en Washington Street, ROOM NO. 6 ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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For The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the
open, vit.—Wennett Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Edfito Jackson, and William L. Garrison, Jr.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." "I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that milnority takes, for the time, the place of all municipations, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; under that state of things, so far from its being

that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive agement of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, as roging, ou the cession of States, burdened with slavery, of as foreign power. . . It is a war power. I may it is a war, power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of inpursection, Congress has power to criy on the war, and west canky ir on, accounts or or he Laws or war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and numerical institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE

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VOL. XXXV. NO. 3.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1772

Selections.

. THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

SPEECH OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY, the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 6, 1865.

Mr. ASHLEY. I desire to call up this morning, great to notice previously given, the motion to consider the vote by which the joint resolution proteing an amendment to the Constitution in refwas rejected. Boes the gentleman call it up for

tion to-day? Mr. Ashler. No, sir; but for discussion, intend-

allow that discussion to run on until the es fit to order the main question to be put. FEAKER. This being private bill day, it a majority vote to set aside the considera-

nsideration of private bills was set aside by crity vote, and the motion to reconsider was

slavery had never been known in the United nates, and the proposition should be made in Con-rest to-day, to authorize the people of the several latest one-slave any portion of our own peoble or epople of any other country, it would be univer-thy enounced as an infamous and criminal propo-noa, and its author would be execrated, and justly, all right-thinking men, and held to be an enemy the buman race.

right-thinking men, and held to be an enemy buman race, not believe such a proposition could secure a ote in this House; and yet we all know that are of gentlemen, who could not be induced are a single free man, will nevertheless vote to ashare a single free man, will nevertheless vote to pp millions of men in slavery, who are by nature thelaws of God as much entitled to their free-ass we are. I will not attempt to explain this ange inconsistency, or make an argument to show fallery. I content myself with simply stating the

by sould seem as if no man favorable to peace, mored, and a restored Union could hesitate for a second as to how he should vote on this proposition. Journally, whetever of strife, sectional bitterness, and personal animosity these Halls have witnessed. my appearance in Congress, or, indeed, I may an appearance in Congress, or, indeed, I may aske the organization of parties in 1836, slabas usually been the sole cause. No observer or bistory, or of the political parties which have organized and disbanted, now hesitates to detail a sharery is the cause of this terrible civil All who understand anything of our troubles, rin this country or Europe, now know that but layery, there would have been no rebellion in country to-day.

first starry, there would have been no receimon in this country to-day.

In the very nature of things it was impossible for Ministrament organized as ours to endure half slave and half free, and nothing can be clearer to the reader of history, than that the men who made our constitution never expected nor desired the nation to remain half slave and half free. Our fathers were men of ideas, and they believed that with the sieption of the Constitution slavery would cease to cast. Sir, while demanding liberty for themselves, and proclaiming to the world the inalienable right of all pen to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they were not guilty of the infamy of making a Constitution which, by any fair rules of construction, can be interpreted into a denial of liberty, happiness, and justice to an entire race.

That the founders of the Republic were sadly dis-

estitation when the mean and a denial of those of the same in be interpreted into a denial of those of the Republic were saily disputation in their expectations that slavery would use on the adoption of the national Constitution is undoubtedly true. Instead of disappearing as they would be a supported of the same of so strengthened slavery, that in less than years, it became the dominant interest in the and in 1860 openly demanded the entire of the national Government. Because this dwas refused by the free laboring men of the steamen by the ree laboring men of the salve-masters of the South organized this ticked of all rebellions, and for nearly ears, have waged this terrible war with purpose of destroying the best form of tever youchsafed to man, in order to estated a Covernment whose correspondences ever vouchsafed to man, in order to es-stead a Government whose corner-stone uman slavery. This is the logic of the thas at last so fully developed itself that ki, including its most stupid editors, now it. The Government of our fathers be maintained, and slavery die, or sla-live and the Government be destroyed.

Had statesmen administered this Government for stream administered this Government for the past thirty years, instead of the trading politician who have disgraced it, first by apologizing for, then justifying, and at last openly defending slavery a a right guarantied by the national Constitution, reshould have had no such desolating war as we late in this country today.

are in this country to-day.

If the national Constitution had been rightfully If the national Constitution had been rightfully bistepreted, and the Government organized under a properly administered, slavery could not have gally existed in this country for a single hour, and fractically but a few years after the adoption of constitution. Only because the fundamental fraciples of the Government have been persistently violated in its administration, and the Constitution for growing perserved by the courts, is it necessary today to pass the amondment now under consideration.

see grossly perverted by the courts, and the constitution grossly perverted by the courts, is it necessary
to pass the amendment now under consideration. I say this much in vindication of the memory
of the great and good men who, when establishing
the Government, made a Constitution which to-day
athe best known among men.

As for myself, I do not believe any constitution
that is a great constitution of the consideration of the great and Government, democratic or despotic, can
significant the consideration of the great and Government cannot rightfully do it cannot rightfully
self-gally anthorize or even permit its subject to do.

I do not believe that there can be legally such a
ting as property in man. A majority in a republic
canot rightfully consider the minority, not can the
consideration of Governments make oppression just. I do
to, however, with to go into a discussion of the
precion of Governments make oppression just. I do
to discuss the consideration of the
proposition of shavery as an abstract question. It is a
risen so at war with human nature, so revolting
and brutal, and its withal so at variance with the
proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the consideration of the proposition of the propositio interests of Christianity, and every idea of justice, to absolutely indefensible in itself, that, I will not absorbed in the second of the sec

master, and sold them in the public shambles like beasts. Under the plea of Christianizing them, it has enslaved, beaten, maimed, and robbed millions of men for whose salvation the Man of sorrows died. has enslaved, beaten, maimed, and robbed millions of men for whose salvation the Man of sorrows died. It so constituted its courts that the complaints and appeals of these people could not be heard by reason of the decision "that black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect." It has for many years defield the Government and trampled upon the national Constitution, by kidnapping, imprisoning, mobbing, and murdering white citizens of the United States, guilty of no offence, except protesting against its terrible crimes. It has silenced every free pulpit within its control, and debauched thousands which ought to have been independent. It has denied the masses of poor white children within its power the privilege of free schools, and made free speech and a free press impossible within its domain; while ignorance, poverty, and vice are almost universal wherever it dominates. Such is slavery, our mortal enemy, and these are but a tithe of its crimes. No nation could adopt a code of laws which would sanction such enormities, and live. No man deserves the name of statesman who would consent that such a monster should live in the Republic for a single hour.

Mr. Soeaker, if slavery is wrong and criminal, as

sent that such a monster snound are an are for a single hour.

Mr. Speaker, if slavery is wrong and criminal, as the great body of enlightened and Christian men admit, it is certainly our duty to abolish it, if we have the power. Have we the power? The fifth article of the Constitution of the United States

reads as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall eem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any maner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

tion of the first article; and that no State, without is consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

The question which first presents itself in examining this provision of the Constitution is, what constitutes two-thirds of both flouses, or what, in the eyes of the Constitution, is two-thirds of the House of Representatives? Is it two-thirds of the House of Representatives? Is it two-thirds of the entire number of members to which all the States, including the States in rebellion, would be entitled, if they were all now represented, or is it two-thirds of the members who have been elected and qualified?

This question would have entered largely into the discussion of the subject now under consideration, had not your predecessor, Mr. Speaker, decided, and this House sustained him in declaring, that a majority of the members elected and recognized by the House made a constitutional quorum.

It has, so far as the action of this body can dispose of the question, been authoritatively settled, and settled as I think it should have been, by declaring that a majority of the members elected and qualified constitutes a quorum, and that two-thirds of a quorum can constitutionally pass this amendment. The question having been thus disposed of, I do not care to make an argument in support of a proposition thus authoritatively settled.

My colleague from the first district, [Mr. Pendloton,] in a speech which he made at the last session against the passage of this amendment, raised the question as to the constitutional power of Congress to propose, and three-fourths of the Legislatures of the several States adopted it, or, indeed, all the States save one, it would not legally become a part of the national Constitution. These are his words:

"But neither three-fourths of the States, nor all the States ave one, and bolish slavery in that dissenting

"But neither three-fourths of the States, nor all the States save one, can abolish slavery in that dissenting State, because it lies within the domain reserved en-tirely to each State for itself, and upon it the other States cannot enter."

tution aright and understand the force of language, the section which I have just quoted is to-day free thto a sign which I have just quoted is to-day free from all limitations and conditions save two, one of which provides that the suffrage of the several States in the Senate shall be equal, and that no State ns save two, one of shall lose this equality by any amendment of the Constitution without its consent; the other relates to taxation. These are the only conditions and

to taxation. These are the only conditions and limitations.

In my judgment, Congress may propose, and three-fourths of the States may adopt, any amendment, republican in its character and consistent with the continued existence of the nation, save in the two particulars just named.

If they cannot, then is the clause of the Constitution just quoted a dead letter; the States sovereign, the Government a confederation, and the United States not a nation.

The extent to which this question of State rights and State sovereignty has aided this terrible rebellion, and manacled and weakened the arm of the national Government, can hardly be estimated. Certainly doctrines so at war with the fundamental

tution just quoted a dead letter; the States sovereign, the Government a confederation, and the United States not a nation.

The extent to which this question of State rights and State sovereignty has aided this terrible rebellion, and manacled and weakened the arm of the national Government, can bardly be estimated. Certainly doctrines so at war with the fundamental principles of the Constitution could not be accepted and acted upon by any considerable number of our citizens, without eventually colminating in rebellion and civil war.

This fatal heresy doubtless carried many men of character and culture into the rebellion, who were sincerely attached to the Union. If we may credit the recently published private letters of General Lee, written in the spring of 1881, to his sister and friends, and never intended for publication, he was induced to unite his fortunes with the insurgents by the so-called secession of Virginia, under the belief that his first and highest allegiance was due to his State. Sir, I know how hard it is for loyal men to credit this. To thinking men, nothing seems more abourd than the political barresy called States rights in the sense which makes each State soveriegn, and the national Government the mere agent and creature of the United States antedates the Revolution.

It is enough for me to know that slavery has forced this terrible civil war upon us; a war which we could not have avoided, if we would, without an unconditional surrender to its degrading demands. It has thus attempted to strike a death-blow at the national life. It has shrouded the land in mourning and filled it with widows and orphans. It has publicly proclaimed itself the enemy of the Union and our unity as a free people. Its barbartites have no parallel in the world's history. The enormities committed by it upon our Union prisoners of war were never equalled in atrocity since the creation of man. For more than thirty years past there is no crime known among men which it has not committed under the sanction of law. It has bound men and wo men in chains, and even the children of the slave master, and sold them in the public shambles like independent, sovereign States. In order to make fruitful the blessings which they had promised them selves from independence, and to secure the unity and national citizenship for which they perilled life fortune, and honor, they made the national Constitution. They had tried a confederation. It did no secure them such a Union as they had fought for and they determined to "form a more perfect Union." For this purpose they met in national convention, and formed a national Constitution. They then submitted it to the electors of the States for their adoption or rejection. They did not submit to the States as States, nor to the governments of the then submitted it to the electors of the States for their adoption or rejection. They did not submit it to the States as States, nor to the governments of the several States, but to the citizens of the United States residing in all the States. This was the only way in which they could have submitted it and been consistent with the declaration made in the preamble, which says that "we, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, &c., do ordain and establish this Constitution." The whole people were represented in this convention. Through their representatives, they pledged each other that whenever the people of nine States should ratify and approve the Constitution submitted to them, it should be the Constitution of the nation.

In the light of these facts, to claim that our Government is a confederation and the States sovereign seems an absurdity too transparent for serious argument. Not only is the letter of the Constitution against such a doctrine, but history also. Since the adoption of the national Constitution, teenty-two States have been admitted into the Union and clothed with part of the national sovereignty. The territory out of which twenty-one of these States were formed was the common territory of the nation. It had been acquired by cession, conquest, or purchase. The sovereignty of the national Government over it was undispated. The people who settled upon it were citizens of the United States. These twenty-one States were organized by the concurrent action

was undisputed. The people who settled upon were citizens of the United States. These twenty ne States were organized by the concurrent action f the citizens of the United States and the nation Il Government. Without the consent of Congress hey would have remained Territories. What are absurdity, to claim that the citizens of the New Eng absurdity, to claim that the citizens of the New England States, or of all the States, or of any section of the Union, may settle upon the territory of the United States, form State governments, with barely inhabitants enough to secure one Representative in this House under the apportionment, secure admission as a State, and then assume to be sovereign and master of the national Government, with power to secede and unite with another and hostile Government at pleasure, and to treat all citizens of the United States as alien enemies who do not think it their duty to unite with them. This is the doctrine which deluded many men into this rebellion, and which seems to delude some men here with the idea that the national Constitution cannot be amended so as to abolish slavery, even if all the States in the the Union demanded it save Delaware. Under this theory of State sovereignty, States like Florida and Arkanasa, erected on the national domain, may, as soon as they secure admission into the Union, secede and embezzle all the property of the nation, including the public lands and forts and arsenals, declare all citizens of the United States who do not unite with them alien enemies, confiscate their property, rob them of their liberty, by impressing them into their army to fight against their own country and Government, and, if they refuse, to punish them by imprisonment and death. After doing this, if the authority to commit such wholesale robbery, impressments and murders is denied them by the national Government, they set up the claim that they are sovereign and independent, and are only defending their homes, their firesides and household gods, and we have men all over the North, who to-day defend this monstrous assumption and villany. and States, or of all the States, or of any section

fend this monstrous assumption and small.

Mr. Speaker, I presume no man, not even my colleague, will deny that when the thirteen colonies or States assembled by their representatives in the present national Constituconvention to make the present national Constitution, they might have abolished slavery at one Or, if the theory of the old parties is true, that Or, it the theory of the old parties is true, that republican Government may authorize or perm the enslavement of men, which I deny, they cou have provided for the emancipation of all slaves twenty or fifty years, if they had seen fit; and if the people of nine States had voted to ratify such a on, slavery could not, after have existed by State law and named, have existed by State law and in defiance of the national Constitution, either in one of the old thirteen States or in any one of the States admitted into the Union since its adoption. If it was competent for the men who made the national Constitution to prohibit slavery at that time, or to provide for its future prohibition, why is it not just as competent for us now? The framers of the Constitution provided for its amendment in the section which I have already quoted. This was a wise provision. They provided that when an amendment was proposed and adopted in the manner and form prescribed, it should become a part of the national Constitution, find be as valid and binding as though originally a part of that instrument.

Had the framers of the Constitution desired the protection and continuace of slavery, they could

protection and continuance of slavery, they could easily have provided against, an amendment of the charater of the one now before us by guarding thi

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

partment or officer thereof."

If I understand this provision correctly, it means that the framers of the Constitution intended that the national Government should be intrusted with the interpretation of the Constitution, not only as to the construction of the powers delegated by it to Congress, but to all departments of the national Government. They never intended that any State, or any number of States, nor the officials of State governments, should be competent in any capacity to judge of the infractions of the national Government, nor of the propriety of any law passed by Congress. Any citizen has the undoubted right to express his opinions, and criticise the action of the to judge of the infractions of the national Constitution by any department of the national Government, nor of the propriety of any law passed by
Congress. Any citizen has the undoubted right to
express his opinions, and criticise the action of the
General Government or of any department thereof; but neither is a State, nor are the officials of a
State, clothed with any authority to decide as to
the constitutionality of any law passed by Congress, nor as to the propriety of any act done by any
department of the national Government.

It is nat comprehension how any man with the

gress, nor as to the propriety of any act done by any department of the national Government. It, is past comprehension how any man with the Constitution before him, and the history of the convention which formed that Constitution within his reach, together with the repeated decisions of the Supreme Court against the assumption of the States rights pretensions, can be found at this late day defending the State sovereignty dogman and claiming that the national constitution cannot be so amended as to prohibit slavery, even though all the States of the Union save one gave it their approval.

That provision of the national Constitution which imposes upon Congress the duty of guaranteeing to the several States of the Union a republican form of government is one which impresses me as forcibly as any other with the idea of the utter indefensibility of the State sovereignty dogmas, and of the supreme power intended by the framers of the Constitution to be lodged in the national Government.

Constitution to be lodged in the national Government.

In this connection we ought not to overlook that provision of the Constitution which secures nationality of citizenship. The Constitution guaranties that the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens of the several States. It is a universal franchise, which cannot be confined to States, but belongs to the citizens of the Republic. We are fighting to maintain this national franchise and prevent its passing under the control of a foreign Power, where this great privilege would be denied us or so changed as to destroy its value. The nationality of our citizenship makes our Army a unit, although from distant States, and makes them also invincible. It is objected that if we pass this proposition, the requisits number of makes them also invincible. It is objected that i we pass this proposition, the requisite number o States cannot now be secured for its adoption. It answer to this objection, I have to say that Congress has not, in submitting the proposed amendment limited the time in which the State shall adopt it nor has Congress attempted authoritatively to declare that it will require the ratification of twenty seven States to adopt this amendment.

I hold that whenever three-fourths of the States now represented in Congress give their consent to this proposition, it will legally become a part of the out civil governments known to the Constitution, establish governments such as Congress shall recognize, and such States, together with any new States which may be admitted, shall be represented in Congress before three-fourths, of the States now represented adopt the proposed amendment; in which event the States thus recognized or admitted must be added to the number of States now represented in Congress, and the ratification of three-fourths of the States thus recognized, and none others, is all that will be required to adopt this amendment.

I lay it down as a proposition which I do not b lieve can be successfully controverted, that neither the Constitution of the United States nor the conthe Constitution of the United States nor the constituted authorities under it can know of the existence of a State in this Union unless it has a civil government organized in subordination to and working in harmony with the national Constitution. This principle has been fully recognized by all the coordinate branches of the Government since the outbreak of the rebellion. In this House we have authoritatively declared that a majority of the members elected and qualified are a quorum competent to transact business. The Senate at this session have adopted this rule also. Two-thirds of this quorum, then, if this decision be correct, as I believe it is, may constitutionally pass the proposition before us. If we may constitutionally pass the proposition before us. If we may constitutionally pass the proposition before us. If we may constitutionally pass the proposition before and Senate as now constitution, thereforths of the States now represented in Congress may constitutionally adopt it, provided they do so before any new States are admitted, or before a rebed State government is organized and recognized by the joint action of Congress and the Executive. I believe this is the true theory of the Constitution. Certainly it is the only theory consistent with national existence. If we adopt the theory that a State once a State is always a State, we have no safety from factions and revolutions. Suppose that within the territorial jurisdiction known on the map of the United States as South Carolina, there should be no civil government organized in the next fifty years such as Congress will recognize, do gentlemen claim that at the expiration of that time, the old State organization would still be in existence, and that in order to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment, such a State ought to be included in the number from which the constitutional three-fourths of the States must be secured for the ratification of an amendment? If not, then with what propriety can it be claimed as necessary to day? The consti stituted authorities under it can know of the exist ence of a State in this Union unless it has a civi

or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstandlag."

Section eighth, article one, enumerates seemteen
distinct sovereign, powers of a national character
conferred on Congress by the Constitution, and, as
if to leave no doubt on the minds of any, this extraordinary enumeration of powers is followed by
this sweeping and significant provision:

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and
proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in
the Government of the United States is supremy
that local governments in rebel States cannot
be put in motion without the consent of Congress,
whenever ten or more loyal men could be found to assume the Governorship
and a few of the subordinate offices therein. Loyal
this fallacy. They have learned by experience that
the Government of the United States are supported to the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in
the Government of the United States is supremy
that the consent of Congress, whenever ten or more loyal men could be found to assume the Governorship
and a few of the subordinate offices therein. Loyal
this fallacy. They have learned by experience that
the Government of the United States are fost being cured of
this fallacy. They have learned by experience that
the Government of the United States are not
be put in motion without the consent of Congress.

it was such a crime that those committing it forfeit
ed all rights guarantied them by the national Con
stitution under their State organization.

Mr. Speaker, can there be such a thing know
to our national Constitution as a State without a
constitutional government? In my opinion, sir
a State government, to be constitutional, must be
organized and act in subordination to the nationa
Constitution, and in obedience to the laws of Con
gress. The national Constitution, requires the offe Constitution, and in obedience to the laws of Congress. The national Constitution requires the officers in each State to swear to support it while discharging the duties of any State office to which the may have been elected or appointed. If a Stat does not act in subordination to the national Constitution, and its officers do not take an oath to sup port it, and they send no Senators or Representa-tives to Congress, there can be no constitutional State government in such State. Add to this the crime of secession, rebellion, and levying war, and the taking of an oath by the officers of such State to support another and a hostile government, and I claim it terminates, of necessity, and of right claim it terminates, of necessity, and of right ought to terminate, the existence of a constitution a government unknown to the Constitution estab lished by the action of its citizens, then, in fact, there lished by the action of its citizens, then, in fact, there is no consitutional State government, and, of course, no State known to the Constitution. The States then in rebellion have no constitutional governments. They have civil organizations, however, hostile to the United States; organizations which are recognized as de facto rebel governments. When the rebellion is suppressed, there will be no constitutional State governments, in fact, in one of the rebel States, and certainly the rebel de facto government cannot remain or be recognized by us

When the rebellion is suppressed, there will be no constitutional State governments, in fact, in one of the rebel States, and certainly the rebel de facto government cannot remain or be recognized by us after the rebellion is put down. The people residing within the limits of these so-called States will be under the exclosive jurisdiction of Congress, because in point of fact they cannot be subject to the laws of a State which has no State government known to the national Constitution.

I may be answered that it is the duty of Congress to gouranty to each State a republican form of government, and that this provision of the Constitution implies the continued existence of the State, although its government may have been overthrown by violence or by the deliberate acts of a majority of its citizens. Grant it for the sake of the argument, but what will be the legal condition of such State if the minority do not call upon Congress to secure them a republican government? What will be its condition if Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, attempts to secure such State a republican government and loyal citizens cannot be found in sufficient numbers to maintain a State government? Is not the condition of such State for the time being that of a quasi Territory? Certainly, during the time it remains in rebellion and is unable to maintain a State government, it is not a State. If so, then, for practical purposes, whether of national administration or for the adoption of this amendment, States in rebellion and without civil governments which Congress can recognize, are not States within the meaning of the Constitution, and cannot act upon this amendment to the Constitution, or do any other act which a loyal State of the Union may lawfully do.

In pursuing this argument, we must keep steadily in view the fact that the United States are not a confederation, but a nation; that the national Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that the Government organized under it is clothed with the sovereignty o residing therein, are

States within the threating of the constitution, and the territory, and the citizens residing therein, are subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, the same as citizens in any Territory of the United States. If the contrary theory is true, that a State once a State is always a State, nothing can be clearer to my mind than that the Constitution ought to be so so amended at once as to make it impossible for a minority of the States to destroy the Government, as they might do every four years, if the Electoral College failed to elect a President and Vice President of the United States.

In the event of the Electoral College failing to elect, the duty devolves on the House of Representatives; each State having one vote. Two thirds of all the States must be present, and a majority of all the States is required to elect a President. The same rule applies when a Vice President is to be same rule applies when a Vice President is to be Constitution:

a But in choosing the President, the voter shall be faken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States.

Now, suppose that from any cause two of the States represented here were not represented, and there were but treenty-three States represented in this House, and there had been no election in 1864 of a President by the Electoral College. The election for President in that event would have devolved on this House.

World was Mr. S.

these Halls, or their local government recognized by Congress for the past fifty years. Certainly a change of the past fifty years. Certainly to thoughtful man who has carefully examined this subject will defend the absurdity of the constitutional existence of political communities which we call States after their constitutional State governments have been destroyed by the action of their own citizens.

Speeches were made at the last session, and indeed at every session of Congress since the rebellou, to prove that the several acts of secession of the rebel States heing illegal, were therefore void, and that the State constitutions in those States not of the rebel States sheing illegal, were therefore void, and that the State constitutions in those States not of the rebel states, including the eleven rebel of the rebel States being illegal, were therefore void, and that the State constitutions in those States not of the rebel states are present there are the present of the rebel states are present, there should have been an end of the Government. If we could not proceed to elect a President with the

Representatives of twenty-three out of the twenty-five loyal States, the Government would have fallen to pieces for the want of an Executive. If the duty of electing a President had devolved on this House at this session, and but twenty-three States were present, the question would not only have been raised as to what constituted a quorum, but the question also as to whether we should receive and count the elections are the control water which in the centre of th to what constitutes a question and count the elec-toral votes which, in the event of no election of Pres-ident by the Electoral College, would probably have been sent here from several of the rebel States to embarrass, distract and divide us. Sir, no loyal

ident by the Electoral College, would probably have been sent here from several of the rebel States to embarrass, distract and divide us. Sir, no loyal man can contemplate a contingency such as I have suggested without a shudder. If the theory that a State once a State is always a State is to obtain in the national administration, there is no safety or security for the Government. I do not know, sir, how you would have decided such a question, if it had been raised under circumstances such as I have suggested; but I have faith to believe that you would have decided as I would have decided, that this House cannot know of the existence of State in this Union which has not a civil government organized in subordination to and working in harmony with the national Constitution. Any other decision would have been Itatal to our national existence. Let us not set a bad precedent now by declaring that it will require the ratification of themty-seven States to secure the adoption of this constitutional amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I find ample authority in the Constitution for the national Government to protect itself against any action which a minority of the States might attempt by confederating against it. The Constitution clothes Congress with the power "to declare the punishment of treason." It clothes Congress with all power necessary to defend and preserve the Government which it created. "Levying war against the United States" is declared by the Constitution to be treason. A State which, by its constituted authorities, supported by a majority of its citizens, enters into any "treaty, alliance, or confederation," and makes war upon the national Government to commits the crime of treason, and it is competent for Congress to inflict any penalty it may deem expedient. I want the national Government to inflict punishment so terrible upon the authors of this rebellion that in all coming time there shall be no such rebellion again. I want no precedent established which shall pave the way for a minority of the Government. Sec

THE ENGLISH WORKING MEN TO MR. LIN-COLN.

The following address from the working men of England to Mr. Lincoln, congratulating him upon his redlection, appears in the London Daily News of December 23. It has been forwarded to Washington through Mr. Adams: " To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States :

"Sin: We congratulate the American people upon your reelection by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your reelection is 'Death to Slavery.' From the commencement of the Titanic American strife, the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories, which opened the dire conflict, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant, or prostituted by the tramp of the slave-driver? When an oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders dared to inscribe, for the first time in the annals of the world, slavery on hundred thousand slaveholders dared to inseribe, for the first time in the annals of the world, flavery on the banner of armed revolt; when, on the very spots where hardly a century ago, the idea of one great democratic republic had first spring up, whence the first declaration of the rights of man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter revolution, with systematic thor-oughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old Constitu-tion,' and maintained slavery to be a beneficent inition, and maintained slavery to be a beneficent in-stitution, indeed, the only solution of the great prob-lem of the relation of capital to labor, and 'cynically proclaimed property in man' the corner-stone of the new edifice; then the working classes of Europe un-derstood at once, even before the frantic partizangiven its dismal warning, that the sla llion was to sound the toosin for a ge-ade of property against labor, and il of labor, with their hopes for the fu dous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic Everywhere they bore, therefore, patiently, the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention importunities of their 'betters,' and from most parts of Europe contributed their quots of blood to the good cause. While the working men the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war. The workingmen of Europe feel sure that, as the American war of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come, that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the Engleminded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race, and the reconstruction of a social world.

"Signed on behalf of the International Working-

world.

"Signed on behalf of the International Working.
Men's Association, by the Members of the Central
Council."

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, the rebel Vice President, is out in another letter, in which h says:

dent, is out in another letter, in which hasps:

"The old Union and the old Constitution are both dead, dead forever, except in so far as the Constitution has been preserved by us. There is for the Union as it was no resurrection by any power short of that which brought Lazaras from the tomb. There may be, and doubtless are, many at the North and some at the South, who look forward to a restoration of the Union and the Constitution as it was; but such ideas are as vain and illustry as the dreamy imaginings of the Indian warrior, who in death clings to his weapons in fond expectation that he will have use for them beyond the grave in other lands and new hunting grounds."

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND GEORGE GIL

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND GEORGE GIL

FILLAN.

The President's Message, waited for with mingled anxiety and curiosity, was brought to England by the Asia on Monday morning. Summaries of the Message were immediately telegraphed to the "exchanges" and to the press of the empire. In the present dearth of home topics, the important decument has naturally received quite its due share of attention. We heard some time ago, that Mr. Lincoln was at work on this Message so closely, that he had secluded himself almost entirely from general society. What was thus slowly elaborated has been very quickly criticised. Traversing a wide field, and reviewing alike the political, the financial, and military situations, deliberation was needed to its adequate comprehension. But, unfortunately, the newspaper editor has little time to deliberate; while he is thinking, time is passing, and printers are inexorable. As might have been anticipated, the Message has given rise to a vast amount of contradictory criticism. To some journalists it seems a noble, to others a contemptible document. In our estimate of its merits, we are not disposed to indulge in either extreme. Nothing that we remember Mr. Lincoln to have uttered deserves to be called contemptible, though scarcely anything rises into the noble. His is the genius of common sense—there is no idealism about him. He accepts facts, staining them bodly, whether assuring or adverse. There is about him little of th. "tragic grandeur" of the incarnation of the Confederacy. But if the citizen is not so commanding a figure in history as the soldier President, Lincoln has at least lever been betrayed into the intemperance and Exaggeration of Davis. "Vast Aspech of the "rail-spilleter" can match the dimprudence of the Macon manifesto of the "repudiator"?

It says something for the tagacity and temper of FILLAN.

speech of the "rail-splitter" can match the imprudence of the Macon manifesto of the "repudiator"?

It says something for the sagacity and temper of the Federal Government, that, despite the many sources of misunderstanding inevitable during a state of war, it has managed to keep on terns of amity with all foreign powers. Questions have, indeed, arisen between our own government and the government of the United States; but we have the authority of Earl-Russell for asserting that in every instance British representations and British claims have been met in a spirit of, justice. Those who imagined General Butler's New York speech foreshadowed the policy of the President, have been disappointed. The ostentations display of the olive branch anticipated has not been made; dove-eyed Peace seems as far off as ever from the grin field of carnage. The war will cease with submission, but not till then; though there will be no vengeance, there must be obedience. The leader of the revolt is the only man who fights with a halter round his neck, and the emphasis with which Davis has put the issue—subjugation or independence—leaves Lincoln no alternative but to fight out the quarrel to its bitter end. While deploring the continuation of this struggle, we must not overlook the fact that is not Lincoln's creation, but the legitimate offspring of the policy of the South. The spirit of compromise which so long kept the evil day at bay was exhausted. The North felt if it was not to give up every atom of manhood, a stand against the aggressive spirit of the slaveocracy was inevitable. President Lincoln was nothing except as the representative of that resolution. Personally he was as little hausted. The North felt if it was not to give up every atom of manhood, a stand against the aggressive spirit of the slaveocracy was inevitable. President Lincoln was nothing except as the representative of that resolution. Personally he was as little objectionable as possible for a political antagonist. A free soiler from conviction, he had yet never exaperated 4 the chivalry "by any intemperate denunciation of their "peculiar institution." In point of fact, while repudiating the idea of extending slavery, his repudiation was conched in terms of the utmost consideration for the slaveholder. Whoever very, his repudiation was couched in terms of the utmost consideration for the slaveholder. Whoever looks with candor into his earlier utteragices on this subject must confess they are attempered rather with the spirit of the philosopher than the partizan. The logic of events has lifted him to a higher platform than he occupied on the morrow of that election which proved the signal for revolt. He would, however, have been singularly unteachable, had he stood to-day precisely where he stood in 1880. Happly the advance has been all in the right direction. Let who may quarrel with Lincoln for the difference between his present and past opinions, assuredly it is most unseemly in the advocates of emancipation to childs him. Those so enamered of any particular name as to overlook the great principles involved in this war, have but a poor conception of the magnitude of the issue. Had there been a better representative of astemancipation policy than President Lincoln, we should have deplored his non-acceptance, but inastouch as his antagonist was the creature of the proslavery peace party, we rejoice in Lincoln's triumph. Than triumph was the death-knell of a knot of issignable politicians as ever cursed a nation. The tools of the South, their craven-heartedness was yet the execution of "the chivalry." Had this party been victorious instead of vanquished in the Presidential contest, the friends of freedom must have bid farewell to hope.

Beyond all question, the real interest of America

the execration of "the chivalry." Had this party been victorious instead of vanquished in the Presidential contest, the friends of freedom must have bid farewell to hope.

Beyond all question, the real interest of America lay in the undelayed adoption of an emancipation policy. Emancipation in immediate prospect, and not merely glimmering through the mist of years, is indispensable to the weal of America. The interests of the white, no less than the olack race, are bound up with the settlement of this great question in favor of freedom. The Message which Lincoln has just sent to Congress leaves no doubt that he, at least, is prepared so to settle it. How Mr. George Gildilan can see in the election of such a man "a heavy blow and great discouragement to the real interests of America," is beyond our comprehension. It is easy to hurt invectives at the North, easy to accuse it of inordinate ambition and insatiate thirst for supremacy, and quite as easy "to cover the multitude of Southern sins" by the one virtue the South has displayed. But we had expected an abolitionist to have left that dirty work to other pens. Mr. Gilfillan was not the least conspicuous among the band who, in other days, had nothing too bitter to say of the apologists of the South, and no taunt too stinging to cast in the teeth of the North for its complicity with man-stealers. Surely, then, when the North had cut loose from its "covenant with death and agreement with hell," it merited something of eulogy rather than, rebuke, Mr. Lincoln has thrown no "bloody gauntlet down on the floor of the West," but says alike to West and South, only abandon slavery, and every right you erewhile enjoyed will be religiously respected. It is, therefore, simply a caricature of the President's policy Mr. Gilfillan's letter presents. The spectre at which he stands aghast is self-created; like Prospero, be starts at his own wand. Has Mr. Lincoln's shortcomings, the leading abolitionists of America. Giffilan inquire on what side that band is to-day who, when the nation bowed itself before the slave power, Abdiel-like, stood unmoved, unshaken in devotion to the negro? With scarcely an exception, they exerted their every energy to secure the redection he deplores as "a beavy blow and great discouragement to the real interests of America." What would be thought of that total abstainer who kept perpetually abusing the inebriate for his dissipation, but who, the moment that inebriate began to eschew the bottle, suddenly turned round and lavished all his sympathy, yea, all his enlogy, upon the publican who had drugged him? Of inconsistency quite as gross is Mr. Giffilan guilty. Who told Mr. Giffillan it was by mercenary hands that the battles of the North were being fought? Does he not know there is excerely a home in New England this war has not made a house of mourning? If he is skeptical on this point, let him look any day to the lists of killed and wounded which appear after great battles in the newspapers of the United States, and he will see those stricken in the strife bear mainly English, and Scottish names. In proportion at we hailed with pleasure the eloquent and vigorous denunciations of unfaithfulness to antislavery principles Mr. Giffillan was won't to induge, we now mourn his defection from the good old cause. Self-love may, indeed, veil his practical apostacy. He may imagine himself as good an abolitionist as ever, but the fact that his latest utterances on this great question are words of eulogy of the South great question are words of eulogy of the South and scorn of the North, bewray him as completely as did Peter's speech in the judgmenthall of Pilate —Saurday (English) Press.

GEN GRANT ON SHEMMAN. In his letter to a committee of Obioans relative to the testimonial to Gen. Sherman, which he has headed with \$500, Gen. Grant says:

"I cannot say a word too highly in praise of Gen. Sherman's services from the beginning of the rebelion to the present day, and will, therefore, abstain from fiattery of him. Suffice it to say, the world's history gives no record of his superiors, and but few

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

A LETTER FROM THEODORE TILTON CHICAGO, January 5.

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

Let me borrow a hand's breadth of your space, to say from a distance to your Constitutional Convention, what several gentlemen in St. Louis desired me to tarry and say by word of mouth.

The convention has a novel preparative... to make

to tarry and say by word of mouth.

The convention has a novel prerogative—to make a new constitution, which, when made, is not to be submitted to the people, but to go immediately into effect, subject to no tribunal of revision or rejection. But the convention is instructed by the people to perform three duties—first, to emancipate the slaves; second, to disfranchise the rebels; third, to ordain the relief the public root projures. As to emancipate

effect, subject to no tribunal of revision or rejection. But the convention is instructed by the people to perform three duties—first, to emancipate the slaves; second, to disfranchise the rebels; third, to ordain what else the public good requires. As to emancipation and disfranchisement, only one sentiment (and that a right one) prevails. As to what else the public good requires, the gate stands wide open to suggestions, old or new.

I venture one concerning suffrage—a subject you are now debating. Give the ballot to all the can read, and deny it to all the can not! It is strange that this proposition—approved, as it is, by every wise man a private conviction—is so generally omitted from the public law. Democratic government is grounded on the intelligence of the people. Every voter is a legislator for every other. The theory, therefore, is, that the voter must cast an intelligent with the public safety. What is the lowest measure of intelligence? Let it be the lowest measure consistent with the public safety. What is the lowest measure? If a man who could not read was once counted fit for an American voter. This is the simplest, easiest, and best of tests.

What is its practical value to your Convention? It affords a beautiful, just and equitable disposition of your disputed point of negro suffrage. I asked the radicals in St. Louis, "Will you permit black men, who fight for the Union, to vote for the Union?" "Not!" said they; "the blacks are too ignorant." "You are not opposed, then, to negro suffrage because the negro is black, but because he is ignorant." They answered, "When the negro knows how to vote, we will give him the ballot." Now, this is well. The negro should not vote till he knows how. Nor should the white man. Deny the ballot to both, so long as they can not read; give it to both as soon as they learn. To-day, in Missouri, more whites than blacks are unable to read. To grant the ballot to these ignorant whites, and deny it to these ignorant it to neither till they carn it by alphabet and spell these ignorant whites, and deny it to these ignorant blacks, is a mere caprice of prejudice. Grant it to neither till they earn it by alphabet and spellingbook. On the other hand, to deny negro suffrage entirely—to asy, for instance, to a black man who is intelligent and thrifty, "you may pay taxes on twenty thousand dollars"-carnings, but you shall not have a vote "—this violates the divinely-ordained democracy of mankind, and is an affront to Him who is "no respecter of persons."

democracy of mankind, and is an affront to Him who is "no respecter of persons."

Is negro suffrage an untried novelly, that it should be feared? Not at all. Many years ago, Maryland and North Carolina sent their free negroes to the polls. A few days ago, Gratz Brown told you truly that except for the negro vote in New York State, the calamity called Horatio Seymour would have been repeated at the last election. I believe with Frederick Douglass, that "if a negro knows as much when sober as an Irishman when drunk, he knows enough to vote." There is no reason why your State should not now receive the noblest of political constitutions. Such a basis of suffrage would command the assent and admiration of the world. Rendering impartial justice to all classes, it would crown its makers with everlasting remembrance. Now is the golden hour for Missouri. Let not her convention tarnish their opportunity by any stain of injustice and inequality. would control to the polymer of the convention tarnish their opposition of injustice and inequality.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE TILTON.

SENATOR WILSON.

Massachusetts is to-day very fitly represented in her two Senators—Mr. Sumner, who is on his full third term, and Mr. Wilson, to whom another electhird term, and Mr. Wilson, to whom another election will give sixteen years, and that is longer than anybody else has held for a long time, except Mr. Webster. Mr. Sumner represents Massachusetts in culture and refinement, in which our State is surpassed by no other in the Union, as in these respects culture and remeasure passed by no other in the Union, as in these responsed by no other Senator. Mr. Mr. Sumner is surpassed by no other Senator. Mr. Wilson represents Massachusetts in its industry, energy, force, and self-reliance, being excelled in the no other Senator, as Massachusetts Wilson represents Massachusetts in its Industryenergy, force, and self-reliance, being excelled in
these points by no other Senator, as Massachusetts
is by no other State. By skill and industry—inventive and operative power—this State has become
one grand workshop, and as irrepressible in its life
as the steam engine in full force. From its workshops go out supplies for all the States, and in
them rise up what we term self-made men, fitted
to any position in life. We call them self-made because they owe nothing of position to their aneverty;
nothing to proud relations; nothing to the influence
of money; but all to themselves in the self-impelled
development of their own powers. Henry Wilson
is a model man of this class. Born in such absolute
poverty, in the neighboring State of New Hampehire,
that at the age of ten years he was put to live with
a farmer to earn his own bread, and had less than
ordinary privileges, he has nevertheless lifted himself to a high place among men of intelligence, and
to the first rank among men of power. He has
made and unmade, overturned and reconstructed,
like one born to that high destiny, and commission-

self to a high place among men of intelligence, and to the first rank among men of power. He has made and unmade, overturned and reconstructed, like one born to that high destiny, and commissionand give it form for ages to come. Henry Wilson came from Farmington, N. H., where he was born, to Natick, which has since been his home, when he was twenty-one years old, about 1833. There he learned the shoe-trade. Some, in derision, have said: "Let him stick to his last;" but derision, have said: "Let him stack to his ass; but the last was only a means to an end; he was not seeking the means to get a living, but the means of education; and while shoe-making, he constantly labored to prepare his mind for the great piece of cobbling he should perform for the nation, when the old shoes in which it had been travelling needed recobbing ne shows to did shoes in which it had been travelling needed, and pairs. Soon after he left for some academy, and afterward made his first appearance in public as the "Natick cobbler," in 1840, making some of the most effective speeches of the Harrison campaign. He was extremely popular with the Whigs, who elected him to the House and the State Conste during five successive years. He continued who elected him to the House and the State Separate during five successive years. He continued with them to 1848—always anti-slavery, strongly so—till the organization of the Free Soil party. As a Free Soiler, he was elected Senator, and made President of that body. In the mean time, previous to 1855, he was a candidate for Congress and for Governor, and failed; but the hour of his great triumph had come, when he was the successor of Edward Everett: and imming over the heads of all oppo-

had come, when he was the successor of Edward Everett; and jumping over the heads of all opponents, passed to the arena of the greatest effotrs of Daniel Webster, John Davis and Rufus Choate.

In the Senate, Mr. Wilson has very ably sustained himself, and constantly been a rising man. His first speech was made in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—for he has ever been true to his anti-slavery idea, which is now the most loved sentiment of Massachusetts and the nation—and in 1861-2 he had the pleasure to see a bill introduced by himself, to purify the national capital by advancing every human chattel there to manhood, become a law. How well and truly he has adhered to this platform of freedom we need not relate. Upon other measures he has spoken and acted with great ability; but his great and most valuable services have been as Chairman of the Military Committee in Congress, which position he has held from the beginning of the rebellion, and which has had a world of labor and responsibility in it. Gen. Scott said that in the brief session of 1861, he performed more service than had devolved on the Chairman of that Committee before for twenty years; and Secretary Cameron complimented him by saying that he had aided the War Department more than any other man in Congress.

In looking over his career, we can conceive of no

other man in Congress.

In looking over his career, we can conceive of n In looking over his cancer.

In looking over his cancer why Massachusetts should not possible reason why Massachusetts should not possible reason why Massachusetts should not possible reason. The should not be cian, a growing statesman, and an honest man whose hands are uncorrupted with bribes, and wh has bad the interests of his country before his own has had the interests of his count to see that we as distinct from it. We have come to see that we the right man is in the right place, the longer keep him there the better.—Newburyport Herold

MISSOURI FOR THE AMENDMENT. In the Missouri Constitutional Convention, January 16th, a resolution was passed expressing the opinion that the amendment to the Constitution now before Constitution and the same and the subject of the constitution in the Senstions and Representatives from Missouri to vote for and use their influence to procure the passage of the ladgement of the Southern Confederation and mendment.

The Ziberator.

No Union with Shaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1865.

THE DECLARATION NAME A YEAR AGO, THA WHILE I REMAIN IN MY POSITION, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT RETRACT OF MODIFY THE EMANCIPATION PROGLAMMY SOR SHALL I RETURN TO SLAVERY ANY PERSON WHO IS F HOR SHALL A ENTURY TO SLAVENT ANY PERSON WAS IN FIRST WAY IN THE STATE OF THE ACTS OF CONGRESS. IN THE PROPLE SHOULD, BY WHATEVER MODE OR MEANS, MAKE IT AN EXECUTIVE DUTY TO HE TREALY SECTOR PRINTING, ANOTHER, AND NOT I, MUST BE THE INSTRUMENT TO PERSONN IT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHU-SETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The THIRTY SECOND ANNUAL MEETING of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the MELODEON, in Boston, on Thursday, January 26th, 1865, day and evening, commencing at 10 o' clock, A. M.

At the morning session, with the least possible deay of organization, addresses are expected from Hon George Thompson, Wendell Phillips, Esq., and

As heretofore, the NATIONAL ANTI SLAVERY SUB SCRIPTION FESTIVAL at the Music Hall, on the pre vious evening, (Jan. 25th,) will constitute an addi-tional attraction to all friends of the Cause. By order of the Board of Ma

of the Board of Managers, EDMUND QUINCY, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec'y.

MR. CONWAY ONCE MORE-AND FINALLY

In the Commonwealth of the 14th inst. appears the following Card from M. D. Conway :-

28 NOTTING HILL SQUARE, LONDON W., Becember 17, 1864.

December 17, 1864.

The greater portion of Mr. Garrison's comments upon me in the Liberator of Dec. 2, is irrelevant to the real point of my letter to the Standard. When, on July 4, 1863, at Framingham, Wendell Phillips, whilst voting for a resolution condennatory of my correspondence with Mason, awaved his acceptance of the abstract principle stated therein as to the motives of abolitionists in sustaining the war, he drew the line pondence with Mason, avowed his acceptance of the abstract principle stated therein as to the motives of abolitionists in sustaining the war, he drew the line between what I am and what I am not disposed or able to detend in that matter. The error of jadgment which led me to put a general statement, which I had the right to make, into a form which gave it the character of a negotiation which I had no right to make, was one of which I became conacious before the correspondence terminated, and which I did my best to correct when Mason had published it. There is, therefore, no question on this point. Nor is there any on the principle involved; for I look in vain through resolutions passed by the abolitionists, or Mr. Garrison's article, for any declaration that they would support the war were slavery uninvolved. Hence the only point requiring my attention is that which relates to the circumstances under which I came to England. It seems to me scarcely candid that Mr. Garrison should have inserted the insinuations of his correspondent in Philadelphia, implying a "secret history" that I should wish to conceal in the matter, when he Mr. G. was comizent of all the facts—facts which

houdent in Pinnauerpina, implying a screet instea; that I should wish to conceal in the matter, when he (Mr. G.) was cognizant of all the facts,—facts which he Philadelphan is not likely to have known, and, in ignorance of which, has done me, unintentionally, I hope, an injustice. The project that some one of the abolitionists should go to England had been earnestly discussed during the winter. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison were both urged to go, but declined. When the plan of my going was mentioned, Mr. Phillips and Mr. George L. Stearns warmly approved. Both of these gentlemen said they would give \$100 apiece to the object, and more if necessary. I had before been connected with these gentlemen and they so had been connected with these gentlemen and the Anti Stavery Society paying my travelling expenses, and, by a similar arrangement with the Emancipation League, of which Mr. Stearns was a prominent member, had given lectures throughout Massachusetts. I entered orgerly into this new project, which would enable me of which Mr. Stearns was a prominent memoer, man given lectures throughout Massachusetts. I entered cagerly into this new project, which would enable me to confront the busy Southerners in England with a Southerner's testimonies for the cause of the slave. Mr. Phillips sent me at once to lay the matter before Mr. Garrison. Mr. G., whom I found in the type-setting room of the Liberator, received the plan with enthusiasm. "It is the very thing," he said. "Gerit Smith was the other day urging the importance of some one going, and wished ne to go. 1 can't at present. He will, no doubt, contribute to your going." Mr. G. then named others who might be depended upon to help pay expenses. I inquired how auch persons had better be reached. He replied: "As the matter is not a personal one of your own, but for the cause, I think you need not hesitate from any motives of delicacy to write to these gentlemen yourself." Mr. Phillips and Mr. Stearns agreed with this view, in accordance with which I wrote about five letters, and these to persons with whom I had some personal acquaintance. From all sources, there was sellegated test the abites \$750 is American currency. letters, and these to persons with whom I had some personal acquaintance. From all sources, there was collected for the object \$750 in American currency. Of this, \$250 came in response to my letters. The rest,—omitting the contributions of Messrs. Phillips and Stearns,—was chiefly collected by such earnest anti-slavery men as Elizur Wright, John H. Stephenson, R.-P. Hailowell, and others. Theodore Parker's Fratternity" contributed something. Hon. Gerrit Smith sent \$100 to Mr. Garrison, still urging him to go to England, otherwise the money to be used, at Mr. Grs discretion, in sending some one else. This money Mr. Garrison opplied to sending me. The sum thus raised was quite small,—only £50 sterling when reduced to gold, and my passage was paid; but as I was desirous of going. I resolved to pay the rest out of my own small means, though going already implied giving up two-thirds of what my family depended upon for support.

If there is anything in these facts of which I should be ashamed, or to justify the insinuations referred to I wait to have it pointed out. I came to England with no other objects than to serve the cause of the stave and to defend the position of his friends in the Amer and to defend the position of his friends in we conceive war. Though I have disappointed some of those who sent me—as some of them have disappointed me—I will still keep those ends in view.

M. D. CONWAY.

REMARKS. 1. As this is a matter between Mr Conway and ourselves, and as the Liberator is as open to him as it is to us, there is neither reason nor pro priety in his sending to the Commonwealth his explan atory or defensory cards or letters. though he has done so again and again, (as though l had been replied to by us through the same medium, we have copied his articles into the Liberator without any claim or request on his part to do so; thus evine ing not only a fair but magnanimous spirit, and a wil hould see v indicating his conduct. But this generous treat ment has not been extended to us by the Common wealth in a single instance—its idea of fair dealing be ing to give only one side of a controversy; for nothing that we have written in refutation of Mr. Con way's statements has been transferred to its or that its readers are left to conclude that those

statements are correctly made.

2. Mr. Conway says—" When the plan of my go ing to England was mentioned, [i. e., mentioned by himself,] Mr. Phillips and Mr. George L. Stearns warmly approved." But in his letter to the Standard warmly approved. But in its sector of Nov. 19th, he says it was Mr. Phillips who first suggested his going. The two statements are conflictive. When we asked Mr. Phillips, at the time, if Mr. C's statement as to his part in the affair was true, be replied that he did not recollect whether he first named the subject to Conway, or Conway to him showing either a marked loss of memory, or else tha such a visit to England was deemed by him of so lit such a visit to England with the consequence as to leave no distinct impression upon his mind. But it matters not a whit, as to the merits of the controversy, whether Mr. Phillips and Mr. Stearns suggested or approved Mr. Conway's go ing abroad; nor whether he had before been connect ed with those gentlemen in anti-slavery operations nor whether the Anti-Slavery Society paid his travel nor whether the Anti-Stavery Society paid his travel ling expenses here as a lecturer (though the Society paid nothing of the kind); nor whether we showed a friendly disposition to his visiting England, that he might "confront the busy Southerners there with

case, pledging the abolition strength of the country to force the American Government to bring the war to an end, and to grant that recognition He now says it was an "error of judgment"! No, it was an untrathfu, averment, neither constructively nor in-ferentially justified by any opinions avowed or cher-ished by the abolitionists, whether relating to war or

slavery.

3. Mr. Conway says we received his plan of going to England "with enthusiasm." For the words quoted to England "with enthusiasm." For the words quote substitute "in a friendly spirit." At the same tin we marked out how we thought be might be use abroad precisely as he has stated it—by "confronting the busy Southerners in England with a Southerner testimones for the cause of the slave." But what has that to do with an embassy to Mr. Mason or to any other rebel, with reference to securing Confederate independence by the quid pro quo of negro emancipation t Had we imagined that he could, by any possibility, be guilty of such star endous folly, we should have given him no approving word, but rather any amount of dis-

italics, is wholly incorrect. Gerrit Smith did not send us \$100, to be used at our discretion in sending some one else to England, in case we declined going; consequently, we did not apply the money to se Conway. Mr. Conway wrote to Mr. See Conway. Mr. Conway wrote to Mr. Smith to see whether he would be willing to grant him the \$100 so kindly offered to us; and we presume his appeal was successful.

5. We have never reproached Mr. Conway for solicting aid to enable him to give his anti-slavery tes-timonies in England, and to put forth measures to baffle the machinations of rebel emissaries; for there was nothing wrong or discreditable in so doing. But when he stoutly persists in asserting, as he does so lately as his letter to the Anti-Slavery Standard of the 19th November, that "the leading anti-slavery men of America did send him to England, paying his expenses thither," and giving him "authority to make his proposition to Mr. Mason," it is too grave a matter to be allowed to pass without the most explicit denial.

6. The less Mr. Conway says about this unfortu-nate affair, the better for himself. We take our leave of it and him by saying, that we cherish no unkind feelings towards him; that we appreciate the brilliancy of his genius, the value of his recorded anti-slavery testimonies, and the various sacrifices he has made as a Virginian in becoming an abolitionist; and we trust his future course will be as creditable to himself as serviceable to others. But we protest against his assuming to be clothed with powers never delegated to

HON. HENRY WILSON.

After the almost unanimous vote of the Massachu the re election of Hon. Henry Wilson to the Senate | ways been with the master and against the slave. United States, there is general surprise and nmonwealth at the postpongment, by the Senate, of its decision, (which, ever. This delay is wholly inexplicable, except for the reason set forth in the following paragraph from the

Dedham Gazette:—

"The question was postponed at the suggestion of certain gentlemen who wanted more light! As though the question of re-electing General Wilson lad not been practically settled for months! The real opposition to General Wilson comes from a class of men who hung on to the shroud of the late Whig party until it rotted in their grasp, and who are so much oppressed with a high sense of eminent respectability that they cannot bring their dainty minds to vote for a self-made man. But the vote in the flouse thas settled the matter, expressing as it did the feelings and opinions of the State. The people have not forgotten the eminent services which General Wilson, through the long and dreary years that are past, has rendered the cause of freedom."

No Senator could have proved himself more worthy

No Senator could have proved himself more worthy of the renewed confidence and suffrage of Massachu setts than Henry Wilson, by his legislative experience, tact and ability; his good sense, practical knowledge, untiring industry, executive force, and ceaseless vigilance; his close attention to the varied ceascless vigilance; his close interests of the State as well as to the welfare of the whole republic; his sterling patriotism, tempted and tried through long periods of darkness and peril at the national capital, and always unwavering; his self-control and courage, equal to any emergency; his exemplary life in the midst of abounding demoraliefficiency in originating and supporting measures for the suppression of a rebellion as hor rible in its primary object as it is unparalleled in above all, his whole-hearted devo by his brave deeds and noble words in behalf of the oppressed for more than a score of years in pub-lic and private life—his unquailing front in many a lic and private life—his unqualling front in many a hard-fought conflict with the haughty slaveholding oli garchs on the floor of the Senate-and his persevering effort to carry every possible anti-slavery measure through Congress; his latest achievement being the passage of an act, whereby all the slave wives and children of colored soldiers under the flag are declared orever free-the number thus liberated being estimated from seventy-five to one hundred thousand. has risen from poverty and the work bench to his pres nanding position by native force of characte nd good service in the cause of freedom and free in stitutions. He is the fitting complement of Charle Sumner, who needs no eulogy from us in this connec tion; the people look for his reflection as a matter of course; and the Senate should seek to atone for i uncalled-tor delay by giving him a unanimous vote.

WHAT NEXT?

Ever since its existence,-and particularly since it passed into the hands of its new editor,-the Commor wealth has displayed towards us a pugnacious, hypereen no real provocation. When that paper was commenced, we gave it a cordial greeting-as we did the advent of Mr. Slack its present editor: and we have never penned a line to its disparagment. Our kind-ness and magnanimity have been repaid, from week to week, by various flings and innuendoes, either edinmunicated; all evincing an unfriendly and rival state of feeling. We still forbear making such replication as the case would justify, but reserve to ourselves the right to settle accounts hereafter, a we may feel moved. Here is a specimen of the vigi and real of the Common alth to find occasi to make a petty thrust at us, as seen in that paper o Saturday last :-

"Another Motto Gone. The Liberator drop with the new year, its editorial motto-" No Unio with Slaveholders." Alas! the old landmarks and it

Now, if there is any point to this, it means that the Liberator is no longer guided by its "old landmarks," nor animated by its former "incentives." It means we have yielded up our vital test of Union test, by the way, which the politicians of the Com-monwealth school never acted upon, nor accepted even in theory, as sgainst the old "covenant with death ment with hell." Now this insinuation is equally ridiculous and false, as reference to the last week's Liberator—issued one day in advance of the seek's Liberator—issued one day in author motte referred to was not in the number for January 6th; referred to was not in the number for January 6th; but it was omitted in that instance—as it had been is severe of instance before, and for the same reason, namely—because we wanted room for two additional lines in the same column! Was ever such a "mare's vered before!

The first decision of Chief Justice Chase, the Supreme Court of the United States, was, that
West Virginia is legally a State.

THOUGHTLESSNESS OR WORSE.

The papers have given wide currency, of late, to the following admonition, said to have been given by the President to a Tennessee lady, who had applied to him for the release of her rebel husband, held as a prisoner of war. Hesaid to the lady—"You say that your husband is a religious man. Tell him when you eet him, that I say I am not much of a judge o ligion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government bemen to rebel and fight against their government be-cause they think that government does not safficiently help some men to cat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven."

Mr. Lincoln, it seems, though "not much of a judge of religion," knows some things respecting it; namely, that the advocacy of treason and slavery together is incommatible with true religion, the total control of the control of t

ing such a position is not worth joining; and that a minister preaching such doctrine is not worth hear-ing. His Proclamations and other State papers show that he understands the connection between slavery and treason in the South, and observation must have shown him the notorious fact that the four principal religious sects in the South, always devoted partizans of slavery, have been also thorough supporters of the

The churches at Washington, under the governmental influences that preceded Mr. Lincoln's istration, were of course pro-slavery. How do they stand now, and what is the President's relation to

The Washington correspondent of the Sta of Jan. 7th tells us that-" The colored people here celebrated the anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation proclamation yesterday in several of their churches. Mr. Channing preached a serm worthy of himself and the day in his church. Several of our Washington clergymen preached Union ser-mons, and a few were not afraid to rejoice openly over the doom of slavery. A large majority, however, die not care to touch the subject, and a very considerable minority were silent upon the subject of the war."

Washington correspondent of the Independent touched, the same week, upon the same subject. thinks that "the President and every member of his allusion from the pulpit to the Proclamation of Emancipation; in other words, pro-slavery churches. Channing is ever bold and truthful, and never forgets the colored race. Two or three other white clergy men referred in appropriate terms [on Sunday, Jan 1st] to the war and the Emancipation Proclamation; but the most of them avoided the subject. . . . The Administration exercises little influence upon the Washington churches: for it neither patronizes anti-After the almost unanimous vote of the Massachu-setts House of Representatives, last week, in favor of to the preaching of men whose sympathies have al-

It is undesirable that the Administration at Wash

ington should undertake to patronize any church what ever. We want no fashionable Government Church as there is not a copperhead in that body, should have in this country. The right way is for every man to nere is not a copperious in that nody, should have been a manifered and the second Tuesday in February 1 he finds the best food for his mind and soul. But one is delay is wholly inexplicable, except for the reasonable would think that Abraham Lincoln and the members of his Cabinet, however poor judges of religion, might have learned by this time enough to see that the clergynan who upholds slavery as consistent with Christianity, or who systematically avoids the performance of the Christian duty of aiding in the overthrow of so glaring a sin and evil as slavery, is not fit to stand in the place of a Christian minister. It is absurd to recog nize such a person as a teacher of Christianity at al Those who resort to him as an intelligent and competent preacher of the Gospel—of the doctrine of Him who testified of himself that he was sent "to preach deliverance to the captive, and to set at liberty them that are bruised"—can be excused only by the fact that they are not good judges of religion. But for Abrathey are not good judges of religion. But for Abra-ham Lincoln and the gentleman who combined with him in adopting the Emancipation Proclamation as a policy indispensable for the country, for them to select persons of this sort as suitable spiritual guides or sat-isfactory teachers of religion, is to stultify themselves; to pull down with one hand what they have built up with the other; to set their moral and religious influence in diametrical opposition to their political in fluence; to declare that that which is pernicious and ruinous in the daily and social life of the nation and its individual members may still be in correct accordance with religion, and with the Christian religion!

A state of things like this helps to explain what has always been mysterious in the Administration at Washington, namely, why so many notorious sympathizers with secession and slavery have been suffered to retain Department clerkships, and other offices in the gift of Government. It has been plain, through-out our four years of war, that the plans of the Government, and the intended movements of our military and naval forces, were generally known beforehand to the enemy. Thousands of lives, a vast amount of precious time, and hundreds of millions of dollars have been lost to the country by keeping the enemy systematically informed of our movements, and thus enabled to provide against them. Is it asked-How known to persons disposed to communicate them to the enemy? The answer is plain. The number of persons known to be friendly to slavery and to the rebellion, whom the Government chose to keep in its ser vice, and in all departments of its service, is abundantly sufficient to account for all this clandestine in

Is this strange to a common sense view of things ? Is it strange that a man should employ a known enemy to keep his accounts, giving as the reason for it that this enemy had greater skill in book-keeping than any honest man within his knowledge? Methinks this is no more atrange than for a functionary whose ntation gives him immense and predominating influence to give that influence in one direction every Saturday, and in the direction precisely opposite every needth has displayed towards us a pugnacious, hyper-critical, pretentious, self-concelted spirit, of which we have hitherto taken no notice, and for which there has

DEATH OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT. In the suden death of Hon. Edward Everett, which took place in this city early on Sunday morning last, Boston has st its most honored citizen, Massachusetts its most respicuous son, and the country its most scholarly nd renowned orator. His course since the rebell broke out has been highly patriotic, and of eminent service to the government; causing a general dispo-sition to sink out of sight some discreditable things in his public life, pertaining to his servile "bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of slavery," and his disposition o make any concessions to it in order to preserve Union not based upon justice and equal rights. No there will be an immense amount of eulogy bestowed upon his memory; but let it be discriminating as well s generous.

THE SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY. This always attractive and delightful anniversary occurs Wednesday evening next, at Music Hall; and doubt not that the thousands who have invariably at-tended it—forming as choice a collection, intellectually and morally, as a popular gathering can be—will again be present, to enjoy its rare social interchange and agreeable exercises; all the more, as in all prob-ability this is the last of the series that will be held, slavery being constitutionally abolished before another year. Let all who come bring some contribution, ac-cording to their means, so that there may be a hand-some aggregate which shall canble the American Anti-Slavery Society to conclude its operations by an hon-orable discharge of all its pecuniary obligations, and "expire in a blaze of glory."

"The interesting letter from Nashville, sign "Tweed," in the Liberator of week before last, she have been credited to the Boston Recorder.

THE THIRTY-FIRST NATIONAL ANTI-SLA. VERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JAN. 25, 1865.

The American Anti Slavery Society was or. The AMERICAN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY VII or, panized for the immediate and total abolition of the very in the United States. Its labors have been unremittedly prosecuted, "without compromise and without concealment," for a period of thirty year, through out concealment, for a period of thirty year, through ecturing agencies, the printing and circulating of an lecturing agencies, the printing and circulating of as-ti-slavery publications, the support of an official week-ly organ, and other instrumentalities; and to these ly organ, and other matrumentanties; and to these labors is largely due, primarily, that cheering and marvellous change in public sentiment, in opposition to slavery and in support of free institutions, which o slavery and in support has taken place in an in the maintain successfully its tremendous conflict with the Southern SLAVEROLD. ens' Rebellion. But slavery is not even in the Rebel States, except by the Proclamation of President Lincoln; and it still holds a tensiona existence even in some of the so-called loyal sections. existence even in some or the so catted toyal sections for the country. Not until its utter extirpation every where should the American Anti Slavery Society to disbanded, or regard its mission as consummated, or be left without the necessary pecuniary aid to carry on the consumer of the country of the country of the consumer of the country of the co its ordinary operations. Its time to dissolve will be its ordinary operations.
when liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land to when liberty is proclaimed throughout at the laid to all the inhabitants thereof, by the proposed amend-ment of the Constitution of the United States, makment of the Constitution of the United States, making it illegal to enslave any person on the America soil. "That grand and glorious event, it is confidently hoped and believed, will take place during the coming year, insamuch as the potential sentiment of the people of the property of

ple in regard to it was indicated by an overwhelming ple in regard to it was introduced by an overwhelming majority at the late Presidential election, and inat-much as President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, urges this constitutional amendment upon that body for speedy adoption. Thank God that the year 1865 is, in all probability, to be the long desired YEAR OF JUBILEE! Once more, then-and we trust for the last time-

tet the treasury of the American Anti Slavey Society be replenished by the generous donations and contributions of those who have so long given it their countenance; and also of those who, retheir views and feelings on the question of slavery, have yet to show their appreciation of the invaluable la-bors of the Society in disseminating light and knowledge, quickening conscience, elevating the moral standard of individual and national conduct, and vinplatform of universal freedom and equality. From all loyal men and women the Society is es serving of consideration and co-operative support for its prompt and uncompromising hostility to the rebellion and to whatever at the North has been in sympathy with the rebels; and for the strong moral support and hearty sympathy it has given to the Governmentin its long and bloody conflict with the Slave Power.

The Managers of the Subscription Assiversant hereby announce that they will be ready to receive, with all thankfulness, whatever the philanthropic, the liberal-minded, and the patriotic, throughout the land, at home or abroad, may feel disposed to contribute, at at home or auroad, may reet disposed to contribute, at its annual gathering in Boston, on Wednesday ere-ning, January 25th, 1865; and to this convocation of the friends of impartial liberty they cordially invite all who desire to aid in breaking every yoke, and setting every captive free. And may the result abundantly meet the necessities of an association, whose vrown of glory is its unswerving fidelity, through year of conflict and martyrdom, to the "self-evident truths" enunciated in the Declaration of American Independ-

Where tersonal attendance is impracticable or in convenient, donations may be sent to either of the un-dersigned, or to William I. Bowditch, Esq. 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American can Anti-Slavery Society. All such will be duly ac knowledged and faithfully expended. Elizabeth Gay

I. Maria Child, Mary May, Louisa Loring, Henrietta Sargent, Helen Eliza Garrison. Sarah Shaw Russell, Sarah Russell May. Anna Shaw Greene, Sarah Blake Share, Ludia D. Parker. aroline R. Putnam Mattie Griffith, Mary Jackson. Evelina A. Smith,

Elizabeth gon Arnim, Abhy H. Stephenson, Eliza Apthorp. Sarah Cowing Sarah H. Southwick, Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Sarah C. Atkinson, Abby Francis, Georgind Otis, Katharine Earle Farnum, Rebecca Bradford, Ellen Wright Garrison,

Mary Willey,

Ann Rebecca Beamhall,

Sarah J. Nowell,

Sarah Bradford, Caroline M. Severance.

As on preceding years, this Anniversary Meetill be held in the MUSIC HALL, Boston. The time (as already named) is Webnesday evening next, 25th inst., from 7 to 10, P. M. Addresses are next, 20th inst., from 7 to 10, P. M. Addresse for expected from Hon, George Thomson, and Re., ROBERT C. WATERSTON, commencing at 8 o'clock. The music of the great Organ canon fall to prove a welcome addition to the other attractions of the control of the Company of the Compa We may reasonably anticipate that the need ing will prove interesting and successful to the full extent of any previous one.

B As it has been impossible to send the custor

ry invitation-notes to all whom we hope to see on the occasion, we desire to say that these may be procured, on the day of the meeting, by any friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, (without charge, of course,) it the Anti-Slavery office, 221 Washington street, Roen No. 6.

CARPENTER'S PAINTING. Those of our readers who have not already seen Carpenter's adminible por ture of "The Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet" should lose no time in their so, sa welest that it will remain at Williams & Exercity but short it will remain at williams & Exercises
short time longer. During its exhibition in this cit,
it has met with a degree of popular favor rariy
equalled. The subscription list to the engrains is
already very large, and on the first page of it may be airendy very large, and on the first page on many seen the names of the late Edward Ecreent, Chair Sumner, John A. Andrew, George Thompos and other prominent men. This engraving, which is be executed by Ritchie of New York, and published the charge of year. executed by Kitchie of P Derby & Miller of that city, in the course of a year Derby & Miller of that city, in the course of a year an only be obtained by subscription. at a distance who may wish to obtain copies of it can do so by sending their names to the grant agent, Mr. C. H. Brainard, No. 234 Washington S. -for artist's proofs, \$25; India proofs, The prices are—for artist's proofs, \$25; India \$15; plain prints, \$10, payable on delivery.

EDMONIA LEWIS. On our last page will be found pleasant and interesting "Chat with the Editor of pleasant and interesting "Chat with the Editor of pleasant and interesting "Chat with the Editor of pleasant and pleasant place and pleasant place and pleasant place and pleasant place and place a the Standard," by Lydia Maria Child, in regions this talented young artist. In a private note, Mr. Child mentions a fact not stated in the article, which it will gratify our readers to know, indicating as it does a recognition of Miss Lewi's talent by a single does a recognition of Miss Lewi's talent by a single does a recognition of Miss Lewi's talent by a mind artist of high rank. Mrs. Child says "—I I m gid to hear that Miss Hosmer, during her recent risit it this country, called upon Miss Lewis in her fittle re-dio. She was pleased with the bust of Col. Shar, and remarked that it was 'modelled finely."

The Mercantile Library Association sh an agreeable entertainment at Music Hall, Tuerday evening next, in the form of dramstic nings by Mr. Wyzeman Marshall and Mrs. J. W. B. J. Lang, organist. Tickets 25 cents-re served seats, 50 cer

We could not find room for Mr. Foster's ke ter, brief as it is, this week, in consequence of the large amount of matter already in type when it was received. It shall appear in our next. LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXV. New York, Jan. 12, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator : f, the Editor of the Liberator:
The issue of the war is plainly discernible in the continuous of the Border Slave States at the present stage.
It is far as the conspirators contemplated separation is the conspirators contemplated separation to the solerable substitute for the dominion at which rifferd, these States were designed to be the poand military bulwarks of the Confederacy, transfer to the unfettered area of the North result transfer to the unfettered area of the North result be fatal to the permanence of independence sell-latery. The history of the struggle, therefore, the tree in the content of invasion and countercon little else than that of invasion and counter-ico, possession and repossession, of the coveted of the extremities and yet the vitals of the armery—the extremities and yet the vitats of the stress empire. The new year opens. Missouri has possibly winessed the last inroad of Price since his possibly winessed the last inroad of price since his possibly winessed only by ideal by Pleasanton. Kentucky is harassed only by offer the property of the price of the goerillas whom she kenerated in her own boson har been thrust out from her. Burbridge and eman give security to East Tennessee and West Sheridan besieges the gate to Maryland of Delaware. The Confederacy has no military bor-Denvary of

por is it politically? Slavery exists only in for it it pointings: Shavery exists only nom-by in Delaware; first, by reason of natural de-and next, because the State is aurrounded first soil, without a Fugitive Slave Law to All this Governor Cannon points out annual message, and urges emancipation his annual message, and urges emancipation order to render her attractive to immigrants, ally her commercially as well as geographically Free States. Gov. Bradford, in his message, such the Free States. Gov. Draulour, in his message, negratulates the Legislature upon the adoption of the new Constitution and the consequent death of sia-nt in Maryland. In Kentucky, besides the signifiof the November election, we have to note Slarery Convention which assembled on the S. Constitution; the message of Gov glette, which recommends gradual emancipation Inmette, which recommends gradual emancipation and colonization of the blacks—that's the first symposis you know; and the resolutions introduced on the think both Houses of the Legislature, declaring for mancfaft abolition of slavery. As for Missouri, no alegraph fishies us this morning the unexpected abore the same are former to the same and the same are the same are supported to the same are supported t at unanimous vote of her Constitutional Convenananimous vote of the Constitutional Conven-And this is the fate of the compromise which and to set up an imaginary boundary to the grandizement of slavery and the irrepressible career of liberty. Any, whether the unacks will be admit-adminmediate or prospective suffrage, or distinctly heared, depends upon the Convention's readiness to alog the views of Hon. B. Gratz Brown or the Misdog the views of the old story: a certain step per learness some time or other, because God is just, of man cannot remain otherwise. Shall we halt for caterity, or shall we lead in the march? igher signs of the decadence of slavery may be

pent in Congress, advocated by Yeaman, o King, of Missouri, Smithers, of Delaware, Enticky, King, of Missouri, Guilders, et al., n by a handsome majority, to free the famile olored soldiers. Not unseasonably, when he Richmond press discuss with the earnestness of desput the expediency of calling black volunteers to a senses of the Confederacy, by offering a highe hon than the ungenerous North has vouchsafed. To Its leaders, impotent for mischief truitful in plots against the peace and securi or non-belligerent population—reaping nothing
Sons of Liberty "or other secret assassins and
tastes—deprived now of their subtlest accom-Boratso Seymour, in his official capacityis similar to reconsider the proposition of Vice the Sephens, that the love of slavery was the residue of the new nation. Seeing clearly make agenthey will be conquered rather than evincine to substitute the corollary for end to pronounce their hatred of the basis of their iniquitous fellowship. Biar must be the choice between subjugation with at the aid of the negro, and independence only atough bim. Bitter the acknowledgment that men and were created for slavery are deserving of free is having fought pro patria. Such is the comfort in future to which

"the oppressor.
Lost and is domb with awe.
The sternal law with awe.
Its sternal law own blindfold redresser,
Stakes his beard with perilous foreboding:
And he can see the grim-eyed Doom,
From out the trembling gloom,
its siten-footed steeds toward his palace goading!"

I had hoped that I might record the climax of the the Constitutional amendment by the House. As I

write, it is still debated, and its fate uncertain.

who regard him as the foremost of our genenis and statesmen in his comprehension of the revo-lation. All the facts are not yet public upon which to form a correct judgment of the merits of his case. His larewell order is a model of dignity, and expresses the utmost confidence in the strength of his Position. It is impossible that the man who was the fifther of military emancipation, who has ruled successively Baltimore, New Orleans and New York, and The has done more for the colored troops and their brethern in clasins than any chieftain in the army, should remain in obscurity at Lowell while the Republic has need of him. For the present, the Copetheads have a day of triumph in his downfall.

PPOINTMENT. The Executive Committee of DISTROISTMENT. The Executive Commutee of the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania have inaugurated an intensing course of lectures "to suit the times," to be delarred in Concert Hall in Philadelphia,—the finest intensing the site. tre on Monday evening last, but sudden prostration by chills and fever prevented. Happily, our absence vis more than supplied, through the never-failing ess of our eloquent condjutor, George Thoma tos, Esq., who, though greatly worn by his labors in ing field, readily consented to appear in our Head Th. other speakers engaged for the course Sella Martin, Mrs. F. E. Watkins Harper Langston, Frederick Douglass, and Hon. Wm D Kelley

As a matter of prudence, and to prevent the chance of our disappointing our colored friends in New York through physical inability to be with them, we have reacted to be excused from delivering the opening ecure, at Cooper Institute, on Tuesday evening next of the course to be given by the African Civilization

The Paris Debats says, in concluding an ear eulogy of Mr. Dayton, our Minister to France whose death was announced last week, says :-

"Mr. Dayton always rose to the level of his noble his, and thus it is he will leave long-lived regrets not entity among the friends, who knew his excellent and tamble qualities, but among all those who have been highly a preciate the orator, the diplomatist, and the purson."

The Constitutionnel says, in a similar spirit: The Constitutionnel says, in a similar spirit:

"He belonged to the school of Washington and Fashin. A minister in France while his country fashin. A minister in France while his country of the says of the says

North Carolina has furnished 118,160 men for

DEATH OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

DEATH OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

Edward Everett died at his residence, 82 Summer street, between 4 and 5 o'clock on Sunday morning last. The fact became known at an early hour, and was rapidly and extensively circulated, plunging the whole city in the profoundest grief. Men were scarcely able to credit the report, so recently had Mr. Everett been seen in our midst.

On Monday forenoon last, the 9th inst., Mr. Everett strended a hearing in chambers, at the Court House, from which he proceeded to Fanenii Hall at 12 o'clock, to address the meeting in aid of the suffering inhabitants of Savannah. He spoke at considerable length, though with some difficulty, but on returning inhabitants of Savannah. He spoke at considerable length, though with some difficulty, but on returning inhabitants of Savannah. He spoke at considerable length, though with some difficulty, but on returning inhabitants of Savannah. He spoke at considerable length, though, with some difficulty, but on returning inhabitants of Savannah. He spoke at considerable length, though, with some difficulty, but on returning inhabitants of Savannah. He spoke at considerable length, though, with some difficulty, but on returning inhabitants of Savannah. He spoke at considerable length, though the week and the Court. House, In the evening be sever-good, and sent for Jr. Hay ward, his family physician. On Tuesday, feeling, somewhat better, he was very anxious to go out, but was persuaded not to do so, nor did he leave the house again. Through the week he was engaged in writing, though he conversed but-little, the heavy oold which he had taken on Monday still oppressing him. Apart from this, he was cheerful as usual, and continued to foliow the prescriptions of his medical attendant.

On Saturday evening Mr. Everett. toll his nurser that he felt much better, thought he should have a good night, and that it was not necessary that she should remain with him, which she had done through the week, sleeping on a sofa in the same spartment. She therefore proceeded to h

heir accuracy.
It is stated that Mr. Everett had a slight threaten

and to one other person, Sir. Everett's constant attendant.

Mr. Everett had three sons and two daughters by his wife, Charlotte Gray, daughter of the late Hon. Peter C. Brooks, who died about two years ago. One daughter died while Mr. Everett was Minister to London, and subsequently he lost a son. Two sons, Henry Sidney Everett and William Everett, and a daughter survive him. The latter is married to Commander Henry A. Wise, of the Navy.—Boston Journal.

Washington, Jan. 15. 'The following and ment has been furnished for general publication "DEPARTMENT OF STATE, \

Washington, Jan. 15.

The President directs the undersigned to perform the painful duty of announcing to the people of the United States that Edward Everett, distinguished not pure by United States that Edward Everett, distinguished not more by learning and eloquence than by unsurpassed and disinterested labors of patriotism at a period of political disorder, departed this life at four o'clock this morning. The several Executive departments of the Government will cause appropriate honors to be rendered to the memory of the deceased at home and abroad, wherever the National name and authority are acknowledged. WM. H. SEWARD. (Signed)

DISPATCH BY GOV. ANDREW. Возтом, Jan. 15, 1865. Hon. Charles Sumner and Hon. Henry Wilson, United States Senators, Washington, D. C.:

States Senators, Washington, D. C.: "Massachusetts mourns the irreparable loss of an eminent citizen in the sudden death of Edward Everett which occurred this morning at 4 Oclock. Please apprise the President, of whom he was an elector; Mr Seward, whom he preceded as Secretary of State and the Massachusetts delegation, who remember him Senator, Representative and Governor ed) JOHN A. ANDREW." (Signed)

CELEBRATION OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. -

and anniversary of the Procla Emancipation was celebrated at National Hall, last night, by a very large and enthusiastic audience, gathered under the auspices of the Banneker Institute. The assemblage was composed principally of the colored people of the city, but contained a large sprinkling of white auditors. The U. S. Military Post Band from Camp Wu. Penn was in attendance, and enlivened the proceedings with some excellent music.

music.

The meeting was opened by the selection of Mr. Jacob C. White as President. Letters were then read from Hon. Charles Sumner, Frederick Douglass, and

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

SENATE CHAMBER, Dec. 25, 1864.

DEAR SIR: It will not be in my power to be present at the relebration of the Emancipation Proclamation by the Banneker Institute. But wherever I may be, I shall celebrate it in my heart.

That proclamation has done more even than any military success to save the country. It has already saved the national character. The future historian will confess that it saved everything.

It remains for us to uphold it faithfully, so that it may not be impaired in a single jot or tittle.

And in the spirit of the proclamation, and taught by its example, we must press forward in the work of justice to the colored race until abuse and outrage have ceased, and all are equal before the law.

The astronomer, Banneker, whose honored name you bear, would be shut out of the street cars in some of our cities, but such a petty meanness cannot last long.

Accept my best wishes, and believe me. dear signate in the such a petty meanness cannot last long.

Accept my best wishes, and believe me, dear sir faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

This letter, during its reading, elicited loud ap-lause, as also the letter of Mr. Douglass, from which plause, as also the letter or Mr. we make the following extracts:

Frederick Douglass, after apologizing for his inabili-ty to attend, and stating that great steps had already

ty to attend, and stating that great steps had already been made by the colored race in the favorable regard of their fellow-clitzens during the past two years, proceeds to say:

"The work of an age has been suddenly compressed into a single day. Events have succeeded each other so rapidly, overlapping and overstepping each other so thickly, each rising higher than the other, that we are puzzled to separate and estimate at its value any one of all of them. Their variety, velocity, and proximity dazzle us and cause us to lose our reckoning. Only after-coming generations of men, far remote the following generations of men, far remote from this stormy and bewildering hour, will be able to describe with accuracy these great events, and give to each its true granduer and importance. There is one, however, which towers aloft above all the rest, like the mountain rock amid the dashing waves of a troubled ocean—solid, calm, unshaken, and firm movable—and that is the Ennancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, whose second anniversary you are about to commemorate. Hayti and Liberia recognized; the colored man received at the capital of the United States; slavery abolished in the District of Columbia; slavery prohibited in all the Territories of the country; slavery propaized as the cause of the war, and its abolition decreed as the only wise remedy; Virginis half free; Missouri soon to follow; Tennessee not far behind; Kentucky trembling; "Maryland, My Maryland," unfettered, her chains broken, and her limbs all tree; Judge Taney dead; Judge Chase alive; McClellan defeated; Abraham Lincoln elected; slaveholding abolished; and brave black inen, side by side with loyal white soldiers, winning laurels for their race upon overy battlefield where they are permitted to confront the foecountry, as well as fight under its fag—until he soldiers, winning laurels for their race upon overy battlefield where they are permitted to confront the foecountry, as well as fight under its fag—until he shall be ast welcome as a citizen a be as welcome as a citizen as he now is as a soldier, he will be a despised and persecuted man, floundering in the depths of social degradation, a tempting target for all that is mean and malicious in the American mind and heart—having no rights which a white man is bound to respect. Let no man say within himself that this is untimely. The iron is hot, and now is the time to strike. The nation is looking about for safe

anchoring ground for the ship of state, and you and I know where the sale ground is. Then let use firmly point out that ground. Our own cause, and the cause of the country, alike demand this at our hands. I would be a shame, deeply scandalous and diagraceful in the nation, to treat us as clitters in war and as aliens in peace—tax us to support the country, and arm us to defend it, and yet deny as the full rights of American clittenship. Profoundly grateful for what has been already accomplished, in full faith in the ultimate triamph of our country and our cause,

I am, very truly.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS."

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF GENERAL BUT-LER.

HEADQUARTEES DEFARTERST OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

BOSTON, Dec. 21st, 1864.

Mr. Lawis Hayden, 6 which Lewis Hayden is M. W. G. M., and among other interesting incidents of the occasion, of blooking, of Basicon, of Basicon

After the recitation of a poem by Mr. John Smith, the opening address was delivered by Mr. Octavius V. Catto, a young man of considerable ability, and was frequently interrupted by loud applause as he advocated the rights of the negro to freedom and consilir.

MISSOURI A FREE STATE!

The new Constitution is not to be submitted to the

F. C. FLETCHER.

Governor of Missouri.

To His Excellency, the Governor of Missouri, Jefferson

A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

A. G. CURTIN, Governor of Feany cunds.

MISSOURI TO MAINE.

STATE HOUSE, Augusta, Me., Jan. 13. The Gevernor of this State sends the following dispatch in reply to one received from Gov. Fletcher of Missouri, informing him that Missourids a free State: To the Governor of Missouri, Jefferson City, Mo.

Maine welcomes her twin-sister Missouri to the bles-sings of free institutions, after forty years wandering in the wilderness.

SAUEL CONY, Governor of Maine." MISSOURI TO NEW YORK.

The following correspondence, by telegraph, betweer, the Governor of Missouri and the Governor of New York, is brief but thrilling. The hearts of the people—full to overflowing with joy and thanksgiving—respond to the expressive prayer of Gov. Fenton:—

JEFFERSON CITY, Missouri, {
January 11, 1865.}

Governor of New York:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, ALBANY, N. Y.,
January 12, 1865.

Governor Fletcher, Jefferson, Missouri:
God bless free Missouri!
R. E. FENTON.

Of Missouri, by Governor Andrew :
Boston, Jan. 13, 1865.

To His Excellency F. C. Fletcher, Governor of Missouri,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

THE REMOVAL OF GENERAL BUTLER.

THE REMOVAL OF GENERAL BUTLER.

A perusal of the reports relating to the Wilmington expedition, made public by order of Gen. Grant, discloses some very interesting points. In the first place—premising that the expedition did not actually effect a landing till Dec. 25—ti is to be observed that Gen. Grant originally contemplated the enterprise to be undertaken in the early part o' December, before Sherman's march through Georgia was ended, as he believed that Gen. Bragg had gone thither, with most of the forces from about Wilmington. This appears by a note of his dated Nov. 30, in which he urges Butler to "make all the arrangements for his (Weitzel's) departure." Dec. 4, he feels "great anxiety to see the Wilmington expedition off;" on the 7th he says: "Let Weitzel get off as soon as possible; "on the 1th he says: "I fyou do not get off immediately, you will lose the chance of surprising a weak garrison: "and on the 14th he asks: "What is the prospect of getting your expedition started?" We give prominence to come up to the time set by the Lieutenant General was the first cause of the failure of the whole expedition.

Secondly, it is perfectly apparent from the correspon-

was the first cause of the failure of the whole expedition.

Secondly, it is perfectly apparent from the correspondence that Weitzel, and not Butler, was designated for the milliary of part the expedition. The first orders of Gen. Grant, with reference to the expedition, we delivered verbally to Butler (the troops all being taken from the army of the James), who gave the format instructions to Weitzel, submitting them, after they had been written, to the approval of Gen. Grant. The following sentence at the beginning of the note of instructions addressed to Weitzel, signed by Butler's chief of staff, is alone sufficient to settle this point, viz: "The Major General commanding has entrusted you with the command of the expedition about to embark for the North Carolina coast." In all the dispatches of Gen. Grant, it is: "The expedition under Gen. Weitzel," "Let Gen. Weitzel get off," "The troops under Gen. Weitzel, &c., &c. In short, it is manifest from the correspondence that the Lieutenant General intended that Butler should not go with the expedition.

Thirdly, it was designed by Gen. Grant that if the

oral intended that Butler should not go with the expedition.

Thirdly, it was designed by Gen. Grant that, if the expedition got a foothold on the shore, it should stay there, and not re-embark, as Gen. Butler understood and ordered. Hence the latter was early directed to increase his supply of entrenching tools for the expedition. Gen. Grant says (Dec. 6): "The object of the expedition will be gained by effecting a landing on the main land between Cape Fear river and the Atlantic, north of the north entrance to the river;" and, there entrenching, "effect the reduction and expression of the cape of the river of Fort Fisher and the batteries. But should the troops "fail to effect a landing at or near Fort Fisher, they were to return to the James river. With such explicit instructions before him—and given more in detail than we have copied—it is difficult to see how Gen. Butter should have so mistaken their import. Either his attention or his memory must have been at fault.—Boston Journal.

fault.—Boston Journal.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune says that Gen. Butler was removed after consultation between General Grant and Secre

NEW YORK, Jan. 16. The Herald's Washington dispatch says Admiral Porter has sent the Nays Department a response to General Butler's statements of the Fort Fisher affair. He says the only work assigned the navy was to silence the rebel works, which was effectually done Dec. 24th and 25th; but as Gen. Butler accided that the assault by the military was then unfeasible, it would have been equally so if done at an earlier day. Gen. Butler started on, the expedition before the navy was ready to co-operate, thus exposing his transports to view and warning the enemy of danger. He also charges that the army portion of the enterprise was got up in a very unmilitary manner.

BOSTON, Dec. 21st, 1864.

Mr. LEWIS HAYDEN, Boston:

DEAR SIR:—I send you with this note, for presentation to the Prince Hall Grand Lodge, a gavel made from a piece of the whipping-post at Hampton, Ya. The gentleman who sent it to me says, "This post or tree stood directly in the rear of the old Courihouse, and in front of the jail. While I was cutting it, about trenty colored men and women bore testimony to me that it was the identical post or tree that they had been tied to, and had their backs isocrated with the whip."

I also place in your hands, for the same purpose, a

reached a stream, down which he floated, past the rebel pickets, till he reached a point guarded by the Union army, where he landed a free man.

A copy of his narrative will be given you for presentation with this interesting relic.

I know of no place more fitting for the preservation of these memorials of the barbarous institution that is now tottering to its rapidly approaching fall, than the association of free colored citizens of Massachusetts over which you preside. Some among you may be reminded by them of the sufferings and bondage from which the hand of God has delivered them, while others whose happier lot has been to be born and reared as free men in a free State, as they look upon these things, will thank Him that he has been graciously pleased that their lives should fall in more pleasant places; and to those who shall come after you, let the sight of these things be a perpetual memorial of God's favor to their fathers, in delivering them from their oppressors, as well as of the memorial of Gods in to the control of the control o I am, faithfully yours, etc.,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

A WISE UNDERTAKING. Certain liberal gentlemen of Boston have conceived the idea of supplying every clergyman, editor, bookseller, postmaster and legislator in the land with that heartrending account of the sufferings of our Union prisoners at the South, which we commented upon a few weeks ago. The Loyal League in Philadelphia orders at once 5,000 copies for their State, and the Loyal Publication Society of New York 1,000, etc., etc. It is intended to distribute the document largely in England also, with the certainty of effecting a vast revolution of sentiment against the South. At home, it will serve to deepen our abhorence of the rebellion, and to strengthen the national determination to destroy slavery with the sword and the Constitutional Amendment. All contributions to the fund needed to pay for 50,000 copies will be acknowledged by mail, and in a list of "peacemakers," to be printed in Littell's Lieing Age. Send to Hon. Amos A. Lawrence, of Bostion; to Morris Ketchum, Esq., New York; to the Union League, Philadelphia; or to the publishers, Littell, Son & Co., Boston.—N. Y. Independent.

Henry S. Foote, a representative of Tennessee in the Confederate House, announced on the 17th his intention to withdraw from that body altogether. He declared that the conspiracy was "on the very edge of ruin," and that Congress, by abnegating all important powers, was building up "an irresponsible military despotism, the like of which has never been seen before upon this earth." He predicted the effectual extinguishment of the freedom of deliberation within ten days, and gave as a reason for retiring: "I am a freeman, and the representative of freemen, and I know not how to legislate in chains." He hopes to find in the Confederacy "some sequestered spot," (not so difficult, we fancy,) where he can enjoy (there's the rubl) a little "freedom from taxnion." If disturbed by the hand of oppression, he meditytes a retreat to foreign climes.

Senator Foote has since been arrested by the rebel authorities, while on his way to the aforeasid "sequestered spot." It appears that Mrs. Foote had passport to leave the Confederacy and started from Richmond three weeks ago. Senator Foote accompanied her, but without such authority, for the purpose of seeing her safe over the Potomae. In the meantime, an order was issued to the rebel Provost Marshal at Fredericksburg, by Secretary of War Seddon, for his arrest. He was accordingly tracked to Dumfries, and there captured. The matter was brought up in the rebel House of Representatives, and a resolution passed, on the 16th, that, under all the circumstances. HENRY S. FOOTE, a representative of Tennessee is the Confederate House, announced on the 17th his in

at liberty.

Frankfort, Ky., Jan. 14. The speech of Hon.
W. P. Kinney, before the Legislature to-day, has elicited much remark. He said he had heretofore sustained legal enactionents favoring slavery, because he had heretofore deemed slavery in some respects beneficent to both races, although he had never believed in the inherent right of one man to hold another man in bondage; but those benefits had ceased to accrue, and the rebellion was responsible therefor. He justified the acts of the Administration in regard to slavery, and vindicated the right of the people to amend the Constitution is mutable policy, to be changed as necessity or expediency required. He said that Kentucky's interest required the proposed amendment, as slavery had retarded her development and seriously checked her advancement.

seriously checked her advancement.

*** Governor Cannon, in his annual message to the Legislature of Delaware, again takes strong ground in favor of emancipation in that State, as he did in his inaugural address. He repeats that Delaware is connected with the free States by geographical position and commercial necessity; that the products of Delaware find their market in the North, and that thence come the immigrants who give increased value to real eatate; that the result of constant intercourse with the North is gradually to assimilate the institutions of Delaware to those of the free States, as it has already identified their interests; that slavery in Delaware, being merely nominal, is worthless as an element of labor; that emancipation in Maryland has surrounded Delaware with freesoil, inviting the escape of slaves on all sides, as there is now no law requiring their rendition.

the raid of Generals Stoneman and Burbridge was a great success. The rebel generals Breckinnige vas a great success. The rebel generals Breckinnige Vaughn and Duke were whipped. Their artillery was captured, and their forces were scattered. Saltwille was burned, and the saltworks destroyed. The railroad from Bristol and twenty miles beyond Wytheraille was destroyed, with all the rolling stock. Bristol and Wytherille were laid in ruins. The property destroyed is estimated at over two millions of dollars. A report from Gen. Burbridge, received in Washington, fully confirms all these statements.

THEY GIVE IT UP. A citizen of Chicago, who has just returned from Havana, Cuba, says the rebels and their sympathizers there and in Europe are in despair. Slidell says that the Southern cause is beyond hope, and he gives it up. Nearly all the rebels abroad are equally despondent. They consider the rebellion a failure.

GREAT FIGHT WITH THE INDIANS.

Mineral contains an account of a great fight with the Cheyenne Indians, on the Plains. Nov. 29. The Indians numbered 1000. The chief, Black Kettle, White Antelope and Little Robe were killed, together with some 600 other Indians. Our loss was killed and 38 wounded. Our troops were commanded by Col. Cherington, and they marched 300 miles in ten days, 100 of which was through snow two feet dren.

IMPORTANT ARMY MOVEMENT. General Thomas Francis Meagher arrived at Nashville on the night of the 16th inst., from Chattanooga, with several thousand veteran troops of the 16th and 17th army corps, organized as the Provisional Division of Tennessee, en route to join Sherman at Savannah via New York, where he may be expected in four or five days.

NEW YORK, Jan. 14. The steamship Rebecce.
Clyde sailed this evening, deeply laden with provisions for the relief of the citizens of Savannah. She was gaily dreased in colors, and was greeted with salutes and cheers from all sides.

The anniversary of Emancipation was cele-orated by the colored people of Key West, Florida, in a most enthusiastic manner.

Gen. Sherman, in a private letter, says that in his march through Georgia, if he could have fed all the negroes who joined his army, the population of Savannah would have been increased to one hundred thousand. Being unable to feed this year cowd, he was obliged to turn most of them back.

The Ridge-avenue Passenger Railway Company, in Philadelphia, have placed cars on their track, on each of which it is announced conspicuously that "Colored people can ride in this car." This is one long step towards a humane reform.

The Richmond Sentinel foresees a formidable winter campaign by the national armies against Charleston, Augusta and Richmond, but it urges, the people never to dream of the idea of subjugation or their children would curse their memories, and all the world would say amen.

THE NEW ENGLAND HOSPITAL FOR WO MEN AND CHILDREN Is now pern

at No. 14 Warren Street, Boston.
Its object is to furnish to the women of New England
the ministration of their own eax, and such isolation and
occuliar care as are, in many cases, essential to successful

The opinions of some of our ablest physicia

ane opinions of some of our ablest payments, and the fact that patients are often eent to us from the Massachusetts General Hospital, provs the necessity for a Hespital for the separate treatment of women.

It is no longer a question whether women can become successful physicians; and public sentiment demands that women who desire it shall have the advice of practitioners of their own.

The commodious house, No. 14 Warren Street, and three

which \$13,500 have been aiready subscribed.

This is a most valuable property, admirably adapted to our use, and has aiready enabled us greatly to extend the

enefits of the Hospital. venefits of the Hospital.

We still owe upon the property \$6,500, and we need bout \$4,000 to finish and fit the buildings for use.

herefore appeal, with confidence, to a generous commu-sity for the sum of \$10,000.

During the last year, 127 patients have been admitted to the Hospital, 120 have been visited at their own homes, and 1977 have been treated in the Dispensary. About one half the nationts in the Hospital were from

It is, therefore, not to Boston alone that we look for the means of carrying on the work, but to the kind-hearted

means or carrying on the voir, so the barrying on the barrying throughout New England.

Thousands of women in our cities and large towns have no homes in which to find refuge in sickness.

Thousands of the abject poor live in damp cellars, or unfarnished, crowded, filthy attics. Unfit habitations in health, what must they be in sickness?

The wives of brave men, who have nobly laid down the

ives in battle, appeal to us.
Gladly we do for the soldier—shall we not also provide

for those dearer to him than his own life? for mose nearer to min than his own life?

Give us, then, a portion of the abundance with which
God has blessed you, to be used for the comfort of the
suffering and the needy; and accept the accurance that
whatever you may entrust to us shall be dispensed with

he most rigid economy.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Hospital, 14 Warren street, to the Treasurer, F. W. G. May, Esq., 1 Broad

MRS. ELLEN C. JOHNSON, 78 Temple St. MRS. ELLEN C. JULISON,
MRS. L. G. FRENCH, 8 Asylum St.,
J. H. STEPHENSON, 12 Arch St.,
Com Boston, Jan., 1865.

INFIDEL CONVENTION .- The Infidel Association of America will hold their Annual Convention in Bos-tion, on Sunday, Jan. 29, 1865, (the anniversary of the birth-day of Thomas Paine.) Due notice will be given of the place and hour of meeting next week.

Infidels, Deists, Atheists, Liberals, Spiritualists and

Christians are respectfully invited to attend. Per order of the Executive Committee

J. M. BECKETT, Secretary. Boston, Jan. 20, 1865.

THE PAINE BALL!

The One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Anniversary of Grand Hall, at Minot Hall, 1131 Washington Street, (corner of Springfield Street, Boston,) on Monday Evening,

Ample preparations wil be made to equal, if not surpass, any good time ever enjoyed on a similar occasion. Minot Hall contains ample room and superior accommo-dations, and the Cemmittee will spare no pains to render

the Ball one not to be forgotten by those who honor it with their presence.

Music—Savage's Quadrille Band. DANCING to commence at 8 o'clock.

Tickets, admitting a gentleman and two ladies,
\$2, for sale at the Investigator Office, or by any of the fol-

wing Committee of Arrangements :-JAMES M. BECKETT, HORACE SEAVER, JOSIAH P. MENDUN, T. L. SAVAGE, OTIS CLAPP, GALEN COFFIN, OTIS CLAPP, GALEN COPPIN F. G. HARTSHORN, PHILIP PEAK. Boston, Jan. 17, 1865.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral,

FOR THE RAPID CURE OF

Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, Bronchi-tis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Con-sumptice Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

tis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Consumptice Patients in advanced stages of the disease. SO wide is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous has the cases of its cures, that almost every section of the country abounds in persons publicly known, who have been restored from slarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its susperiority over every other expectorant is too apparent to escape observation; and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidots to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs that are incident to our climate. While many inferior remedies thrust spon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted-they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgetten.

We can only asure the public, that its quality is carefully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all that it has ever done. Great numbers of elergymen, physicians, statesman, and eminent personages, have lent their mames to certify the unparalleled usefulness of our, remedies, but space here will not permit the insertion of them. The agents believed manned furnish gratis the America Alaxana, is which they are given; with also full descriptions eighte complaints they care.

Those who require an alterative medicine to purify the blood will find Atran's Coar. Ext. Sansaranitat the rem

plaints they core. Those who require an alterative medicine to purify the blood will find Ayrar's Cour. Ext. Sansarantia the rem dy to use. Try it once, and you will know its value. Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO. Lowell, Mass., and olid by all druggists.

Jan. 6. 2m.

WANTED,

A MAN and wife to take charge of a small farm; one A who is willing to work with his own hands, and likes to take care of stock, and makes no use of includeding drinks, tobacco, or profane language.

Such an one may have a good situation by corresponding with THOMAS HASKELL. West Gloucester, Mass., Jan. 4.

55th MARCH,

WITH lithographic likeness of Col. A. S. Hartwell, Soth Mass. Volt., who was severely wounded while commanding a brigade at the battle of Honey Hill, S. C. The likeness is pronounced by the friends of Col. Hartwell to be a perfect success. Published and for sails any by J. S. JACOBUS, No. 8 Dix Place, Bosto

Extract of a letter to E. W. Kinsley, 37 Franklin st., oston, introducing Mr. Jacobs :-Boston, introducing Mr. Jacobs:—
"Mr. Jacobs was formerly leader of the Band of the
14th Mass. Regt., and has been one month with the 55th
as teacher of the Band, do. Mr. Jacobs has done the
good thing by us, and when better times come, we hope
to have him here again.
A. S. Hartwell,
Col. 55th Mass. Comming.
Hilton Head, S. C., June, 1863."

MR. GARRISON'S PORTRAIT.

THE Portrait of Mr. Garrison, the publication of which has been delayed in consequence of the server and protracted illness of the artise segred in transferring it to stone, is now ready, and will be furnished to subscribers immediately. Orders may be addressed to subscribers immediately. Orders may be addressed to P. Wallettr, Esq., Labrator office, og to the Publisher. Price \$1.50 per copy.

I it is a portrait which, as a work of art and as a likeness, gives great satisfaction.

O. H. BRAINARD, Publisher

C. H. BRAINARD, Publisher

GAS FIXTURES.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that (owing to ill health) he has been bliged to leave his situation at Mesers. H. B. Stanwed & Cox, more heaven and the sen employed for the last fourteen years, the work being on heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared od all manner of JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES,

in the most careful manner. New Fixtures furnished and put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drops cleaned, leaks stop-ped, Gas Fixtures done over, and Gas Glasses of all kinds furnished at short notice. Also, Gas Burners of all the approved kinds.

approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Particular Shop under the Mariboro Hotel. Orders may be left at Mearr. Hall & Stowell's Provision Slove, 132 Charles street, Boston.

MELSON L. PERKINS.
Refers to Shreve, Stanwood & Co.
Oct. 30—1y

the rebel armics, of whom 18,585 were conscripts.

advocated the rights of the negro to irrection and equality.

The oration of the evening was then delivered by Henry Highland Garnet. Taking for his subject the progress of freedom in the last four years, he depicted in graphic colors the different events and actions by which the condition of his race has been so much ameliorated. In the course of his remarks, he referred to the good which the negro had already wrought for the American people, mentioning among other things the bravery of the colored regiments at Port Hudson, Fort Jackson, before Petersburg, and on numerous other battle-fields of the Republic. Mr. Garnet's remarks, which were extended to a considerable length, were frequently and loudly applauded.

After the singing of a song by a colored vocalist, the recitation of Boker's well known. "Second Louisiana Regiment," and a short address by Mr. J. Wimpson, the large meeting adjourned, the affair having been a decided success.—Philadelphia paper.

MISSOURI A FREE STATE!

On Wednesday of last week, the Missouri State Convention passed: the following Ordinance of Emancipation by a vote of 60 to 4:

"Be it ordained by the people of the State of Missouri, in convention assembled, that hereafter in this State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared tree."

people, but goes into effect immediately. Siavery is therefore at an end in Missouri.

The following dispatch was received by Gov. Curtin on Thursday morning:

1 defires City, Mo., Jan. 11. To the Governor of Pennsylvania: Free Missouri greets her oldest sister.

Governor Curtin sent the following reply :

To His Excellency, we occurred the Excellency, the City:

Pennsylvania, first-born of freedom, welcomes her dissentiralled sister State of Missouri, redecemed in the agony of the nation, and amid the throes of wanton rebellion. Her offering to liberty comes baptized in her richest blood, and will be accepted by a faithful and free people as one of the crowning tributes to their matchless heroism, and their sacrifices to preserve and perpetuate our common nationality.

Free Missouri greets you!
F. C. FLETCHER,
Govern

II. E. FENTON.

The following dispatch was sent to the Governor of Missouri, by Governor Andrew:—

Jefferson City Jefferson City:

Massachusetts salutes Missouri with grateful joy, commending her to the highest rewards of happiness and honor as a Commonwealth of freemen.

REJOICING OVER EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI REJOICING OVER EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI AS T. LOUIS, Jan. 14. Gov. Fletcher has issued a proclamation declaring Missouri a free State, in accordance with the Emancipation ordinance passed at the Convention. Hundreds of business houses and private residences were brilliantly illuminated to-night. Thousands of patriotic citizens, with bands of music.

tary Stanton.

HEADQUARTEES DEFARMENT OF VIBORNIA AND NORTH CAROLURA.

Army of the James.

Army of the James.

Your commander, reliaved by order of the President, takes leave of you. Your conduct in the field has extorted praises from the unwilling. You have endured the privations of camp and the march without a murmur. You have never yielded to an attack. When ordered, you have stormed and carried works deemed impregnable by the enemy. You have shown the positions to be so by holding them against his fiercest assault in the attempt to retake them. Those skilled in war have marrelled at the obstacles overcome by your valor. Your line works have been the wonder of officers of other nations, who have come to learn defensive warfare. From the monuments of your skilled labor your deeds have been the Army of the James." To share such companionship is pleasure; to participate in such is honor; to have commanded such an army is glory. No one could, yield it without regret. Knowing your willing obedience to orders, witnessing your ready devotion of your blood in your country's cause, I have been chary of the precious charge confided to me. I have refused to order useless sacrifices of the lives of such soldlers, and I am relieved from your command. The wasted blood of my me does not stain my garments. For my action, I am responsible to God and my country. To the Colored Troops in the Army of the James:

You have been treated, not as laborers, but as soldlers; you have shown yourselves worthy the uniform ghts to yourselves and your race forever.

Comrades of the Army of the James, I bid you

> BENJ. F. BUTLER. Major General. THE FREEDMEN OF GEORGIA.

THE FREEDMEN OF GEORGIA.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

The subjoined appeal has come to the New England Freedmey's Aid Society, from Gen. Saxton and various Superintendents and Teachers of Freedmen in South Carolina, in behalf of the Georgia negroes liberated by Gen. Sheroman. Six thousand of these negroes are probably to be established on Edisto Island, which it will be remembered was sometime ago abandoned by our force; and Mr. J. P. Blake, of New Haven, an agent of the New England Society, and a gentleman of high character and education, has, with the assistance of experienced persons, drawn up a scheme for the colony. But many of these poor people will never live to be colonized, unless something is done to save them from perishing from want. They are no doubt largely the wives and children of our new black recryits! Will not Boston, which has so generously contributed \$30,000 for the reliet of the white population of Savannah—friends and enemies—give at least one-third as much for the black people, whose sufferings are much more severe, and all of whom are our friends!

JOHN PARKMAN,

Exerc. Committee of the F. L. CHLID.

JOHN PARKMAN, F. J. CHILD, WM. ENDICOTT, JR.,

Exec. Committee of the N. E. Freedmen's Aid Society. WM. ENDIGOTT, JR., J AM SOCIETY.
Contributions of money may be sent to our office, 8
Studio Building, Tremont street; clothing and other
supplies to Wellington, Brothers & Co., 103 Devonshire street, marked for the N. E. F. A. Society. Good Men and Women of the North :

We earnestly appeal to you on behalf of the thou-sands of suffering negroes whom Gen. Sherman has just liberated by his triumphant march through Georgia.

Wherever he has borne our flag, they have hastened to follow it, with simple faith in the truth of the Government and the charity of the nation. They have arrived at the coast after long marches and severe privations, weary, famished, sick, and almost naked. Seven hundred of these wretched people arrived at Beaufort Christmas night, in a state of misery which would have moved to pity a heart of stone, and these are but the advance of a host no less destitute.

The stores of the Government, already overtaxed to supply a large army, are not available to relieve their wants, and unless the charity of the North comes speedily to the rescue, they must die by hundreds from exposure and disease.

wants, and unless the charity of the North comes speedily to the rescue, they must die by hundreds from exposure and disease.

So extreme and entire is the destitution of this people that nothing which you can afford to give will come amiss. Ciothing is their most pressing need, especially for women and children, who cannot wear the cast-off garments of soldiers. Shoes and stockings, hats, suspenders, and under-garments of all kinds, are hardly less necessary in this climate than in the North. Utensils, medicines, money—anything you have to spare—will find its use among this wretched people. The several Freedmen's Aid Societies at the North are proper and sufficient channels for your benedicence. We pray you, for the sake of suffering humanity, let them be speedily and abundantly filled.

Signed by—
Rufus Saxton, Brigadier General and Military Governor of South Carolina; H. G. Judd, Superintendent of Freedmen; George Newcomb, Superintendent of Schools for the N. F. R. Ass. of N. Y.; S. Peck, Pastor of Baptist Church in Beaufort; J. W. Alvord, Sccretary American Tract Society, Boston; Wm. Henry Brisbane, U. S. Tax Commissioner for S. C.; Reuben Tomlinson, Superintendent of Freedmen; Samuel L. Harris, Port Chaplain and Army Missionary; Wm. T. Richardson, Missionary and Superintendent of American Missionary Association; James P. Blake and James A. Crosby, of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society.

THE GEORGIA FREEDMEN. We trust that the appeal in behalf of the negroes of Georgia who have followed the flag which led them to freedom, will find hearty response from our readers. Their wants are pressing, and the appeal in their behalf is of the most argent character. Let our citizens respond with their wonted liberality, and the immediate suffering and destitution of these poor negroes will be over, and they are defined by the mut in the way of becoming indusdestitution of these poor negroes will be over, and they speedily be put in the way of becoming industrious and self-sustaining.—Transcript.

The following dispatch announcing the gratifying act that Fort Fisher has fallen, was received at Washington on Tuesday last :-

HEADQUARTERS U. S. FORCES ON FEDERAL POINT, N. C., Jan. 15, via Fortress Monroe, Jan. 17.

To Brig, Gen. John A. Rauclings:
General: I have the honor to report that Fort Fisher was carried by assault this afternoon and evening, by Gen. Ames's division of the 2d brigade of the 1st division of the 24th army corps, gallantly aided by a battalion of marines and seamen from the navy.
The assault was preceded by a heavy bombardment from the Federal fleet, and was made at 3.80 P. M., when the 1st brigade (Curtis of Ames's division) effected a lodging on the parapet, but full possession of the work was not obtained until 10 P. M.
The behavior of both officers and men was most ad-The behavior of both officers and men was most ad

The benavior or both summable.

All the works south of Fort Fisher are now occupied by our troops. We have not less than 1200 prisoners, including Gen. Whiting and Col. Lamb, the commander of the Fort.

I regret to say that our loss is severe, especially in officers. I am not yet able to form any estimate of the number of casualties.

ALFRED II. TERRY, ALFRED H. TERRY, Brev. Maj. Gen. Comdg. Expedition

Later intelligence states that our loss in killed and wounded was 800, and that of the enemy, 500. After the surrender of the Fort, the magazine exploded by accidert, killing 200 of our men. Two thousand prisoners were taken. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN KEN TUCKY.

TUCKY.

The Anti-Slavery Convention held at Frankfort, Kentucky, on the 4th Instant, already reported briefly by telegraph, was a large and entituslastic gathering of the Union men of the state. Dr. P. S. Bell, chairman of the Union State Committee called the Convention to order, and the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee on the Fature Organization of the Union Party in the State: Hon. F. T. Hord, E. W. Smith, B. F. Bristow, George D. Blakely, Capitain Fiddler, B. F. Sanford, D. S. Goodloe, C. F. Burnham, T. C. Cambpell, Tucker Woodson. The following resolutions were unanimously adop

That we hereby request our senstors and representatives in Congress to vote in favor of submitting a proposed amendment of the national Constitution, abolishing and prohibiting slavery throughout the domain of the United States; and that we invite the coperation of the Legislature of Kentucky in carrying forward this request.

That in the judgment of this convention, the slave-code of the State should be revised, repealed or modified, so as to be in accordance with the present status of affairs in Kentucky, so far as the State Constitution may permit.

Poetry.

SPIRIT OF FREEDOM. BY D. M. II.

The power thou hast to elevate and bless. Thy children sunk in darkness and distress. Thou art the hope that whispers in the mind,

In accents sweet, and gentle, and so kind; Thine is the hand the captive to unbind. The galling shackle drops beneath thy power

And underneath thy purifying shower States are redeemed, and rescued in an hour. Oh, Liberty ! of life thou art the soul ; on the spirit's altar thou the coal That lights the flame that leads it to its goal. Dark were the world without thee, and unblessed; No flower of hope would blossom in the breast, No star to guide the pilgrim sore oppressed.

Thy tender loving arms enfold the slave ; Deep diggest thou Oppression's loathsome grave, And flowers of Justice o'er its ashes wave.

Weak are all tyrants to contend with thee ; y healing power shall sweep o'er land and sea, I God's dear children stand redeemed and free.

TO JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER,

ON THE DEATH OF HIS SISTER. O, far away, whom thousand hearts Most tenderly remember,
Who read thy sweet words by their hearths,
These chill eves of September:
When grief thy noble head hath bawed,
The greatest could betide thee,
How throb our full hearts painfully, To kneel and weep beside thee !

On! are our tips with reverent love.

Speak of thy dear departed,

Whose laurels with thine own were twined—
The gifted, the true-hearted!

Whose rich song thrilled, though breathed so low,

Whose life was meek and holy,

Whose last deed scheered the suffering brave,

and life has the lovel. And liffed up the lowly ! When, brightening all thine early skies,

Oh! dare our lips with reverent love

The wings of Hope gleamed o'er thee, And fame, and case, and all life's joys Were richly placed before thee Turned from them all, thy pitying eyes Looked down that vale of sighing Where God's poor, outcast and oppressed, In tears and chains were lying-

Despite the great world's looks of scorn, Though other bards might heed them, Thy strong and tender hands upraised The fainting brow of Freedom Was she not with thee all the while, With looks of warm approving,
Thy quick, keen heart, and earnest soul
The stronger for her loving!

How cold and faint our poor words fall From hearts with feeling glowing !-Poor leaves dropped on its tide, to stay Grief's current wildly flowing orld crimson life-drops, for our tears Bring joy to thy receiving, Who would not give them thee, content To perish in the giving?

SONG FOR THE NEW YEAR. Old Time has turned another page Of eternity and truth : He reads with a warning voice to age, And whispers a lesson to youth A year has fled o'er heart and head Since last the Since last the yule log burnt;
And we have a task to closely ask
What the bosom and brain have learnt. Oh! let us hope that our sands have run With wisdom's precious grains; Oh! may we find that our hands have done Some work of glorious pains.

Then a welcome and cheer to the merry new year,
While the helly gleams above us;

With a pardon for the fees who hate, And a prayer for those who love us. We may have seen some loved ones pass

To the land of hellowed rest; We may mise the glow of an honest bro And the warmth of a friendly breast; But if we nursed them while on earth, With hearts all true and kind, Will their spirits blame the sinless mirth Of those true hearts left behind ! To mourn with endless pain; There's a better world beyond the skies, Where the good shall meet again. Then a welcome and cheer to the merry new year,
While the holly gleams above us;
With a pardon for the fees who hate,
And a prayer for these who love us.

Have our days rolled on serenely free From sorrow's dim alloy ? From sorrow's dim alloy?,
Do we still possess the gifts that bless
And fill our souls with Joy?
Are the creatures dear still clinging near?
Do we hear loved voices come?
Do we gaze on eyes whose glances shed A halo round our home? Oh, if we do, let thanks be poured To Him who hath spared and given; And forget not o'er the festive board. The mercies held from Heaven. Then a welcome and cheer to the merry new year,
While the helly gleams above us!
With a pardon for the foes who hate, And a prayer for those who love us!

IN FORO CONSCIENTIAL The day is past : Eve, like a weary child, Rests on the bosom of her mother, Night. I hear the sound of laughter, sweet and wild, Come from the distant vale, and sephyrs light Are bearing many odors on their wings.

Yet I am in despair ; Methinks I hear an inward voice that sings : "Rouse from thy torpor, ch ! insensate heart ! While not in dreams the precious hours away Life's span is short; soon Death's unerring dart Will strike thee in the lists. The but a day Thou hast to do thy mission ; use it well !

Be faithful, pure and just,
Placing in God thy trust,
And thou shalt reap rowards no to Thy head and hand are needed in the fight:
Say not then hast no place, nor, sophist like,
Declare there are enough to shield the Right
From feet that trample and from hand that strike
God will not hold thee guilden, having power

To do His portioned work,
If thou dost meanly shirk
's noblest duties in the trial hour!

Up, and be doing! and remember thou,
'There is no remedy for time indepent;'
Let all the wrinkles graven on thy brow
By Time's unsparing hand, with fell intent,
Be records only of an active life,
Of duties nobly dose,
'And bosors fairly wen

Amidst the fiercest and most maddening strife Tis joy enough to have a conscience free

From blame and self-repreach; to know shou hast
Done all the good within thy power; to see

No ghost of wrong committed in the past,
when have been present provided. Rise, Banque-like, to mar thy peace; I pray, List to the still small voice; List to the stir each.

Let Virine be thy choice,

And He who ruleth all shall guard thy way."

One, H. Sayman

The Tiberator.

COLORPHOBIA IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) Jan. 6, 1865,

V. L. GARRISON, Esq. ;
DEAR SIR—In the morning's issue of Mr. For Chronicle, on Monday, the 2d inst., some one of the editors stated, among other things, that, "Of the re-ceptions of the President, that of New Year's Day is the most popular and most largely attended. To surroundings of the National Capital, where many of the worst as well as best of our population congre-gate, and at a season when the throng is generally greatest, and when and where are many of those who wish the foe success, without a parade of large bodies of armed men, and in the absence of all special pro-tection of the sacred person of the ruler of this nation, all the people present, of every creed, clime color and sex are invited by the President to call upon him." The italics are my own. Whether the writer had any authority to make such a declaration as to who were invited to call upon the President, I know not, nor do I know whether the above state-ment in the Chronicle was seen by any colored indiment in the Chronicle was seen by any colored must vidual, but it is fair to presume that it was seen by the vast and motley crowd which literally besiege the Presidential mansion on that day. Nor do I con sider it wonderful that they should suppose that they would be permitted to take Father Abraham by the hand, since all, themselves included, consider him their greatest earthly benefactor. However, they were far from being allowed to enjoy the coveted privilege; for, though several entered, (one in uniform, in the first press of confusion, measures were some taken to exclude them all. Guards were speedily placed around the spacious portico, with crossed bayonets, and if one chanced to get in at the entrance door, he was quickly ejected. On inquiring of the police what all this meant, they replied that they had been ordered by the Marshal, a Mr. Phillips, to exclude the colored people. On conversing with a number of whites on the subject, it was apparent that quite a majority either thought it all right, and that negroes had no business there, or-they cared nothing about it, or thought perhaps it would have been well enough to have given them a chance after the whites. I have but little to say by way of comment on this proceeding. Had the simple boon of shaking hands with the President been extended to the colored people, it certainly would not have grieved me, even though I had found myself in the crowl in close proximity to some of them. I have had them black my boots before now, and they have come near me at the table as waiters; and I have even, as have others, much prouder, I think, than myself, sat on the same seat of a carriage with them, they driving. Have not the least idea that, to get into their close neighborhood in a crowd, at the President's reception on New Year's day, ought to offend or injure anybody more than such proximity. Should it be found to does, the aggrieved parties would certainly have the same seat of a carriage with them, they driving. Have not the least idea that, to get into their close neighborhood in a crowd, at the President's reception on New Year's day, ought to offend or injure anybody more than such proximity. Should it be found to does, the aggrieved parties would extensible the hand in the same seat of a carriage with them, they driving. Have not the least idea that, to get into their close neighborhood in a crowd, at the President's reception on New Year's day, ought to were far from being allowed to enjoy the coveted pri vilege; for, though several entered, (one in uniform. done them more substantial good than a great many declarations to the effect that one "thinks them the worst abused people in the world." More than this it would have had the excellent effect to burt the feelings of a certain class, who, thus far, as I judge, have not had their feelings injured half enough in this manner to do them any good, but just enough to stir up within them the demon of colorphobia, and thus to reveal the innate vulgarity of their character

BLINDNESS OF EMANCIPATION.

We have seen eminent philanthropists, whose name are found in almost every benevolent institution or movement instituted for the improvement or welfare of mankind, exerting themselves in each with nearly equal assiduity; and we have also seen others, who have been so absorbed in some favorite benevolen object; that they have become insensible to every other claim of suffering humanity; and although it is these men of "one idea," as they are called, who have accomplished all the most beneficial, unpopular reforms of the world, yet it is said to perceive that often they have assumed some high moral principle, which they have carried to a radical extreme, neither warranted by Christianity nor rational common sense and have been blindly unscrupulous in regard to th fundamental principles of other causes; and thus in the pursuit of good on one hand, have acquiesced in

injustice or injury on the other.

As remarkable an instance of this disposition as was ever known in the history of philanthropy is fur nished by the present war. There are persons—some of the highest respectability, intelligence and mora integrity-who, amid their active exertions for everevolent cause, have been especially conspicuous hose of Peace and Anti-Slavery: they have beer radical on these subjects, so much so that they have ever refused aid to any indirect methods of attaining any good, however expedient, by which their princi-ples on these reforms should be in the least compromised. But the anti-slavery sentiment having grown strong and popular in the community, and now braced by the great multitude, who do not sympathiz with the peace sentiment, the abolition of slavery has become in their minds an object paramount to has become in their minds an object paramount to that of peace; and being led into the delusion that emancipation can only be effected by war, and that war will be effectual for the purpose, and forgetting their former doctrine that no really beneficial result can ever be accomplished by war, they have been willing to acquiesce in and even to aid its crimes and cruelties, in expectation that thereby slavery will be abolished; thus making a compromise of principle with expediency, in regard to peace, which they have ever absolutely refused to do with regard to the abolition of slavery.

Although the number of persons thus described is

aratively great, their character and influence that even now-late in the war as it is-if they were to pause in the course they are pursuing, magnanimously acknowledge their error, and, with-out abating in the least their moral efforts for emanci-pation, steadily refuse to strive for it through the

which, going into the very crevices of sin and crime, will lodge burning truth on the conscience of every distiller, vender and sot in a village.

Such tracts we have. They are written by godly nen of strength and genius. Some of them assail only Alcohol in its manifold forms and abuses, and assail the twin-demons, Rum and Tobacco. All varieties for all tastes.

Five dollars will spread a thousand and more ov ionable lecture, will spread them over twenty villages and we here give notice, that if any person or persons, "hungering and thirsting" to do good in plucking our fellow-men from the fire, wish for our tracts, but are unable to pay for them, they can have them WITH OUT MONEY AND WITHOUT PRICE.

e, we are not a rich Tract Society. We selde have five dollars five days in our coffers; but we do what we can on our "own hook," untrammelled by ordiv Societies or captious Committees.

We depend on the voluntary donations of a few-a very few of God's dear children, who like our ind pendent manner of battling popular abominations, and who send us what they please. Though poor, we

Therefore, gentle reader, be free to call for our tracts, for God, who of old replenished the widow's cruse, will not leave our cause to starve,

GEO. TRASK. Fitchburg Temperance Depository, Mass., January, 1865.

A CHAT WITH THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

I have just been reading, in your paper of the 24th ult., an admirable sonnet to Edmonia Lewis, which I presume is written by Mrs. Waterston; at all events, it is worthy of her pen.

To my mind, there is something peculiarly interesting in the fact that this little Edmonia comes, from health waters and the second of the se

and thought, and thought how handsome he looked when he passed through the streets of Boston with his regiment; and I thought, and thought, and thought how he must have looked when he led them to Fort Wagner; and at last it seemed to me as if he was actually in the room." Assuredly, this is the spirit in which an artist ought to work. I believe nothing is done truly well, in literature art, unless it. lieve nothing is done truly well, in literature or art, unless it is wrought with intensity of spirit.

is the spirit in which an artist signit to work. Toe lieve nothing is done truly well, in literature or art, unless it is wrought with intensity of spirit.

The interview excited a train of thought which often passes through my mind. I reflected how great changes in human affairs were often foreshadowed by a mysteriously pervasive atmosphere of ideas. At the present epoch, Africa is everywhere uppermost in the thoughts and feelings of mankind. It is difficult even for the most indifferent to avoid being interested about this tropical race, in one way or an other, for or against. How many speakers and writers have expended their best energies in their behalf! How long have anxious politicians seen the shadow of a black man behind every speaker in Congress or caucus! What an uneasy feeling the ministers have had that their congregations saw the same shadow in their pulpits! So pervasive is the atmosphere, that artists are breathing it also. Passing through the soul of Story, it came forth in the shape of an African Sybil; and so strangely fascinating was the subject, that the statue attracted more attention than any other in the grand exhibition. From Miss Whitney's poetic mind it comes out in the shape of Africa Waking from Sleep. On the canvas of Carlton, it assumes the form of a Midnight Watch for Freedom. In music, it has as yet only been manifested in Ethiopian Songs, breathing the deep sadness or the reckless merriment of human souls in bondage. But it will find grander utterance, as the years pass on. Some future composer will give us the Prayer of a black Moses in tones as inspired as those of Rossini. Operas will embody the romantic adventures of beautiful fugitive slaves; and the prima donna will not need to represent an Octaroon, for men will come to admire the dark, glowing beauty of tropical flora, as much as the violets and lilies of the North.

This singularly pervasive atmosphere of ideas has entered into commerce also. Livingston is sent to explore the rivers, lakes, and harbors of Africa, with t

explore the rivers, lakes, and harbors of Africa, with the view of increasing her wants. The object is gold, but the result will be civilization. The French are emigrating to the Northern part, and the British to the Southern part; while a flourishing colored republic is growing up, in the Western part. But perhaps the most significant sign of the times is William Crafts, escaping from slavery in the enlightened republic of the United States to go as missionary to the king of Dahomey, for the freedom and improvement of his race.

THE BALL MOVING.

they were to pause in the course they are pursuing, magnaninously acknowledge their error, and, without abating in the least their moral efforts for emaneipation, steadily refuse to strive for it through the bloody path of war, they might yet give a check to this criminal and destructive process; and although they may not entirely stay the hand of an omnipotent Executive, supported by an infatuated people, they may mitigate some of the usurping and cruel oppressions of this hopeless conflict. Reflection may lead them to the almost universal belief of foreign people, and the few impartial of our own country, that the aboultion of abavery by conquest is an uncertain result, and if attainable at the cost of immense losses of life and treasure, will only be the substitution of a more grievous and criminal evil in its place. J. P. B.

TEMPERANCE TRACTS.

Mr. Editorn—Let us leave nothing undone to stem the tide of Intemperance, which now threatens us. Temperance Societies, however useful, are insufficient for the exigency. Temperance lecturers, such as the fastidious demand, are expensive and scarce. The popular Press and Temperance Tracts must do more or we shall go to wreck and ruin. True, we have thad tracts, but too often the long, lank and learn "kine." We need such as are short and sharp; incomply readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will be absolutely read, and only readable, but which will

and sacrifices of Mr. Grimes, not the least of which was his refusal to allow his name to be brought forward as a candidate for the Hosse of Representatives, while many friends urged him to consent, because it might embarrass the election of Mr. Hooper for Congress. The Senate refused the crown. It declined to make itself an historic body. It was contented to be, as it will be, "fittle and unknown," though the other line of the couplet cannot be affirmed of it. It is not "loved and prized by God alone." No approval falls from his lips upon hesitating or prejudiced hearts. The style and manners of the sky are minly, are just, are Christike.

The direct cause of the failure was the defection of a member of the candidate's own denomination. To the praise of the Baptist Church be it said, that all its leading ministers and most of its leading laymen supported him and endorsed him as their representative. But one Senator of that order required his support, and exerted his influence with

stative. But one Senator of that order re-his support, and exerted his influence with res against his brother. His acquaintance with made his refusal very harmful. others against his brother. His acquainment others against his brother. His acquainment him made his refusal very harmful.

Yet with all the dead weight of prejudice, two hundred years old, heavy as lead, and as deep almost as life, there were fourteen votes thrown for him on three ballots. So many stood up for right. Five others, equally courageous, would have crowned that others.

dred vears old, heavy as lead, and as deep almost as life, there were fourteen votes thrown for him on three ballots. So many stood up for right. Five others, equally courageous, would have crowned the Massachusetts Senate of 1865 with immortal honor. What a glorious opening would that have been for the New Year! The last page of our true history would have been reached. The chains that bind our souls in their hideous prejudices would have been snapped forever. As the whole question of enlisting colored men as soldiers was answered when the first regiment marched by the Massachusetts. State House, so would the higher question of the real unification of America have been answered forever, had Rev. Mr. Grimes been invited to officiate regularly in its chambers. Massachusetts shuns the highest honor yet offered her. What State will snatch it up?

If no other State, ere the year passes, breaks up this thin and ever thinning ice of color prejudice, the Massachusetts Senators will have the same cup commended to their lips another year. They will drink it gladly then. The voto was more than doubled this year. It needs only a quarter of the same increase to secure the grand triumph for the year to come. Eighteen hundred and sixty-six has long been looked forward to by many students of the Bible as in some especial sense connected with the millennium. It may be reserved for that year to see this bitterest and meanest of American prejudices swept into oblivion, and so to ensure the death of caste everywhere. Christ will thus come in the glory of his truest character—the Son of Man, the brother of all men; the uniter of all men to each other and to God.—N. Y. Independent.

THE LOUISIANA ELECTION.

Maj.-Gen. Banks has submitted to the Senate Com mittee on the Judiciary some suggestions relative to the recent elections in Louisiana. He says he did not assume, in his proclamation of Jan. 11, 1864, inviting the people of Louisiana to participate in an election, to say whether slavery was or was not an institution the recent elections in Louisiana. He says he did not assume, in his proclamation of Jan. 11, 1864, inviving the people of Louisiana to participate in an election, to say whether slavery was or was not an institution recognized by law, as the condition of the State was such that no laws for the enforcement of the rights of the master could be executed without disturbance of the peace, and they could not be enforced by the army or navy, such intervention being forbidden by Congress. This declaration was generally acceptable to the people. There were three candidates. The canvass was spirited, and 11,400 votes were cast out of from 15,000 to 16,000 formerly polled as an average in the parishes voting, the highest vote ever given being 21,000. He expresses the belief that 500 persons voted in that election who were not citizens of the State previous to the rebellion, and every candidate had been from fifteen to twenty years identified with the interests of the State. He declares unhesitatingly that two-thirds, if not three-quarters, of the voting population of the State participated in the election. There were in the State from 15,000 to 18,000 persons registered as qualified by-the Constitution and laws of Louisiana as voters. He holds that any criticism on this election suggesting a departure from the statute provisions rests on the impossibility of exact compliance therewith. Of the diminished vote on the ratification of the new Constitution, he says there was no material opposition to it, public or private, and that some failed to participate from apprehension that Congress would not ratify the form of government. The majority, he asserts, had a contest been made by the opponents of enancipation, would have been 15,000; and he declares that the influence of the officers of the Government, civil and military, was indifferent, if not hostile, to the organization. The Registrar of Votes has stated that in one department of the Treasury Office only twenty-five out of two hundred persons voted for or against the ab

From the Watchman and Reflec ABOUT THE FREEDMEN.

In our efforts for the freedmen, there is one aspect of the subject which should be constantly kept in mind, and that is, that our time for helping them in the slaveholding States will be short. In such States, therefore, we ought to avail ourselves of every opportunity to enter and work with all our might, and when the war is over, the friends of the colored race can transfer their efforts to free territory. I say, transfer their efforts, for the presumption is, that after reconstruction has taken place, sumption is, that after reconstruction has taken place, and the old slave States have returned to their alle-giance, their Legislatures will make laws that will drive from their work all Northern teachers of col-

People at the North can bave no idea of the in-tense hatred Southern born whites, especially of the respite at the Aortin can have no idea of the in-se hatried Southern born whites, especially of the ninine gender, have for those noble and kind-heart-ladies who have left comfortable, and in some se luxurious homes at the North, and come Sonth work and suffer, many privations is order to lift ed ladies who have left comfortable, and in some cases luxurious homes at the North, and come Sonth to work and suffer many privations is order to lift up the colored race from the low depth of ignorance and degradation in which they have been put and kept by the domineering whites. To impart to the colored people that knowledge which is taught in common schools is the crowning sin in the catalogue of Northern offences. And it is so became, if to the black man's ability and willingness to work you add the power which knowledge gives, he will become a dangerous rival to the white in the race for wealth, and the consequent ability to wield influence. Hither of all the knowledge has been on, the side of the whites, and with it the power to command labor; and just as soon as this monopoly is broken up, there will be an approach to equality between black and white. That is why the writer believes that legislation will drive out of the late slavebolding States white teachers of colored schools.

Said a teacher to a large achool of colored children, "Do you think the black people could make slaves of the white?" A universal "no" was the answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer is the power to commonwealth to larish their moved of the white? "A universal "no" was the answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer. "Why nos?" as in the leacher. A wide answer is the power of the late startes from the fact of a received the same people of the Commonwealth to larish their moved the offorce of the sound the power of the late startes from the fact of a received the po ed ladies

Norfolk, Va., Dec. 28, 1864.

THEODORE TILTON. After a brief but very busy tour among a series of the towns and cities of Northern Illinois and Wisconsin, yet responding to but a tithe of his pressing invitations from various points, Theodore Tilton has left this city for Springfield, St. Louis and Cincinnati, at which places he will fill appointments to speak on the questions of the day. Mr. Tilton is to be heartily congratulated for the success of his western tour. He came to Chicago, it will be remembered, at the invitation of the committee in charge, to deliver the Inaugural Address of the Great Northwestern Freedmen's Fair, which he did to the delight of the large audience that filled Metropolitan Hall. Since that occasion, many thousand western hearers have listened to and been thrilled by his burning and eloquent utterances in behalf of Truth, Justice and Liberty, the sole arbiters of the great questions of our time. We think Mr. Tilton will go back to the seaboard fully impressed with the radicalism of the great Northwest; and the fastering and sincere attentions paid him are none the less paid to the sentiments of which he is the fearless exponent. Earnest, eloquent, with powers of language adequate to the expression of earnest thoughts, Mr. Tilton has found the liberty-loving men of our communities he has visited applauding to the echo his most radical sentiments; for with men of his stamp, radicalism is referred to its derivitive meaning. The evil he combats, the evil of our time, must be treated at the root. The welfare of the white race must be sought by justice and humanity to the blacks. Many new-found friends west of the white race must be sought by justice and humanity to the blacks. Many new-found friends west of the lakes will follow Mr. Tilton with warm and earnest good wishes for his welfare. The more eastern journals learn about the west, the better; and the Ir dependent, national always, will be made all the more more valuable to the whole country by each additional opportunity offered to bring its editors into personal contact with the various sections of the land.—Chicago Tribune.

THEODORE TILTON. On last Saturday night, this gentleman addressed a goodly number of our citizens upon the "Condition of the Country." We expect in a day or two to give our readers the benefit of his masterly address. All who heard it pronounced it able and eloquent. Said one of our most prominent citizens, when listening to it, "The expression of such sentiments in Mercantile Library Hall, four years ago, would have blown the roof off the building." the building."

Theodore Tilton is one of the live men of the day.

Theodore Tilton is one of the live men of the cay, the is a soldier of progress. Few men of the present day have done better work for the good cause than he has done. His visit to our city and the impression he has made upon our people must add to the high estimation in which he has been held in the West.

West.

As an evidence of the appreciation which Mr.

Alton's labors have realized, we give a very significant invitation he received while in this city, signed by a large majority of the members of the Missouri Legislature, to visit our State Capital, and there address the people. The invitation conveys its own moral: ts own moral:

JEFFERSON CITT, Mo., December 27th, 1864. BEODORE TILTON, Esq., Editor of the New York In-

JEFERSON CITY, Mo., December 27th, 1864.
TREDOUR TILTON, ESQ., Editor of the New York Independent:
"Sin: A few years since the "Mercantile Library Association" of St. Louis invited your coadjutor, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, to lecture in that city, with the provise that he would not intrude his peculiar reform ideas upon the community. Times and men have changed since then. To-day, ideas, not the slave-driver's iash, rule the nation, and freedom of speech and of the press prevail in Missouri.

The Radical Union Anti-Slavery members of the Missouri Legislature cordially invite you to visit this city and lecture. Bring your views with you, and express yourself freely. For Freedom, yours.

Mr. Tilton, on account of previous engagements, is unable to comply with the above call, and has already gone East to address the people at various points on his journey homeward. In his travels through the West, he has everywhere met the most flattering reception, and we hope the impression he has received of the country and its people may induce him soon to renew his acquaintance with them.—St. Louis Journal, Jan. 2.

THE RECORD OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE REOORD OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Up to December 22, 1864, the whole number of colored troops which have been credited to Massachusetts, during the war, including the Fifty-Fourth Infantry, Fifth Cavalry, and their recruits, its only 4781. The whole number of foreign recruits introduced to our credit is 907. If we add to these the number of men in the Veteran Reserve Corps and Regular Army enlisted to our credit, 5034, we shall have an aggregate of only 10.672—of whom many were proper citizens or residents of Massachusetts—the cullstment of whom to the credit of this Commonwealth has been made the occasion of criticism or complaint, though scarcely by any who entertain a cordial sympathy with the army of the Union, the policy of the Government, or the traditionary doctrines of Massachusetts.

These all have been enlisted under the regulations of the Department of War. If our bounties have been paid to secure the recinistment of Regulars and members of the Veteran-Reserve Corps, it is because it was the policy of the United States, as disclosed in regulations of the War Department, to obtain them—a policy not suggested by the State Government of Massachusetts. If we have accepted colored volunteers—who have come to Massachusetts for the purpose of becoming soldiers—and turned them over as soldiers to the U. States, it is because the resident of two regiments, no other opportunity for them existed in the country. We believed in colored men—others did not. We obtained permission to try them. We assumed the hazards of the enterprise, but the country reaps the reward of its brilliant and assured success.

Passing from the military to the fiscal contributions of our Commonwealth to the Union, Massachusetts, although thirty-third in area, and by the census of 1800 seventh in population, and seventh in wealth among the States, yet in the fiscal year 1802.3 was third, and in 1803.4 was fourth in the amount of internal revenue paid by her to the United States, being surpassed in the former year only by New York and Pennsylva

Population. Property. Collections. Income Tax. Per cent. 4,7811. 5,1676. 10,9166. 12,7671.

Population. Property. Collections. Income Tax. Percent. 4,7811. 5,1675. 10,9165. 12,7671. By this relative test of percentages, which is the critical test, Massachusetts, thirty-third in area, seventh in population, and seventh in wealth among the States, is second in her proportional contribution to the internal revenue of the General Government, being surpassed, in this test, only by her sister and neighbor, Rhode Island. Sort does the gross sum of \$11,100.652,16, arising from internal revenue collections, represent all the internal revenue contributions of Massachusetts in the year 1853 4. Additional to this is the internal revenue to the United States from taxes on her banks, and from minor sources, \$207,048,45. And besides this is her proportion of the tax on Federal salaries, the total of which tax for all the States, for 1834 was \$1,705,124,63, and also her proportion of purchases of internal revenue samp, the sales of which, during the same period, amounted to \$5,894,945,14. A fair allowance for these would swell her internal revenue payments, during the last facal year, (June 30, 1803—June 20, 1864,) to more than fourteen millions of dollars.

The fidelity with which her people have responded

in controversy, and her purpose to stand by the cross of Union and Liberty until the prophecies of its totonal heart shall be fulfilled. Of a popular we added to the control of the contr

LUCIFER MATCHES,

THE philanthropist sighs over the fear ful list of tem woes, incurable diseases, and premature death, which have been caused by inhalling the funce of phosphrum sulphur in the manufacture of common Leaffer or Friend Matches. The most ghastly of these diseases is Across the decay of the lower jaw bone. Thirteen of these man mostly young women, have been treated in the New last hospitals, within a few months: what then must be a aggregate of human suffering from there cause:

Humanity drons a Toos.

Humanity drops a Tear of sorrow over the numerous cases of accidental dustrians or aussed by the use of these easily ignited, infamula agents. A truthful inscription upon many a little test

This Child was Burned to Death BY LUCIPER MATCHES. Scarcely a week passes without a record of one or non-shildren losing their lives by these dangerous articles.

THE PICTURE IS INCOMPLETE. dark as it is, without reference to the annual loss of unuable property, which may safely be stated at millions w

FIRE WE MUST HAVE, FIRE WE MUST HAVE, and the Lucifer Match, dangerous at it, has been repeded as a very great convenience, when contrasted with the primitive mode of ignition, the rubbing of dry silebut gether, or the still more useful advance upon that mode.

TINDER-BOX, FLINT AND STEEL

While telerating these Lucifers, (clearly as a choice of evils,) scientific chemists have, for more than a quarter of evils,) seientine enemists nave, for more than a quarter of a century, been experimenting upon the difficult probin of the production of instantaneous light and fire, in onf the production of instantaneous light and fre, in lination with two important requires,— First, Freedom from offensive and injurious odors.

Second, The insuring of perfect safet as a match composition. The honor of the discovery is ongs to a

SCANDINAVIAN CHEMIST,

who has produced, to bless mankind, the long-looked-for alchemy; and if it is true that he who makes we histe of grass grow where but one grew before is a public bear-factor, will not the meed of a world's gratitude to areed to him whose persevering efforts have resulted in preed to him whose persevering eners, have required in pro-ducing chemical combinations, the practical application of which in daily use will be the annual saving of thousast of lives and millions of treasure A MATCH INODOROUS AND SAFE.

all will admit, is a valuable discovery, and these are the

NO SULPHUR OR PHOSPHORUS

enters into its composition. Satisfied of its great whe and superiority over all others, the distinguished invests was awarded the Prize Medal by the Committee of the Li-ternational Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in Losica. while all other Matches were excluded from the building In order that the

PEOPLE OF AMERICA

may share with those of Europe the blessings of this isvention, arrangements have been made for the sorking of the patent here, and an association formed under the nan

The Universal Safety Match Co.,

who now offer to the citizens of the United States A DOMESTIC MATCH, INODOROUS AND SAFE. and for out-door use

A Safety Flaming Fusee, or Wind-Defier, which neither wind nor rain can extinguish.

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JOHN P. JEWETT, General Agent of the Universal Safety Match Company NO. 18 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON.

P. S. A beautiful feature of this great invection is in adaptability to near compositions. Our arrangements are nearly completed for the manufacture of the neatest, salest nd most perfect wax tapers ever produced.

Dec. 9 .- 4win A FARM OF 1500 ACRES FOR SALE.

A FARM OF 1000 AURED

FOR SALE.

Tell Est. Mary's Lake Farm, 312-miles North from the city of Battle Creek, Culboun county, Michiga, as offered for sale. The proprietor wishing to retire, effect this Farm for sale on the proprietor wishing to retire, effect this Farm for sale on the found in the Norther States, and the sale and as can be found in the Norther States, and the sale and as can be found in the Norther States, and the sale and as can be found in the Norther States, and the sale and t be made for manures. There is one of the most rive Brick-yards on this farm in the interior of the 1 A more beautiful residence cannot be found that it farm. A gentleman having son to settle around could arrange to make six or eight beautiful farming a large front on the lake, which having a large front on the lake, but the product of the latter of t beach. Battle Creek City is one of the best mirror the State, and is 120 miles west and 161 wither earlier Chiesgo on the Great Michigan Central Railwad. No situation is or can be more beathy. All the sater oak farm is clear as crystal, soft and excellent. This frank fords a rare chance to one wishing to go into stok at the prairing it is now seeded down to cloter and timelity. The farm, with all the stock, skeep, for direct the and 250 tons of clover and timothy bay, forfered at its greatest bargain.

Letters of loquiry, addressed to me at Battle Creek, vill receive prompt replies. I refer to Henry C. Wrigh, Charles C. Barleigh and Parker Pillbury, whe have vised the St. Mary's Lake Farm.

HENRY WILLIS.

Battle Creek, Nov. 18, 1864.

CARPENTER'S Great National Picture. THE

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PAINTED on canvas, measuring 14 1-2 by 2 feet, ast containing full-length life-size Portraits of President Lancoux, Secretaries Sawano, Class. Statute, Johnstoff Georgia Blain, and Astorney-General Bares, together with a faithful representation of the Old Cabinet Council Chamber in the White House.

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ADMISSION, 25 CENTS.

BOARDING.

MRS. GIAGER wither to inform her friends and its public, that she has taken house 41 Washington 5, Cambridgeport, where she can accommodate a few least one or forigers. References exchanged.

10 Dec. 3.