettted their minds, And they would think it unkind if you refused it. and they will never be the cowed, submissive chattels | Another trait that I have noticed is their natural courthey have been. I believe a faithful carrying out of tesy of manner. There is nothing cringing about it; that Proclamation is the only way of saving the South but it seems inborn, and one might almost say elefrom servile insurrections such as they have dreamed gant. It marks their behavior towards each other as not of. The use of fire-arms, of pistols, rifles, knives, well as to the white people. The plantation on which and lucifer matches, is becoming familiar to millions we live is called "Oakland's." The house is in a of slaves, and they will use them if they are not made somewhat dilapidated condition, as are most of the free according to Presidential promise. And, if ever houses on these islands-and the fields around have a people had a right to use such weapons against their a very forlorn, desolate look-very different from our oppressors, the slaves have a right to use them against flourishing, richly cultivated Northern fields. But their enslavers. If ever it was the duty of men to as- they are encircled by a belt of beautiful woods; and sert and defend their liberty by the annihilation of our yard and garden, though neglected-looking, are their merciless tyrants, it is the duty of the Ameri- rich in roses, which bloom constantly, even so late as can slaves thus to assert and defend theirs. Such is this, and in ivy, which creeps about the ground and fast becoming the faith of the North-as I read the under the houses. I send you some of this English

lectured in a meeting-house on the Proclamation. here, in the little Baptist church, which is in a grove pedients, which leave a single slave on the soil, or the Baptist Church, JERSEY CITY, N. J., on Sunday even-The deacon of the church came to me and said- of white oaks. These trees are beautiful-ever-"You are hard on those who vote for slavery." green-and every branch heavily draped with long, "Yes, (I said,) if you voted for slavery, or for a man heavy bearded moss, which gives them a strange, who, as you knew, would vote for it in Congress, you, mournful look. A grove of them looks like an asindividually, are responsible for all the thefts, robberies, semblage of solemn patriarchs. There are two laadulteries, murders, concubinage and prostitution that | dies in the school beside myself-Miss T. and Miss are essential to the existence of slavery." "I am op- M., both of whom are most enthusiastic teachers. posed to slavery," said he. "Did you vote for Grow, They have done a great deal of good here. At presor Denison ?" said I "For Denison," said he. ent, our school is small,-many of the chidren on "Did you not know that Denison would vote and the island being ill with whooping cough,-but in act for slavery and the rebellion, if he was elected " general it averages eighty or ninety. I find the chil-I asked. "Yes, (he said,) I presumed he would." dren generally well-behaved, and eager to learn; yea, "Then (said I) you voted and acted in favor of all the they are nearly all most eager to learn, and many of crimes essential to slavery and the rebellion, and I them make most rapid improvement. It is a great regard you as a most wicked and guilty man, the em- happiness to teach them. I wish some of those per-I did not vote for slavery and rebellion, but against naturally inferior, could see the readiness with which Abolitionism." "So, you regard Abolitionism as a these children, so long oppressed and deprived of every greater crime against God and man than slavery?"

els, he acted by the advice of the above named lead- greatest enthusiasm. I wish you could hear them. ers of Democracy,-and all done that the Democrats, who were inclined to sustain the victorious Administration, might be brought back to the party when they saw that the Administration gained nothing by that battle. McClellan remained long enough to insure matter who triumphs, the Proclamation is doing its terest some readers of the Liberator .- c. K. W. work on the minds of the slaves. Their freedom is the one thing needful.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

#### LETTER FROM ST. HELENA'S ISLAND, BEAUFORT, S. C.

The writer is a graduate of the State Normal School in Salem, Mass., and a grand-daughter of part of North Carolina are fugitives. I have talked ed, placed in relation with the President's antecedents. the late venerable James Forten, of Philadelphia, The Committee earnestly desire that the sanguinary whose name is not unfamiliarly associated with those conflict between the two sections of the Union may of Benjamin Franklin and Rush, of the old Revolu-

> ST. HELENA'S ISLAND, BEAUFORT, S. C., ? OAKLANDS, Nov. 20, 1862.

prised to receive from me a letter dated from South toe and heelings, shuffles, all in the most perfect time. to strike the cause of the war a deadly blow upon the Carolina. I cannot tell you how glad I am to be here. I have not met one who knew his letters, though all head, thus killing it at once, but, by glancing side My coming, at the last, was very unexpected. I did express the wish to learn to read and write. They all blows, to allow it longer life. The Proclamation-A Deacon voting for Slavery to put not know until the day before we were to sail that there know how to count sufficiently for common purposes. down Abolitionism-McClellan acting in league with was a certainty of my coming. There was a good op- I haven't seen a negro wash himself since I have Segmonr and Co. to drive Union Democrats back into portunity for me to go, in case of an elderly gentleman, been here. They are very polite, frequently setting a friend who, with his daughter, was coming to open a good example to the white boors who mock them. a store for the freed peope on the island. I left Phila- It is probable that I have seen rather a better class of DEAR GARRISON-I rode all day in a stage last delphia on the 24th of October, and arrived here on slaves (that were) than those who remain at home, week with some soldiers-officers-direct from the the 28th. We were in a severe storm, which I enjoy- since only the most enterprising run away. But those Burnside army, and from Hunter's. They say the ed very much. But I did not enjoy the constant rock- here at Newbern can take care of themselves perfect-Proclamation is the great theme and hope of those ing which the good ship "United States" gave us, ly well. One in particular I saw last night. Neat, armies; that the people of the North who deny that even when the sea was calm. I understood perfectly well-dressed, intelligent, handsome, with splendid Proclamation and speak of it lightly, have no idea | what it was to be "rocked in the cradle of the deep." | teeth,-a cook, I believe, in the 10th Connecticut. how much hope and determination it has infused into It is only in a propeller, I am told, that one is so I received a paper of Nov. 5th, for which I am much the army of the Potomac and the Department of the thoroughly tossed. St. Helena's Island, on which I obliged. Cheers three for the old Bay State! Sum-South. They say nothing has so appalled the hearts am, is about six miles from the main land of Beau-ner's return is secured of course. What a delegation of the rebels, and that it has completely unsettled the fort. I must tell you that we were rowed hither from from New York! minds of the slaves all over Virginia and North and | Beaufort by a crew of negro boatmen, and that they South Carolina. They say the slaves, all over the sung for us several of their own beautiful songs. FRATERNITY LECTURE. The tenth lecture of the thirty-seven years, going to cure it, which can only be tionate heart. South, know of it, and of its general import. They There is a peculiar wildness and solemnity about Fraternity course was delivered to a very large audiknow and feel one fact -i. e., that all slaves of them which cannot be described, and the people ac- ence, at Tremont Temple, by WENDELL PHILLIPS, every rebel individual and rebel State, that are such | company the singing with a singular swaying motion | who took for his theme, "Proclamation, or Mes-New Year's day, are to be free. They say, the slaves of the body, which seems to make it more effective. sage ?" He showed strongly the higher, better, and are looking to New Year's, 1863, as a great day of How much I enjoyed that row in the beautiful, bril- more effective character of the former document, and Jubilee to them; when they, their wives and chil- liant southern sunset, with no sounds to be heard but the criminal success of Mr. Seward, (whose removal life or death is upon him and his people. He is told telligent and virtuous elsewhere. dren, are to be free, and no more to be sold. They the musical murmur of the water, and the wonderful- from his present position was strongly urged,) in obsay that Burnside and Hunter, and the leading officers ly rich, clear tones of the singers! But all the time structing and postponing emancipation. under them, as well as Rosecrans, will assuredly aid I did not realize that I was actually in South Caroliin carrying out that Proclamation, and that nothing na! And indeed I believe I do not quite realize it now. remarks, which were warmly applauded. would so surely demoralize the two armies under Burn- But we were far from feeling fear, -we were in a very and he will pay for it to the extent of his ability ! aile and Hunter as the revocation of that Proclama- excited, jubilant state of mind, and sang the John by HENRY WARD BEECHER. No doubt the Temple Brown song with spirit, as we drove through the pines | will be thronged to overflowing.

### This is unquestionably true. That Proclamation, and palmettos. Ah! it was good to be able to sing

great master stroke of policy in the conduct of the There are no white soldiers on this island. It is war. The measure was inaugurated by Fremont, fol- protected by gunboats, and by negro pickets, who do lowed by Phelps and Hunter; then by Congress, and their duty well. These men attacked and drove back now by Lincoln. What Fremont, Phelps and Hunter | a boat-load of rebels who tried to land here one night, made local, Congress and the President have been several weeks ago. Gen. Saxton is forming a colored forced to make national by the necessities of the war. rogiment at Beaufort, and many of the colored men The Proclamation does not claim to be based on con- from this and the adjacent islands have joined it. siderations of justice to the slave, but simply on the The General is a noble-hearted man, who has a deep necessities of the war. Deeply is it to be regretted interest in the people here, and he is generally belowthat we have not a man at the head of our affairs who ed and trusted by them. I am sorry to say that some could issue a Proclamation of Freedom to every slave other officers treat the freed people and speak of them as a matter of justice and right. But we have not, with the greatest contempt. They are consequently

office, will ever do any thing, touching political or As far as I have been able to observe-and although governmental affairs, as a matter of justice to the slave. I have not been here long, I have seen and talked with But, I welcome it as a war measure. I sympathize many of the people—the negroes here seem to be, for with its object, so far as it goes-only wishing it had the most part, an honest, industrious, and sensible swept slavery all away, avowedly, as it certainly will people. They are eager to learn; they rejoice in do in fact, if executed at all. The slaves of rebels, their new-found freedom. It does one good to see once freed, the slaves of loyalists will not long stay how jubilant they are over the downfall of their "secesh" masters, as they call them. I do not believe It matters little what England, France, or the there is a man, woman, or even a child that is old North, or the Generals, think of this Proclamation. enough to be sensible, that would submit to being made The two parties most immediately concerned are the a slave again. There is evidently a deep determinaslaves and the enslavers. What the latter think of it, tion in their souls that that shall never be. Their their newspapers, their letters, their threats, the do- hearts are full of gratitude to the Government and to ings of their Congress, their action in removing their the "Yankees." Some of them have said to me, slaves from all proximity to our armies and the free "We bress de Lord, ebery day we bress de Lord for States, their fears of their slaves, and the almost uni- sendin' de Union people to make us free. De Yankees versal laying aside of the whip, most clearly indicate. has been good to us. We suffered bery long, missus, They feel that the blow is struck from which they bery long. But de Lord will bring it all right at last." can never recover. What the slaves think of it is also I think they are a truly religious people. They speak manifest by the universal anxiety and gossip among to God with a loving familiarity. He seems nearer to themselves about what they mean to do New Year's | them than to most people. They are very grateful-Day-about the wages they mean to demand, and almost too much so, for in return for the least kindwhat they mean to do with their earnings. The in- ness that is done them, they insist on giving you fluence of that Proclamation on the slaves can never | something-potatoes, eggs, peanuts, or something else

ivy, which has found a home in the rebellious little Voting for Slavery to put down Abolition !- I recently Palmetto State. My school is about a mile from ment of the sum of all villang." "But, (said he,) sons at the North, who say the race is hopelessly and privilege, learn and understand.

I said. "I thought so when I voted for Denison," I have some grown pupils-people on our own plansaid he. "And you voted to perpetuate all the crimes tation-who take lessons in the evenings. It will and pollutions of slavery-to eternize 'the sum of all amuse you to know that one of them-our man-ofvillany,' in order to defeat Grow and the Abolitionists, all-work-is named Cupid. (Venuses and Cupids are who are seeking to free the slaves-to vindicate the very common here.) He told me he was "feared" self-evident truth that all are created equally free- he was almost too old to learn; but I assured him that and the golden rule, "Do as you would be done by." was not the case, and now he is working diligently "Yes, (said he,) I did vote for slavery, and all the at the alphabet. One of my people-Harry-is a crimes and villanies it contains, to defeat the Abolition- scholar to be proud of. He makes most wonderful ists, because I consider them greater criminals before improvement. I never saw any one so determined God than slaveholders." "If you were a slave, and to learn. I enjoy having him and Cupid talk about your wife and children, would you so regard them !" the time that the rebels had to flee from this place. I asked. He was dumb. "Would you not welcome The remembrance of it is evidently a source of the Abolitionism as your only salvation ?" I asked. "I most exquisite happiness and amusement. There are suppose I should," said he. "What you denounce as several families living here, and it is very pleasant to villany, when done to you, you know is villany when visit their cabins, and talk with them. They are you do it to others. You are, according to your own very happy now. They never weary of contrasting showing, a self-convicted, Democratic villain, and accord- their present with their former condition, and they ing to your own showing, not mine, you ought to be work for the Government now, and receive wages and rations in return. I am very happy here, but wish I Such is the spirit that has given triumph to the was able to do a great deal more. I wish some one Democratic allies of slavery and rebellion in Pennsyl- would write a little Christmas hymn for our children vania, New York, and Ohio. One thing is well known, to sing. I want to have a kind of festival for them that Seymour, Wood, Rynders, Hughes & Co. were on Christmas, if we can. The children have just in close communication with McClellan before and learned the John Brown song, and next week they after the battle of Antietam, up to his removal; and are going to learn the song of the "Negro Boatman." in keeping the army from pursuing the retreating reb- The little creatures love to sing. They sing with the

# LETTER FROM NEWBERN.

The following extracts from a letter, written by a triumph to the Democratic allies of the South at the private in Co. F, of the 44th Massachusetts Regiment, polls, and that was all he or they cared for. But no shortly after the return of Foster's expedition, may in-

NEWBERN, N. C., Nov. 15th, 1862. DEAR MOTHER,-I wrote you day before yesterday a hasty sketch of our dash. The 44th has made its mark. Its endurance on the march is the subject of praise both of officers and men of the old regiments, with his confession, that slavery is the cause of the race, in justice and benevelence, in love of right and abwho say they have never had more fatiguing or longer | war, and that slavery must be killed, in order that lib-The following letter is from a young colored lady marches. The mud was terrible, and to climb a clay of Philadelphia, now a teacher of the freed people | hill, having to pull quite hard to raise your foot, was

Three fourths of the negroes now in the eastern how to dance. For music, one darkie drums on a tin | mies of the Confederates, and who desired to show it pan, or claps his knees with his hands, and one or two by acts, not words, does not show honesty and sin-MY DEAR FRIEND: You will doubtless be sur- go through the most absurd contortions, gesticulations, cerity of purpose. His purpose is most evidently, not

### MEETING AT WORCESTER.

A quarterly meeting of the Worcester County (South Division) Anti-Slavery Society was held at Washburn Hall, in Worcester, on Sunday, 7th inst. The sudden inclemency of the weather, together with the fact of the presence of Dr. Geo. B. Cheever of New York, to speak on the Anti-Slavery question in one of the city churches, gave us a smaller attendance than usual, although it was quite respectable in numbers, and attentive and interested in character.

Beyond the time spent in the necessary business of the meeting, and the discussion of some points of difference in relation to the position the Society should stand in towards the government in this crisis, and what form of expression should be given to that position in our Resolutions, the time was mainly yielded to the address of Theodore D. Weld, which was divided between the afternoon and evening sessions.

The address of Mr. Weld upon "The Conspiratorstheir False Issues and Lying Pretences," was one of masterly ability, elegant in its diction, exhaustive in its argument, massive in its logic, at times poetic and sublime in its rhetoric, and eloquent in its delivery. And although it was of unusual length, and gathered up a long array of facts, and detail of issues of past interest, yet the great power evinced in argument, and the beauty of delivery, enchained his hearers in rapt and undivided attention.

So much interest was felt by the meeting in his addresses, that the Society voted to instruct their Secing them with it, and invite him to address us at some this (FRIDAY) evening, at 7 o'clock. future time under more favorable circumstances for

The Business Committee, consisting of Parker of Sunday next, 14th inst., in Century Chapel, at ESSEX, Pillsbury, Samuel May, Jr., Theodore D. Weld, commencing in the morning at 10 o'clock. Stephen S. Foster, Lewis Ford and Sarah E. Wall. reported the following series of resolutions, viz. :

1. Resolved, That the fundamental principle of the Anti-Slavery enterprise is, that colored men are equal to other men in their creation, and in their right to day, Sunday, 21st. life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

2. Resolved, That our belief is still, as it ever has been, that immediate and unconditional emancipation is the right of every slave, and the duty of every slaveholder, without colonization of the one, or compensation to the other; and alike irrespective of all questions of pecuniary profit, political expediency, or military necessity

3. Resolved, That in this crisis-hour of our national existence, when political integrity is so largely displaced by unblushing profligacy, and the religious faith treads so hard on downright atheism, it becomes us, with most unwavering constancy and unshaken delity, to hold fast to our original doctrines and denands, not only as the right of the slave, but also as the only possible ground of hope for the salvation of

4. Resolved, That the present destructive and deso- evening of the same day. lating war is but the waking of that Divine Justice, which Jefferson, long ago, declared "cannot sleep forever"; and any attempt to arrest it, by temporary exranch, will but provoke still further that now roused and righteous indignation, and ensure a more fearful overthrow, when at length its appointed hour shall

labored, until they are founded on Justice and Hu- the Treasurer, EDNUND JACKSON, or at the Society's office, manity,-until they recognize the slave as a man, with equal and inalienable rights of his own, and not as a nere convenience, or nuisance, to be saved or sacrificed, as the fortunes of war, or the needs, inclinations are as unworthy of respect as they are devoid of the

means and assurances of national salvation. as the former is only bribing thieves and robbers into Boston. better outward behavior, without any real repentance, and the latter is but pandering to that vile and vulgar rejudice against complexion, which constitutes the main underpinning stone of slavery itself; and neither has any necessary connexion with the command, old as oppression, lasting as eternity, "Proclaim liberty roughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

7. Resolved, therefore, That the mission of this Society is not accomplished; nor its position or action essentially changed toward the government; nor can be, till slavery, and the spirit of slavery, burning and raging in the popular heart against colored humanity, hall be wholly exorcised from it.

The resolutions were adopted seriatim, unani- years. ast of the series, and this discussion arose upon the maica Plain, on a visit to his son, William R. Robeson, Esq., vening session, of another resolution, which he proof the series reported by the Committee ;-the new a philanthropist, for moral intrepidity and rare indepenresolution, in substance affirming it to be our duty to maintain our old position and testimony towards the government, as it had made no such change as to enitle it to our support.

This position being strongly dissented from by one of our oldest and most devoted members, after some liscussion between him and some others who were not prepared to go over to the government, or allow the Society, by a negative testimony, even to be turn- took an abiding interest in all the progressive movements ed over to it as it now stands, the matter was finally of the age, and was among the earliest to espouse them, adjusted by dropping the new resolution, and briefly never holding back for fear of losing caste or popular conaccorporating into the last of the series the substance sideration, but ever believing that of the controverted point; when the resolution, as amended, was passed with hardly a dissent.

JOSIAH HENSHAW, President. JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Sec'y.

# THE MESSAGE.

We are not satisfied with the President's Message. Events have cornered him, and he has had recourse. first, to a walking backwards proclamation, and then, to a foxy subterfuge message, with emancipation in thirty-seven years-for escape.

He does not touch upon the political representation of slavery during these thirty-seven years. And his propo-

The attempt made in this Message to stave off the settlement of the matter for thirty-seven years, and

Is there no reason for this ? The monster is manyheaded, and "there is luck in leisure."

be an instrument to destroy slavery.

procrastination and compromise.

carrying about this cancer upon the body-politic, cov- which she moved, diffusing around her, upon all who were ered only with a plaster of gradual emancipation, for privileged to enjoy her society, the sunshine of her affeccautery 7

Here is a commander-in-chief of a mighty army, and of a mightier nation, who, under the exigencies of twenty millions of people will uphold him. So he departments, especially anti-slavery, always casting her inenemy to put down the cause in thirty-seven years- She lived to be loved, and has passed from earth to heav-

Talk is great, but silence would be greater. SMALL TALK.

#### FRATERNITY LECTURES. FIFTH COURSE.

The public of Boston and vicinity are respectfully inormed that the Firm Course or Lectures under the aupices of the Fraternity of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society will be continued on

TUESDAY EVENING, December 16, 1862, at TREMONT TEMPLE, when an address will be made by

HENRY WARD BEECHER. To be followed on successive Tuesday evenings by lectures from the following persons :--

December 23 .- Jacob M. Manning. " 30 .- GEORGE WM. CURTIS.

#### BOSTON FUGITIVE AID SOCIETY

A Course of Lectures in aid of the suffering Freedmen of Washington, D. C., to be delivered at Joy Street Church, Rev. R. C. Waterston. Frederick Douglass.

THE FUGITIVE AID SOCIETY of Boston have effected an arrangement with Mrs. Louise DeMonrie, the talented young colored dramatic reader, to give readings wherever the benevolent may be willing to assist, for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of the freedmen or " contrabands" of Washington

SARAH A. L. MARTIN, 26 Myrtle St., President of the Fugitive Aid Society.

LECTURES BY THEODORE D. WELD. - Mr. retary to extend to Mr. Weld their thanks for favor- Weld will give an address at MANCHESTER, (Mass.,) He will also attend and address meetings, in connexion with PARKER PILLSBURY, through the day and evening

> The Quarterly Meeting of the Essex County Anti-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at DANVERS, commencing Saturday evening, Dec. 20th, and continuing the next

THEODORE D. WELD and PARKER PILLSBURY will be present on the occasion; and it is hoped that many other earnest friends of the slave will be there, and bear their RICHARD PLUMER, President. MARGARET E. BENNETT, Secretary.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, will lecture as

Great Falls, Friday, December 12.

Sunday, ANNA E. DICKINSON will speak at HOPEDALE

WM. WELLS BROWN will speak at the Bethesda

on Sunday next, December 14th; and in MILFORD, on the

Members and friends of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who are indebted for Pledges made to the 5. Resolved, That Presidential Proclamations to the Society in January last, or previously to that time, are recople, or Messages to Congress, however loud or long | quested to pay the same as early as practicable, either to

The very valuable and still timely tract, by Mrs. or prejudices of the white race may require or desire, L. Maria Child, entitled "The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the British West Indies, and 6. Resolved, That to embarrass the question of elsewhere," (108 pages,) will be sent by mail to any permmediate Emancipation with proposals of compensa- son requesting it, and enclosing six cents in undefaced posttion or colonization, is both inexpedient and immoral; age stamps. Address SAMUEL MAY, Jr. 221 Washington St.,

> MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed on 695 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References .- Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4. P. M.

### OBITUARY.

DIED-In this city, on Monday last, 8th inst., very suddenly, Andrew Robeson, Esq., of New Bedford, aged 74

sously and without much discussion, save upon the Mr. Robeson had just entered the car to proceed to Jaresentation, by Mr. Pillsbury, at the opening of the when he was struck with apoplexy, which instantly terminated his earthly life-a life distinguished for business sosed to have placed in order between the 6th and 7th enterprise and usefulness as a citizen, for noble liberality as dence as a reformer, for all those traits becoming a perfect gentleman, for the most exemplary uprightness, benevolence and integrity of character as a man. In him were conspicuously blended dignity without hateur, modesty without timidity, firmness without contumacy, radicalism without fanaticism, amiableness without weakness, and generosity without recklessness. His personal presence was handsome and imposing, his countenance habitually radiant, his manners such as true politeness alone dictates. He

"He's a slave who dare not be In the right with two or three "-

yes, in the right, though standing alone in the midst of a perverse generation. Among the earliest to espouse the hated but divinely blessed cause of the oppressed in our land, he was ever ready to aid it by his purse, his testimony, sellers. and his example. An honored officer of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, for many years, we feel that a pillar of strength has fallen, and are conscious of a great bereavement. He stood high on our list of personal friends, and his memory will be gratefully and admiringly cherished to the end of life. His religion found neither strength nor soluce in creeds or ceremonies, in times or seasons; but it flowered out in a trustful recognition of sitions are lame and impotent, when put in connexion | the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of the human

On Monday morning, November 3d, at the residence of that, too, after so much life and money has been wast. her parents, Penmaen, Clermont Co., Ohio, Axxa P. Dox-ALDSON, aged 23 years, second daughter of Thomas and with many. Not one has expressed the wish to go | with his avowed determination to bring back the old Susanna E. Donaldson. Her disease was pulmonary con-North, provided he could be his own man at the South. guarantee of slave political power under the Constitu-They all seem less dull than I expected to find them tion, with his repeated statements that he was respon. Years, suffering, most of the time, great debility, and ocas a class, and some are surprisingly intelligent. It is sible for McClellan's doings, with his condemnation of casionally severe pain, all of which she endured with the an indispensable acquirement of darkie boys to know Hunter, Fremont, and all who have been sincere enehour of her departure came, she passed away in the mos peaceful manner, cheerfully resigning herself into the arms of her Savior, who, she said, was her only hope and trust. The most prominent traits of Anna's character were gen-

tleness, patient perseverance in the path of duty, and a strong desire to do good to others,-the latter predominant during the last few years of her life. She often expressed the earnest wish that she might, in some way, live a life of usefulness to her fellow-beings. Since the war began, her There is no reason to change former opinions-that sympathies were strongly exercised for the suffering sol-President Lincoln will not, if he can possibly help it, diers, though her feeble health prevented her from doing as much for their relief as she desired to do. There is no possible excuse for not doing that better | She possessed a liberal education, including the accom-

now, than can be done thirty-seven years hence. If plishments of polite society as well as the arts of domestic slavery is death to liberty, the slaves certainly have a life, the rudiments of which were acquired at home and at voice as to the settlement of the question; and a Clermont Academy; after which, she pursued a full course mighty chorus of their voices would be raised now, of study in the "Western Female Seminary," at Oxford, which could not be heard after twenty years, against Ohio, the "Mount Holyoke" of the West, where she graduated with honor in the month of July, 1859.

Are the education, the natural increase, the moral Most of her time, since her graduation, she spent at and religious growth of these slaves nothing ? Is the home, and among family friends, gracing every circle in

Her life, though short, has not been spent in vain. Her lovely spirit and gentle demeaner won for her from many a lip the epithet "angelic." Contemning the follies and extravagances of fashionable life, she sought her happiness the times, has declared martial law. A struggle for the society of the loved ones at home, and that of the infrom higher sources, from good books and good deeds, in

en to be welcomed there by loved ones gone before, and to be remembered here in affection by the numerous friends she has left behind .- I Com.

To the Honorable, the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, next to be holden at Dedham, within and for the County of Norfolk, on the third Tuesday of February, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-three.

D ESPECTFULLY represents Cornelia James, of Wren-In tham, in said County of Norfolk, that she married Thomas K. James, at Providence, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, on the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. eighteen hundred and forty-nine; that her maiden name was Cornelia Taylor; that she and her said husband, from said twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. eighteen and forty-nine, afterwards, lived together as husband and wife, at Wrentham aforesaid, until the eighth day of November, A. D. eighteen hundred and fifty-five; that on said eighth day of November, A. D. eighteen hundred and fifty-five, said Thomas K. James separated himself from her, his said wife, and has not since lived with her; that she has at all times been faithful to her marriage obligations; that on, or about, the first day of February, A. D. eighteen hundred and fifty-six, said Thomas K. James wilfully and utterly deserted her, his said wife, without her onsent; that said desertion has continued uninterruptedy from that time until the time of the filing of this libel. And your libellant further represents that said Thomas K. James now resides in or near Rochester, in the State of New York.

Wherefore your libellant prays a divorce from the bonds of matrimony between her and her said husband be decreed to her by this Court ; that suitable alimony may be decreed to be paid her by her said husband, at such times as to this Court shall seem proper; that she may be allowed to resume her maiden name; and that such other and further order and decree may be passed by this Court, as justice may require. CORNELIA JAMES.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Supreme Judicial Court, At Chambers in Boston, Dec. 6, 1862.

On the foregoing libel, it is ordered, that the libellant give a notice to the said Thomas K. James, to appear before the Justices of this Court next to be holden at Dedham, within and for the County of Norfolk, on the third Tuesday of February next, by publishing an attested copy of said libel and of this order thereon once a week, three weeks successively, in the Boston Liberator, a newspaper printed in said Boston, the last publication to be thirty lays, at least, before said third Tuesday of February next; also by depositing in the Post Office, postage prepaid, a copy of said libel and order, enclosed, directed to the said Thomas K. James at Rochester, in the State of New York, thirty days, at least, before said third Tuesday of February next, and making affidavit that this part of the order has been complied with ; that the mid Thomas K. James may then and there shew cause why the prayer of said libel should not be granted.

By the order of George T. Bigelow, Esq., Chief Justice GEO. C. WILDE, Clerk. of said Court, A true copy of said libel, and of the order thereon,

GEO. C. WILDE, Clerk.

# THE PROBLEM SOLVED.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

BY M. AUGUSTIN COCHIN. Translated by Miss Mary L. Booth, translator of M.

Gasparin's Works on America. COCHIN is an ex-maire and municipal counteillor of M. COCHIN is an ex-maire and municipal councillor of the city of Paris. He has had great advantages for research among both public and private documents; and has devoted his life to the subject on which his forthcoming volume treats. He recently received the order of

knighthood from the Pope, in acknowledgment of the ability displayed in this book; to which also was recently awarded the first prize of three thousand france by the French Academy. So little is positively known of the economical and social results of Emancipation in those countries where it has taken place, that the importance of this volume to the peo-

ple of the United States, in the present crisis, can hardly It was written at the suggestion of the learned Count Montalembert; is based entirely on official reports; and its statements, which comprehend every form of the ques-

tion, are fully reliable. Of the style and attractiveness of the book, the following extract from a notice of the French edition, in the Chrisian Examiner, may testify. It is pronounced, "among the most remarkable, fascinating, and timely backs of the year. It is, at once, cautious and eloquent, candid and enthusiastic; as sagacious as De Tocqueville's work on America; and as ardent as Victor Hugo's Legend of the Ages. It is scientific in its arrangement, accurate in its display of facts, logical in its reasoning, and clear in its conclusions."

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