



LATEST BY TELEGRAPH.

Highly Important from Europe.

MASON AND SIDDELL EXCITEMENT UNABATED.

Arrival of a Special Messenger with Dispatches to Lord Lyons.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SENDING ARMS TO CANADA.

OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

Halfpenny, Dec. 13.—The steamship Europa has arrived at this port.

She was detained at Queenstown until the 2d instant, by order of the British Government.

She has the Queen's messenger on board, with dispatches for Lord Lyons.

London, Dec. 1.—The Observer states that the British Government demands from President Lincoln and his Cabinet the restoration of the persons of the Southern Envoys (Slidell and Mason) to the British Government.

Yesterday afternoon, after five o'clock, p. m., her Majesty held a private council at Windsor Castle. Three of her ministers were present, including the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War, who travelled from London to Windsor to be present.

The three Ministers had attended a Cabinet Council, at Lord Palmerston's official residence.

The Observer further says that a special messenger of the Foreign Office has been ordered to carry our demands to Lord Lyons, and will proceed by the packet from Queenstown to-day.

The public will be satisfied to know that these demands are for an apology, and also to insist on restitution to the protection of the British flag of those persons who were violently and illegally torn from that sacred asylum.

The Observer adds, it is no reason why they should not be restored to the quarter deck of the British Admiral at New York or Washington itself, in the face of some ten or twelve men-of-war, whose presence in the Potomac would render the blustering Cabinet at Washington as helpless as the Trent was before the guns and cutlasses of the San Jacinto. It is no fault of ours if it should come even to this.

Arrangements for increasing the force in Canada are not yet complete, but in a very short time everything will be settled. In the meantime, a large ship, the Melbourne, has been taken up, and is now being loaded with Armstrong guns, some eighty thousand Enfield rifles, ammunition, and other stores, at Woolrich. It is not impossible that this vessel will be escorted by one or two ships of war. The rifles are intended for Canadian military operations, and strong reinforcements of field artillery will be dispatched forthwith.

The London Times, in its article of the 30th, says that the position of the Federal States of America is almost identical in every commercial point with that which was occupied towards us by Russia, before the Crimean war.

Russia had a hostile tariff, while we looked for her for a large portion of our general supply of breadstuffs; but there is this peculiarity, in our present case; that the commencement would be by breaking up the blockade of the Southern ports, and at once set free our industry from the anxiety of a cotton famine, and insure prosperity to Louisiana through the winter; at the same time we shall open our trade to eight millions of people in the Confederate States, who desire nothing better than to be our customers.

At private council, on Saturday, an order was issued prohibiting exports from the United Kingdom, or carrying coastwise gunpowder, saltpetre, nitrate of soda, and bromine.

The Times has hope that the Federal Government will comply with the demands of England.

The Morning Star declares that the statement of instructions having been sent to Lord Lyons to obtain the restitution of Confederate Commissioners, or to take leave of Washington, was premature, and so exaggerated as to be virtually untrue.

The Liverpool Courier believed that the Warrior had been ordered to Annapolis with the ultimatum of the Government.

New York, Dec. 15.—The steamship City of Washington has arrived, with later dates than those brought by the Europa. She left Queenstown on the 5th.

The excitement growing out of the seizure of Mason and Slidell was unabated.

The Paris Times reports the statement that the Emperor Napoleon has tendered his offices as a mediator in the affairs of America.

It is rumored that the steamer Persia has been chartered to convey troops to Canada; but this is pronounced premature.

The Australian was to have sailed on the 7th instant for New York, but the America was substituted.

At a banquet at Rochdale, Mr. Bright made an elaborate speech on the subject of American affairs, and expressed his decided opinion in relation to the Trent. He believed that if the taking of Mason and Slidell from that vessel was illegal, the United States will make fitting reparation. He strongly condemned war-like proceedings. He scouted the idea that the American Cabinet had resolved to pick a quarrel with England, and made an eloquent peroration in favor of the North.

A letter was read from Mr. Cobden. It was pacific in tone, urging a suspension of public judgment.

A letter from Lieutenant General Scott in favor of the maintenance of friendly relations between England and America, attracts much attention.

Exports of arms, ammunition, and lead, have been prohibited.

The Paris Patrie has an editorial foreboding the disposition of France to recognize the South, if England will set the example.

From Frederick.

Frederick, Dec. 14.—All quiet along the river line.

Private Monroe, who escaped from the Confederate army, was sent yesterday to Washington for examination.

The general court-martial is engaged, to-day, trying cases of deserters from the N. Y. Ninth.

No political arrests have been made here since the arrival of the army.

Weather pleasant.

The best order prevails in the city.

Preparations are making, by some regiments, for winter quarters—building huts and cabins; but there is no general indication of going to winter quarters.

"I have received intelligence from Dam No. 4, that, on Thursday, Captain Williams and five men went on an unauthorized scout into Virginia, and were captured by the enemy. A fortnight ago, a corporal and four men went over on a similar expedition, and were likewise captured, making a captain, corporal, and nine men who have been lost by disobedience of orders.

Grievous complaints are uttered by some of the regiments, including the Twelfth Massachusetts, at the delay in receiving new tents, these now in use being entirely unfit for the winter season.

Mr. DeHom, of Boston, who contributed upwards of \$50,000 to the Twelfth Massachusetts for their outfit and maintenance while at Fort Warren, visited Colonel Webster, yesterday, in camp. He was enthusiastically received by the regiment.

THE GREAT FIRE AT CHARLESTON.

The Norfolk Day Book of Friday published dispatches, sent on the previous day from Charleston, stating that a great fire broke out in that place on Wednesday night, supposed to have been the work of an incendiary. At the date of the last dispatch, 5 o'clock Thursday afternoon, the fire was still raging, it being added that it had swept across Broad street, destroying the Theatre, Institute, and other public buildings on that street.

A dispatch from Fortress Monroe, Dec. 13, says:

The great fire broke out in Charleston at 9 o'clock on the evening of the 11th instant. At 5 o'clock the next day it was still raging.

Nearly all that part of the city from Broad street on the Southwest Bay on the east, and King street on the west, is said to be destroyed, including the Catholic Cathedral, the Circular Church, Institute, St. Andrew's Hall, the Theatre, and the Executive Rooms.

An extra train had left Augusta with supplies for the sufferers, (thousands of whom framed the streets), and assistance to fight the fire.

The following dispatch, received yesterday from Baltimore, gives still later information of the fire:

Baltimore, December 15.—The Old Point boat has arrived here, and brings the following news:

Fortress Monroe, December 14.—No flag of truce was sent out to-day, in consequence of which no further particulars of the Charleston fire have been received. The steamer Illinois arrived from Port Royal this afternoon. She reports that the pilot boat Richard Blunt, of New York, had arrived there.

It is ascertained from a captain of a Norfolk boat, that he was informed by the captain of the steamer Illinois, from Port Royal, that he passed within six miles of Charleston harbor at ten o'clock on Thursday night, and that a tremendous conflagration was evidently at its height in that city. The reflection on the clouds exceeded anything he ever saw, and the whole bay, with the dark outlines of Fort Sumter, was brightly illuminated. It did not appear like a reflection from smouldering ruins; but from a raging and uncontrollable conflagration.

This brings down the account of the fire to five hours later than the dispatch received by the Norfolk Day Book, and twenty-five hours from the commencement of the fire.

How far the negroes are connected with the origin, or progress of the fire, is as yet only a matter of conjecture. But whatever may have been the instrumentally employed, it is impossible to doubt that it is a visitation of Divine Providence upon a guilty city.

MILITARY MATTERS.

EXPERIMENTS WITH PONTOON BRIDGES.

History tells us of the experiment made by Xerxes to chain the Hellespont with a bridge of boats over which to march his invading legions to the conquest of Greece. History also chronicles the signal failure of the enterprise projected by the proud leader of the Persian hosts. The idea of crossing rivers with bridges constructed by lashing boats together is therefore not original with the moderns, but originated in the brain of the royal invader of Attica, years before the Christian era. To modern times, however, belongs the credit of perfecting this important branch of military science, and great have been the improvements made within the past few years. Very successful experiments have been made during the last few days, under the direction of Colonel Murphy, of the New York Fifteenth, in throwing a pontoon bridge across the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, just above the navy yard. On Saturday, a bridge of three hundred and sixty feet in length was constructed in a few minutes, and submitted to severe practical tests, with entire success. It is very simple in construction.

INGENUOUS PIECE OF VILLAINY.

A very ingenious piece of villainy, and of a dangerous character, has just been discovered by an officer connected with the Naval Ordnance Bureau.

A 50 pounder semi-stiel gun, forged by the Franklin Forge, of New York, and bored, rifled, and finished by Messrs. Carpenter & Plas, was taken to Staten Island for trial proof, when, at the ninth round, it burst, and upon examination it was discovered that, to cover up some defects in the base of the bore, an entire false chamber had been made, and so nicely fitted in the gun as to defy the most minute detection, until the gun broke.

Had this rifle passed the proof of ten rounds, and been received into the naval service, it would doubtless have burst and caused loss of life and serious damage to the vessel.

The forgers attribute this clever piece of rascality to the fishers of the gun.

DISCHARGED FROM HOSPITAL.

William H. Evans, colonel of the Third Pennsylvania cavalry, who, in the recent skirmish at Blaines, was charged upon by five mounted rebels, killed four of them, and was seriously wounded by the fifth, was on Friday discharged from the hospital. General McCall has, we understand, recommended him for promotion.

AN IMPORTANT DECISION.

The Secretary of War and the Paymaster General have just made an important, but just decision. The decision is in effect, that a soldier is entitled to pay from the day he enlists, and that he is not to wait till his company is full or the formal muster of the regiment into Government service.

The previous practice—that of considering pay only due from the date of the mustering in of the full company—has deprived the soldiers of a considerable amount of pay, and has caused great delay in enlistments.

THE REBEL FORCE GREATLY AUGMENTED.

Our scouts report an increase in the number of tents of the rebel army on the Potomac. A prisoner, taken on Thursday last, reports that the rebel generals had determined to advance from Centreville in three columns, numbering, in all, seventy-five thousand men, to attack our advance, which they expected to find on guard, and add further, that four days' rations had already been given out to the troops.

NOT SO.

The report that there was a considerable rebel force between Vienna and Fairfax Court-house is without foundation. A reconnoitering party, from Col. Averill's regiment, under Capt. White, went all through Vienna on Friday, and some distance on the road towards Fairfax, without meeting or even seeing the rebels. It is, however, believed that there remains about a regiment and a half at Fairfax. Nothing but pickets are seen this side.

POSTAL FACILITIES.

The citizens of Accomac and Northampton counties, Virginia, had an entire restoration of postal facilities.

upon ourselves. Whether it be by freeing or without freeing the slaves, I insist upon it that the nation's integrity shall be restored, and the nation be acknowledged, once and forever, as supreme over the whole territory included in the limits of the United States as they are marked out on our maps. That I insist upon as an American citizen, I wish to leave that to the speaker of the House, and to the people who have gone on to go forth in aiding to save that nation, and make it what it was destined to be, the pride and glory of the South. The speaker retired amidst enthusiastic applause.

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Monday, December 16, 1861.

Reading Matter on every page.

To Correspondents.—No attention will be paid to anonymous communications.

Our report of Mr. Brownson's lecture, compels us to postpone till to-morrow, a good deal of matter prepared for this day's issue.

THE REAL CHOICE.

It is quite idle to wish that the negro race did not exist at all in this country. It is here, and we have no option left on that point. We must take things as we find them.

It is objected to the policy of confiscating and liberating the slaves of rebels, that, to whatever extent it is carried, it will increase the number of free negroes, already, it is said, too large.

But the question is, not whether a free negro population is desirable, but whether it is likely to work as much, or more, or less mischief, than the same population in a condition of slavery. We must have it in the one form, or the other. That is a most stubbornly fixed fact. If there is any option remaining to us, it is simply whether this negro population shall be slave, or free.

Waiving any present controversy in respect to free negroes, it is sufficient that the most extravagant apprehensions in respect to them, fall indefinitely short of the evils which we have actually suffered, and are now actually suffering, in consequence of the enslavement of negroes. We know well that that system has brutalized and barbarized the fairest portion of our country, exhausted the richest soils, condemned the mass of the white race to ignorance and poverty, has been a constant element of disturbance in our national policy, and has finally culminated in the present wicked rebellion, with all its untold waste of blood and treasure. This is what the negro, in the condition of slavery, has done for us. He may still be injurious, in the condition of freedom, but nobody who reflects upon the mischiefs which slavery has brought in its train, will doubt that any change must be a change for the better.

The question is, not whether we shall have the negro among us, but in what form we shall have him, and it is not a fair matter of dispute, that the worst possible form is that which has covered the wide region from the Potomac to the Rio Grande with such melancholy monuments of physical and moral ruin.

MULTIPLYING NEGROES.—

The slaves in this country increased twenty-five per cent. during the last decade, and they have averaged that rate of multiplication for the last fifty years, and this wholly by natural increase, the African slave trade having ceased in 1808.

During the last decade the free negroes in this country increased only ten and one-half per cent., and by natural increase certainly not more than five per cent., their numbers being constantly swollen by manumissions and escapes from slavery.

This fact of the slow increase of free negroes has been constantly observed in this country.

Some of the causes of this slow increase of free negroes, and of the rapid multiplication of slaves, are obscure. Others are plain. But the fact itself is undisputed and indisputable.

The four millions of negroes which we have to-day in the condition of slavery, will, if left in that condition, become five millions in ten years. If emancipated, their increase in ten years, instead of being one million, will only be one-fifth of that amount, making the results of the last decade as the guide of the calculation.

It is slavery, which is the breeding mother of negroes.

By emancipation, we shall have eight hundred thousand fewer negroes in the country in 1870, than we shall have by continuing slavery.

THE RIVER.—

On Saturday, Messrs. Hale, Clark, Edwards, and Rollins of the New Hampshire delegation, and Mr. Rice of Massachusetts, together with friends, (including ladies,) went down the river in the steamer Mount Washington, to visit Col. Marston's New Hampshire regiment. After rounding Stump Point, the party proceeded to land in boats, when they were honored with two shots from the rebel batteries, both falling a little short of the steamer. There are indications that the rebels are adding to the number of their batteries there.

THE SUMMER.—

The statements current at St. Thomas, and which have caused the feeling there among the American residents against the captain of the Iroquois, are thus reported by Captain Rowland, of the brig T. W. Rowland, who arrived at New York last Friday, from Rio Janeiro by way of St. Thomas:

"The captain of the Iroquois sent a man on shore at Port Royal, Martinique, with signal lights, and gave him instructions to signalize the movements of the Sumter, and on the night of the 23d November, signals were made by the man on shore that she was leaving the harbor, but no notice was taken of it by the captain of the Iroquois. His first lieutenant tried to persuade him to give chase, which it is said could easily have been done, but he declined.

The movements of the Sumter were seen from the deck of the Iroquois. She took a southerly course, when the captain of the Iroquois gave orders to proceed to St. Thomas, making no effort to capture the privateer. These facts being known to St. Thomas, the general indignation prevailed among the Americans in port, and all other friends to the United States."

since he has rebelled, or his master has rebelled. I say that the slaveholder has given the right to declare my own freedom. Ever since I have been old enough to understand things, I have been an ardent abolitionist. I have been a Union man, and been awed by it. Because of a more than thirty years I have submitted to that bondage; but I felt that the shot that struck Sumter was a shot at my own father, and I have been forth a free man, [most enthusiastic applause.] and never will I consent to the restoration of this Union until I am assured that those chains will never again be thrown around my neck, or those stocks placed over my eyes. I may not dare to say my soul is my own, I will endanger the safety and peace of the Union. [Vehement applause.] This fear has happily been removed; they can no longer threaten me, for the worst that the most timid apprehended is upon us; and now that it is upon us, I say that we should no longer crouch and grovel beneath the lash of the Southern slave. [Vehement applause.] I insist upon it, therefore, that the interest of this Union and the Government shall be no longer sacrificed to the interests, whether confined to Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, or extended over all the Southern States—that they shall no longer be allowed to dictate the policy of the freemen of the North. [Loud applause.]

We bravely asserted our independence and our right to have a voice in the affairs of our own country in the selection of our President. We then gained a partial victory. Not the Republican party of the North merely, but all the loyal people of all the loyal States, gained a partial victory, and now I insist upon it, that the victory shall be complete. [Applause.] Whether the States that are now out of the Union are "whipped back" to their duty, or return of their own free will, I will not say; but they shall have all the rights which they are entitled to, and I will not consent to give them the right of throwing their slaves into the sea. If they insist upon keeping their own slaves, let them keep them; but they must no longer interfere, directly or indirectly, with the rights of citizens of the United States.

But will you free the negroes, and have all the horrors of San Domingo upon us? they ask. What were those horrors of San Domingo? How did they originate? Did they come from the negroes, or did they come from the slave-masters? The Assembly in France—the mother country—passed a law declaring the colored people of our colonies free. The government of the colony refused to carry out the decree, and the Assembly sent a commissioner of the mulattoes went and asked them to execute the laws which had been made in their favor. Instead of having his rights respected, he was taken, and was killed by mutilated and then covered with fire, laid in a public place on the sand, there to remain until he died, without any one being permitted to give him a drop of water to quench his thirst, or to give him any relief. He was then buried in the same way by the Catholic slaveholders of San Domingo, for none but chivalric slaveholders ever could have performed such horrible deeds as were there perpetrated. [Applause.]

By these base and inhuman acts the negroes were driven to desperation. The negro is a man for all, and any man when driven to desperation, will fight as a tiger in a defensive battle. When the mulattoes and blacks combined, I grant there were horrors, but those horrors might have been avoided if the slaveholders had of first been wise as I just. It was only the terror of the negroes that caused the terrible incident, that was doomed to many a guilty head.

And why is it, after all, that we have had no such insurrections and horrors in our own country? You tell me it is more to be feared than the class of people you have been accustomed to revile and despise than in any other cause. The South are included in the Abolitionists of the North, and the general position of the States then in any other class of people. You ask me, why? Because those men have kept alive in the heart of the slave the hope of a day's deliverance—of one day having his chains broken and being free. He will do anything for him of that hope, and you render him desperate, and cause him to become a tiger. I am well aware that it is hardly decorous to speak of Abolitionists without a respectful and contemptuous epithet. We have called them fanatics, but have we ever asked ourselves whether they were fanatics in any other sense than all living men are fanatics to the death?—we all are fanatics in some sense or other. I am a fanatical man, and I am a fanatical man. All disinterested men are fanatics to the self. I firmly believe that had we heeded their warnings earlier, treated them with less contempt, and given more respect to their consciences, and we should have been better off to-day. [Loud and continued applause.]

The horrors of San Domingo will come the moment you extinguish all hope of liberty in the slave's breast.

I am told that the slave has no desire to be free. I was, however, one day, on a Southern plantation, convinced of the contrary. Getting into conversation with a negro who was expert in his own trade, he said to me, [laughter.] he became quite complimentary, and some of his phrases. A friend of the negro, standing by, remarked—

"John like you would get him to link if you had the power you would get all the negroes free."

"[Aside.] "A rather difficult proposition to be met with on a slave plantation," I replied.

However, I love liberty; I think that you all have a very easy time here on your plantations, and are, after all, better off than are the free negroes."

"Dat may be, massa," quickly responded the darky; "I been told so, and have no doubt you are right in deit you know, massa, a man like to feel dat he own himself."

"A man likes to feel that he own himself," he proved to me that the hope of liberty and that many sentiments were not extinct in his breast. I had not owned him then for a month, but I had not done before. For I feared before that the iron had eaten into his very soul, and extinguished the last spark of his life. But he proved to me that.

"I asked, 'But would you let all the negroes go free?' I would make use, had I the power, and were I the authority of the Government, of the negroes in prosecuting this war in such a way as might be done with the greatest advantage to the nation, and to the best advantage. And when they had served in working out their liberty, I would never consent to have them returned to slavery. [Vehement applause.] But I know not what you mean, by 'letting them loose,' as the expression is often used. I do not suppose that any act of Congress, or any proclamation of the Government, would be effective any further than our own consciences, as far as we are concerned. Hence, they advance to protect and to govern the people of the Territories in their lives, whether they be whites or blacks. I do not believe that any man is so stupid as to propose to us to govern, and perhaps, I might say, for the sake of black and colored people. I do not believe that human nature has yet arrived to that degree of perfection, that all government should be gradual workings and operations of a stringent government everywhere, a constitutional government by all means, not a despotic and arbitrary one, but a strong and energetic government, capable of making its way felt on the prosecution of the war for this great country, and covering the disobedient whether they be States or whether they be individuals. [Applause.]

And this power, as it advances, I suppose will be able to free the negro portion of the population in subjection, to prevent them from committing crimes, or enacting any of those horrors which have been depicted, and at the same time protect them from their masters. I do not see any objection, if it is necessary, to the slaves to go further if you choose, and have the ability and can agree to do it, to your removing the black element from free American society, and giving a home to its own children. I would say to express my own conviction, I would say that I would prefer, at present at least, that the element should remain, if it is needed in labor, and needed in the other, the gradual workings and operations of a stringent government everywhere, a constitutional government by all means, not a despotic and arbitrary one, but a strong and energetic government, capable of making its way felt on the prosecution of the war for this great country, and covering the disobedient whether they be States or whether they be individuals. [Applause.]

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# NATIONAL REPUBLICAN.

## WASHINGTON BECOMING A FREE CITY.

LECTURE on the "NATIONAL CRISIS."

BY

REV. DR. BROWNSON, OF N. J.

REPORTED BY JAR. O. CLEPHANK.

As previously noticed by us, the Rev. Dr. Brownson, of New Jersey, on last Friday evening, delivered an exceedingly interesting lecture on the "National Crisis," at the Smithsonian Institution, before the Washington Lecture Association, which was enthusiastically received by the large audience present. We herewith subjoin a full report of the same, together with the introductory remarks of the Rev. Dr. Pierpont, President of the Association:

### REMARKS OF DR. PIERPONT.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:* To night we give the introductory lecture of the first popular course, as I understand it, that has ever been given or proposed to be given in the political metropolis of our nation. I hope, therefore, under these circumstances, you will indulge me in a few preliminary remarks, explanatory of the object and intention of those who have organized themselves together for the purpose of inviting the distinguished lecturers throughout the country to this city.

The object of the founder of this noble Institution, in which we are assembled to-night, was the promotion, diffusion, and increase of knowledge among men, and to this purpose have the funds been devoted. As I understand it, there are other sorts of knowledge besides those which fall distinctively under the name of the exact sciences. Natural history, I suppose, forms a part of knowledge—that is knowledge of the organized creatures of God, embracing a knowledge of the forms, habits, and habitus of the lower animals—and necessarily a knowledge of the highest animals that inhabit the globe. Androscology, I think, is as much a department of science—of knowledge certainly—as geology. It is as high knowledge to know mankind, as it is to know the globe which has been given us as our dwelling place; and androscology embraces not only this organism, but a part of the nature which is higher than that which belongs strictly to the material creation. It embraces his spiritual nature, his appetites, his wishes, his aspirations, his powers—the relations in which he stands to those who are around him in the world, and the duties which grow out of those relations. Among others are his political relations. Hitherto, it has not been accorded to the people of Washington to hear a course of popular lectures embracing the science of man, his relations, and all things appertaining to him. This was indeed a great deprivation to many. It was thought strange, indeed, that the highest minds in the country should be called to the lecture stand in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, and Chicago—throughout the whole line north of Mason and Dixon's line—and yet could have no audience in Washington. As the city had recently made great progress in other things, we thought it worthy of an experiment to see whether we could not, in the metropolis of the United States, secure an audience to a popular course of lectures, which should be perfectly free so far as the lecturer

should be perfectly free so far as the lecturer was concerned—free to stand here and express himself upon any subject, moral, political, scientific, or social, to which he might be prompted by his studies or his genius. The large audience before me is an evidence that we were not mistaken in our opinion. [Applause.]

The gentleman whom I shall introduce to you is not one who is a novice. He has been known to the literary world for more than the last quarter of a century—the literary world not of America alone, but of Europe. He is a man who has seen a great many sides of a great many subjects. [Laughter.] Let me say this about him. [Continued laughter, which was heartily participated in by the gentleman referred to.] Turning to Dr. Brownson, the speaker in a good-humored manner apologetically observed, "Of course nothing was meant by that remark." [Renewed laughter.]

He who sees only one side of the subject certainly does not understand the whole of it. [Faint laughter.] He who never changes his opinion, it is pretty certain, never gets any wiser. [Applause.] Now, my friends, you will allow me to say to you, in his behalf, that whatever subject he takes hold of, he makes his hearer or his reader understand it. [Applause.] You know what he means by what he says. He is not like that witty friend who thought the proper function of language was to conceal ideas; nor is he like that fish (cuttle) that hides himself in his own ink; nor yet is he like the goddess of the classic poets, who, when her lover supposes he is about to embrace, finds that he is clasping a cloud.

No man but the speaker is responsible for what he says in this course of lectures. We do not previously drill our lecturers—[laughter and applause]—we do not take each one into an ante chamber, and say, "You must let us hear you lecture before you deliver it before a Washington audience." [Great laughter and applause.] We go upon the old doctrine of Ezekiel, the prophet, "that the righteousness of the righteous should be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." The speaker, alone, I repeat, is responsible for what he says. Understand me always—his hearer has an equal right to receive or reject what he hears. We wish to have everybody, speaker and hearer, entirely free. With these preliminary remarks, I take pleasure in introducing to you the Rev. O. A. Brownson, D. D., of New Jersey.

### REMARKS OF DR. BROWNSON.

After the very pleasant and flattering introduction which my friend has given me, I know not that I shall be able to answer the expectations that he may have raised. I bear witness, however, to the truth of one or two of his remarks. He said I was a man who had seen many sides of many subjects. [Laughter.] I believe that is true. I have made it a high point in my life to see, as far as I was able, every subject that I considered at all, on all sides. I never consider myself as understanding any subject until I have seen it in the point of view from which it will appear to be true. The man who has seen only the falsehood of a proposition has never understood it. The human mind was created for truth. Truth is its object, and in truth is its life. It never does, and never can embrace pure falsehood, and its errors always contain a mixture of truth. It is by virtue of the truth that he exhibits the error, and his error consists in misunderstanding, misinterpreting, or misapplying that truth; and if you wish to correct him, you have only to

distinguish between that error and the truth, enabling him to see that he can hold the truth without holding the error that he has grappled with it.

Another remark was made by the President, that "the speakers here were not drilled." Well, I think any one who should have undertaken to drill me preparatory to the lecture would have found a very refractory, and a very undisciplinable subject. [Laughter.] I make it my rule to think understandingly and honestly, as far as I know myself, and what I honestly believe that only will I speak. [Applause.] I ask nothing myself but a patient hearing, and if neither my arguments nor your own conceptions carry conviction, I expect you not to believe me. To-night, however, I shall speak probably with more than my usual independence; and yet it seems quite unnecessary that I should come here to the capital of the nation, from my studio, an obscure individual, to speak here, where for nearly three-fourths of every year is the resident and congregated wisdom of the Union; and where, whatever there is of political wisdom and of science in the country, we have a right to presume assemblies here, and make itself heard. However, I have been invited here to give a lecture on the "National Crisis." I will not be able to give you a lecture, because such implies reading, and I am unable to read in the night, and very little in the day. Though not absolutely blind, I have very little use of my eyesight. I propose, therefore, instead of giving you a lecture, to give you a talk.

The subject upon which I have been invited to address you this evening is the "National Crisis." I word it *national*. I use the word "national" with design, not merely to supply the place of some epithet to qualify the word "crisis," for I honestly believe we are now in the midst of a "National Crisis," because I believe that this country called the United States is a nation. [applause.] I believe it is a nation because it has been acknowledged as such by other nations, and, for the greatest part of a century, has been treated as a nation; because it has a national flag, a national motto, and because it has performed the functions of a nation, has claimed the rights, and exercised the rights of a nation. It has had the obligations of a nation, and has performed those obligations to other nations. I know there are theories all at which seem to deny our nationality—theories of this kind, that we were not a nation, but a league, or a confederation of sovereign States or sovereign nations, have been afloat for many years. And this theory has finally come into collision with the other theory that we are a nation, and the wise men on neither side have been able to determine which is the proper one, and we are now using the last resort.

We have appealed from argument, or, as we may say, rather that a portion—those who adopted the anti-national, confederate theory—have appealed from the argument of the ballot to the argument of the bullet, and the contest now waging is to settle the question, and, I trust, to settle it forever. [Applause.] We are, or are not. [Loud applause.] I wish to know whether this is the national capital in which I have the honor to stand, or whether it is merely the capital of the District of Columbia? [Laughter and applause.] I wish to know whether I am in my own country, under my own national flag, addressing my fellow citizens, when I am here speaking in this capital, or whether I am here speaking to the people of a foreign State, a foreign Territory, or a foreign community? Am I at home here, standing on my own national homestead, or am I an intruder? I wish to know, when I go into another State, whether I have gone out of my own country into the Territory of another nationality. Now, I believe that I am at home here, and I am here in my own country, on my own native soil, speaking to my own coun-

own native soil, speaking to my own countrymen and fellow-citizens, just as much as though I was born either on this or on the other side of the Potomac. As much so as I should be in Massachusetts, if born there, or returned to my own native State, and addressing my own countrymen, the Green Mountain Boys, [applause.] for it so happens that my native State was Vermont. [Applause.] An excellent State to emigrate from, but still better to live in. [Laughter and applause.]

I will not be able to go largely into an argument to prove this point, but one or two thoughts occur to me at this moment, which I think deserving of some consideration. Now, the District of Columbia does not constitute a State. It has no State organization; and I would ask the very simple question, whether those born in this District, of parents who are residents of the country, are or are not citizens of the United States. If they are citizens of the United States, by virtue of what law? By virtue of a State or of a Federal law? Persons of the same description born in any of the Territories—in Nebraska, Dacotah, Nevada, or in New Mexico—are citizens of the United States, not by virtue of the fact that they were citizens of the particular Territory. By no means. If they have never been citizens of any particular State, yet born upon American soil, they are citizens of the United States. A person born in this country, migrating into a Territory, or any one State of this Union, would become a citizen of that State, not by virtue of any act of naturalization, but without such, because they were citizens of the United States before. A foreigner comes here, he is naturalized a citizen of Massachusetts, or of Rhode Island, or Virginia, but he is naturalized a citizen of the United States by the very act itself.

Now, I consider that that must be a National Government where all who are free, born free in its territory, not foreigners, must be citizens. If it is not, I do not know by what rule to determine whether a country is or is not a nation. I am aware it has been customary to call the Constitution of the Union a compact. I believe it was so called by Washington, by Jefferson, and most of the framers of that instrument. They call it a compact, but what is that? What does that prove? If you go back to the time of the formation of the Constitution, you will find that the theory that all government was founded in compact, very generally prevailed. Locke, by his writings on government, had made popular this theory. Rousseau also published an elaborate essay maintaining the same principle. By calling it a compact, none of our fathers understood they were denying our existence as a Government. They called it a compact because they would express their conviction that it was a Government, for, according to their theory, all government was founded in compact. If there is any weight in these considerations, which are but few, I think I have a right to call this country a nation, as much so as any other that ever existed. By what means it became a nation, I do not now inquire.

It is a nation from the fact of being composed substantially of one people, of one race, of one language, and always while here, in this country, living under one and the same Government. Even as a Colonial Government we were, for political purposes, divided into colonies, and when we became independent by throwing off the English yoke, we did not lose our character of nationality, but simply cast off a foreign yoke to take up our own.

Yet, when I say—and this is a point I will lay some stress upon—that we are a nation, I do not mean to argue that we are a consolidated Republic, that the Federal system has no place

with us. I recognize the fact of State Rights. I believe States to be atomataus in their own sphere, and to have rights of their own which they did not derive from the Federal Government, and which, so long as they are faithful to their duty and do not transcend their own sphere, and forfeit their rights, the Federal Government cannot take away. [Applause.]

The same is true of an individual. He has certain inalienable rights which he does not derive from the State or from civil society, and which, so long as he is loyal and free from crime, civil society cannot take away—rights which he derives from Almighty God, and holds by the pattern given him by his Creator in the very nature of his being. [Loud applause.] Yet, because individuals have these rights, which are anterior to civil society, and for the protection of which civil society is, in a great measure, instituted, it does not follow that such does not exist, or that there is no State or civil supremacy, or no political authority to which every individual is subject. I may lose my rights, as a man, by my misdeeds, by my crimes; I may lose them by my treachery; I may lose them by transgressing the law in that degree that I forfeit my life, and with it my liberty. Then society may take them away, and punish me for my misdeeds by taking them away; but so long as I do not abuse my liberty or my rights, so long as I do not transcend them, so long I hold them from Almighty God himself, and can hold them up before the State, before the law, and say "these are mine; touch them only at your peril."

So with the proper or improper exercises of the States of their rights.

I admire the system of State lines, and the emulation which it induces; and I commend State pride. I have always maintained it for myself. Of all the thirty-four States of this Union, there is no State to which I have the same feeling that I have towards that in which I first drew my breath. [Applause.] I love that Green Mountain State, where I was born; where I drank in freedom from her pure breezes that came over the hills, or her rough winds that whistled around my early cottage home. There is no spot on all this earth so dear to me as that. And when I hear of some brave and noble deed performed by one of my own statesmen, I feel a thrill and pride of delight that I feel not in any other case. [Applause.] I regard all as my countrymen, no matter in what State they were born; but those from my own State are not only my countrymen, but I feel that they are my brothers. I complain of no feeling of this sort, unless it leads us to do injustice to others, any more than I complain of a man for loving his own family, and feeling a peculiar tenderness towards that family which he feels towards no other. I like the local arrangement of our Government. All that is local should be administered by State governments. I do not ask, nay, I opposed, and will oppose with no less energy, the attempt to centralize and make this a great central Republic. Do this, and you deprive it of its true strength, vigor, and proportions. [Applause.]

I make these remarks so that you shall not misunderstand my nationality. I say the United States Government is the Supreme Government. It has all the privileges and rights of a Government. It is a nation indeed that is formed by a Union. But what is a Union? Why the very definition of the word explains. "It is one formed from many," and unless you can have the idea of unity there, you can have no idea of Union. You may have juxtaposition, but you can have no Union, unless you have one produced from many. If you were to deny that the Union were a national Union, you would deny that it was a Union at all, and yet a Union it has always been called in all sections of our common country. So in our legal and other documents. It was a Union with the Convention in 1787, presided over by the immortal Washington. [Applause.] Yes, a Union was then formed, which, notwithstanding all abstract theories, all opposition, all the armed rebels, whatever their force, still exists, and shall forever subsist, [applause.] even if it shall require the life of every true patriot of this generation to maintain it. [Vociferous applause.]

applause.]

I have now given you my reasons why I have called this a "National Crisis." Let us now pass to consider the "Crisis" itself. I take the question now at issue to be first and foremost—this very question of nationality. These Territories not yet formed into States, do they belong to the United States, or do they not? Do these States that profess to have seceded from the Union, were they, before their separation, a different portion of one national whole, or were they not? They say they were not. They say they had only formed a league with us; and that, not being satisfied with it, they chose to break it. Let it be that there was a compact even; that the Government was only of the nature of a contract; it was one of those contracts in which each is bound for all and all for each, and can be dissolved—rightly dissolved—only by the consent of all the contracting parties. [Applause.] Take even that ground, and I say that no State has a right, of itself, to secede—to break the contract. [That's it.] I have no right to break a contract which I have formed with another, without consent. I am at least guilty of a breach of faith—of a solemn obligation. To me, to break faith is to be disloyal, which is to be a criminal, for I hold that there is no greater crime than that of breaking faith solemnly plighted.

In any point of view, then, the attempt at secession is a crime. If we are a nation, it is clearly rebellion against the national authority. If we are only a compact, it is an attempt to break illegally and unjustly that compact without the consent of others. And they are faith-breakers. That, however, I suppose they regard as no particular offence, because it is a thing in which they have often abounded. [Laughter and applause.]

Passing over this, we have now to settle this question, whether we are a nation; whether this Government has the necessary faculties to maintain itself, and to perform its functions as a government over the whole territory within what has always been known as the United States, whether originally belonging to the United States, or since acquired by treaty or purchase. Is this a supreme Government, or is it a mere rope of sand, which any one of the contracting parties may break at his leisure, and be permitted to go out and set up an establishment of his own? Not only to do this, but to drive the old folks themselves out of the homesteads, and take possession of them for himself. That is very much what was attempted in this case.

This question has now to be decided by war. There is no other alternative. War, I know, is regarded by many people as a terrible calamity; it is looked upon as the greatest of all evils, and many are there who have such a horror of war that they think peace is cheaply purchased at any price, even at the price of national dishonor, national degradation, and national dismemberment. But war is never itself the evil. The evil is in the causes that precede and lead to it. In our case, it would be the terrible effort the nation is making to exterminate a disease which the body politic had contracted, which was gradually approaching the seat of life, and threatening entire dissolution. To the eye of true patriotism our condition to-day is far less calamitous than it was four years ago. [Loud applause.]

War, for its own sake, is never justifiable. It is so only when it has for its object a redress of wrongs, or the obtaining of a solid and durable peace. [Applause.] But when it is necessary, it is not wrong, it is justifiable—nay, more, it is sacred and holy. [Renewed applause.] It is a severe remedy, but, nevertheless, one that must be resorted to in desperate cases, if we would effect a cure or hope to recover it. There are worse evils than war, and our country, as I have said, was in a more calamitous

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condition four years ago than it is now. With your slave interest in full power, and with the combinations it formed, ruling the nation and betaking its policy, with Young America at the North, reckless and destitute of principle, managing our politics, under the leads of Fernando Wood and New York Herald—[long and prolonged applause and laughter]—with the fearful loss of honesty and integrity in both public and private life, with habits of extravagance and luxury, which were extending over the country, we were hastening, with rapid strides, towards our ruin; and far-sighted and thoughtful men were beginning to despair of the Republic. We had well nigh lost our manhood; we were bent on gain, and only gain, and counted things only as they affected our ledgers. [Laughter.] We were losing sight of the fact that there are nobler things on God's earth than merely material prosperity; greater things than mere peaceful pursuits; that there were nobler things than that of gaining an election, of carrying your point by intriguing with the great unwashed, which we call the New York roughs. [Laughter.] Loss of honor of honesty, and the loss of manhood, is a thousand times greater than any other losses which war can bring upon the people. War calls forth the nobler energies of the man.

When we are becoming effeminate, by being absorbed in the pursuit of gain or the pursuit of pleasure, then war comes as a restorative, calls forth those qualities which have lain dormant, develops the man, if there be any man left, and gives us for a nation of mammon-worshippers, a nation of heroes. [Loud applause.] The highest on the list of those honored in Heaven and on the earth, stand those who are martyrs for religion. But next to them, humanity always places the soldier who falls fighting in a noble and just cause. [Enthusiastic applause.] Religion honors her martyrs, and humanity requires always as the twin brother of him who marches to the stake or the scaffold to lay down his life for his faith, the brave soldier who marches to the battlefield, and falls in defence of his country.

These noble and heroic qualities, which war calls forth, do more to regenerate and revivify a nation in two, three, or four years, than a century of prosperity can do. Generally, with prosperity, we wax weak; we lose our noble qualities, and cease to be what Almighty God intended we should be—men! Not only men who can bow lowly before authority, and submit in all deference, but men, when the right is invaded, when the Government is threatened, can stand up in defence, willing to pour out freely not only their treasure, but their blood. I think that we, as a people, need it. This is the kind of correction which war is bringing us. War is a business; it requires the exercise of the active virtues; and it is a work for men, not for women, in which the man is wrought up to the very highest pitch of his manhood, and puts forth the full strength and energy of his masterly nature. It is only then that we see what men can be. I therefore do not lament this war. I lament the causes which make it necessary; but since those causes did exist, since it has become necessary, I welcome it with all my heart. [Prolonged applause.] And I only ask, "let it be war," not a mere mimic fight, [applause.] but stern, inexorable, unrelenting war. [Immense applause.] War until peace comes. [Renewed applause.] I do not regard this as a time to play at war. We are not now sitting at our ease in the private box at the theatre, witnessing a mimic representation of war. The terrible reality itself is before us; and these are not pasteboard soldiers that pass and repass across the stage, but they are real soldiers, [aside.] or ought to be. [Loud applause.] Now that war is upon us, we must not only have the courage to fight, but we must have that still greater courage—the courage not only to die, but the courage to kill. [Applause.]

I understand well the old maxim, "*Parcere subiciis et debellare superbos.*" Our business policy is *debellare superbos*. When we have prostrated the proud, when they have ceased to exist, no man will go further than I in sparing the subjected. Then, but not till then, is the time for tenderness, pity, and love, to exert all their divine influences. It is not because I am inhuman; it is because I am human, because I would bring about the set-

tlement of this difficulty in the quickest way, and in a manner least shocking to humanity, that I ask for stern, inexorable war. I want no war carried on on peace principles. [Applause.] I want no war carried on on the principle of treating the enemy as your friend, giving him every advantage, and doing him the least possible harm. [Laughter and applause.] The very design of war is to do harm—to do the greatest possible harm, while it lasts, to the enemy, in order to bring him into subjection, with the least possible injury to ourselves.

Never give up all intention of having war, lay down your arms, and let the proud *superbos* trample on your necks, and prove yourselves poltroons and cowards, or else take up your arms and meet the enemy, and say to him, —"Lay on, McDuff."

And damned be he who first cries hold, enough! I only regret that I am too old to pass the inspection of the mustering officer. And I thought, since I could not do much by fighting, I would endeavor to do as much as I could by speaking a big word. [Laughter.] I am not usually envious, but oh, I do envy the young patriot of to-day the glorious opportunity he offers him. Our heroic fathers founded this nation, and proved by their heroic deeds that they could win a nation; and you, young men, today have the opportunity to prove that if you cannot win a nation, you can at least preserve a nation's strength and adorn and beautify it. [Applause.] Never was there a more glorious opportunity for one who was not born to greatness to achieve it. [Applause.] There are 600,000 men in the army, and every man of that army has an opportunity to prove himself a hero. Nothing would I have rejoiced in more, when I was young, than to have had the opportunity that now falls to my children. [Applause.]

Politically speaking, I am neither a Democrat nor a Republican. I never belonged to any party. I never could find enough to make up a party with me, and, therefore, I generally stood alone—a party in myself, which is the case at the present time. I owe allegiance to no party, but I owe the strictest and most unreserved loyalty to my God, and those he has authorized to speak in His name. I owe my duty to my countrymen, but I owe no allegiance to sect or party. I never did, and thank God, I never will. As long as I live, I will be a freeman, answerable only for the abuse I make of my freedom. But this war has been brought upon us by an institution in this country called slavery. I am not an abolitionist. I never was one. I was the personal and political friend, for a great number of years, of the great Southern nullifier, John C. Calhoun. I only mention this to show you that I have not been an abolitionist. I do not call myself an abolitionist to-day; but I say, "this war has been caused by slavery," and I say that the question as it now stands in my mind is, "Which shall be sacrificed, the nation or slavery?" [Enthusiastic applause.] I do not want this war waged for the abolition of slavery, but for the restoration of the Union, and the vindication of the supremacy and integrity of the nation. But I say if it is necessary in the prosecution of the war for this end, that slavery shall give way, I say let slavery perish, but the Union must and shall be preserved. [Great applause.] I have no disposition to interfere with negro slavery anywhere on the earth, but I say I am not fond of it. [Laughter.] I do not like it.

I have told you that I was a freeman; and I bid you what sort of freedom I demanded for myself. Now that freedom—and I only repeat the words I repeated in Charleston, South Carolina, in May, 1836—is this: "I love liberty; I will fight to the death to maintain my own liberty; and that which I ask for myself, and am determined to defend for myself, I will to the fullest of my ability extend to every other man, be he white or be he black, be he red or be he yellow, or be he pepper color." [Laughter and loud applause.] I see in the negro a man, a human being of the same race with myself, created by the same God, redeemed by the same Redeemer, and destined to the same state hereafter. I look upon him as my brother, and I have no more right to rob him of his rights, and to make him my slave, than he has to rob me of mine. [Applause.] I shall therefore not regret even if slavery has to give way; and now that the test has come, I insist on one thing: that this question of nationality, and even this question of slavery itself, shall be forever settled. [Loud applause.] I do not say that I insist it shall be settled by abolishing slavery; but I say it shall be so far settled that the subject of the "eternal nigger" will never be again raised in our politics. [Laughter.] We have too much of the negro already; and

ever since he has rebelled, or his master has rebelled, "I say that the slaveholder has given the right to declare my own freedom." Ever since I have been old enough to discern things, I have heard of the threatened dissolution of the Union, and been awed by it. Because of it, more than thirty years I have submitted to that bondage; but I felt that the shot that struck Sumter knocked off my own fetters and made me henceforth a free man, [most enthusiastic applause;] and never will I consent to the restoration of this Union until I am assured that those chains will never again be thrown around my legs, or those fetlocks placed on my lips. I may not dare to say my soul is my own, but I endanger the safety and peace of the nation. [Vehement applause.] This fear has happily been removed; they can no longer threaten, for the worst that the most timid apprehended is upon us; and now that it is upon us, I say that we should no longer crouch and grovel beneath the lash of the Southern slaveholder. [Applause.] I insist upon it, therefore, that the interest of this Union and of this Government shall be no longer sacrificed to the slave interest, whether confined to Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, or extended over all the Southern States—that they shall no longer be allowed to dictate the policy of the freemen of the North. [Loud applause.]

We bravely asserted our independence and our right to have a voice in the affairs of our own country in the selection of our last President. We then gained a partial victory. Not the Republican party of the North merely, but all the loyal people of all the loyal States, gained a partial victory, and now I insist upon it that that victory shall be complete. [Applause.] Whether the States that are now out of the Union are "whipped back" to their duty, or return of their own free will, I will insist upon their having equal rights with all the others, but I will never consent to give them the right of throwing their slaves into the scales. If they insist upon keeping their own slaves, let them keep them; but they must no longer interfere, directly or indirectly, with my rights or dignity as a man.

But will you free the negroes, and have all the horrors of San Domingo upon us? they ask. What were those horrors of San Domingo? How did they originate? Did they commence with the slaves, or did they commence with the slave-masters? The Assembly in France—the mother country—passed a law declaring the colored people or mulattoes free. The Government of the colony refused to carry out the decrees of the Supreme Assembly. A commissioner of the mulattoes went and asked them to execute the laws which had been made in their favor. Instead of having his petition granted, he was taken, his body horribly mutilated and then covered with flies, laid in a public place on the sand, there to remain until he died, without any one being permitted to give him a drop of water to quench his thirst or in any way to relieve his agony. Others were treated in the same way by the chivalric slaveholders of San Domingo, for none but chivalric slaveholders ever could have performed such horrible deeds as were there perpetrated. [Applause.]

By these base and inhuman acts the negroes were driven to desperation. The negro is a man for all, and any man when driven to desperation becomes a tiger in atrocity. After that, when the mulattoes and blacks combined, I grant there were horrors, but those horrors might have been avoided if the slaveholders had at first been wise and just. It was only the terrible vengeance wreaked too often upon the innocent, that was doomed to many a guilty head.

And why is it, after all, that we have had no such insurrections and horrors in our own country? You owe it more to the influence of the class of people you have been accustomed to revile and despise than to any other cause. The South are indebted more to the Abolitionists of the North for the peaceful possession of their slaves than to any other class of people. You ask me, why? Because those men have kept alive in the heart of the slave the hope one day of deliverance—of one day having his chains broken off and he allowed to go free. Deprive him of that hope, and you render him desperate, and cause him to become a tiger. I am well aware that it is hardly decorous to speak of Abolitionists without a reproachful and contemptuous epithet. We have called them fanatics, but have we ever asked ourselves

malice, but have we ever asked ourselves whether they were fanatics in any other sense than all living men are fanatics to the dead?—as all earnest men are fanatics to the lukewarm? All disinterested men are fanatics to the selfish. *I firmly believe that had we heeded their warnings earlier, treated them with less contempt, and given more respect to their counsels, we could have been better off to day.* [Loud and continued applause.]

The horrors of San Domingo will come the moment you extinguish all hope of liberty in the slave's breast.

I am told that the slave has no desire to be free. I was, however, one day, on a Southern plantation, convinced of the contrary. Getting into conversation with a negro who was exercising on my face the functions of a barber, [laughter,] he became quite complimentary in some of his phrases. A friend of the negro, standing by, remarked—

"John like you because he tink if you had the power you would gin all the niggers freedom."

[Aside.] "A rather difficult proposition to be met with on a slave plantation," I replied.

"However, I love liberty; I think that you all have an easy time here on your plantations, and are, after all, better off than are the free negroes."

"Dat may be, massa," quickly responded the darkey; "I been told so, and have no doubt you be right; but den you know, massa, a man like to feel dat he own himself."

"A man likes to feel that he owns himself."

Ah! that's a man who uttered those words. He proved to me that the hope of liberty and that manly sentiment were not extinct in his breast. I owned him then for a brother—a thing I had not done before. For I feared before that the iron had eaten into his very soul, and extinguished the last spark of his life. But to pass from this.

It is asked, "But would you let all the negroes go free?" I would make use, had I the power, and were I the authority of the Government, of the negroes in prosecuting this war in such a way as might be done with the greatest advantage to the national cause. [Loud applause.] And when they had served in working out their liberty, I would never consent to have them returned to slavery. [Vociferous applause.] But I know not what is meant, by "letting them loose," as the expression is often used. I do not suppose that any act of Congress, or any proclamation of the Government, would be effective any further than our forces advanced; and as far as our forces advance, they advance to protect and to govern the people of the Territories in their lives, whether they be whites or blacks. I do not believe it would be safe even for white people to go ungoverned, and, perhaps, I might say, far less so for black and colored people. I do not believe that human nature has yet arrived to that degree of perfection, that all government and laws can be dispensed with. I ask for a stringent government everywhere, a constitutional government by all means, not a despotic and arbitrary one, but a strong and energetic government, capable of making its way felt when necessary for restraining evil doers, and coercing the disobedient whether they be States or whether they be individuals. (Applause.)

(Applause.)

And this power, as it advances, I suppose will be able to hold the negro portion of the population in subjection, to prevent them from committing crimes, or enacting any of those horrors which have been depicted, and at the same time protect them from their masters. I have no objection, if it is necessary to free the slaves, to going further if you choose, and have the ability, and can agree to do it, to your removing the black element from free American society, and giving it a home of its own. Although, were I to express my own conviction, I would say that I would prefer, at present at least, that the element should remain, for it is needed in labor, and needed in the other, the gradual workings and operations of causes, for that thing will come ultimately. If the slaves are free, they will ultimately be removed from this continent. I, for myself, wish to see this country reserved for the white race alone, that this noble race, which we call ourselves, may prove what we are, and what we can be, when we are free to act out the nature that is in us. However this be, I insist upon it, if we wish to get safely through this crisis, this war must be prosecuted with vigor, with energy. Let us be prudent, let there be no rashness, let there be no attempt to move before we are ready, but let there be most energetic effort made to get on. And when we are ready to strike, let us strike a blow that will tell, and not rebound

upon ourselves. Whether it be by freeing or without freeing the slaves, I insist upon it that the national integrity shall be restored, and that nation be acknowledged, once and forever, as supreme over the whole territory included in the limits of the United States as they are marked out on our maps. That I insist upon as an American citizen. I wish to leave that country as a country for my children, and those who have gone or will go forth in aiding to save that nation, and make it what it was destined to be, the pride and glory of the earth.

The speaker retired amidst enthusiastic applause.