THE DAILY PITTSBURGH GAZETTE
AND COMMERCIAL JOURNAL.

ESTABLISHED IN 1786. PITTSBURGH, THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 9, 1862. VOLUME LXXV---NO. 278.

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THURSDAY MORNING, OCT. 9.

Mr. Sumner on the President's Proclamation and its Effects.

On Monday, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, CHARLES SUMNER, the eloquent and accomplished Senator of Massachusetts, addressed his constituents in a speech which occupied two hours in the delivery. We give some of the more important paragraphs of this noble address, as presenting in a clear and convincing light several topics in connection with the new policy of the war happily inaugurated by the late Proclamation of Freedom. Mr. SUMNER said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS: Meetings of the people in ancient Athens were opened with these words: "May the gods doom to perdition that man and all his race, who, on this occasion, shall speak, act, or contrive anything against the Commonwealth." With such an imprecation all were summoned to the duties of the citizen. But duties became urgent in proportion to perils. If ever there was occasion for these solemn words it is now, when the country is in danger—when the national capital itself is menaced—when all along the loyal border from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian territories west of the Mississippi, barbarian hordes under some Alaric of the South are marshaling their forces, and when death is knocking at the doors of so many happy homes. If ever there was occasion when country might claim the best and most self-forgetful efforts of all, it is now. Each in his way must act. Each must do what he can; the youthful and strong by giving themselves to the service; the weak, if in no other way, by scraping lint. Such is the call of patriotism. This country must be saved.

GOOD MEN AND GERMANS AND IRISH FOR THE WAR.

Among the omens which I hail with gladness in the union which now happily prevails among good men, in support alike of the State and National Governments—forgetting that they were Democrats—forgetting that they were Whigs; and disregarding all party names, to remember only the duties of the citizen. Another sign, not less cheering, is to be found in the generous devotion which all among us of foreign birth have offered to their adopted country. Germans fight as for their fatherland, and Irishmen fight as for Ireland; nor can our cause be less dear to the latter now that the spirit of Grattan and O'Connell has entered into it.

"NO PARTY."

Surely this is no time for the strife of party. Its jealousies and antipathies are now more than ever irrational. Its clamors of opposition are now more than ever ignoble. Unhappily there are some to whom its bitter, unforgiving temper has become so controlling that even at this moment they would rather enlist to put down a political enemy than to put down the rebel enemy of the country; they would rather help Wilson or John A. Andrew than hang Jefferson Davis or Robert Toombs. Such persons, with all their sweltered venom, are to be found here in Massachusetts. Assuming the badge of "no party," they are ready for any party, new or old, by which their prejudices may be gratified, thus verifying the pungent words of Col. Benton: "Wherever you will show me a man with the word 'no party' in his mouth, I will show you a man that figures at the head or tagglies at the tail of the most invidious party that ever existed." Of course, such persons cannot be expected to take part in a meeting like the present, which seeks to unite rather than to divide, while it rallies all to the support of the President and of this policy of Freedom which he has proclaimed.

OBJECTIONS TO PROCLAMATION.

The President recites the recent Acts of Congress applicable to this question, and calls upon all persons in the military or naval service to observe, obey and enforce them. But these acts provide that all slaves of rebels, taking refuge within the lines of our army, all slaves captured from rebels or deserted by them, and all slaves found within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, are and shall be held as slaves; and these acts further provide that no person in the military or naval service shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of any claim to a slave, or to surrender any such person to his alleged claimant, on the pain of being dismissed from the service; so that by these acts now proclaimed by the President, Freedom is practically secured to all who can find shelter within our lines, and the glorious flag of the Union, wherever it floats, becomes the flag of Freedom.

STAND BY THE PRESIDENT.

Thank God, that I live to enjoy this day! Thank God that my eyes have not closed without seeing this great salvation. The skies are brighter and the air purer, now that slavery has been handed over to judgment.

By the Proclamation of the President, all persons held as slaves Jan. 1, 1863, within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognise and maintain the freedom of such persons, and do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom. But beyond these most effective words, which do not go into operation before the new year, there are other words of immediate operation, constituting a present Edict of Emancipation.

Thank God for what has been already done, and let us all take heart as we go forward to uphold this great edict. For myself, I accept the Proclamation without note or comment. It is enough for me that, in the exercise of the war power, it strikes at the origin and mainspring of this rebellion, for I have never concealed the conviction that it mattered little where we struck slavery, provided only that we struck sincerely and in earnest. So is it all connected that the whole must suffer with every part, and the words of the poet will be verified, that "in striking tenth or ten-thousandth, we strike the chain alike."

PROGRESS DURING THIS YEAR.

Fellow citizens, a year has passed since I addressed you; but during this time what events for warning and encouragement. Amidst vicissitudes of war, the cause of Human Freedom has steadily and grandly advanced; not, perhaps, as you could desire, yet in no only cause which has not failed. Slavery and the Black Laws all abolished in the National Capitol; Slavery interdicted in all the National territory; the slave-trade placed under the ban of a new power with Great Britain; all persons in the military service prohibited from returning slaves or sitting in judgment on the claim of a master; the slaves of rebels emancipated by coming within our lines; a tender of compensation for the abolition of slaves. Such are some of the triumphs of freedom in the recent Congress. Amidst the doubts and uncertainties of the present hour let us think of these things and be comforted. I cannot forget that when last I spoke to you, I urged the liberation of the slaves of rebels, and especially that our officers should not be permitted to surrender to Slavery any human being who sought shelter within our lines; and I further suggested, if need be, a Bridge of Gold for the retreating fiend. And now all that I then proposed is embodied in the Legislation of the country, as the supreme law of the land, that our officers

MILITARY NECESSITY.

It was simply as a *military necessity* that I urged these measures; it is as a military necessity that I now uphold them and insist upon their completest and most generous execution, so that they shall have the largest scope and efficacy. Not as an Abolitionist, not as an anti-slavery man; not even as a philanthropist, if I may claim that honored name, do I now speak. I forget for the moment all the inutterable wrong of Slavery, and all the transcendent blessings of Freedom; for they do not belong to this argument. I think only of my country, menaced by rebellion, and ask how it shall be saved. But I have no policy—no theory—no resolutions to support; nothing which I will not gladly abandon if you will show me anything better;

If you know better rules than these be free,
Impart them; but if not, use these with me.

HELP FROM SLAVES CONSTITUTIONAL.

But it is said that all appeal to the slaves is unconstitutional; and it is openly assumed that rebels who make war on the Constitution are not, like other public enemies, beyond its protection. But why this peculiar tenderness whenever slavery is in question? Battalions may be shot down and property may be taken without due process of law, but slavery must not be touched. The ancient Egyptians, when conquered, submitted easily to the loss of life and property; but when a Roman soldier happened to kill a cat in the streets, they rose on him and tore him limb from limb, and the excitement was so violent that the generals overlooked the outrage, for fear of insurrection. Slavery is our sacred cat, which cannot be touched without fear of insurrection. Sir, I am tired and disgusted at hearing the Constitution perpetually invoked for slavery. According to certain persons, the Constitution is all for slavery and nothing for freedom. I am happy to say that with me just the reverse is the case. There are people who keep apothecaries' scales in which they nicely weigh everything that is done for Freedom. I have no such scales where freedom is in question; nor do I hesitate to say, that in a case of freedom all such nicety is unconstitutional.

The Constitution is not mean, stingy, and pettifogging, but it is open-handed, liberal, and just, inclining always in favor of Freedom, and enabling the Government in time of war to use any and every means and in every way, including the liberation of slaves, but also to confer any largess or bounty—it may be of money, or, better still, of Freedom—for services rendered. I do not dwell now on the unanswerable argument by which John Quincy Adams has placed this power beyond question. Whatever may be the provisions of the Constitution for the protection of the citizen, they are inapplicable to what is done against a public enemy. The law of an Italian city prohibited the letting of blood under penalty of death, but this was held not to apply to the surgeon who opened a vein to save the life of a citizen. In war there is no constitutional limit to the activity of the Executive, except the emergency. The safety of the people is the highest law. There is no law which the President can strike, there is nothing he can do against the rebellion, which is not constitutional. Only inaction can be unconstitutional.

JUSTIFIED BY HISTORIC PRECEDENTS.

Search the writers on the law of nations, and you will find an appeal to the slaves justified. Search history, whether in ancient or modern times, and you will find it justified by examples. In our revolution the appeal was made by three different British commanders—Lord Dunmore, Sir Henry Clinton, and Lord Cornwallis. I do not stop for details. That this appeal was not unsuccessful was evident from the language of Washington with regard to Dunmore, of whom he said: "His strength will increase as a snow-ball by rolling, and faster, if some expedient cannot be hit upon to convince the deluded followers of the impotency of his designs." Washington thought that if Dunmore was not crushed before the Spring he would be the most formidable enemy the colonies had. That such an appeal would be proper is admitted by Jefferson, while describing his own individual losses from Cornwallis:

"He destroyed all my growing crops and tobacco; he burned all my barns, containing the same articles of last year. Having taken what was worth taking, used, or *was to be expected*, all my stock of cattle, sheep and hogs, for the sustenance of his army, and carried off all the horses capable of service. He *carried off also about thirty slaves. Had this been to give them by edict, he would have done right.*"

Such are admissions made at the time, on the best information I could collect, I suppose the State of Virginia lost under Lord Cornwallis' hands, that year, about thirty thousand slaves." (Jefferson's Notes.)

I would be difficult to imagine testimony stronger. Here was a sufferer justly indignant for himself and State; but he does not doubt that an enemy would do right in carrying off slaves to give them freedom.

OBJECTIONS TO PROCLAMATION.

Do you ask the reasons alleged against this appeal? They all resolve themselves into objections of fact. The President by his Proclamation has already answered them practically; but I shall take them up in detail.

BORDER STATES.

I. The first objection, and most often repeated, is one which it is difficult to treat with patience. We are told that an appeal to slaves will offend the Border States, and that in this moment of trial, we must do as they tell us. It is of course slave-masters who speak for the States; and permit me to say, such persons, continuing to swear by slavery, are not competent witnesses with regard to it. Believing in slavery, believing in slavery, they are as incompetent to testify when it is in question, as husband and wife are incompetent to testify for each other. Justice proportion as we have followed them thus far we have been misled; and we shall continue to be misled so long as we follow them. Their influence has been perpetual paralysis. Nobody can counsel safety at this moment who adheres to slavery or who fails to see slavery as the origin and main spring of the rebellion. It is well known that for a long time in England all the efforts against Slavery, led by Wilberforce and Clarkson, were discountenanced and opposed by the slave-master in the distant islands. Be the proposition what it might, whether to abridge, to mitigate or ameliorate, there was always one steady dissent. Put not your trust in slave masters; do not harken to their promises; do not follow their counsels. Such is the plain lesson of English history—of French history—of Dutch history—of every country which has dealt with this question; ay, of Russian history at this very moment; and such also is the positive caution of English statesmen. On this point we have the concurring testimony of three names, each of whom is an authority. It is all embodied in a brief passage of a speech by Lord Brougham:

"I entirely concur in the observation of Mr. Burke, repeated and more happily expressed by Mr. Canning, that the masters of slaves are not to be trusted with making laws for Slavery; that nothing they do is ever found effective; and that if by some miracle they but chance to enact a wholesome regulation, it is always found to want what Mr. Burke calls *the executory principle*; it fails to execute itself."

These are emphatic words; and as often as I am reminded of the opinions of slave-masters on our present politics, when slavery is in question, I think of them as a solemn warning, confirmed by all the teachings of experience, early and late, in our own country.

OFFICERS WILL FLING DOWN ARMS.

II. Another objection to this appeal is that officers in our army will fling down their arms! Very well! Let the traitors fling down their arms; the sooner the better. They are unworthy to bear arms, and should be delivered up to the hissing and execration of mankind. But I will not dishonor officers, with the commission of the United States, by such an imputation on their loyalty or common sense. As officers they must know their duty too well, and, as intelligent men, they must know that the slaves are calculated to be their best and surest allies.

"SIDE ISSUE."

III. Another objection is that slavery is a "side issue," which must not be touched until the war is ended. But these wise objectors forget that it is precisely in order to end the war that slavery is to be touched, and that when they oppose this effort, they make a "side issue" in behalf of slavery calculated to weaken the National arm.

SLAVE INSURRECTION.

IV. Another objection has its origin in pity, that the rebels may be saved from a slave insurrection. God forbid that I should fail in any duty of humanity, or tenderness even; but I know no principle of war or of reason by which our rebels should be saved from the natural consequences of their own conduct. When they rose against a paternal government, they set the example of insurrection, which has carried death to so many firesides. They cannot complain if their slaves, with better reason, follow it. But this whole objection proceeds on a mistaken idea of the African slave. The story of St. Domingo, so often quoted against him, testifies to his humanity. It was only when Napoleon, in an evil hour, sought to re-enslave him, that those scenes of blood occurred which exhibit less the cruelty of the slave than the atrocious purposes of the white man. The African is not cruel, vindictive or harsh; but gentle, forgiving, and kind. Such is authentic history; nor does it appear, when the slaves left their masters, on the appeal of the British commanders during our Revolution, that they were guilty of any excess. It is true that labor was disorganized and the whole community weakened; and this is what we seek to accomplish in our rebel States.

SLAVES WILL OVERFLOW NORTH.

V. And yet one more objection is sometimes advanced. It is said that an appeal to the slaves will cause them to overflow into the North, where they will compete with other labor. This ill-considered and trivial objection subordinates the suppression of the rebellion to a question of labor, when, to a candid observer, it is clear that no such question can arise. There is no danger of any such overflow into the North. It is precisely the pressure of Slavery, and not the license of Freedom, that now causes the overflow that occurs. If Slavery were removed, the Africans would go back instead of coming here.

OBJECTIONS ALL ANSWERED.

Such are the objections of fact, so far as any exist within my knowledge. If any other has been made, I do not know it. I ask you frankly, have I not answered them?

WAR CHANGED IN CHARACTER, NOT IN OBJECT.

And now, thank God, the word has been spoken, greater word was never spoken. Emancipation has begun, and our country is already elevated and glorified. The war in which we are now engaged has not changed in object, but it has changed in character. Its object now, as at the beginning, is simply to put down the rebellion; but its character is derived from the new force at last enlisted, which must not only stamp itself upon all that is done, but absorb the whole war to itself, even as the rod of Aaron swallowed up all other rods. Vain will it be again to deludo European nations into the foolish belief that Slavery has nothing to do with the war; that it is a war for empire on one side and independence on the other; and that all generous hearts are to bear on the side of the rebellion. And vain also will be the other European cry, whether from an intemperate press or the cautious lips of statesmen, that separation is inevitable, and that our Government is doomed to witness the dismemberment of the Republic.

With this new alliance, all such forebodings will be falsified; the wishes of the Fathers will be fulfilled, and those Rights of Human Nature, which were the declared object of the National Union, will be vindicated. Thus inspired, the sword of Washington—that sword which, according to his last will and testament, was to be drawn only in self-defense or in defense of country and its rights—will once more marshal our armies to victory, while our flag, wherever it floats, will give freedom to all beneath its folds, and its proud inscription will be at last triumphantly fulfilled, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

WAR FOR ALL MANKIND.

But, fellow-citizens, the war which we wage is not merely for ourselves; it is for all mankind. Slavery yet lingers in Brazil, and beneath the Spanish flag in those two golden possessions, Cuba and Porto Rico; but nowhere can it survive its extinction here. Therefore we conquer for Liberty everywhere. Every more Slavery here worsens its gates all over the world and let the oppressed go free. Nor is this all. In saving the Republic we shall save civilization. Man throughout his long pilgrimage on earth has been compelled to suffer much; but Slavery is the heaviest burden which he has been called to bear; it is the only burden which our country has been called to bear. Let it drop, and our happy country, with Humanity in her train, all changed in raiment and in countenance like the Christian Pilgrim, will hurry rejoicing to the celestial gates. If thus far our example has failed, it is simply because of Slavery. It was vain to proclaim our unparalleled prosperity, the comfort diffused among a numerous people, prosperous without a stint, or even the education of our children; the enemies of the Republic simply said, "There is Slavery;" and our example became powerless. But let Slavery disappear, and this same example will be of irresistible might. Without firing a gun or sending a dispatch it will revolutionize the world.

Therefore, the battle which we now fight belongs to the grandest events of history. It constitutes one of those epochs from which Humanity will date. It is one of the battles of the ages—as when the millions of Persia were driven back from Greece, or when the Mohammedans, victors in Africa and Spain, were arrested in France by Charles Martel, and Western Europe was saved to Christianity. In such a cause no effort can be too great, no faith can be too determined. To die for country is pleasant and honorable. But all who die for country now, die also for Humanity. Wherever they lie in bloody fields, they will be remembered as the heroes through whom the Republic was saved and Civilization established forever.

But there are duties elsewhere than in bloody conflict. Each of us, in his place at home, by his best efforts, can do something, not only to sustain the soldier in the field, but also to sustain that sublime edict which will be to the soldier both sword and buckler, while it gives to the conflict all the inspiration of a great idea. In this hour of trial, let none of us fail. Above all, let none of us go over to the enemy, even should his tents for a moment be pitched in Faneuil Hall; and do not forget that there can be, but two parties—the party of the country, with the President for its head, and with Emancipation for its glorious watchword; and the party of the Rebellion, with Jefferson Davis for its head, and no other watchword than Slavery.

News from Secessia.

The N. Y. *Tribune* thus sums up the news from the South, by the latest arrival of Richmond and other papers:

The Rebel Congress is disposed to adjourn, and the public mind is much depressed. The *Examiner* wants Congress to hold on, saying that "the general acquiescence in the Executive management, right or wrong, has brought to us its bitter fruits; a close, vigilant, and firm performance of Congressional duties is as much demanded by the public exigencies as a bold control of the army." The papers seem to anticipate a great effort on the part of the North very soon, and are urging the most vigorous preparations to repel it. They are greatly disgusted with the loyalty of Maryland.

President Lincoln's proclamation is not much written about; what little is said is intended to show that the document is of no great account except as proving the infernal nature of the Yankee. A perusal of these rebel comments forcibly suggests the story of the sinner left out of the ark by Noah, who, finding entreaty to get in of no avail, finally yelled out, just before he went under, "Go to, thunder with your old scow; I don't believe there's going to be much of a shower, after all." The most interesting documents from Richmond are the proposals before Congress to retaliate upon the North for this proclamation, which the rebels assert to be so futile.

Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, leads off with a bill from the Judiciary Committee, the preamble to which is an improved copy of an old-time indictment for rigicide, the "wherefores" being perfectly frightful. The bill itself proposes that all officers hereafter captured shall be imprisoned at hard labor; that any white person commanding or aiding negroes in war against