EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM NO. 6.

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of Advertisements of a square and over inserted three Advertisements or a square may over inserted three as it is contained in it is that a square, \$1.50 for the insertion. Yearly and half yearly advertisements ried on reasonable terms.

The Agents of the American, Mass nia, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are orized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

For The following gentlemen constitute the Financial For The following gentlemen constitute, but are not responsible for any debts of the Camilton, but was quite in the Wayner, Financial For Forest Paris Jackson, and William L. Garrison, Jr.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 5.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

manders of both armies have array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-sipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.".—J. Q. Apams

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"Tlay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-liary authority takes, for the time, the piace of all simule-ipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the axeluative

HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN

CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the inst

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1865.

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

WHOLE NO. 1774.

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. MORROW B. LOWRY,

Delivered in the Senate of Pennsylvania, Januar 19, 1865.

CCLORED PEOPLE IN PASSENGER CARS.

Mr. Lowny, on leave given, read in place a bill titled An act relative to the exclusion of colored cole from the cars of passenger railroad companies

this Commonwealth.
Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.
Mr. Lowns moved to discharge the Committee
the Judiciary from the consideration of said bill,
distant the Senate proceed to the consideration of

e motion was agreed to, when the bill was read

ECHON I. Be it enacted by the Senate and we of Representatives, etc., That it shall not be fall for any passenger railway company within Commonwealth to make or enforce any rule, slation or practice excluding any race of people its passenger cars on account of their color.

Mr. LOWRY said:

from its passenger cars on account of their polor.

Mr. Lowny said:

The object of Government is to execute impartial judice between man and man. It is ordained to protee the weak against the strong, to exalt right some might, and to assure the rights of each and all, lowerer lowly or however exalted, against all attempts to violate them. That is no government, worthy of the name, which leaves its poor and defendents subject to be preyed upon by the wealth-ire and stronger classes, and refuses them protection and reduces subject to be preyed upon by the wealth-ire and stronger classes, and refuses them protection have rights. In fact, all true law enhantes from the boson of God, who is no respected of persons. Humar laws are of no validity, except so far as they enhanted with and reflect the divine law. The sole basiness of government is to discover this one great law of the universe, and provide for its application to the varied necessities of mankind.

It is because this country has disregarded that has, practically denied the doctrine of human equality, as enunciated in its Declaration of Independence, and suffered the strong to oppress and crush the weak, that the soourge of intestine war is up-lifed against us. Unless all history is a lie, all revition anyth, and the law of cause and effect a met delusion, this war is God's judgment upon the hard for its sin of oppression. The case is not to be requed. Slavery is the cause of the war, and it also made rebellion possible. Its removal alone will make peace possible. He is the best friend of the Union's greatest enemy. We can now per the basine of his fellow-man will find the effect and the basine thain of site fellow-man will find the effect of the Republic. Some the has me that of his fellow-man will find the effect of the Republic. Some the weak that the one of the same chain fastened to his own text. And the Quaker peet strikingly versifies the the same chain fastened to his own And the Quaker poet strikingly versifies the reat truth in these immortal lines:

"For laws of changeless justice bind Oppressor with oppressed, and, close as sin and suffering joined, We march to fate abreast."

We march to fate abreast."

Happily, the nation sees its city of refuge, brough seas of blood and tears, the Ship of State oil make the port of Universal Freedom.

But it is not epiough that we make the black manomically free. It is not enough that we cease to take him a slave—we must make him, also, truly a reman. We are bound to protect him in the light which inhere in a freeman. Putting away slavily, let us also put away slavish things. We are owned to reform those usages and correct those its which inhere in a freeman. Putting away slary, let us also put away slavish things. We are not not reform those usages and correct those as which exist as incidents of slavery, and which some of the formed a part of the machinery of the infernal m. We may not be able to pull down the whole ico of wrong and outrage at cnee, but one by one can remove the disabilities under which the black each like it is a subject which the colored-people in our midst are single is their wholesale exclusion from the pasterialisty in the large cities. And it is to proceed the removal of this disability and for the retion of this outrage, as prachised in the city of bladelphia, or wherever else it may be practised the resolution which gave form to the bill now it contemplation. Colored people, as a race, now for bidden to enter any of the street cars of hidelphia, and if they enter they are peremptoriaselled. The regulation makes no exceptions, full-blooded negro and the wealthy, the respectable etc. The poor and the wealthy, the respectable the vagrant, the healthy and the infirm, the repit old man and the helpless young child are tarned away, from these public conveyances, prehance, they happen to be possessed of "a not colored like our own." The wife of a col-Findelphia and if they enter they are peremption in replect. The regulation makes no exceptions. The probability is concerned for his reputation if in rides a square and the control of the probability is concerned for his and more of character have no such as the probability of the control of the probability of the control of the cont

TOTAL THE LESS TREET

in defiance of every principle of justice. They institute a false standard of rights, founded in mere projective, purely arbitrary, and wickedly despotic. It is as ridiculous as it is breat. What should we standard of rights, founded in mere projective, purely arbitrary, and wickedly despotic. It is as ridiculous as it is breat. What should we standard of rights, and wickedly despotic. It is as ridiculous as it is breat. What should we standard of rights, and with the fill with the first of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the project of the arbitrary and with the fill wit as a common carrier, institute arbitrary distinctions between different classes of the same community. I know not how or where you can fix a limit to its despotic power. If it may make the color of the skin its test, it may, with equal right and propriety, base its discrimination on the color of the hair or of the eyes. If the public mind had not been poisoned on the subject, through half a century of slaveholding practice, either of the last named distinctions would be seen to be as ridiculous and absurd as the other. It has been a part of the fell and subtile work of the slave power in this country to instil. Since

and the rights of humanity. Returning to their homes after fighting our battles, we drive them from the control of the control living or dead, cannot travel from his hotel to Con-cert Hall when he goes to address the elite of Phil-

editor of that paper need entertain no fears of ever being placed upon an equality with the negro. He does not seem likely to rise to that dread level. While he is to be pitied, the negro is to be congratulated. Between that editor and myself, the widest possible difference exists. He is the friend of caste and aristocracy—I am the friend of fratternity and pure democracy. He swears by the Dred Scott decision—I by the Golden Rule. He would demand the expulsion of the gallant Robert Small from the street car—I would rise, and relinquish my seat in favor of him who performed so daring a deed in my country's cause. He would re-enslave the negro after the danger is past and the war over—I would reward him with freedom and justice. He believes in Davis and the devil—I believe in Lincoln and liberty. I leave him with his consience and his God!

Mr. Speaker, since I offered a previous resolution upon the subject, I have been the subject of attack from a newspaper editor in this State. From him, however, I have nothing to fear. It will be long before he will occupy the elevated position of a Robert Small. I have no issue to make with that person; he is true to his instincts, and I am true to mine. He would not let a man like Robert Small ride in a railroad car, but would rise to give his Seat to the murderer of Robert Small; I would not de that. Such a man, sir, cannot rejoice when our country claims a victory over its fose; but I can.

ing ractice, either of the last named distinctions would be seen to be as ridiculous and absurd as the other. It has been a part of the fell and subtile work of the slave power in this country to institutions, the North a diabolical prigulities against the black man. This Northern prejudice has been the slave-driver's strong hold of power. It alone has been the slave-driver's strong hold of power. In proposeing a harder of the neger in the North, have they been enabled to ensiate him in the South. To overcome this prejudice now is to overcome slavery—to rid ourselves of the one is to ensure the simultaneous destruction of the other.

I stand for the absolute equality of all men before the law. This is Goal's eternal law—this is divinous destruction of the other.

I stand for the absolute equality of all men before the law. This is Goal's eternal law—this is divinous men. The Government, at its outset, admitted this eternal rutth; for it it written, "All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain indienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of lappiness." Fidelity to his principle is national and weakness, deeline and death. The government or the corporation that defies! does not at its peril, for it defies God. Every man it born within-inerent rights—they are his by virtue of his maniform or color. We have been false as a speople to this indenderate principle; and if we would not invite in the returning; and may He have mercy you the man who raises the vice of the hard which whe domands to himself. You may call his "abolitionism." For it is such—" only this and not invite which he domands to himself. You may call his "abolitionism." For his hand to prevent our return! Absolute equality before the law, then, is the goal towards which we feed. Each man must be willing to concede to every other man the rights which he demands to himself. You may call his "abolitionism." For his hand to prevent our return! Absolute equality before the law, the colored people in toth the re preposeesing. The course special preposeesing the course store to a speak with the unclaborate and yet not neglectful air of a man who has a message, and is eager to deliver it. His voice is heavy and round, but does not find a full, smooth utterance, and is not so effective as it might well be made. Mr. Sumner owes little of his power to elocution. With such an opulent voice as our lamented Starr King had, Mr. Sumner would obtain a vast increase of power. By the way, I have not yet heard a voice equal in force or melody to Mr. King's. Even Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher and Dr. Chapin seem to me

umphantly to the close.

Miss D. is a good reasoner, not impatient of logical restraint, but still apparently delighted to leap from the slow approximations of reasoning to the swifter flights, and perhaps truer results, of a keen womanly intuition. She detects absurdity or duplicity very quickly, and in exposing either, uses relentless sarcasm. I have never heard the Chicago platform treated more severely than Miss Dickinson treated it in her recent lecture. Its proprietors, and the Maior General its condidates. platform treated more severely than Miss Dickinson treated it in her recent lecture. Its proprietors, and the Major General, its candidate, all were shown forth clearly and grotesquely, and even pitifully, by the magic lantern of feminine irony. I think this irony is all the more potent for being so purely feminine. The blows of a heavy, flashing sword may be parried, but the little, polished pen-knife blade is more subtle, and quite as deadly.

In pathetic passages Miss Dickinson is brilliant and queenly. She evidently has a heart in thorough sympathy with all the advanced ideas of the day. Her strong feelings throw a radiance over words and sentences, and so completely.

sympathy with all the advanced ideas of the day. Her strong feelings throw a radiance over words and sentences, and so completely magnetize her language that few can resist its spell. I have seen no grander tributes to the power of oratorical excellence than those manifested by the immense audience which heard Miss Dickinson's last address on public affairs in this city. Hats, handkerchiefs and voices bore frequent testimony to the intense sympathy of the audience with the speaker and her cause.—N. Y. corr. American Flag, San Francisco.

A GLANCE BACKWARD.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15, 1865. To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

While the telegraph must now be used to chronicle what is transpiring, and to predict what may take place, I may be permitted to take up my pen occasionally to recall past events, interesting on account of their connection with present transactions. For example—we came very near being able to welcome here, yesterday, the Hon. Henry S. Foote, a fugitive member of the Confederate Congress, who did his best to escape from Richmond by one of the underground routes originally established by negro slaves. Turning his back upon his native State, and upon the Confederacy which has slavery as its corner-stone, he sought refuga among a free people, and would doubtless have soon enrolled himself among the most radical emancipationists. Reformed drunkards used to make the most zealous Washtonians, and these ex-slaveholders become the most tonians, and these ex-slaveholders become the most ultra abolitionists. Tres bien! but let us look back

shre had the audacity to introduce this bill, providing for the punishment of rioters. The bill, as was shown in the debate, was actually copied from the statutes of Maryland.

Mr. Calboun first attacked the bill, which, said he, should not be introduced "to repress the just indignation of our people from wreaking their venegance upon the atrocious perpetrators of these crimes, or those who contribute to them, without a denunciation of the cause that excited that indignation." He hoped that he would not be "almost the exclusive defender of this great institution of the South, upon which not only its prosperity but its very existence depends." "Delay," the archaegistor went on to declare, "is dangerous on this question. The crisis has come, and we must meet it, and meet it directly; and, I will add, we have ample means to meet it."

agitator went on to declare, "is dangerous on this question. The crisis has come, and we must meet it, and meet it directly; and, I will add, we have ample means to meet it."

Senator Westcott of Florida next defended the mob, confessing that he was present; and then Senstor Jefferson Davis of Mississippi took the floor, commencing his remarks by saying, in his impressive manner: "The Senator from South Carolina has remarked that he expected that younger members of this body would notice the motion of the Suntator from New Hampshire to introduce a bill, the purpose of which is the protection of incendiaries and kidnappers. I have only to say that it is from no want of accordance in feeling with that honars ble Senator, but from deference to him who has so long and so nobly stood foremost in delecace of the institutions of the South, that I remained silent It was rather that I wished to follow him than that I did not feel the indignation which he has so welled the order of the consecution:

"The present leader of the rebellion went on to denounce all who dared to discuss the slavety question:

"Why is it," he asked, "that in the Senate, once looked to as so dignified that it stood above the power of faction—that we find the subject of this contest so insulting to the South—so irritating always when it is agitated—introduced on such anoctation? I shall be the subject of this contest so insulting to the South—so irritating always when it is agitated—introduced on such anoctation? I shall be the after ward occupied. When the present header of the guerrantorial chairs of the south of the propose of particularly, which is given to the power of faction—that we find the subject of this contest so insulting to the South—so irritating always when it is agitated—introduced on such anoctation of the subject of this contest so insulting to the South—so irritation of freedom contest the better."

Then rose the colleague of Davis, Mr. Foote, who was looking forward to the gubernatorial chair of Mississippi, which he afterward

my control of every virtuous and patriotic citizen; and that, if necessary, I should myself assist in the operation."

Mr. Hale denied all personal cognizance of kidnappers, and said in his good-natured way: "He invites me to visit the State of Mississippi, and kindly informs me that he would be one of those who would act the assassin, and put an end to my career. He would all in bringing me to public execution—no, death by a mob. Well, in return for this hospitable invitation, I can only express the desire that he would penetrate into some of the dark corners of New Hampshire, and if he do, I am much mistaken if he would not find that the people in that benighted region would be very happy to listen to his arguments, and engage in an intellectual conflict with him, in which the truth might be elicited."

conflict with him, in which the truth might be elicited."

That Mr. Hale should be hung was evidently the opinion of the ultra Southern Senators, who looked at him with indignant hatred, and many present expected that he would be personally assailed. But the sturdy New Hampshire Senator kept up the contest manfully, even when Hannegan came to the relief of his Southern Democratic allies, and Douglas endeavored to occupy a neotral ground, the latter saying: "It is the speeches of Southern men, representing slave States, going to an extreme, breathing a fanaticism as wild and as reckless as that of the Senator from New Hampshire, which creates abolitionism in the North. The extremes meet. It is no other than Southern Senators acting in concert, and yet without design, that produces abolition." in concert, and yet without design, that produ abolition."

in concert, and yet without design, that produces abolition."
This again excited the wrath of Calhoun, who cracked his whip over the Little Giant, declaring —"I must object to his course, and say that it is at least as offensive as that of the Sunator from New Hampshire." Those slave-drivers tolerated no one who undertook to preserve a neutrality, and they required a man to become a truckling vassal, or they denounced him as their enemy.

But Hale merited hanging! Later in the debate, Foote again so declared himself. "I can see no other language," said he. "I cannot but repekt my conviction, that any man who dares to utter such sentiments as those of the Senator from New Hampshire, and attempts to act them out anywhere in

hire, and attempts to act them out anywhere in he sunny South, will meet death upon the scaffold and deserves it."

and deserves it."

Jefferson Davis also repeated his conviction, and indorsed the declarations of Foote. "His ground." said the present President of the Confederate States, "was that which the peace and security of the South have justified, and which will, of necessity, be their position in future. When Dr. Johnson heard that a man, whose life had been a course of villany, had committed suicide by hanging himself, he replied, 'It was right that a life which had been uniformly oblique should be terminated by a perpendicular."

CELEBRATION AT BEAUFORT. BEAUFORT, S. C., Jan. 6th, 1865.

ed drunkards used to make the most account it was not these essalveholders become the most ultra abolitionists. Tres bien! but let us look back on Gov. Poote's record, just to see how the world moves.

Not seventeen years ago—it was on a pleasant April day in 1848—there was a pyrotechnic display of indignation in the old Senate Chamber by the Southern chivalry and their Northern allies. John P. Hale, who then stood alone in the Senate as the champion of freedom, had introduced an act to prevent riots. The office of a newspaper which had dared to advocate freedom in this District had been mobbed, and the Senator from New Hampshire had the audacity to introduce this bill, providing for the punishment of rioters. The bill, as was shown in the debate, was actually copied from the statutes of Maryland.

Mr. Calboun first attacked the bill, which, said he, should not be introduced 'to repress the just indignation of our people from wreaking their vengcance upon the atrocious perpetrators of these crimes, or those who contribute to them, without a denunciation of the cause that excited that indignation. He hoped that he would not be 'allowed and the exclusive defender of this great institution of the South, upon which not only its prosperity but its very existence depends." "Delay," the archagitator went on to declare, "is dangerous on this question. The crisis has come, and we must meet it, and meet it directly; and, I will add, we have am nile means to meet it."

May we all labor in love as the children of one common Parent." Three cheers were given with a will.

Eighteen thousand troops have arrived here from Savannab. Where are they going? They reply, "We don't know." I guess Charleston. They look tough and bardy, and are in the best of spirits, ready to go to C. when "Uncle Billy says so."

Yours, respectfully,

GEO. NEWCOMB.

GEO. NEWCOMB. -Corr. of Dedham Gazette.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Perhaps in the absence of that statesmanlike presence of mind and fertility of resources for which no one would give Mr. Lincoln any considerable credit, the greatest quality he has shown, and that by which he has most distinguished himself from his more eminent colleagues, is a certain naturalism of mind, closely connected, perhaps, but not identical with his high integrity, which has enabled him to look at the position of the Government, and the movements of the popular feeling as if he stood outside both, and were studying their situation and the influences which affect them almost as a student of natural history would study the instincts of an animal, and judge of its chances in a deadly struggle with another of different nature. Compare his few and well-marked speeches and acts with the false and feverish anticipations of Mr. Seward, or the energetic procelytism of any of the parties which strove to push him on or pull him back. He has not exactly guided the people or the Government, but he discovered accurately the time when the people were ripe for a fresh stride forwards, has declared the bour come, and never receded with that deceptive backward movement of the wave which is really only the preparation for another advance. Mr. Lincoln has never gone out of his way to anticipate or hope. He has simply announced, from time to time, the maturity of a new stage of opinion, the conditions under which alone, the war could be successfully prosecuted, but without misleading the public by dangling out political baits. He has kept silent when other politicians administered injurious stimulants to public opinion. In moments of triumph he has not been elated, and in moments of triumph he has not been elated, and in moments of triumph he has not been elated, and in moments of triumph he has not been elated, and in moments of thom the principles he had accupted before his election, and has been apparently the rost unimpassioned of critica as to the new steps necessary to prevent the surrender of any of those principl Perhaps in the absence of that statesmanlike

ELOQUENT EXTRACTS.

We met a school boy the other day, who was inquiring for a "piece" for his exagcise in declamation. Possibly this paragraph may meet the eyes of other boys in a like case. If so, we cannot do better than recommend the following passages spoken in April last to a mass meeting at Knoxville in Tenessee, by Andrew Johnson, now Vice President elect of the United States. Though a poor boy in his childhood, and without the advantage of schools, is utterages here cuted are equal to maticine. his utterances here quoted are equal to anyt the thrilling passages of Patrick Henry:

the thrilling passages of Patrick Henry:

"My countrymen! my heart yearns toward you; I am one of you. I have climbed yonder mountains which you have climbed, mountains rock-ribbed and glowing in sunshine, in whose gorges and caverns your sons, hunted like wild beasts, have fallen to rise no more. I do not speak of these things to draw your tears. It is not the time for tears, but for blows. I sheak of them that I may fire your hearts with holy indignation, and nerve your arms for unconquerable fight. And I speak of them because the mountains seem to talk to me. My house is among the mountains, and though it is not far away. the mountains seem to talk to me. My house is among the mountains, and, though it is not far away. I cannot go to it. It is the place where I met and loved and married her who is the mother of my children. Do I not love the mountains then? And if liberty is to expire, if freedom is to be destroyed, if my country, in all its length and breadth, is to tremble beneath the oppressor's tread; let the flag, the last flag be planted on you rocky heights, and upon it let there be this inscription:

"Here is the end of all that is dear to the heart and sacred to the memory of man!"

Since this matter is in hand, another extract is of-fered for a like purpose. It is the concluding part of Gov. Andrew a remarks in his recent inaugural, address, on the duty of the State to encourage edu-cation through the agricultural college:

cation through the agricultural college:

"When the commonwealth touches such a subject, she ought to feel herself to be like the priestess advancing to touch the sacred symbols, and on holy ground. She should remember her own dignity, the immortality always possible to states, the error of which she is the promoter hereafter, if she commits berself to error now, and the boundless scope of her good influence, the millions of men on whom her influence may be made to tell through all the amplitudes of space and time. When I contemplate such a subject, the reason is content to yield to the imagination. I remember the photograph, the magnetic telegraph, the discovery of vaccination, the painless operations of surgery—the triumphs, the miraclest of genius. I seem to see, for the earth herself and her cultivators, the coming time when husbandry, attended by all the ministrees of science and art, shall illumine and rejuvenate her countenance, and re-create our life below."

23 In the city of Memphis, Tenn., there are eight colored schools taught by nineteen teachers, of whom some are white, and some are colored. These teachers have under their instruction nine hundred scholars, both young and old. The majority of them, but a short time ago, laid by their chains.

Mr. President: There was a call only a fee days ago for three hundred thousand more troops. The country needs them, and it is the duty of Congress to help supply them. To this end there miss the condification to embrace ment in the pediment or embarrassmen just be removed. But this All th

There must be encouragement of every kind ad such is the character of the present proposition. There can be no delay. The country cannot wa a slow action of a Constitutional Amendment, a

Luce can be no detay. The country cannot wait the slow action of a Constitutional Amendment, as has been proposed by the Senator from Wisconsin, (Mr. Doolittle.) Congress must act to the extent of the property of the proposition of the proposition will be injurious to the public interests.

All must confess the humanity of the proposition to enfranchise the families of colored persons who have borne arms for their country. All must confess the hardships of continuing them in slavery.

But the question is asked by many, and even by the Senator from Wisconsin, what power has Congress to set the families free?

Mr. Doolittle—I did not ask that question.

Mr. Sumner—I understood.

Mr. Doolittle—I be Senator is enlirably mistaken.

r. Sumner—I understood— r. Doolittle—The Senator is entirely mistaken. s nutting a question himself, and then answering

Mr. Doolittle—The Senator is the American He is putting a question himself, and then answering it. I have not put it at all.

Mr. Sumner—The question has been put again and again, and the whole purport of the speech of the Senator from Wisconsin was in that sense. He argued that we were about to have a Constitutional. endment which was to supersede everything that therefore this proposition was unnecessary, not injurious. I so understood the argument of the Senator, and that it pointed directly to the question

not injurious. I so understood the argument of the Senator, and that it pointed directly to the question of the power of Congress on this occasion, because I know the patriotism of that Senator too well to suppose that, if in his opinion the power of Congress on this occasion was beyond question, he would hesitate. I do not therefore do the Senator any injustice. I say, then, the question is asked, what power has Congress to set the families free? This is the single point on which I shall express an opinion.

My answer is, that Congress has precisely the same right to enfranchise the families that it has to enfranchise the families that it has to enfranchise the families that it has to enfranchise the colored soldier. The two powers are coincident, and from the same source.

It has been already assumed that Congress may enfranchise the colored soldier. This has been done by solemn statute, without any reference to the conduct of his pretended owner. If we were asked the reason for such enfranchisement, it must be found, first, in its practical necessity, that we may secure the best services of the slaves; and secondly, in its intrinsic justice and humanity. In brief, government cannot be so improvident and so foolish as to stempt to obtain the services of the slave at the bazard of life, without securing to him the boon of freedom. Now, if government were so bereft of common sense as to forego this temptation to enlistment and efficient service, could it be guitty of the unutterable meanness of using the slave in the national defence, and then returning him to bondage? Therefore the slave who fight is senfranchiscal.

But every argument, every consideration, which leads for the enfranchisement of the slave pleads for

Therefore the slave who fights is entranchised. But every argument, every consideration, which pleads for the enfranchisement of the slave pleads for the enfranchisement of the family. There is the same practical necessity for doing it, and the same unutterable shabbiness in not doing it.

There is, no principle of law better established

rule that any acknowledged right carries essential to its exercise ot employ technical language; but I give the idea high is founded in reason and the nature of things

not employ technical language; but I give the idea, which is founded in reason and the nature of things. It would be vain to confer a right, or a power, if the means for its enjoyment were denied. From this simple statement the conclusion is irresistible.

In conferring upon Congress the power to create an Army, the Constitution conferred therewith all the powers essential to the exercise of the principal power. If Congress can authorize the enlistment of slaves, as it unquestionably can, it may at the same time authorize their enfranchisement, and by the same reason it may authorize the enfranchisement of their families; and all this from the necessity of the case, and to prevent an intolerable meanness.

An English patriot, nearly two centuries ago, exclaimed in memorable words that he would give his life to serve his country, but he would not do a mean shing to save it. If there he any value in this declaration, it may well be invoked when it is deliberately strength that the National government can create an atrage, and in this service can enfranchiste he slave which it enlists, but that it is impotent to enfranchists his family. I know not how we can use his right arm, and ask him to shed his blood in our defence, and then hand over his wife and child to bondinge. The case is too clear for argument. The human heart rejects the insufferable pretension.

But it is said that the clave has no family. Such is the argument of slavery. For all that he has, as well as all that he is, even wife and child, belong to another. Surely this unnighteous pretension will not be made the apology for a denial of rights. If the family of the slave be not designated by

is the argument of slavery. For all that he has, as well as all that he is, even wife and child, belong to another. Surely this unrighteous pretension will not be made the apology for a denial of rights. If the family of the slave be not designated by law, or by the forms of legal marriage, then it must be ascertained by the next best evidence possible; that is, by colabitation and mutual recognition as man and wife. And any uncertainty in this evidence must be regarded as a natural incident to slavery. As men cannot take advantage of their own wrong, so slave-masters, on this occasion, cannot take advantage of slavery. Any other rule would practically unite with slavery in denying to the slave wife and child. There is a well-known French maxim, that "it is only the first step which costs"—ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute—and on this occasion, permit me to say, it is only the first stage of the argument which merits attention. Concede that the soldier may be enfranchised, and it follows that by the same constitutional power his family may be admitted to are qual liberty. Any other conclusion would be as illogical as inhuman; discreditable alike to the head and the heart. There is no argument, whether of reason or of humanity, for the enfranchisement of the soldier which does not plead equally for that of his family. Nay, more; I know not how we can expect a blessing on our arms while we fail to perform this duty. y. Nay, more; I know not how we can ssing on our arms while we fail to perfo

I cannot close what I have to say without adding I cannot close what I have to say without adding that, in my opinion, Congress at this moment is complete master of the whole question of slavery everywhere in the United States, even without any Constitutional Amendment. It can sweep it all out of existence, precisely as it can remove any other obstruction to the national defence, and all this by virtue of a power as indisputable as the power to raise armies or to suspend the Andreas corpus. Future generations will read, with amazement that a great people, when national life was assailed, hesitated to exercise a power so simple and beneficent; that this cacruse a power so simple and beneficent; that this Congress higgled for months on the question whether the wife and children of the colored soldier should be admitted to freedom.

IMPORTANT LESSON. Hon. E. P. Weston, in his culting on Edward Everett, in the Massachsetts House of Representatives, uttered this important truth:

of Representatives, uttered this important truth:

And this lesson I read most clearly, from the closing pages of that life which is opened to us with new significance to-day; that whatever of scholarly attainments a man may reach, whatever of intellectual stores he may gather, whatever graces of retoric he may have cultivated, he attains the highest power to sway the great popular heart, and move it to generous purposes, only as his own heart is inspired with the best impulses of humanity and the highest patriotic devention.

Admiral Porter's report upon recent events near Wilmington contains the noticeable feature that several Armstrong guns having the mark of the broad arrow (The Kings Own) upon them, fell into our hands with Fort Caswell and other works. The British government is asphosed to have secured the exclusive use of these gons, and the Admiral thinks this circumstance requires an explanation. An enormous quantity of stores and provisions, and clothing for skxy thousand troops, all English, was also abandoned by the seemy. Another circumstance mentioned is the finding of a despatch from Lee, informing the companders of the works that unless they could be held, he should be compelled to evacuate Richardon.

GER. BUTLER. Brooks, of New York, having made some calumations remarks in Congress against Gen. Butter, was brought to by a sharp letter from the General, which the cowardly Copperhead construed as denoting a duel. He brought it into the House on Monday, where a considerable discussion, enaued, in which Gen. Butter had decidedly the best of it. The matter came up so Teecady again, and the General was ably defended by Mr. Bouwell of Massachusetts. Gen. Butter had a cordial tarwell interview with President Lincoln on the 24th inst.

The Biberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1865

I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that while I remais is my position, I shall not attempt to retract or nodify the Brancipation Proclaration, not shall I return to Slavert any person who is pres NOT SHALL A RETURN TO SLAVERT ANY PERSON WHO IS PRES BY THE TERMS OF THAT PROCLAMATION, OR BY ANY OF THE ACTS OF CONGRESS. IF THE PEOPLE SHOULD, BY WHATEVER MODE OR MEANS. MAKE IT AN EXECUTIVE DUTY TO BE LAYE SUCH PERSONS, AND INC.,
INSTRUMENT TO PERFORM IT.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN. PERSONS, ANOTHER, AND NOT I, MUST BE

LAUS DEO ! --- HALLELUJAH !

It is with devout thanksgiving to God, and en tions of joy which no language can express, that we announce to our readers the passage through the U. S. House of Representatives, on Tuesday last, of the endment of the Constitution, in co rence with the Senate, and by the requisi vote, abolishing and prohibiting slavery in every part of the republic! It is the greatest and most tant event in the history of congressional legislattor of the war. Adopted as unquestionably it will be by the requisite number of States, imagination may toil in vain to depict the future career of this country as pertaining to peace, unity, prosperity, and grandeur Henceforth, in deed and in truth, America is to be " the land of the FREE "-" where breathes no castle the land of the FREE "-" where breathes no castled ord nor cabined slave."
"Perley," the Washington correspondent of the

Boston Journal, gives the following sketch of the scene in the House of Representatives :-

"The event of the day has been the final referen "The event of the day has been the final reference of the proposed Emancipation clause to the State Legislatures. The galleries of the hall of the House were literally packed with ladies and gentlemen, and on the floor were Senators, Judges, officers of the army and navy, and distinguished citizens from almost every State. The Democrats endeavored at one time to filibuster, and urged a postponement of the voto until to morrow; but General Ashley, who has engineered the resolution, was inflexible, and at last the voting was commenced just before four o'clock. There was almost breathess suspense until James E. English of Connecticut voted "aye," when there was a cheer, and the applause was repeated after the affirmative vote of John Ganson of New York, who was a member of the Chicago Convention. At last the result was declared—One hundred and nine-teen Ayes to fifty-six Nays, when for at least five minutes the hall rang with applause. Handkerchiefs were waved, congratulations were interchanged, and every loyal man and woman present appeared deligibated." every loyal man and woman present appeared de-lighted."

Gov. Andrew has issued an order that whenever the telegraph shall announce that the President signed the resolution for an amendment of the Con stitution abolishing slavery, a salute of one hundred guns shall be fired on the Common. He also recommends that the church bells throughout the State b rung at the same hour.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

We devote a large portion of our inside form to condensed report of the proceedings of the two days' meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at the Melodeon, in this city, last week. For reasons entirely satisfactory to us, we neither participated in the proceedings nor attended any of the meetings on the second day. Where the platform is free to all comers, it is not surprising that some persons take advantage of it to display their folly and give vent to their personal spleen, under the specious guise of being deeply concerned lest the rights of the colored people should be compromised! The discussions, as a whole, were earnest, able and eloquent. The speech of Mr. Phillips on Thursday evening, and of George son on Friday evening, (neither of which we it is universally conceded were of a very high Thompson on Friday evening, (neither of which we heard,) it is universally conceded were of a very high order. They will be printed in full hereafter, as well order. They want of the resolutions submitted by Mr. Phillips were adopted by putting them to the assembly, and not confining the vote to members of assembly, and not confining the vote to members of after a brief sketch of their history from him, they are the sone. "Slavery's chain is bound to break;" them; especially is this true of the last resolution, in-troduced by Mr. Foster at the last moment, and adopt-ed by a confused and dissolving audience. In regard to the duty and importance of claiming equal rights and privileges for the colored population, there was rse, no difference of opinion among the abolitionists.

PERSISTENT INJUSTICE. The Commonwealth, a unced to its readers, with an air short time since, ann of affected surprise and sorrow, that the Liberator had repudiated its motto, "No Union with Slaveholders." We showed the charge to be a false one, and expected the Commonwealth would candidly acknowledge it had done us an injustice. Instead of this, it repeated its untruthful assertion by representing that we had put the old motto "back again"—the inference being that we had done so in consequence of our exposure Again denying the charge, expressing our s ment at such dishonest conduct, and calling for fair treatment, we looked to see what the Commonwealth of Saturday would have to say on the subject; and we found, not any correction, but only the following dissembling and calumnious paragraph:—

dissembling and calumnious paragraph:

"The Liberator is mistaken. We have no unfriendliness, and indulge in no rivalry towards it. We
sometimes fear we do not adequately appreciate the
services of its editor in past years, which become
all the more conspicuous from his present position and
advocacy. In this crisis of the nation, we think constancy to his old teachings would be of trunscendant value
to our rulers; with the adoption of a policy, as it seems
to us, of excuse and pallimidn for their short-comings,
he is risking the value of a life-long instruction. The
Commonwealth comments freely—we believe not unjustly. While doing so, we disclaim all personal hostility; and we refuse to accept it when we find ourselves in the 'Refuge of Oppression' of the Liberator, and that our criticisms, not our encomiums, are
remembered."

To the imputations and insignations in this extract.

erning our fidelity to the cause of the oppressed, we deem it quite unnecessary to make any reply. A testimony like the following, given by that "Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile," the widely beloved Rev. Nathaniel Hall of Dorchester, outweighs an ave anche of such censure :-

Innehe of such centre:

Dorchester, Jan. 27, 1865.

Mt Dean Mr. Garrison—I send you, as Edito of the Liberator, and as a most honored friend, the enclosed \$10; with heart-felt thanks for what you have done for me personally, and for that blessee. Cause to which you have so nobly devoted your life Much as I admired your course before, it has wor from me new and increased admiration during the last eventual years of trial and of glory. May Goo bless and cheer you in all your trials, as I know He will.

With sincerest regard, NATH, HALL.

"To WHOM IT MAY CONCERN." There are som persons whose peculiar idiosyncrasy, love of dispution and lack of breadth are such that we never allow our selves to be drawn into a controversy with them. On readers will understand, therefore, why we invariably tice of any imper acts, or of any allegations made against us on an antirm or in our colum ns, by STEPHEN S slavery platform or in our columns, by STEPHEN S. FORTHE. We have for years given him certe blanche to say whatever he pleases against us—deeming it as absurd and useless to attempt to hold him to any point, or to make any appeal to reason and fact on any controverted matter, as it would be to encounter a wind-mill or grasp a will-o'-th'-wisp.

John Steel of Philadelphia lately died from the effects of a kick of a horse. He is said to have een the wealthiest man in Pennsylvania, and his re-cipts (from the oil business) were \$3000 a day.

MASSACRUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Massachu-setts Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Melodeon, in Boston, on Thursday, Jan. 29, 1865.

The President of the Society, EDMUND QUINCY, called the meeting to order at quarter past 10 o clock. The usual Committees were nominated and ap-pointed, as follows:—

sittee on Business .- W. L. Garrison, We-Con Phillips, Henry C. Wright, Maria W. Chapman, Par-ker Pillsbury, Andrew T. Foss, Abby Kelley Foster Stephen S. Foster, Wm. Welle Brown, Mrs. Caro Stephen S. line H. Dall.

Committee on Nominations.—Eibridge Sprague, Abington; James N. Buffum, Lynn; W. W. Dutcher, Milford; A. M. Chase. Canton; Elias Richards Weymouth; Richard Plumer, Newburypor Hayward, Saleni; Moses Wright, Georget seph A. Howland, Worcester.

seph A. Howiand, worcesser.

Committee on Finance.—Ebenezer D. Draper, Hopedale; Lewis Ford, Boston; Samuel Dyer, Abington The President stated that the last two Comm ere not full, and might be added to h

Samuel May, Jr. and Charles K. Whipple

hosen Assistant Secretaries.

The Treasurer's Report, duly audited, was present ed to the Society, and read by the President. It showed the expenditures of the Society, during the year past, to be exactly equal to its receipts.

Report accepted, to be published with the pr ngs of the meeting.

The Committee on Business not having had time

to confer together, Wendell Phillips read for informs tion of the Society a series of resolutions; and proceeded to address the Society in support of them. The speech was heard with the closest attention by the audience, and received warm applauses at th

close. [A fuller report will appear her Three children, lately slaves in New Orleans, preent in the meeting, came forward by request of th

meeting, on the proposition of Mr. May, and sang song—"I was born a little slave." Mr. May states that these children, set free by the arms of the United States, had been gathered with thousands of other into schools under the administration of Gen. Banks in Louisians GEORGE THOMPSON then addressed the Society

in an eloquent and impressive manner

[This speech also will be fully reported hereafter. It having been known that FREDERICK DOUGLAS sas present in the audience, by Mr. Thompson's re ference to the fact, very many in the meeting next called loudly for Mr. Douglass, some also for Mr. Re-mond. The latter gentleman declined speaking a present, preferring to give way for Mr. Douglass, wh eloquent and interesting speech will be written or for publication.] then came forward and addressed the Society. [This

Adjourned to half-past 2 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON Met according to adjournment; the President is

The first speaker introduced was JOHN PARKER recently in the rebel service. He had been an Amer can slave, and had but recently, only three years ago made his escape. He is of unmixed African blood He gave forcible expression to his hearty detestatio of slavery, and of those amphibious creatures. North ern men with Southern principles. The negro, he thought, was in an unfortunate position, disliked and oppressed by both parties. His race wanted insticand liberty, and they would be thankful to any one Northern or Southern, who would grant them these He gave some details of his personal and family histo ry, and replied to some of the current apologies for slavery. He rejoiced in the reformation of Gen. But ler from partisan democracy to practical abolitionism He made impressive reference to the injustice ve practised against the colored people in the city Philadelphia, and rejoiced in the patient and un vengeful disposition of that race, in spite of the gros cruelties which they had suffered. He had been con pelled to assist in building the fortifications of Rich ond, but he thought the greatest strength of the re bellion lay in the divisions of opinion among Norther

sung the song, "Slavery's chain is bound to break;" after which, "Charley" spoke a little speech which had been written for him, in relation to his past history, and in eulogy of Gen. Banks, and the elder gir ecited some verses.

Mr. Garrison made a partial report in behalf of the Business Committee. They had agreed to repor Mr. Phillips's resolutions, though without endorsing them. Each person must judge for himself in regard to the sentiments expressed in them.

Mr. PHILLIPS then proceeded to re-read the resolu ions, as follows :-

1. Resolved, That we acknowledge with gratitude the marvellous triumphs of the anti-slaver principle throughout the United States-the redemy tion of Missouri and Maryland from the curse and sir of the infamous system—and the bright hope tha Kentucky and Tennessee will soon follow their honor able example.

2. Resolved. That while these successes give us us feigned delight, and strengthen and encourage us, an while the victorious march of the national armies on ables us to execute justice between man and man, an teaches us meanwhile at every step its imminent ne cessity, we still recognize that the end is not yet, tha real and complete success is not achieved, and that the slave's cause needs yet our most devoted efforts

3. Resolved, That if, as we are assured, the pres ent so-called reconstruction of Louisiana is endorsed by the President, and its admission urged by him in Congress, either as an allowable excepmodel for the other rebel States, we feel bound to protest against acknowledging such reconstruction, or on to the rights of a State.

4. Resolved, That as we have always claimed for the To the imputations and insignations in this extract | negro equal civil privileges with the white man, and demanded for the slave entire, immediate and uncon ditional liberty, we repudiate the so-called freedom of Louisiana; seeing in it only one of the needless about tive and oft-exploded attempts to prepare the negr or freedom, and deeming its real en prenticeship and gradualis n to exert a disastrous i fuence in other States and on the future of the negro

b. Resolved, That waiving our objection to it as American citizens, which may not be fully discussed on a strictly anti-slavery platform, we consider that reconstruction a practical denial of the first principles of the anti-slavery agitation, that a negro is entitled at once and of course to all the privileges that belon to a white man in the same circumstances; that an system of apprenticeship or gradual abolition is a ce impossible, unjust, and the seed of difficulty only. And we hold such form of reconstruction a putting to hazard all the fruits of national victory, an ning indefinitely justice to the negro.

6. Whereas, a nation's duty is measured by it power; and whereas, considering the nature government and the relations of the nations State governments, no individual is safe un holds in his own hands the means of protecting his own rights; and whereas, in claiming for the negre emancipation and freedom, we mean an effectual emancipation and a real freedom; and whereas, conblering the nature of our Government, and the pation can be effectual and no freedom real, it the negro has the ballot and the States are prob cting laws making any distinct from enacting taws making any distinction amon their citizens on account of race or color; therefor Resolved, That, in our opinion, the United States Co-stitution needs two amendments; one prohibiting al-very everywhere throughout the Union, and anoth-lorbidding, the States to enact laws which make as

Mr. Garatson made some comments upon Mr. Phillipp's use of the word "reconstruction," and pro-ceeded to read some further resolutions, as follows:—

7. Resolved, That if, as reconstructed, Louisiana ought not to be admitted to the Union because she excludes her colored population from the polls, then Conmeticut, New Jersey, Fennay Ivania, and all the Western States ought not to be in the Union for the same reason; and while they are guilty of this proccipition, it is not for them to demand of Louisiana a broader acope of republican liberality than they are willing to take in their own case.

Whereas, ever since the organiz al government till now, every State in the Union has claimed and exercised the right to determine on what conditions any of its inhabitants shall wield the ballot,—the General Government taking no cognizance of the angela inclusion as exclusive assets. of the special inclusion or exclusion pertaining to its electoral law; and whereas, it is not to be presumed that any State will consent to have this established prerogative wrested from it, and a wholly different rule forcibly prescribed, either on the plea of military occupancy or by act of Congress, without an amend ment of the National Constitution; and whereas, by the conflicting laws or constitutions of the several States in the matter of voting, colored citizens who are electors in one State are disfranchised in another and thus this usage is attended with invidious and op pressive features, and ought not longer to prevai among a people claiming to be one in nation nality o spirit, purpose and destiny; and whereas, with a wis regard to the future peace and welfare of the republic and especially the allegiance of the Southern section of it, no one class should be left to ostracise another

under the plea of State sovereignty; therefore,
8. Resolved, That Congress should lose no time in
submitting to the people an amendment of the Constitution making the electoral law uniform in all th States, without regard to complexional distinctions.

ELBRIDGE STRAGUE, of Abington, then made a re port from the Committee on Nominal e following persons as officers of the Society for the coming year :-

EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Bourne Spooner, of Plymouth; William Ashby, o Newburyport; Adin Ballou, of Hopedale; Jefferso Church, of Springfield; Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield; Henry I. Bowditch, of Boston; Jame N. Buffum, of Lynn; Ellis Allen, of Medfield; John ; Ellis Allen, of Medfield; Joh Bailey, of Lynn; David P. Harmon, of Haverhill; Thomas T. Stone, of Bolton; Ezekiel Thacher, of Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem; John Clement, of Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, of Newburyport ; Joshua T. Everett, of Princeton ; Benjamin Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg; George Miles, of Westmin-ster; Timothy Davis, of Framingham; Zebina H. Small, of Harwich; William Pope, Jr., of Dorchester; Elbridge Sprague, of Abington; Elias Richards, of C. Davis, on a certain occasion, that remains to be Weymouth

onding Secretary-Samuel May, Jr., of Leices

Recording Secretary-Robert F. Wallout, of Boston Treasurer—Ebenezer D. Draper, of Hopedale Auditor—William I. Bowditch, of Brookline.

-William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Charles K. Whipple, Anne W. Weston, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodge Sarah J. Nowell.

On motion that the report be accepted and adopted

the President was proceeding to take the vote, when Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER moved that Mrs Maria W. Chapman and Miss Anna W. Weston be excused from service on the Board of Managers of this Society, on the ground that they believe ork of the Society already done.

SAMUEL MAY, JR. said he thought it would b Managers, when they asked to be excused. They had made no such request, and they were regular at-tendants at the meetings of the Board; and for one, he hoped the Society would not put itself in the sinciety wou gular position of adopting Mrs. Foster's motion.

In a few remarks, Mrs. Foster withdrew her me

Mrs. Dall wished to say, for one, that the services Chapman and Miss Weston should be claimed, and engerly claimed, by this Society.

The question was called for, and the Society unani-nously accepted the report of the Nominating Com-

mittee, thereby electing its officers for the year. SAMUEL MAY, Jr. moved that the Finance Co. sittee be instructed to proceed to take up collections both for immediate expenses and in behalf of the work of the Society yet before it. He replied to Mrs. For ter's allusion to the small amount received and expend ed by the Society the past year. We were not so vain as to think that anti-slavery work was done, now, by the anti-slavery society only. Thank God, the nation had been largely converted to the truth of the leading ideas and principles of this Society. Nevertheless, work still remains to the old anti-slavery societies While there was a slave femalining on our soil, or compromise remaining with the slaveholder, the Anti-Slavery Society must not die; and its friends must not allow it to die

The motion of Mr. May was adopted.

On account of the necessary absence of Mr. Dyer, Mr. Elbridge Sprague was added to the Finance Cor

STEPHEN S. FOSTER said that if the Board of Man agers would present work, appoint agents, and call for funds, he had no doubt funds sufficient would be forth coming.

JAMES N. BUFFU marks of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, and depicted in an earnest manner the wonderful change that had taken place in the sentiment of the nation, favorable to the

their works, and need no better certificate than their reclection for so many years by the Society. The required neither instruction nor information as to the work to be done in the future. What they wanted was the means to do with, and they would not be lacking in effort. He rejoiced to believe, however and all the signs of the times indicated, that the labors of this Society were rapidly coming to a close

Mr. Garrison read the following resolution as ex

9. Resolved, That in case the proposed anti-slavery mendment of the Constitution of the United States shall be adopted by Congress and the people at any time during the present year, the Board of Managers ecial meeting of this So ciety to celebrate the au nate its existence as an Anti-Slavery organization.

He proceeded to support it, and to vindicate th ad pursued for several years past, as an abolitionist, and as an anti-slavery editor. He contended there was no difference, between himself and other ers of the Society, in regard to any principle or any right appertaining to the co He found himself less and less inclined to make

net slavery, ina rsed, and demand its extirpa ed slavery acc tion. Statesmen and politicians and Generals are cry-ing out against it, and he would not charge them with

distinction among their citizens on account of race or ing of public men was to give a fair consideration to the circumstances of each. He referred to the case of Mr. Garrison made some comments upon Mr. Phillipp's use of the word "reconstruction," and pro-Banks, what is needed is not an endorsement of all that he has done, but a recognition that, amidst very great difficulties, he has accomplished some very com-mendable things for freedom and free institutions.

In regard to the bellot, Mr. Garrison said it was a

conventional right of society, having its limitations, and had ever been so regarded; and, important as it was, it was not to be confounded with the natural was, it was not to be confounded with the natural right of a man to his personal ownership and liberty. For, otherwise, one human being was as much entitled to vote as another, without condition, and irrespective of sex or complexion. He was surprised to hear Frederick Douglass make the unqualified declaration, that emancipation without the ballot was a mockery. Surely, Mr. Douglass did not think so when he burst his fetters, and fied from Maryland to the free soil of Massechusetts, where he found safety, protection, freedom of thought and speech, and was enabled every where to advocate the claims of his brethren in bonds, whom he had left behind. Surely, he then deemed such freedom an unspeakable gift he then deemed such freedom an unspeakabl ing that called for heartfelt thanksgivingthough unaccompanied by the ballot: freedom from the lash of the driver, from mental and moral degrada tion, from cruel outrage and wrong. And he should ot now forget the thrilling feelings with which he re garded his successful exodus out of the house of bond age, nor allow himself to be hurried into extrastatement in his commendable zeal to obtain equal political rights.

What, then, of the elective franchise? From the

foundation of our government, this question has been left to the several States. The Constitution of the United States recognizes no authority on the part of Congress or the National Executive to interfe it. Hence the diversity of action among the States the great majority proscriptively excluding colored citizens from the polls. Now, if we are going into that matter, let us have a measure which will reach not Louisiana only, but that large number of Northern States which exceed her in political injustice to the colored man. And if the right to the ballot is to be put into the category of natural rights, then let us be consistent, and demand it for the black woman as wel as for the black man-for all women as well as for all men.

Mr. Garrison asked what was the authority for Mr Phillips's statement, that Gen, Sherman caused a minltitude of colored followers to be brutally driven back and subjected to be massacred by the enemy. [Mr Phillips-" I know it to be true." Mr. Phillips says he knows it to be true. I do not; and I have never seen the evidence of it. On the contrary, I have seen various statements, by different writers on the ground, all setting forth the humanity and kindness of Gen. Sherman to the colored population of Georgia As to the alleged murderous barbarity of Gen. Jefferson authenticated; and until it is, by official investigation vere condemnation should be withheld.

Mr. Garrison expressed his entire confidence in the ntegrity of President Lincoln, and believed that he rould fulfil all his solemn pledges and engagements pertaining to the millions he had emancipated by his proclamation.

CHARLES L. REMOND inquired whether Mr. Garrion wished the Government to institute careful in quiry as to the treatment of colored men by the army nd the Generals.

Mr. Garrison said he desired and expected the Govmment to protect them from outrage, as far as prac ticable.

Mr. Foster asked if Mr. Lincoln's pledge of retaliation for the Fort Pillow massacre had been redeemed.

Mr. Garrison replied that the difficulty in that case ras not in regard to the disposition of Mr. Lincoln, bu to the impossibility of the Government descending to such flendish cruelty, and the perplexity of determining precisely what retaliatory measures to adopt.
Just as in the case of our famished soldiers in the
Libby and Andersonville prisons. Who in the audince would attribute inhumanity to Abraham Lincoln ?

S. S. Foster stated that this meeting had been called for a single day only. Some members of the Hovey Committee (so called) thought an additional of such old, long-tried, and faithful friends as Mrs.

Hovey Committee (so called) thought an additional day desirable, and had engaged the hall for another day. He would therefore move that, when we adjourn to-night, it be to meet again to-morrow in this hall.

Mr. Garrison objected to the motion, inasmuch as, in accordance with the course of the two past years and after full consideration of the subject, the Board Managers had voted to hold a meeting of but one day; and that vote was a unanimous one, in a full neeting, upon the motion of Mr. Phillips.

Mr. PHILLIPS said that Mr. Garrison was right in his statement that the Managers had unanimously voted in favor of one day; but, on further reflection he had himself concluded that the various subjects of ded that the various subjects of importance required a second day's discussion. He of some of these oceeded to set forth the importasubjects, especially the point of the admission of Lou-

Mr. Garrison spoke further in support of his view of he matter, and was followed by Mrs. Foster, who de sired another day's meeting.

The question being taken, it was voted to continue the meetings through the following day and evening. The meeting was then adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock.

ANDREW T. Foss, of New Hampshire, took the floor

EVENING. Met according to adjournment, Mr.

Quincy, the President, in the Chair.

in defence of the Government and legislation of the ountry against various attacks made upon them here o-day. He had been charged with "electioneering." he said. He proceeded to relate the circumstances of total extirpation of slavery.

Mr. Garnison said that the Board of Managers of this speaking last autumn in behalf of the reflection of President Lincoln, which he supposed was the true of the outery against him. He had been applied to by a member of the National Resident Lincoln. his speaking last autumn in behalf of the reëlection mittee to speak for them. His reply was that he was an abolitionist—an immediate emancipationist, with-out any delay or compromise. "That is what we

was the reply. If I go into this campaign want," was Mr. Foss's answer, I must go entirely free to sa just what I have said as an agent of the Anti-Slaver Society. This was cheerfully agreed to. Now, said Mr. Foss, why should any one object to such "electioneering " as that? If the speaking of the utmost Anti-Slavery truth helps the Republican cause, should it not be helped? Indeed, added Mr. Foss, in this matter I have only done what Stephen S. Foster him self did two years earlier, when in New Hampshire he accepted the request of the Rep in their State election, and went from town to town, giving addresses which obtained very many votes for the Republican party.

A. BRONSON ALCOTT, of Concord, asked leave to express his latest thought on some of the subje had agitated the meeting. He wished first to say who, he thought, were to-day the "great teachers" of our-selves and of our country. He first referred to him n himself and other who, 85 years ago, ventured to think and to say that ref to any principle or ored man.

"He is one of your teachers. But if he should fall the same of your teachers, and you will select some other." He then referred, by distinct allusion, to Wendell Phillips as th leader and deliverer of the nation. Then he tion. Statesmen and politicians and Generals are crying on tagainst it, and he would not charge them with insincerity. He held such charges, sapersions or insinuations to be not only unkind but impolitic. The work is great, and time is needed to complete it. His anxiety was to hold the people, at this hour, mainly to the one point of the total abolition of alarery. That is the all in all for the redemption of the colored man, and the basis of all political rights. His rule for judg-

FEBRUARY 8 S. S. FOSTER, "I have never been in closer rela-tions with the Republican party than I am to day. I have never had so close an interest in that party at have to day, for it never was so worthy of such latered as now." He explained how he came to lecture in New Hampshire as Mr. Foss had sald. He had sere saked any one to vote for the Resphiles. asked any one to vote for the Republicaasked any one to vote for the Republican party, but he stated his views in such a way as to show that the decided preference was to beginn to the

lecided preference was to be given to that party. decided preference was to be given to that party.

Rev. Mr. Monas of Haverhill, and Rev. Mr. Warnt
of Boston, briefly addressed the Society in behalf of
its taking the most radical ground possible at this erg.

cal perion.

Mr. Garnison replied to the remarks of Mr. Aleut,
disclaiming for himself all idea and desire of "kelder
ship"—a small and unworthy ambition, in little Br
spoke with earnest feeling in favor of suttiding hal
spoke with earnest feeling reproses and more spoke with earness terning in favor of sustaining tal encouraging every anti-slavery purpose and measur-of the people and their Government, and arging the of the people and their dovernment, and arging the forward to the work remaining to be done, mixed a continually censuring and throwing suspicion and the

HENRY C. WRIGHT maintained, that w HENRY C. WRIGHT maintained, that when dead slavery is abolished, the distinctive work of the Asi.

Slavery Society is finished. The work therefore assumes a new shape, not of "anti-slavery," but for the securing of all the rights which belong to the bre.

WENDELL PHILLIPS addressed the Society, is a weech of half an hour, which may be reported in fall.

Adjourned to 10, A. M. of Friday.

, FRIDAY.

Re-assembled at the Melodeon, according to adjournment. The President called the meeting to order at 10 1-2 o'clock, and the resolutions before the Society were read again by Mr. May.

W. PHILLIPS wished to state that the 8th resolution relating to the amendment of the Constitution, and the 7th, relating to complexional distinctions, were written by Mr. Garrison.

ought, in regard to these, that our special dain He the He thought, in regain to there, may our special caim for acting in Louisiana is that at present there are no laws there; the old Louisiana code is extinct; the United States have made no new laws; the only law ow in that State is the will of Gen. Banks. As to Connecticut, and the other old States, venenotul-Connecticut, and the other old States, vesic not tilt-ing of what they do or do not, but of what the Mass-chusetts Anti-Slavery Society should demand. The Federal Government in regard to the secred Sum have the matter entirely in their hands, and the only limitation to their action is common sense and expe-

R. P. HALLOWELL wished to state a further objection to the resolutions in question, namely, that they made remonstrance against the old pro-slavery States loing a certain right act, because their former conden has been inconsistent with it.

This. Society has always been laboring for two things; the emancipation of the slaves; and their ricvation. At the best view of present affairs, their work is only half done. WILLIAM B. EARLE said he did not like Connection

cut consistency; it has always been on the wrong side. He proceeded to speak of the aristocratic element in some of the early settlements of this country, and the fearful results which have come from the perpetuion of such distinctions among us. We ought not to rest until every State has a Bill of Rights m perfect as that of Massachusetts, or more perfect if

He particularly disliked the 7th of this series of Resolutions, and thought it calculated to do great harm.
Every one of the laws discriminating against black every State, is unconstitutional. Massachusetts has too long allowed the oppression of her col ored citizens when they have chanced to come under the action of such States.

W. PHILLIPS read an extract from the Standard just arrived, on Gen. Sherman's plan of reconstruc-tion, pointing out the opinion of that paper, which, he said, would not be suspected of being too radical or the dangerous character of that plan. He also read portion of the letter of Judge Durant of New Or ans in the same paper, exposing the evil character of Gen. Banks's rule, and showing that liberty has not yet been gained by the ex-slaves. A recent decision in a New Orleans court would go to show that nen of color are not under the protection of the las in Louisiana. A proved murderer there was acquit ted by the jury, in Judge D's opinion, only because his victim was a colored boy, and the witnesses to the

deed of murder were all colored men. C. L. REMOND thought that our resolutions of censure of this sort of freedom are too general in their erms; and that they ought not only to be out-poken but so direct and specific as to be felt and regarded by the culprits. He had been pained by the disposition of Mr. Garrison to apologize for function President Lincoln and General Banks. He thought function was freely to criticise whatever the structed the enfranchisement and elevation of the col ored people. Their rights are identical with those of the white race. Justice to each is for the benefit of all. He for his part would speak out, though be had

to speak against a dozen Wm. Lloyd Garrie Jos. A. HOWLAND, of Worcester, spake of the disposition to oppression still shown in Maryland, according to the statements made yesterday see no such difference between Maryland and Missouri on one side, and Louisiana on the other, as to justify us in censuring the latter, while, according to the resolutions reported by Mr. Phillips, we should rejoice over the former. He thought the resolutions of Mr. Phillips self-contradictory in that particular. S. S. FOSTER combatted this view, and explained

what, to his mind, was a vital distinction between the two cases. Mrs. A. K. Foster inquired whether the United

States were not bound, constitutionally, to recognize every man as free and equal, under the law, with his fellow-men, in making any reconstruction in a rebi r-men, in making any reconstruction in a rebei State.

S. S. FOSTER proceeded to read a resolution such as, he thought, Mr. Remond's remarks called for, and then made extended remarks upon the pretion of this Society :-

Resolved, That we regard the attempt to dignify the present condition of the colored people of Loui ina with the name of freedom as no les ham than a despicable fraud, disgraceful alke to the government which invented it, and the nation which tolerates it; and as American citizens, as well as Aberican citizens, as a constant citizens, as a constant citizens, as a constant cit itionists, we earnestly protest against this shan ostitution of Federal power to the destruction of the rights and liberty of the loyal masses of a sister Subwhose chains had been broken, and their rights to the tional protection secured by the secession madess a

Mr. Foster having, in his speech, charged Mr. Gar rison (who was not presen) with being resty be make a compromise with the devil," and let dors the claims of Anti-Slavery, George Thompson store, red.

Mr. Foster's words and the beautiful dors and dors. set claims of Anti-Slavery, George Thompson arose, in Mr. Foster's words which he had taken down, and called upon Mr. Foster to prove the charge or ne-tract it. Mr. Thompson said the charge was great-less, calumnious, and malicious. Mr. Foster is first said he med the language figuration; first said he used the language fig mpson still holding him to his words, either prove or to take them back, he asked why he [his Foster] was held to a stricter rule on this platform than others were. He proceeded to refer to a result that others were. He proceeded to refer to a result that Mr. Thompson had made at the last New Especial Conference on the conference of the land Anti-Slavery Convention in regard to hisself and his friend Parker Pillsbury, at a time when, by vote of the Convention limiting speeches, he con-

Mr. Thompson declared that he had no tion of ever having used the alleged words, the names of Mesars. Foster and Pillsbury wall not, when the name of Abraham Lincoln would shim like a star in the firmament.

Rev. J. T. SARGENT being called on by Mr. Foster. istified that he heard the very words a named. Mr. Thompson said, "If I did use those words, then, with ill the contriteness of which my nature is capable, I sil the commenced for having done so, and I retract

Mr. Foster allowed that this was magnanimous Mr. FOSTER actioned that this was magnanimous bet being called upon to imitate this magnanimit and prove or retract the charge he had made again Garrison, he was understood to say that, if Mr Mr. Garrison, he was understood to say that, if Mr. Garrison would answer him certain questions, he would then prove his charge, or would retract it.

HENRY C. WRIGHT read again the resolution offer ed by Mr. Garrison, and said that Mr. Garrison had resterday repeatedly declared he would co and to no legislation based upon con ional differences;—as indeed his own resolution

W. PRILLIPS said that as he had argued yesterday the cases were wholly unlike. Connecticut, Pennsysia, Illinois, &c., are not now in question. Louisi has now no Constitution; what is called so is only N Banks's private memorandum book. He [Gen P. Banks s private memorandum book. He [Gen Banks] had said to the members of Congress, "State what change you wish in the Constitution of Louisi nge you wish in the Constitution of Louisi as, and it shall be made in ten days." In this state of thing, it is only in the power of the Federal Government to determine whether Louisiana shall return the Union with a just and equal Constitution or not. As to the charge made against Gen. Sherman, in rigid to the massacre of the blacks which followed his srmy, Mr. Phillips had no alteration of that charge to make, except to transfer 4 to higher should For himself, he knew no Jefferson C. Davis, or any inferior officer in such a case. He held Gen. She man himself responsible for the act, and still more President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton.

Mr. Phillips asked of Mr. Wright—"Do you sa Noor Yes to the present demand of Louisiana for ac mission to the Union ?

Mn. WRIGHT. I will answer the question; that i what I have risen to do. We are in a fearful civi var. The Administration is trying to bring it to an boorable close. While we are in this war, the Gov-enment trying to abolish chattel slavery, Louisiana e are knocking for admission into the and Tennessee are knocking for admission into the Calon. Shall they be admitted on the same ground on which Connecticut and other old States already pash in the Union, or oh new and peculiar terms? This is the question. Mr. Wright, therefore, would my "Yes" to the request of Louisiana for present admission, coming as she did with a Constitution bolishing and forever prohibiting slavery, which he constitution is the property of the constitution of the constitution of the constitution and the constitution at the transfer of the constitution at the transfer of the constitution at th thought was all we had a Constitutional right to require. He further pointed out that the most of the Stateshave the word " white " in their Constitutions and this odious distinction the loyal States should ob erate before they could honestly demand the same of the returning rebel States.

Mr Punturs was much obliged to Mr. Wright for brigging the one vital point so clearly before the Society. He asks, why should Congress admit Penn-sitania, and refuse Louisiana! The answer is, it dost and adout Proposylvania. There is no question encerning the admission of Pennsylvania. She is in the Union already. The guestion is, what shall we do in the case of a State which is not now in the the Union already, l'aion, but which seeks to enter it ? If Pennsylvania rerecut, and should now ask to return, we ought to my forever, if necessary, "No, you cannot come in while you make unjust distinctions on the ground of

ME EARLE explained, referring to the admission of Missour: by way of illustration

Mr. WRIGHT asked if this Society has ever petition rd Congressed do what we think it has no power to do? And further, if Congress has power now to re-tise the request of the State of Louisiana?

Mr. Phillips replied to the first question No, and t the second Yes; and proceeded to argue that Congress hat-nurely within its power the terms of admission of a State returning from rebellion. That which the Lausiana Constitution describes as liberty is a share inda flowery. The persons to be held accountable forme infractions of negro rights is not Banks in Louising, nor Sherma in Georgia, but Abraham Adjentified to 2 1-2 o'clock.

Arrenoon. Met as adjourned, the President is

HENRY C. WRIGHT continued the morning discus-He said the present Congress had admitted Nerids into the Union with the word "white" in its Conditation. Now, can this Congress prescribe a rule of action and admission for Louisiana, different from that which it had laid down for Nevada? He thought it could not; but that there must first be an amendment of the Constitution.

SANCEL MAY, Jr. said it was best not to paint blacker than it is, even the Louisiana Constitution, and Gen. Banks's temporary system of labor. He show-el wherein it had been, as he thought, misrepresented. We could easily enough see its defects, more easily perhaps than to have avoided them. It had been ev deat to very uncompromising anti-slavery men, on the fround, that Gen. Banks had had an exceeding diffialt work to perform; that he had diligently sought to certain and to carry out the freedman's own wishe for himself, his wife and his children; and that he had largely sided in forming a Constitution which abolish el and prohibited slavery in Louisiana forever. This rat not a work to be lightly spoken of by abolition-its. Though it failed in the material point of giving to the freedman all those civil rights which are esmfety, yet it did open the way to all these; and he, for one, would like the resolutions better, if they recognized these facts. He fully agreed in the necessiya given the freedmen of the South every right of citizens; though even the possession of the ballot value, for a long time, be more than a partial protection. tion. The freed people of the Southern States are the est friends which the North and the Union have there as a class, the only friends. They have proved their manhood and earned their citizenship; and not only are they entitled to it, but they will have it, as may are they entitled to it, but they will have it, as organity as that the Union will be restored. The ternal Providence has linked us all to the necessity if doing full justice to the colored man. None see this plainer than the really loyal white people of the Soit Press. South. That the resolutions might be condensed and amended, he moved their reference back to the Busiten Committee.

JOHN H. STEPHENSON, of Boston, said there we nother very important light in which to look at this tabject of full justice to the freedman,—the commercial light. It makes a rast difference to Massachu hts, commercially, whether these men are treated as far men or only as apprentices. Formerly, there was assufactured here every year a large amount of mis-table cloth. able cloths, known as negro-cloths. Do you know, nid he, that not a single manufacturer in Massach his to day makes this negro-cloth? (Applause.) The long stores will not have it. So of their shoes. The handscturers can no longer sell their old red brogans They have to blacken them all, is order to sell them es will wear no badge of their old bondage se.) Mr. Stephenson urged that all personal use.) Mr. Stephenson uld be dropped, and that we look only at the

Dy. T. P. Knox attacked the Louisiana system, and that anybody who defended it was a coward and builter! He said that President Lincoln's Proclama-ion of Emancipation was a sham and a fraud! He brailed several alleged cases of oppression on the lot Royal islands of South Carolins, and declared State freed people, so called, were really slaves for the freed people, so called, were really slaves for the freed people, so called, were really slaves for the plantations, and completed to work for fifteen cents a day, under the threat tag if they did not, they should be put into the army! for State of the product of Saxton, he said, is only head overseer of slave

Mr. DENSMORE, of Pennsylvania, opposed the last motion,—to refer the resolutions back to the Commit-tee. He hoped the Society would adopt them as they

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke on the general aspects of the cause, the particular steps of its progress, and the law of that progress. He said that every statemen here made by Dr. Knox, in regard to South Carolina ox, in regard to So could be corroborated by witnesses whom none would impeach.

Mr. Mar. May I ask if you say that, in regard t ent. General Saxton is only Dr. Knox's staten overseer of slaves in that department?

Mr. PILLSBURY. Perhaps not exactly that. Dir. Knox reiterated the statement, applying other ffensive epithets to General Saxton. [Cries o

shame," from many in the audience.] Mr. PILLSBURY read some copious extracts from paper in his hand, commenting as he proceeded. He added, these are extracts from Mr. Garrison's corresith Professor Newman. And said he, if it is claimed that the Abolitionists are still united in sentiment, "at least one illustrious exception must be

In 1860, the Democratic party met at Charleston S. C.; thither went Benjamin F. Butler and many others of the North, and the great storm and wind o their debates and discussions swept over the land but the Lord was not in the wind. Then came a great earthquake at Chicago, which cast up to the surface Abraham Lincoln ; but the Lord was not in the earthquake. And then came the fire upon Fort Sum by the fires of war all over the land but the Lord was not in the fire. "And after the fire, (turning and pointing to Wendell Phillips,) a still, amail voice."

He referred to the man-worship, as he th hich had been lavished by abolitionists upon Abra ham Lincoln.

Mr. PHILLIPS moved that Mr. May's motion be laid on the table. Carried.

H. C. WRIGHT moved that the Business Commit tee be instructed to prepare a Petition to Congress asking for an Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting all distinctions among citizens of the severa States on account of race or color. He offered a res olution to that effect.

S. S. FOSTER and W. B. EARLE earnestly opposed the adoption of the resolutio

EDWIN THOMESON advocated it.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS also opposed its adoption on the ground that it would cause delay, and per haps disaster, to the cause of just reconstru Adjourned to 71 P- M.

Evening. Met according to adjournment, the President in the chair.

Mrs. Frances Ellen Harper, formerly Miss Wat-KINS, of Baltimore, very earnestly and eloquently pleaded the cause of the people of her race and complexion, and prayed that no disabilities should be admitted on account of their color. They had dearly earned their rights, and ought to have them all.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following substitute for a resolution before the meeting :-

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society be instructed at once to propose, and forward to Congress, a memorial asking that it forthwith adopt a rule, that neither Louisiana nor any other State [Louisiana being afterwards accepted as an amendment by Mr. Wright | shall ever into the Union, except on the basis of equality as to the right of suffrage, without regard to color.

Mr. Wright, in support of the resolution, and in re ference to the admission of Louisiana, said, in substance—The question before the meeting is not, has the negro equal rights with the white man to suffrage, to labor, and education. No abolitionist doubts it. Nor is the military scheme, or the motives and character of Gen. Banks before us. But this—Louisiana knocks at the door of the Union for admission with a Constitution. What are the facts respecting that Constitution, in regard to negro slavery? They are sub-stantially these, as I am at present informed:— (1.) Negro slavery is immediately, unconditionally, and forever abolished. (2.) The abolition of all laws relating to negro slavery. (8.) The Legislature for-ever prohibited from passing any laws recognizing men as property. (4.) The Legislature required to make any laws that may be necessary to make the abolition of negro slavery a practical reality.

(5.) No complexional distinction in regard to labor and education. (6.) The negro stands on an equality with the white man before the courts as a witness, a juror, a suitor: also in regard to de-liberation and communication, whether through the iliberation and communication, whether through the press, the pulpit, or the platform. (7.) Equality as to governmental protection to the negro in his domestic social, commercial and ecclesiastical relations. (8. The Legislature of Louisiana is empowered to extend suffrage to such negro citizens of the United States residing in the State "as by military service, by taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness may be deemed entitled thereto." (See Article 15 of the Constitution of Louisiana.) By this article, every negro in Louisiana who pays taxes, or who has been in military service in any capacity, or who is sufficiently enlightened to exercise suffrage intelligently, may become a voter. In this the State of Louisiana, now asking for admission, is far ahead of most of the loyal States in regard to negro suffrage.

It must be kept in mind that the settled policy of the Government from its foundation has been, that the power to decide who shall vote rests solely Over the qualifications for suffrage Congress has no control. True, Congress may refuse to admit Louisiana because of the word "white" in her Constitution as the basis of suffrage; but, in doing so, it would violate the rule under which, but a few weeks ago, it admitted Nevada, and under which ate that has come into the Union since it was every S formed has been admitted, with the single exception of Vermont. Has Congress a right to intermeddle with suffrage in Louisiana, when it has, by its action, disclaimed all right to control it in any other State !

It may be said that the President and his officials thors; Coleridge; The Chimney Corner, IL; A have already interfered with suffrage in Louisians, and assumed to decide who may and may not vote When the war power dominate civil e and laws lie prostrate; but the decisions of war pre vail only while the military rules. Louisiana come now with an organic law for a permanent civil gov ernment. Has Congress the right, would it not be partial for it to demand of that State, a basis of suf-frage differing from all others that have been admit The exercise of this power had better be left with the States.

A. B. ALCOTT offered some thoughts upon color He said Frederick Douglass was the leader of the col-ored people of this country, and would before long be their Representative in the National Senate.

Rev. Mr. WHITE discussed comewhat Gen. Banks' cheme of freedom and "organized labor " in Louis

GRORGE THOMPSON came forward at request of many in the house to address the Society. He wish-ed, he said, to support the motion offered this evening as a substitute for that proposed this afternoon. His address was very eloquent, and made evidently a pro-found impression. It will probably be reported in full, but no report can give the force and fire of his spoken words

WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke at some length, and Wardell Philillies spoke at some length, and with unusual warmth of manner, upon the one great necessity—to keep Loulaiana, with its present system out of the Union. He severely assailed Mr. Wright's resolution, and declared he would "allow no red herring to be drawn across his path." He represented forcibly the imminent and immense danger to the country, if Loulaiana was unfered to come in with her present Banks-Constitution. It would be a precedent, and similar terms could not be refused to Georgia,

Alabams, South Carolina, and other rebel States, when they chose to return. We should have elavery back again, in spirit if not is form, with power to work infinite mischief, and with no chance of offering it any effectual resistance again for another twenty years at least. He would have nothing come between him and an emphatic NO I to Louisians.

Mrs. A. K. FOSTER proposed that the resolution reported by Mr. Phillips be passed by acclamation.

S. May, Ja., preferring the usual method of voting oved that the entire audience, who had listened so sely to the interesting debate of the evening

W. B. EARLE spoke some moments in language o

Mr. Phillips, by request, read again the resolu-tions referred to by Mrs. Foster, and they were put to vote, and adopted by an emphatic and unanimous Aye, followed by cheering. The remaining resoluns offered by Mr. Garrison and Mr. Wright were n the motion of S. S. Foster, laid on the table-

S. S. FOSTER came forward, and offered the folowing resolution, prefacing it by the remark that, if bjection to it was made, it would not be pressed:—

Resolved, That this Society hereby rec the Executive Committee to renew all its former operations as far as possible against the still existing cruel and proscriptive spirit of the American government and people, which seems willing if not determined to use the colored man as a soldier, and then to withhold from him an equal voice in those political institutions compelled to defend with his money and his life; and to make a special call upon the anti-sla very public for funds wherewith to carry forward

och operations.

Objection was made in several quarters. not withdrawn.

The vote being taken, the audience being on their eet, and many having already left the hall, it was de-

The amount received by the Finance Committee was—Cash, \$305.81. Pledges, \$375; a small-er sum than at any annual meeting before for a long term of years, and obviously quite insufficient to meet any considerable operations of the Society. At 10 1-2 o'clock. P. M., adjourned, sine die

EDMUND QUINCY, President. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Assist. Secretaries.

424 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 25, 1865. MY DEAR MR. THOMPSON—This will proba find you at the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. On many accounts I could wish to be with you. Doubtless it will be an occasion of much interest. I shall await with some impatience report of your proceedings.

Differ we shall and must, on many points; that is necessity of different temperament, make and cir cumstances. It has always been so, and no one that s wise would have it otherwise. Each must be true himself, and loval to his own convictions. There in lies our strength.

But on essential points we are all agreed. In prin ciple we are one; in fundamental doctrine one. We may dissent on the application of a principle or doctrine; but not otherwise. In times past we have dif fered without diverging; let it be so in time to come

The Election is over; and so are the antagonisms which it engendered. So mote it be! Our business is not with the future. Having—so to speak—stood "still " for a while, beholding " the salvation of God," tet us now hearken to the voice which says, " Speak unto my people that they go forward." For though great and mighty things have been done in the land and great and mighty changes have taken place in the people thereof—whereat we have wondered, and whereof we rejoice—there remains, nevertheless, much to be done. The abolition of slavery does not put a period to the labors of the abolitionist. What may be the limitations in this respect of an Anti-Slave Society, I do not assume to say; on this point there is room for an honest difference of opinion. But in regard to the duty of individuals, there is no ground for a question. "Not as though I had already at for a question. "Not as though I had already at-tained, either were already perfect," said Paul; and so says each one of us. The shackles, though broken, have left cruel wounds on the limbs of the black man; these call for oil and wine. The half-converted jailor has turned the prisoner out of his cell, and lef him shivering at the door. He would liberate him without giving him his freedom. He would send him world without giving him a character to open to him the avenues of industry and respectability He would turn him out with his prison-badge upon

These things must not be. To these things no abolitionist will consent, and against them he will protest with all the power that is in him. The black man was imprisoned for no crime; he shall be acquitted and enlarged without dishonor. The black man is a man, entitled to all the rights and immunities of The word schite in our laws is a vulgar and wicked discrimination, an out-growth of slavery, and to be treated with no more respect than its bated pa-

It is not for abolitionists, as such, to say who shall vote; but it is for them to say, that whatever shall be adopted as the criterion of fitness for the exercise of the elective franchise, the color of the skin shall not be that criterion.

So says Wendell Phillips; so says Wm. Lloyd Garrison; and so say we all. Ever yours,

J. M. McKIM.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY. The February number of the Atlantic Monthly has been issued by the publishers, Ticknor & Fields, Boston, Mass. The following are the contents of the present number :- Our First Great Painter and his Works; Dr. Johns, I.; Roger Brooke Taney; The Mantle of St. John De Matha Needle and Garden, II.; Notes of a Pianist, I.; Gar-Sanitary ; Art ; Harriet Hose Zenobia; Reviews and Literary Notices. John G. Whittier, T. W. Higginson, Harriet Beecher Stowe T. B. Aldrich, L. M. Gottschalk, Fitz Hugh Ludlow, S. C. Hall, Epes Sargent, Donald A. Mitchell, D. A. C. Hall, Epes Sargent, Don Wasson, Alice Carey and F. Seldon are writers for this number.

GEN. BUTLER AT HOME. Maj.-Gen. Butler arrived at Lowell on Friday noon, and in the evening addressed his fellow-citizens at Huntington Hall. There was a great and enthusiastic gathering of the people preprobably not less than 4,000. Mayor briefly welcomed the General home, and then intro duced him to the audience, whose demonstration were of the most flattering character. Gen. Butler said he should speak to them of what had happened to the country, and what had occurred in the department, to take command of which he had left them a year ago last November. His speech occupied an hour and a quarter in the delivery, and was an able and straight-forward visdication of his administrative and military career from the charges brought against him-It was warmly applauded, and at the close three rous ing cheers were given for General Butler.

"ENOCH ARDEN." Mesers. Ticknon & Fintos have published, in a nest form, a chesp edition of Tennyson's famous and delightful Poem, "Enoch

ton, may be deemed to have prefigured the trium-phant career of the principles for which the blood of the martyr was demanded. Floating on the turbid bo-som of the great river, they might have grazzed on their way to the Gulf the confine of Missouti, Illinois, Ken-tucky and Tennessee, in each of which States there is now no restriction upon thought or expression in favor of the largest liberty to all the children of God. Wherever men are free to write, to speak, and to wint, the rod of slavery is broken, even if the reign f liberty is not established. The evil system is like an unstable compound which a spark or a jostle hope-lessly disintegrates: what chance could it have in the "clash of jarring claims" beneath which the conti-nent still trembles, and in the heat of whose friction very falsehood is consumed?

ouri was the parent of the murderers of Love-Kansas. She bore fruit in each case after her kind, for she was planted so thoroughly in the interest of slavery—so conformed in root and fibre and limb to the abomination—that to-day no fabric would be left f the pro-slavery element were eliminated. Therefore the Constitutional Convention has not undertak en to amend but to reconstruct, and began, both logi-cally and in obedience to the highest justice, by subcally and in obedience to the highest justice, by sub-stituting a new core of freedom for the scaffold of the renovated State. Henceforth the pulsations from the geographical heart of the Union carry blessing only and quickening to the adjacent and remotest members. The communities which cluster about her are thrilled to emulation by her ordinance of freedom, and we an well believe that if the present Congress is to pass the anti-slavery amendment, some votes will have been won or confirmed for the measure by the law-makers who sit in St. Louis.

Day before yesterday the Senate of Illinois abolshed, so far as in them lay, the Black Code of inhumanity which has endured for nearly half a century upon the statute-books of the State. The conrence of the House is considered certain. Thus no bly is the new year entered upon by sloughing of the dead skin of a rotting barbarism-perhaps with oral aid from across the river!

In the Kentucky legislature an argument has been nade, and listened to, for universal emancipation by Congressional action. It was well said that "the Union is the immutable basis of the Government he Constitution its mutable policy, to be changed a The interest of necessity or expediency required. the State was demonstrated to be involved in the ending amendment, and slavery was distinctly de-counced as the most serious brawback to her proper development.

The Union Convention which assembled at Nash ville on the 9th, besides nominating Parson Brownlow for Governor, framed several decrees for the ratifica tion of the people on Washington's Birthday. Among these were: "The abolition of slavery, instantly and forever throughout the State, without compensation to the slaveholders;" and "a prohibition of any future payment to or provision for the said slaveholders legislature." As the number of delegates was large, and nearly every county was represented, the popular decision is hardly doubtful. The most remarkable discussion took place on the question of ne gro suffrage—here, as everywhere clse, engaging the attention and testing the sincerity of republican professors and converts. A member from Middle Ten sessee desired to exclude by law from the rights of nessee desired to exclude by law from the rights of citizenship all persons of Indian and African descent, to the third generation. This was opposed even by Horace Maynard, who said that, after visiting the battle-field about the city, he could not see much difference in color. Mr. Jas. R. Hood, of Chattanooga, saking powerful use of the same consideration, said

making powerful use of the same consideration, said:

"I declare myself opposed to disloyal white men voting; and when gentlemen propose to vote disloyal white, I propose to bring up the loyal black man to offset that vote. Let the loyal colored man counterbalance the disloyal white vote, just as the black brigades counterbalanced the rebel brigades in front of Nashville, on the 15th and 16th of December, 1864.

Gentlemen tell us that the negro has not brains enough to vote right. Do not forget that he has brains enough to vote right. But you give him his liberty in return for fighting. Where did you get his liberty to give him? It never was yours-to give. You robbed him of it when it was his by natural right, and then make a virtue of giving it back. You have only restored stolen property. Preachers have prostituted the pulpit by raving about and declaring slavery a divine institution. They have been the aposters of the land of the property when the poposed the rebellion. Time works wonders. Some say, 'Wait—all will come right after a while.' But it is better to plant one's self on a right principle, and defend it at the beginning. If the position will be right ten years hence, it is right now, and he is a coward who believes so, and will not defend it. I don't propose to vote for all the negroes. I speak only of negro soldiers, and perhape I would not have

coward who believes so, and will not defend it. I don't propose to vote for all the negroes. I speak only of negro soldiers, and perhaps I would not have allowed that before the battle of Nashville. But when I saw two black brigades, of Wood's Division, charge the rebel intrenchment, and, strew the ground so thickly with their bodies that one might walk upon them; when I saw white soldiers bearing off wounded colored soldiers from the field, I thought that he who could flight so well would be a safe custodian of the ballot-box."

It is not surprising if, after such a speech, the Convention refused to foreclose access to the ballot in the manner proposed. Gov. Johnson's remarks were in seartiest sympathy with the proceedings. In exulting over the burial of slavery, he expressed, as he is oftener wont to do than any man in the Slave States, the feelings of the white population who have been kept in almost servile degradation by the lords of the and. Hear this :

"The blow has been struck, and slavery lies prosrate. An insolent, insincere, ignorant, unfeeling, ypocritical, nefarious, diabolical slave aristocracy has een tumbled to the ground. They who never learn-

"Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow;"
who lived on the real or imaginary honors of a buried
ancestry, have at least learned that an ignorant and
corrupt aristocracy must go down. While you think
that you have emancipated black men, I tell you that
you have emancipated more while than black men
from the insolent domination of the slaveholder. Yes,
the time was not long ago when you dared not speak
your sentiments. Even in East Tennessee, where there
were only few slaves, and we always spoke more freely,
do you not remember the power which the slaveholder exercised? How many of our people were conpelled to live on barren ridges and cultivate the stony
spots, while a few slaveholders owned thousands of
broad acres in the fertile valleys, which they tilled
with their bondsmen? Even you felt their power,
and knew the contempt they felt for you.

Because, many years ago, I dared to speak of these
things, I was denounced as an agrarian and demagogue, who appealed to the prejudices of the people.
Thank God, I have lived to see the day when the
people of my State have declared themselves free. I
must now urge you to redouble your efforts to carry
out your work when you go hence. If you consummate it with the same resolution, the foul blot of human slavery will be removed from the escutcheon of
the State."

Does any one suppose that the outraged class from

Does any one suppose that the outraged class

nich sprang our next Vice President, and the freed, lightened, war-disciplined blacks, will consent t a recetablishment of the old order of things, and " c Union as it was"! As slavery ebbs, the tide of recedom every where nears its flood. While the West is all astir with its waves, shall the Eastern and Middle Clattes retain with the dykes of prejudice the back, which was far in the rear of the other columns, harvaster of the diminishing sea of death? Will not Connecticut make New England a unit, by removing all disabilities from complexion? Can the Empire State afford to burden the suffrage of the colored mao, and indulge the foreign voter to the atmost? Let it not be forgotten that the word "white" was grafted upon most of the Free State Constitutions at a period when the virtue of the Revolution had been displaced by the corruption of the Slave Power, then at the War be instructed to inquire into a report on the all astir with its waves, shall the Eastern and Middle

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXVI

Kraw York, Jan. 25, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

The ashes of Wickliffe, dispersed to every shore by wind and wave, were typical of the spread of Christianity to all quarters of the globe. So the fragments of Lovejoy's press, thrown into the Mississippl at Alton, may be deemed to have prefigured the triumphant career of the principles for which the blood of the marryr was demanded. Floating on the turbid be som of the great river, they might have grazed on their som of the great river, they might have grazed on their was accounted minister, irreconcilable with som of the great river, they might have grazed on their was to the Gulf the confines of Missouri, Illinois, Kenton of government, and damaging to his reputahis office as representative or administrator us a po-lar form of government, and damaging to his reputa-tion for humanity and moral consistency. "Lauga-tor" of Webster not less than of Washington, he yet deserves a statue far more than the former, and will outlive him. For the Marshfield farmer sank like the blood-shot orb of day amid the haze of political disappointment and disgrace—remorseful, haply, for having bartered an honorable name and the purity of his country for a mess of pottage which falle (since he nerve while Everett disappears like the sun in while Everett disappears like the sun in which will be a transcended the mists of the early morn-(since he needs a long spoo who sups with the devil;)

M. DU PAYS.

PHILADELPHIA, 1st mo. 21, 1865.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON: ESTREMED FRIEND-Notwithstanding the elements. last evening, were anything but favorable to "lect going," our friend George Thompson, at the Sp Garden Institute, proclaimed in tones unchanged and earnestness unabated the mighty truths underlying the rights of humanity, and the salvation of our re-

His subject was "Then, Now, and Hence," and was treated in the most comprehensive manner. It was faultless! An aged man, a co-laborer with Benja er. It and poured forth his congratulations. Every one was delighted. And when he urged the necessity of cou pling the total abolition of slavery with the ons, the applause rang out to the echo, that the time had come.

norrow evening he will speak in Music Hall, of your city. May his health and strength hold out as surely and efficiently as we know his mind and soul will, for the great good cause of the hour ! Thy sincere friend

A. H. LOVE.

RETALIATION

While the Senate was considering the resolutions directing retaliation for rebel barbarities on our prisoners, Mr. Summer of Massachusetts on Tuesday offered the following as substitutes:— Resolved, That retaliation is harsh, always, even in

Resolved, That retaliation is harsh, always, even in the simplest cases, and is permitted only when, in the first place, it may reasonably be expected to effect its object, and when, in the second place, it is consistent with the usages of civilized society; and that, in the absence of these considerations, it is useless and barous, having no other end than vengeance, which is forbidden alike to nations and to men.

Resolved, That the treatment of our officers and soldiers in rebel prisons is cruel and heart-rending beyond all precedent, that it is shocking to morals, that it is an offence against human nature itself, that it adds new guilt to the 'great crime of rebellion, and constitutes an example from which history will turn with sorrow and digust.

Resolved, That any attempted imitation of rebel

constitutes an example from which history will turn with sorrow and disgust.

Resolved, That any attempted imitation of rebel barbarism in the teastment of prisoners would be plainly limparcitable on account of its inconsistency with the prevailing sentiment of humanity among us; that it would be injurious at home, for it could not affect the cruel authors of this revolting conduct which we seek to overcome; that it would be impured, because proceeding from vengeance alone; that it could have no other regult than to degrade the national character and national name, and bring down upon our country the reprobation of history; and that, being thus impracticable, useless, immoral and degrading, it must be rejected as a measure of retaliation precisely as the barbarism of roasting and eating prisoners is always rejected by civilized nations.

Resolved, That the United States, filled with grief and the deepest sympathy for her cierished citizens, who, as officers and soldiers, lave become victims of heaven-defying outrages, hereby declare their solemn determination to put an end to this great iniquity by putting an end to the rebellion, of which it is a natural fruit; that to secure this righteous and humane consummation, they pledge anew the best energies and all the resources of the whole people; and they call upon all to bear witness, that in this necessary war with barbarism they renounce all wegeance and eve-

admination, they piedge anew the best energies and sall the resources of the whole people; and they call upon all to bear witness, that in this necessary war with barbarism they renounce all vengeance and eve-ry evil example, and plant themselves firmly on the sacred landmarks of Christian civilization, under the protection of that God who is present with every prisoner, and enables heroic souls to suffer for their country.

country.

After some discussion on these resolutions, Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts offered an amendment to Mr. Summer's proposition, striking oat all after the enacting clause, and inserting after the preamble declaring that our prisoners have been inhumanly treated, &c., a resolution instructing the President to appoint commissioners to confer with the rubel authorities, with a view to devise some practical plan for the relief or bettertreatment of our prisoners in their hands. After some further debate, the whole matter was postponed for further discussion.

GEN. SHERMAN VINDICATED.

Referring to the attempt made, in certain quarters, o cover Gen. Sherman with opprobrium for certain lleged acts of cruelty to the colored people of Georgia acts of cruelty to the colored people of Georgia acts of cruelty to the colored people of Georgia acts of cruelty to the colored people of Georgia acts of Cruelty to the colored people of Georgia acts of Cruelty acts and the colored people of Georgia acts and the colored people acts

gia, the New York Evening Post says:—

"We have this reason to believe auch reports untrue, that our correspondent with Sherman's army, who takes the greatest interest in the condition and treatment of the blacks, and who has excellent opportunities for observation and information, has, in all his letters, private as well as published, spoken to the fair and kind treatment accorded to them on the whole march. He has written reportedly of the kind and humane disposition of General Sherman towards the blacks; and he mentions no act of cruelty. nd kind treatment accorded to them on the whole narch. He has written repeatedly of the kind and hu-case disposition of General Sherman towards the blacks; nd he mentions no act of cruelty. Such conduct as is ascribed to Gen. Davis ought not

Such conduct as is ascribed to Gen. Davis ought not to be imputed to any one without the clearest proofs. We do not know anything of Gen. Davis except that he has served havely and skillfully, ever since the opening of the war; to say, off hand, and without any offer of proof, that a brave and faithful soldier who has worked his way from a lieutenancy to the command of the army corps, deliberately caused the butchery of three hundred women and children, and did so out of mere cruel spite, is scarcely fair to him. If the charge is true, hanging would be too good for himbut is it true!

A Tribune despatch is as follows :-

WASHINOTON, Thursday, Jan. 19, 1865.

"One of the results of Secretary Stanton's visit to Savananh is to solve a doubt as to the soundness of Gen. Sherman on the negro question. This soldier's views and policy are those of the government. His treatment of the negroes of Savananh has inspired them soil confidence, and they roly on him soledly. He has borne in his heart a great scheme for the benefit of their race in Georgia, and it is understood here that the country will be electrified in a few days by an order from him partitioning among them the Sea Island property of fugitive rebel planters, and establishing them in their new freeholds, and laying the foundation of a fnew social condition in the South, whose superstrocture but few politicians in the country are now permitted clearly to see."

Mr. J. E. P. Doyle, correspondent of the New York Herold at Savannab, testifies as follows:--

Mr. J. E. P. Do) le, correspondent of the New York Herold at Savannab, testifice as follows:—

in the least that the Washington correspondent of a New York paper publishes a letter from the army, I condemning Gen. Jeff. C. Davis for his action in the wire had not left. C. Davis for his action in the wirer had no view I know not. but I presume it is to prejudice the government against the General, and to defeat his confirmation.

It was my privilege to know all the facts in the case, being preser when the order for turning the contrabands out of the column was given; and while I do not seen that the property of the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, or at the condition of the poor contrabands; permitted, and the condition of the poor contrabands and the condition of the permitted of the condition of the poor contrabands and the condition of the poor contrabands and the poor contrabands and the condition of the poor contrabands and the permitted of the condition of the poor contrabands and the contrabands and the poor contrabands and the

action of Bravet Major General Jeff. C. Davis in pre-venting negroes who had Joined the army in its march through Georgia from crossing a creek known as Eb-enser's Creek, near Savannah, by buraing the bridge after his troops had crossed, on the night of the Sit of December last, many of those negroes having been killed by the rebel cavalry, or drowned in attempting to cross the river on rafts.

GEN. Wilson. We are pleased to state that the Massachusetts Senate made choice; on Friday last, of Hon. Henry Wilson for U. S. Senator, for fax years from the fourth of March next. The election is received with great gratification in all parts of the Biate—in the districts whose senators voted for Gov. Andrew, as well as in those whose senators cast their ortee for Mr. Wilson. No man in civil life has done more or labored harder for his country since the war broke out than has Mr. Wilson; and we have not seen a single republican in Nantacket who is not delighted that he is reflected, or who would not have voted directly for him had the opportunity been presented.—Nantacket Inquirer.

Brig. Gen. R. Saxton has been assigned to duty as inspector of settlements and plantations for the Department of the South. His duties consist in looking after the interest and well being of the freedmen now in and emigrants to that department. He has over thirty thousand negroes already in his department, fifteen thousand of whom have arrived since the capture of Savannah and Pocotaligo.

ance the capture of Savannan and Pocoulage.

23 We find in Ayer's American Almanze, (now ready for delivery gratis, by all Druggists.) the remarkable statement that the temperature of the earth has not diminished more than 1-300 part of one degree Fahrenheit for 2000 years. To our inquiry how he could make such an assertion, Dr. Ayer writes us the following answer: "Hipparchus gives the exact record of an eclipse in his time. This enables us to measure with extreme accuracy the earth's diurnal revolutions since to any eclipse now. Diminution of its heat would by concentration shorten its axis, and consequently its time of revolution on its axis. The data show that this change has been only such as I state it, mathematically and indisputably true."—New York Journal.

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ection Return, for President, Governors, Congr &c., in 1864, compared with the Presidential tate Canitals, Governors, Salaries, Time Locklature

meet, Time of State Elections. erritorial Capitals and Governors. opular vote by States in 1854, 1860, and 1864. ote of 1860 elaborately analyzed and compared, by Pop-ulation, Free and Slave, with percentage, &c.

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DIED-Off Wilmington, (N. C.) on board ship Mackinaw, Dec. 19, OLIVER BROWN OLNEY, eldest son of Frederick Olney, of Canterbury, Conn.

A FARM OF 1500 ACRES

FOR SALE.

THE St. Mary's Lake Farm, 3 1-2 miles North from the city of Battle Creek, Calhoun county, Michigan, is coffered for aide. The profitelor whing to retire, offers this Farm for sale on reasonable terms as to price and time of payments. The Farm consists of 1500 acres of a rich agricultural land as can be found in the Northern States; 1000 acres of which are improved in the best manner. There are on this farm thirty-seven miles of rail and board fence, noutly new. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most board force, notity new. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most board force, notity new. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most board force, notity new. St. Mary's Lake is not have not the force of the most board force, and the farm and is a mit bata. Thirties is in the control of the farm, and is a mit bata. Thirties is in the control of the farm, and is a mit bata. Thirties of the lake are unarrypassed for beauty of securery. There are some eight or ten beautiful sites for residencies on either side of the lake. No low marsh grounds connected with the shore of the lake. There are about 400 acres of timber, and 100 acres of the best marsh meadow land on the west side of the farm. The buildings are, the large Farm House, 88 by 56 feet, elevated 50 feet allows and seven frame Tenements; two large Barns, 123 by 70 feet such, with stabling below for 130 head of cattle; also, four other Barns, 50 by 40 feet; also, a Steam Circular Saw Mill, 80 by 65 feet—said to be one of the best mills in the State; an Orchard of 800 apple and 1200 of the choicest peach trees, all in fine bearing order; 350 standard pear trees, a large number of plums, cherries, quinces, and a great quantity of grapes and sumal fruits, too numerous to mention. Perhaps there is not a 1500 acre farm in the Union better adapted to cattle and sheep-railing than is this farm, every field of which has never-falling water. rons to mention. Perhaps there is not a 1500 acre farm in the Union better adapted to cattle and sheep-raising than is this farm, every field of which has never-falling water. The land is moderately rolling, and no outlay need ever be made for manures. There is one of the most extensive Brick-yards on this farm in the interior of the State. A more beautiful residence cannot be found than is on this situation is or can be more healthy. All the water on the farm is clear as crystal, soft and excellent. This farm af-fords a rare chance to one wishing to go into stock and sheep raising; it is now seeded down to slower and time-thy. The farm, with all the stock, sheep, farm utersilis and 250 tons of clover and timothy hay, is offered at the greatest bargain. All th

greatest bargain.

Letters of longiny, addressed to me at Battle Greak, will remove prompt replies. I refer to Henry C. Wright, Charles C. Bursielas and Parker Pilisbury, who have visited the St. Mary's Lake Farm.

HENRY WILLIS. Battle Creek, Nov. 18, 1864.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral,

FOR THE RAPID CURE OF

loughs, Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, tis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief sumptive Patients in advanced stages of the die

sumpties Patients in accounces surges of one success.

O ordel to the field of the unchiness, and so numerous are the cause of its circus, that almost were section of the country absonate in persons publicly known who have been restored from alarming and even despera, who have been restored from alarming and even despera, who have been restored from alarming and even desperant by the use. When once thrift, its superiority over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expecterant is too apparent to employ over every other expected and the expecte ing and dasagerous affections of the pulsoneary organs that are incident to our olimata. While many inferior remains are incident to our olimata. While many inferior can discuss the state of the state of the state of the data of the state of the data of the

BY CORA WILBURN.

ne with blessings freighted, though ye may, Blinded by sense and selfish passion's sway, Turn from Truth's blessed and benignant ray.

I am the year of Freedom and Release; The harbinger of the Eternal Peace; The Comforter, who bids your murmur I am the year of Grace and Jubilee ; souls have faith and trust in me ;

I am God's envoy to humanity ! I bring the palm, the olive, and the rose At my behest the heavenly gates unclose And wearied souls attain the true report

Troops of bright angels earthward wing their flight, me and beautiful delight, Immortal Love attests its might,!

They hover round you; speak to you in tones Whose music thrills above the battle-groans; tire charm for all stones

That you have lost: earth-loss is heavenly gain; The exchange of Freedom's rapture for the chain That galled and numbed the spirit in its pain!

The cross and crown—soul-emblems—both are mine; I bear the mandates of the Will Divine; Millennial glories o'er my pathway shine. I bring Emancipation, wisdom's joydevoid of creed and earth alloy-

Beauty and Use that blend in Heaven's employ I twine the bridal chaplet of the skies, For the loved summoned ones of Paradise The meek and fowly win my regal prize.

In the aparted by-ways of this life, ttle flames and elemental strife, I find the dowered souls with glory rife.

They know me; they have waited for me long ! They welcome me with triumph bursts of song, And hall me victor of the vanquished wrong. I am ordained of Father-Mother-God ! wield the sceptre, and the chastening rod; consecrate the crimson-recking sod!

And build the shrines of reverend worship where The martyr-spirit bendeth low in prayer, Confessing to God's loving mother care.

Many will see me only through their tears, Not as an envoy from the upper spheres

And yet, belov'd ! I come to all that lives, With the full hand and longing heart that gives, The soul that for the blinded past forgives.

I am commissioned by the God of Love, And by the ministering hosts above, 'Twixt earth and heaven to be the carrier-dove Admit me, though outside the thunders roll, And I will lead you to fruition's goal, the communion bliss of soul with soul!

Lasalle, Ill., 1865. —Bar

THE MANTLE OF ST. JOHN DE MATHA. A Legend of "The Red, White, and Blue," A. D. 1154-1864.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

A strong and mighty Angel, Calm, terrible and bright The cross in blended red and blue Upon his mantle white !

Two captives by him kneeling, Each on his broken chain, Sang praise to God who raiseth The dead to life again ! Dropping his cross-wrought mantle,

"Wear this," the Angel said;
"Take thou, O Freedom's priest, its sign,—
The white, the blue, the red." Then rose up John de Matha

In the strength the Lord Christ gave, And begged, through all the land of France, om of the slave.

The gates of tower and castle Before him ogen flow,

The drawbridge as his coming fell,

The door belt backward draw;

For all men owned his errand, And paid his righteons tax : And the hearts of lord and p Were in his hands as wax.

At last, out-bound from Tunis, Freighted with seven score Christian souls, Whose ransom he had paid.

But, torn by Paynim hatred, Her, sails in tatters hung; And on the wild waves, rudderless A shattered hulk she swung. God save us ! " cried the captain,

' For nought can man avail ; Oh, wee betide the ship that lacks Her rudder and her sail ! "Behind us are the Moormen ;

At sea we sink or strand:
There's death upon the water,
There's death upon the land!" Then up spake John de Matha: "God's errands never fail Take thou the mantle which I wear. And make of it a sail."

They raised the cross-wrought mantle And straight before the wind off shore The ship of Freedom sped.

"God help us ! " eried the seamen, For vain is mortal skill : The good ship on a stormy sea.
Is drifting at its will."

Then up spake John de Matha "My mariners, never fear ! The Lord whose breath has filled her sail

Se on through storm and darkne They drove for weary hours;
And lo! the third gray morning she
On Ostia's friendly towers.

And on the walls the watchers The ship of mercy knew-They knew far off its holy cross, The red, the white, the blue.

And the bells in all the steenles Rang out in glad accord, o welcome home to Christian soil The ransomed of the Lord.

By bard and painter told; And, le! the cycle rounds again, The new is as the old !

With rudders foully broke And sails by traitors torn,
Our Country on a midnight sea
Is waiting for the morn.

Before her, nameless terror ;
Behind, the pirate foe;
The clouds are black above her, The sea is white below.

The hope of all who suffer,

The dread of all who wrong;

Bhe drifts in darkness and in stort

How long, O Lord! how long? But courage, 0 my mariners ! Ye shall not suffer wreck While up to God the freedman's prayers

Are rising from your deck.

Is not your sail the banner. Which God bath bleet and The mantle that De Matha we The red, the white, the blue?

Its hues are all of heaven,-The whiteness of the moonlit The blue of morning's sky. lit eloud.

Wait cheerily, then, O mariners For daylight and for land; The breath of God is in your sail, Your rudder is His hand.

Sail on, sail on, deep freighted With blessings and with hopes tets of old, with shadow, Are pulling at your ropes.

Behind ye boly martyrs Uplift the palm and crown ; Before ye unborn ages send Their benedictions down.

Take heart from John de Matha !-Sweep on through storm and darkness The thunder and the hail! Sail on! the morning cometh,

The port ye yet shall win ; And all the bells of God shall ring The good ship bravely in !

—Atlantic Monthly for February

Biberator. The

DR. HOLLAND'S LECTURE.

EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR :

I send you herewith the opinion of our best Daily on Dr. Holland's recent lecture here. That he does not satisfy his audiences, but, on the contrary, disappoints them, will be no matter of surprise to you because you know very well, and the readers of the Liberator know that the editor of the Springfield Republican has persistently treated the friends of emanci nection is plain: if a man is not large-minded enough to deal fairly with those advocating the principles of d), because they differ with him as to measures, or because they are interested in other ques tions in which he is not, he is not likely to have the ten some good things : but there is an opinion among se who have heard him lecture, that he will never add to them, nor improve upon them, while he cherishes his present spirit. The subject of the lecture to which I refer was Cost and Compensation; sovereign power, and has the same right to appe and I remarked on returning, that we had better have remained at home, and read Emerson's essay on that

With the Express, I agree that there was nothing new and very little suggestive in the lecture, but I do
not agree that he tried "to bring his thoughts down to
the comprehension of his hearers." I believe he gave
THE CITY'S CONTROL OF THE POLICE UNITED HERE the best he was capable of.

The most entertaining lecture, perhaps, he ever de ivered here was on "Fashion," and all will allow, I think, it did not require much thought in the way it was treated, though some good things were said. when it says

I differ again with the Express when it "He has been and will be popular." Probably who agree with his narrow religious views and his opinions of the subordinate position of Woman, ex-pressed in his public writings, are his admirers; others may like a poem or two; but his audiences are greatly made up of those who have "course tickets" to our ocieties, or else partly of those ignorant of the in his books, and of the un fair and contemptuous spirit with which he treats large classes of men differing from himself. And not only classes, but individuals-for instance, the low fling a Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, copied into the last Libera

The day is coming, if he continues an editor, he will have to acknowledge, like the New York World, that the whole tide of public sentiment is op-posed to him. The late editorial on slavery and advice to the Democratic party, from the W before me; but as much as the World yields with regard to emancipation and the enfranchisement of the slave, so much will the editor of the Springfield Republican yield, per force, on the question of Woman freedom and her enfranchisement, notwithstanding all the opposition it has made and will make, both unphiphical and bitter. Like the World, it will have to "It is settled," it is no longer problematical, it is no longer a subject either for argument or ridicule; and the Republican will bow with what grace it may to the laws of nature and an enlightened public

I want to say a word of Edward Everett and of General Butler. I associate them for two reasons; first, because "D. Y.," of the A. S. Standard, so long made them a text in his letters, and because, from pro-slavery conservatism, they both came up to the help of the Government in its anti-slavery policy, proving themselves philosophers as well as patriots, men of sagacity some may say; but I think the mos humane philosophy had something to do with a sagar ty which discerned at first the highway of Freedor which this nation must tread with her millions of slaves to redemption and salvation. Of Everett we may say, his last days were his best days. How much tisfactory in every respect than the revers By serving his country in every need, he gathered up the admiration, good-will and love of his fellow-men and the hearty

ty approval of his own conscience Fort Fisher has fallen, I am sorry even some of the Republican papers are in such haste to condemn Gen. Butler. There were other and able Generals of his opinion; and not only so, we have not sufficient data yet, it seems to me, from which to form an intelligent verdict. C. A. F. S.

Rochester, Jan. 16, 1865.

The following is the article on Dr. Holland alluded to above COST AND COMPENSATION.

COST AND COMPENSATION.

Dr. Holland's lectures are, we believe, generally less popular than his essays, and his lecture last evening was not among the most successful of his efforts. It was too didactic in its style, (as most of his lectures are, giving them the semblance of carefully prepared essays read before an audience,) and there was little in the gestures or manner of delivery to relieve the effort. There was a fine vein of thought running through the address; but it was elaborated much more than was necessary for popular comprehension. The lecture was merely the golden thoughts of Raiph Walido Emerson's essay on "Compensation," beaten out into the thinnest gold leaf, and thus "prepared" for public use.

out into the thinnest gold leaf, and thus "prepared" for public use.
Terliaps if Dr. Holland would convert Emerson's golden bullion into some less ponderous and more available form, it would be as high a service as he could perform; but in his effort last evening, he turned the bullion not into legal currency, but into gold leaf, fit for nothing but filmsy ornaments, or to amuse minds with a taste for philosophical speculation; but unable or unwilling to give the hard and laborious thought which is required to attain any important result. Although the ideas of the lecture were not new, there was a subtle philosophy running through them which doubless imposed upon some a high regard for its producity of thought; but we doubt very much whether, the speaker was himself deceived. He knew that his gold was beaten out very thin, and gave it to his hearer in that shape, either because he thought is would be best appreciated in that shape, or else fet a great scarcity of the material. The title of "Gold Fail," which Dr. Holland has chosen for one of his books, might be well applied to all his writings and electures. This habit of dilating his thoughts for popular use is one which Dr. Holland has fallen into, perhaps from his attempts at writing "for the young"; ut it is a very bad habit, and one that he should aim

as the best andiences without attempting to reduce their thoughts to the finest point, turning them in all directions, and illustrating them in every position, of anseam, for the sake of bringing them down to the comprehension of their hearers. This was the great objection of most of the audience to Dr. Holand's lecture; and it was generally conceded that with months and months of preparation, such as Dr. Holland does or should give to his lecture, he ought to be able to offer something newer and fresher than

to be able to other sometiang newer and resurer in his thoughts last evening.

Nevertheless, Dr. Holland has been and will ce tinue to be popular, and a certain chasa will probat give him credit for profundity and wisdom; but he who are his best friends must concede that be grally failed in satisfying the expectations of his au

ADDRESS OF THE STATE TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE,

ON A STATE POLICE FOR THE CITY OF BOSTON

TO THE PROPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS: The State Temperance Alliance begs leave to address the citizens of Massachusetts in relation to the ment of a State Police for the city of Bo NUMBER AND WORK OF THE POLICE.

The Boston Police numbers from \$30 to \$50 men An important part of their work is to execute city o dinances. The greater part, however, is the execu-tion of State laws. Last year they made 346 arrests for violations of city ordinances, and 23,554° for vio-lations of State laws. In Boston, the police make nine-tenths of all the arrests under the criminal laws of the State. It is safe to say that the execution of city ordinances alone would not require one-third of the present force.

THE CITY CAN CLAIM NO RIGHT TO APPOINT AND CONTROL THE POLICE.

If two thirds of the work of the police is the exe cution of State laws, the State surely has the bes right to appoint and control them. If the city were in no respect subordinate, its claim to the control of he police could only be in proportion to its share the work they perform. But the right of the Stat comes from a different source. It comes from her char acter as the sovereign power. It is an invaluable fea pation with whom he differs, with contempt and ridi- ture of our policy that places most of the powers of cule, as also friends of other reforms. And the con- government in the hands of tows and cities. But all these powers are given by statute laws. Towns and cities have no name, no existence, no rights, and no publicanism (with which he professes to be powers, except what the State has given them. They are its agents, and the State decides what powers it will give them, and what powers it will reserve to it self. It is always a mere question of expe temper, the breadth, the impulse of a growing man of There are many local powers that the State decide temper, the breatin, the impulse of a growing man of the nineteenth century. And we want liberal-minded men for teachers in our lyceums. He may have writen the nineteenth century. And we want liberal-minded men for teachers in our lyceums. He may have writen the nineteenth century of the nineteenth century of the nineteenth century. deciding that she will, or will not support common schools; or of deciding that children of Irish or Afri can parents shall, or shall not have a right to attenor of deciding what local courts what justices or what police judges she will have. The State is the the officers that grest criminals in Boston, that she has to appoint the officers that convict and sentence them The only question is, whether it is expedient to exer cise this right. Does the public interest demand the the State shall appoint and control the Metropolitan THE CITY'S CONTROL OF THE POLICE UNSAFE.

It is never safe for any State to entrust the exect tion of its laws to a great city. The larger the city he greater the danger. There are frequent and graves between great cities and the laws of the State the greater the danger. In such cases the laws can never prevail, unless the State controls the police that executes them. To ex ecute the laws in a great city, three things are indispensable. There must be a police to arrest offenders a jury to convict, and a court to sentence them. The ite may provide a faithful judge, but he can do noth the police arrest the criminals and furnish

A populous city, therefore, that controls the police, can decide, and will decide what part of the laws shall be executed, and what part shall be nullified; what moba shall be permitted, and what suppressed; what classes of criminals shall be punished, and what shall go free. No great city ever did, or ever will act oth rwise. Boston is as loyal as any; and yet, if she dis likes a law, she nullifies it as effectually as if her righ to do so were conferred by special statute. To show this fact, we present a single example, drawn from

THE BOSTON POLICE REPORT OF LAST YEAR. This Report shows that two-thirds of the arrest were for drunkenness. Out of 28,890 arrests, 19,116 were for getting drunk. Those who got drunk were arrested according to the letter of the law. Close to these 19.115 drunkards were 1,951 men who sold ther or on which they got drunk. These were no Here are two classes of offe standing side by side, participating in the same offence and both equally guilty in the eyes of the law. Bos-ton directs its police to arrest one class, and to let the other go free. Under the present system, those who control the police cannot arrest liquor dealers with out losing their votes. For this reason, they dislike the law, and refuse to execute it. This is but one ex ample, but the principal is universal. Men will execute a law against themselves, or against friend that are powerful enough to give them office.

THE POLICE NOT CENSURABLE.

This result is not the fault of the Police. If any officer or member of the Boston Police should under take to execute the law without orders, it would in-sure his dismissal. Those who control the Police, and they alone, are responsible. They control the execu tion of the criminal laws. They have power to over rule and nullify such laws as are executed by the Police, and they have strong inducements to exercise this power. As a result, some laws are executed fal fully, some partially, and some not at all. This nulli-fication of a portion of the laws is our special charge against the city's control of the Police.

THE CITY'S ANSWER TO THIS CHARGE.

So far as it regards the liquor traffic, the city says i cannot execute the law. If that is her deliberate ent reason for taking it out of her ha What sensible man would intrust a difficult piece ork to an agent who told him he could not do it Who would expect his plans to be carried out by me who thought they were absurd and impracticable? In dividuals would not employ such agents. Why the hould the State? Yet this is precisely what the Stat s now doing.

OPPOSITION OF BOSTON TO THE PROHIBITORY LAW Boston has always opposed this law. There has been one mayor, but never a majority of the city gove enment, in favor of the law. When it was first eacted, Boston made a direct effort to protect the liquor traffic against it. After its enactment, but before ct, Boston gave a license to every dealer tha was doing any con stantly placed liquor dealers upon her juries. The State calls such dealers criminals. The city calls then

persons of good moral character."

Besides thus shielding the traffic from the law, sh has always sustained it by her direct patronage. has been no year since the law was placed on the statute book, in which Boston has not purchased liquor nte book, in which Boston has not purchased liquor that were sold in defiance of law, to be drank by mem bers of the city government, and paid for out of the city treasury. Such actions speak louder than words Instead of showing any wish to suppress the traffic they show efforts to uphold and sential it.

they show efforts to uphoto and sustain it.

There are many who suppose that Boston has man attempt to execute the law, and failed on accord some difficulties that she could not overcoor some difficulties that sac could not overcome What obstacles has Boston ever asked to have re-moved? Has she ever asked for any modification, the laws in relation to jurors, or in relation to pros-cuting officers, or in relation to courts, or in relation

WHY CITY GOVERNMENTS OFFOSE THE LAW. Will CITY GOVERNMENTS OFFOR THE LAW.

Members of city governments have a motive for opposing the law, which they would not have as private citizens. The keepers of drinking-houses have great political power. They control a great number of votes. Mayors and aldermen have a strong inducement to court their favor, and avoid their emailty. To execute the law against them is to lose their votes. So they oppose the law, instead of executing it. The customers of these houses, on the contrary, have no exhibited power. They energy had a candidate, and colitical power. They never had a candidate, and sever will have one, and of course they have no po litical influence.

It is therefore politically safe to arrest the cus but dangerous to arrest the keepers. It did not, prob-ably, cost the mayor and aldermen a single vote to ar-rest 19,115 of the customers, during the last year. I they had made one-tenth part as many arrests of the keepers, it would have cost them all the votes the ers, it would have keepers, it would have cost them all the votes the traffic could control. This is the reason that city governments are so much opposed to the law. This is the reason they order the police to arrest the customers, and let the keepers go free.

WHAT ARE THE OBSTACLES TO THE ENFORCEMENT

OF THE LAW?

A committee of the last legislature was appointed to consider this question, and we can in no way an-swer it so well as by making the following extract from their Report:

their Report:

"The obstacles to the enforcement of this law do not arise from any inherent difficulties in the provisions of the law itself, or in its interpretation and judicial application. Foce as well as friends now admit that the treesent statutes, including what is popularly called the Liquor Law and the Nuisance Act, are skilly and carefully framed, and the forms and proceedings thereunder are now well settled. No similar laws were ever in so good working order as these now are.

The Report of the Attorney General shows that, in 1861, the whole number of cases argued before the Supreme Court, arising under these laws, was forty-two; out of these, only nine were decided against the Commonwealth, this including, of course, as well misrulings in the Court below in regard to evidence, as defects of form. In 1862, out of nine,—the whole number 30 argued,—seven were decided in favor of the Commonwealth, one was continued undecided, and only one decided for the defendant. In 1863, out of thirty-one cases, wenty-four were decided for the Commonwealth, one against, and the rest undecided at the date of the report.

only one decided for the defendant. In 1893, out of thirty-one cases, twenty-four were decided for the Commonwealth, one against, and the rest undecided at the date of the report.

Nor is the result of questions of fact less favorable than the result of questions of law. The abstract of returns for the past year shows that out of one hundred and forty-nine trials in the Superior Court, one hundred and the superior than the superior court, one that the superior court, one than the superior court, one that the superior court, or the superior court, one that the superior court, one that the s is no difficulty in procuring evidence, or convict by juries, in the State at large."

After showing the position taken by the City Boston, the Committee conclude that the execution the law is prevented by these two obstacles, viz. :-First, the

protection afforded to the traffic by the Second, placing cases against liquor-de without sentence; in other words, letting them go free

In relation to the extent to which convicted offenders are permitted to go free, the Committee presen

" There were on file in the Superior Courts, Septe "There were on he in the superior Courts, September 30, 1863, five hundred and fifty-one cases under this law, of which one hundred and fifty one were placed on file during the year then ending. During the same time, but thirty-one ware sentenced to the fine and imprisonment provided by law. In point of fact, it is believed that the important offenders have almost universally escaped punishment."

No corruption was ever more flagrant, or more cle proved Their exposure of the mode in which Boston pro

tects the liquor traffic is equally definite and co The legislative committee proposed these two reme

First, the establishment of a State Police for Bosto

and the adjoining cities.

Second, the passage of "An Act for the better en rcement of the laws " Both of these legal provisions seem to us to be plain simple, effective, and indispensable. To one of them objections have been made by the Governor, especial ly in relation to the exclusion of rum-selling jurors but his objections are evidently far more applicable to

existing Statutes than they are to the "Act for th etter enforcement of the laws." We make no comment upon the proposed "Act," nor give any detail of its provisions, believing there can be neither any permanent difference of opinion in regard to its necessity, nor any doubt in regard to its

But to decide upon the question of establishing State Police for Boston and the adjoining cities re quires some further exposition of the evils of the present system, and more especially of the corruption that comes from the political power of the liquor-traffic in

POLITICAL STRENGTH OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC OF

The number of places where liquor is sold, as re ported by the police, is nineteen hundred and fifty, one. Each of these controls the votes of some rela tives and some customers. When the liquorare in danger, all other classes of criminals vote with These classes united hold the balance of pow er. They are strong enough to decide municipal elec-tions. Municipal candidates and municipal officer act under the hope of gaining, or the fear of losing these votes. It is this that arrays municipal officers against the law.

BOSTON ENTITLED TO A CHARITABLE JUDGMENT The municipal officers of Boston ought not to be The municipal officers of boston eight not to sharshly judged. When we ask them to execute this law, we ask them to make a greater sacrifice than most men are willing to make. We ask them to turn themselves out of office. We can hardly expect mer to cut off their own political aspirations, and throw the power and patronage of a great city into the hands of their political opponents. We must remember, too, the divided state of public opinion that surrounds them. In the popular mind there is a great deal of respectability in power. There were very good cit ens who could see no immorality or irreligion in slavery, so long as it could elect presidents, nor car they see any want of respectability in the liquor traffic while it elects mayors and aldermen. To men chosen under such influences, an impartial

execution of the law is exceedingly difficult. Bostor municipal officers are no worse than those of other cities. Candidates there are just like candidates everywhere else; they want to be elected. They stand on one side, wanting votes. On the other side tand nineteen hundred and fifty-one men, who wan to sell rum. There is no bargain between them, but the result is just the same. It is all perfectly under stood. Each side gives the other what it wants, ar gets what it wants itself. One side gets elected, and the other gets a chance to sell rum. If the candidate had made a written contract, pledging themselves, i ase of their election, not to execute the laws aga neteen hundred and fifty-one men, the resu would be just what we see in the streets of Boston to day, an open, undisturbed liquor traff

GAMING HOUSES AND BROTHELS. Next to the drinking houses stand the gaming ho

Next to the drinking houses stand the gaming-houses and brothels. They are, to a great extent, the fruit and product of the liquor traffic. As a business, they cannot be carried on without its aid. Their customers must first graduate at the dram-shops. The laws are not sufficiently executed against these houses. The arrests bear no proper proportion to their number, and the extent of their business. Boston does not yet fully tolerate them, as it does its drinking houses, but is tendency is airmark in that direction. Slowing fully observe the strongly in that direction. Slowly, but arrely, the police are tending toward the same rule of arresting only the lowest and the most noisy, such as live in cheap houses and keep inferior

anything class that would aid her in executing the law? On the contrary, she has constantly opposed not executed against drinking-houses, they will not executed against the kindred houses that depend on them for existence.

There can be no doubt that the practical lice There can be no doubt that the practical license given to the liquor traffic by the mayor and aldermen of Boston does more than anything else to produce, sustain and protect the gaming-houses and brothels of the city. Nothing can more deeply imperil the public welfare, or more imperatively demand that the control of the Police should be placed in other hands. THE MOST IMPORTANT DUTY OF THE POLICE.

The necessity of watching and protecting a city gainst different classes of offenders is in proportion to the mischief they do. The most important duty of the Police, therefore, is to arrest and punish such vio-lators of law as are most injurious. What other classes of offenders are as pernicious to the city and State as the keepers of drinking-houses, gaming houses and houses of prostitution I Do not these nurseries of crime and poverty spread through the community the special dangers that every man fears for his child-ren! Is it not they that cause three-fourths of the hu-man wrecks that are thrown every year into the hands of the police and overseers of the po men who minister to these vices are more injurious to the community than any other classes of offenders then their arrest, punishment and suppression is the first and most important duty of the city's control of the Police results in the neglect of this duty. It fails to secure its most important object. and should therefore cease.

WHAT THE POLICE NOW I

It is their chief business to collect the daily crop of offenders furnished by the drinking-houses. As fast as the customers of these houses reach a point where they cannot take care of themselves, or where they disturb others, the Police step in and arrest them played to collect the refuse human stock which these houses daily disgorge upon the community. Instead of harming the drinking houses, the Police give them an essential aid, by taking care of their fast as they are sufficiently plucked and gorged They attend the calls of the keepers of these houses for this very purpose. This disgraceful position of the Police results from their control by the city.

DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK.

We ask for a State Police with no low estimate of the difficulty of its work. But if the work is difficult, it is the more necessary that it should be intrusted o the most prudent, efficient and impartial men-The men to whom the State intrusts the execution of its laws at the most vital point ought, like her judges, to be as free impartial and independent as the lot of hamanity will admit. It is a dreadful mistake for the State to place the execution of its laws in the hands of men, who, if they do their duty at all, must do it at the expense of their official position.

WHAT THE CITY'S CONTROL OF THE POLICE COSTS It does not cost all the evils of intemperance and li ess. It does cost all that are produced by the open traffic, and all that are produced by houses that grow out of the open traffic. It costs all the evils that result either from a partial or total nullification of th aws. It costs, therefore, a large part of the poverty and crime produced by drinking-houses, gaming-houses and brothels. It cost the homes that would otherwise shelter and save thousands of females from a life of prostitution. It costs the education of many thousands of our children. Mr. Philbrick, Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, says :-

Boston rubic Senoois, says:—
"Among the causes, of truancy, that which so far transcends all others as to be properly considered the cause of causes, is the immoderate use of intoxicating drinks. This is the unanimous testimony of the truant officers, The liquor shops and the schools are in all respects antagonistic to each other."

The city's control of the Police costs a large part of rance for which 19.115 arrests were made in Boston during the last year. It cost the poverty of more than twenty thousand, (including their families,) relieved last year by the overseers of the poor, and of many thousands more, who were relieved by private many thousands more, who were relieved by private charity, and by charitable institutions. The money that should have bought food, and fuel, and clothing was spent for drink, and they were compelled to apply city and to other charities for a pittance to sus-fe. These are among the items of cost that get into the official records of a single city. Directly or indirectly, the cost of the city's control of the police reaches every citizen of the State. We therefore invite every citizen who desires to correct the abuses that produce this cost, to join with us in asking the State to remove them

WHY NOT HAVE A STATE POLICE FOR OTHER CITIES

Boston furnishes the capital, and is the seat of the wholesale traffic,—the reservoir from which the rest of the State is supplied. Not only directly, but by her example and influence, Boston has done, and is doing, much more than all other parts of the State to sustain the traffic. Execute the laws there, and there is reason to believe that it will insure their execution in other parts of the Commonwealth. If that hope is ated, if the same sources of corruptio ne to prevent the execution of the law in other cit

ies, let an adequate remedy be applied. THE POLICY OF THE STATE.

The most important interest of any State is the haracter of its people. That character is largely formed by agencies over which the State has control The most powerful of these agencies are the public schools and the liquor traffic. No one doubts that the chools do much to make good citizens, and no one doubts that the dram-shops do much to make bad ones This is the judgment of the State, and for this reaso it sustains the one, and prohibits the other. The State has always looked upon the agencies that secure the character and intelligence of its people as the mos important objects of legislation. Any agency that makes good citizens, confers the greatest of all ble benefits, and any agency that makes bad citizens inflicts the greatest of all possible evils upon the State. For this reason, the most important legislation of Masschools,—the leading agency for the manufacture of good citizens. With that single exception, the most important legislation of the State is that which pro-hibits the liquor traffic,—the leading agency for the manufacture of bad citizens.

THE WORK DONE BY THE DRINKING HOUSES OF BOSTON.

In other parts of the State, no doubt, the schools do nore good than the drinking-houses do harm. Is it so in Boston ! Is there not, on the contrary, much reaon to fear that the reverse is true? Two or three nundred families in Boston get a living by teaching and two or three thousand by selling rum. four hundred thousand dollars are spent for education and two or three millions are spent for drink. Bos-ton sends 25,000 pupils to its public schools, and its dram-shops send every year 30,000 of their pupils into the hands of the police and overseers of the poor. Oficial reports indicate that the drinking-houses of Bos ton reduce one-sixth of its population to a position of dependence upon public charity or public correction. Where is the proof of an equally extensive work done

THE RIGHT OF THE STATE TO APPOINT AND CONTROL THE POLICE OF BOSTON.

As the sovereign power, it has a legal right. Its equitable right arises from the interest and welfare of its citizens. The first duty of a State is to maintain the supremacy of its laws. If that supremacy is limited, or endangered, by the city's control of the Police, it is the duty of the State to place that control in other hands. The State has a right to say that Boston shall not keep open schools of intemperance and licentiousness. and lice

and licentiousness.

The victims of those schools are to be found in every town and city of the State, and every citizen of

FEBRUARY 8. the State has therefore a right to demand their sup-

ression.

Official criminal returns show that in ten year Official criminal returns and that in ten year there was forty-two per cent, of the population of Suffolk county arrested for crime, while there was less than one per cent, arrested in Barnatske and the sufform of the ware, the whole water than the suffer ware, the whole water than the suffer ware the whole water than the suffer ware the ware the ware than the suffer ware the ware the ware than the suffer ware that the suffer ware than the suffer ware that the suffer ware than the suffer ware the suffer ware the suffer ware than the suffer ware t ess than one per cent, arrested in Barnstale and Hampden. During ten years, the whole number of prisoners confined in the State was 125,243, and of these there were 71,575 from Suffolk county. With hese there were a too the population, more than any

eas than one-sixth of the population, more than law of the prisoners were furnished by Boston. It is not, therefore, disrespectful to Boston to my, that she, as well as all other large cities, has a dispe-tance. ate share of the criminal and dangere ionate share of the cranina. In a managerous can.
It is not disrespectful to say, that it is the day
the State to make just such modification of her es. It is not disrespectius to say, and it is the day of the State to make just such modification of her municipal powers as are demanded by the character and density of her population. Boston is or feet, and density of her population. our banker, our express, railroad, and insuran our workshop, our counting room, our social, peliti-cal, moral and religious centre, bone of our box, cal, moral and rengious country, out to ver see, and flesh of our flesh. It is, therefore, absert to up pose there can be in any part of the Sine a diposi-tion to do any act disrespectful to her character, or is-jurious to her interests.

WHAT MUST BE DONE !

The State must, at its vital point, assume the era The State must, at its vital point, assume the ris-cution of its own laws. It must establish a State to-lice for Boston and the adjoining cities. If it must to suppress its drinking houses and brothel, it must the same course with its assume that must be same. to suppress its urmany mounts, it agents that practical ake the same course. In ordinary business, specia always know that their services will not be vanied any longer than they do their work. The agents of any longer than they do their work. The agents of the State must stand in the same position. Upon the point depends the question of success or follers. "It such Police Commissioners as may be appointed know that their discharge will promptly follow a neglect to execute the law against the nurseries of intemperance and licentiousness, they, in their turn, will hold ereer and member of the Police to the same ten ry officer and the state take this position, and no one of these nulsances will any longer continue to have an open and undisturbed existence. Police Commissioners will then be as much afraid of arglet ing, as mayors and aldermen now are of exec

WILL NOT THE INFLUENCE OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC CORRUPT THE STATE'S CONTROL OF THE POLICE,
AS IT NOW DOES THAT OF THE CITY!

That the State's control of the Police is subject to this danger is a fact that merits the most extent thought of the legislature and the people. The protical difficulties connected with the execution of the law against all open offenders can be certainly over-come. The danger, however, will not end with the establishment of a State Police, and the passage of an "Act for the better enforcement of the lave." The same means will be used to control the Suta, that are now used to control the city. Here, and here alone, rests a doubt of success. Depend on it, the traffic and its allies will not yield without a contest at the polls. In view of this contest, we have coafdence in the ultimate decision of the people WHAT MEASURE OF SUCCESS CAN BE REASONABLE RE-

PECTED. It is the open, not the covert offences, that are with-

the certain reach of the law. We do not say that he Police can put an end to intemperance and lices-What they can do is to subject those who minister to these vices to the secrecy, concealment and odings, that attach to other classes of crimish The Police can shut up the open liquor traffic, and the alf-open houses of prostitution. Especial attention to this subject leads us to the conviction, that these vices, if thus compelled to hide from the public eye, could not reach beyond one-fifth or one-tenth of their prant extent.

It is not fit that a State that spends two millions of dollars every year to sustain schools that lead to vir-tue and good citizenship,—it is no! fit that such a State should permit its policy to be defeated and its laws set at defiance by two or three thousand metrolitan schools of vice, whose product of crime reuires the yearly arrest of twenty thousand citizens n a single city,-whose product of poverty makes still larger number of the people of that city dependent on public charity,—and whose influence does more than everything else to plant and sustain similar schools of infamy throughout the Commonwealth

OFFICE OF THE BOSTON PROVIDENT ASSOCIATIO 284 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTOS, February 18th, 1864

DEAR SIR, With regard to the question you sit, DEAR SIR,—I an expenditure that have been sided by a to the number of families that have been sided by the Boston Provident Association, I would anared nat for the past 11 years we have nided 34,125 families, containing 125,932 persons—

of the past 11 years we have not been sided by the free the past 125,932 persons—

of the past 135,932 persons—

of the past 125,932 persons—

of the past 125,932 persons—

of the past 135,932 persons—

of the past 135

The proportion of poverty caused by the free ru-tential intoxicating drink I should judge to be fully eightenths. Yours, truly,
A. G. GOODWIN, Gen'l Agent.

To H. D. Cushing, Fsq. *The average of the above is a little more than three and seven-tenths persons to each family.

And seven-tenths persons to each name.

OVERSEERS OF THE POOR.

21, BROMFIELD ST., BOSTON, Feb. 25, 1864.

H. D. CUSHING, ESQ.

DEAR SIR.—Your note of inquiry respecting the families "relieved or supported by the city of Boson, tor the last seven years, 26c., is received. Ice, ask for an "abstract of the number of persons, including their families," &c.

In answering your inquiries, I must state that our Board have made no returns which would enable as to state positively as to the number of persons who may have been benefited by our chartiles.

Some of the recipients have been night individuals. Some of the recipients have been indeed in the person of the represented Annalies.

epresented families.

The applicants are generally widowed or destrict or contents who ask aid for themselves and children, tifficially in number from one or two, to twelve or most and averaging, in my judgment, about four persons in

each name.

I find, by the "Abstracts of the Returns related to the Poor," &c., made by the "Secretary of the Commonwealth," that the number of person related by the Overseers of the Poor, of the city of Basis, for the seven years last past, ending Duramber silk 1863, is as follows, viz: In the year 1857. - - -

9,087 9,131 10,829 12,190 11,564 70,917 In seven years,

Estimating that four persons, on an inceived the benefit of the aid renders order name, will make the whole name ted amount to 283,668 in seen years, or Most respectfully your ob'dt serv't.

JOHN W. WARREN, Chairmen, Overseers of Poor of Butter

GAS FIXTURES.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends obliged to leave his situation at Meser. It. R. Starvet & Cos., now Meser. Shreve, Stanwood & Cov., when his been employed for the last fourteen years, the work between the context of the property of the last fourteen years, the work between the context of the property of the physical streigth, and is now pregnit to do all manner of

JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES, in the most careful manner. New Firstrate furnished as put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drope cleaned, leaks sippled, das Fixtures and Glass Drope cleaned, leaks sippled, das Fixtures done over, and Gas Glasses of all introduced at abort notice. Also, Gas Detures of all approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Parish.

Shop under the Mariboro' Hotel. Orders may be six Mesers. Hall & Stowell's Provision Stern, 137 Charles surk.

Boston.

Referre to Shreve. Stauwood & Os.

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

WANTED,

WANTED,

MAN and wife to take charge of a small fam; on the willing to work with his one hands, and likes to take care of the caning drinks, tobacce, or profane language.

Such an one may have a good situation by common the caning with th