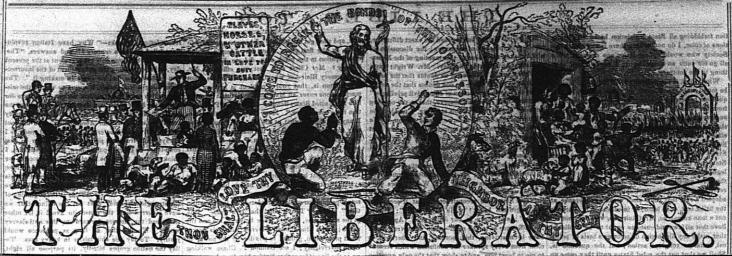
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W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." "They this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-liary addictive takes, for the time, the place of all musici-ical institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST;

Hary authority takes, nor the triple with the property of the property of the property of the from the best had this, under that state of things, so far from the best had this the States where alwery exists have the exclusive that the States where alwery exists have the exclusive with Asset with the states where the property of the Two that the States where alsvery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the Pasinders or site United States, but the Contagner or the Asset, HAS BOWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE STAVES. Then the instant that the claveholding States become the theatre of a war, cryic, swelle, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Coranges extend to interference with the institution of Coranges extend to interference with the institution of claver, it arguer war in which is care as interpretation of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States burders, its davery, in avent war in which it can be introduced with sharery, to a foreign power. It is a war power. I say it is a war power. I say it is a war power in any it is a war power in any it is a war power in the say it is a war power in a war of insurrection. Congress has power to cany on the war, and survection. Congress has power to cany on the war, and survection and of war, an invaded country for the laws of war, and bust cannot not war in the say in invaded country has all its laws and numerical institutions sweet by the board, and warnar rowns taken and reaches when the war war, and reaches we war in the say in the array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-cipate all the slaves in the lavaded territory."-J. Q. Apanta.

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VOL. XXXV. NO. 7.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1865.

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

WHOLE NO. 1776.

# The Liberator.

WASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING. Phonographically reported by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON.

THURSDAY EVENING, Jan. 26.

SPEECH OF ANDREW T. FOSS. Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, - I have known

his Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from the year nent. For the larger number of the of in commencements
years of its age, I was not connected with it, though
leads to have been connected with the anti-slavery at from the first; but, for the first fifteen gen and more, I was connected with it in a cierical remand more, I was controlled the last twelve years, beer in the habit of standing on this platform, and of look ing into the faces of the men and women who compeet the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; and as lack back upon the past, when it was with the greatest difficulty we could obtain a house in which to speak en audience to hear us, when reproach and conmely were continually cast upon us, when we were rading through deep waters of discouragement, when the rhole heavens were dark around us, and when enterings of wrath were heard, like distant thunder, and sometimes breaking at our very feet,—I say, sir, when I think of the great change that has taken place, ar heart exults, and I say with the apostle Paul, that bether the Gospel of Anti-Slavery has been preached of eary or of good-will, in the success of this great case I do rejoice, and will rejoice.

My fellow-citizens, the time is not far back in the finance when I refused to hold any connection with the American Government, other than that which I suchliged to hold. I gave it no willing support; gave it no countenance; gave it no vote; but gave it ach words of criticism and rebuke as my powers permitted me to do. When, four years ago, the Slave Form rebelled, and war commenced, I entertained the firefiest hope that the whole North would very see be at a dead-lock with the Slave Power. I saw that take place, and I have seen the terrible wrestle going on from that day to this. And do you think, that my anti-slavery heart can be other than joyal when I see the Government, the church, and the inds of men here in the North turned in the directhe struggle with the Slave Power ? Having labored as tailed and hoped and prayed for thirty years to se the stry things that my eyes now behold, shall lost rejoice to behold them? Sir, I now give to the forerament of the United States my hearty support. [Applaine]. And why do I do It? I believe, sir, z rest deal in the power of instinct—in men, as we'll as a snimals. I find that the leastinct of the slave leads n to regard Abraham Lincoln as his friend. He hers the flag; he loses the army; he clings to it as is only hope. I think his instinct is correct. The stres have been treated badly, but still they clung to the American Government, They are been persecuted, still they adhere. Their infact tells them that their hope lies in the success of this American Government in putting down the reon; and in putting down the rebellion, their in most tells them slavery is forever destroyed. There is the instinct of the slave. Then, loyal men all over the land are guided by their instincts in the same diw, how is it with the slaveholder ! His insinct guide him, and he is a bater of Abraham Linrds, a hater of the Government, and hopes and prays ni fights that the Government may be overthrown. How is it with all the copperheads in the land? Every one of them, guided by his instincts, also, is against are for the friends with whom I have labored, if they bose to place themselves on the side of those whose instincts guide them against the Government, and are is ye to the Government as his ark of safety, I tell them, if we must part here, then we part. I shall than with this Government while it stands with its uplifted to strike the head of the monster, slaery; and if, with any atrength of mine, I can add for to that arm, thus uplifted, it shall not be with-

Now, Mr. President, during the first year and a half of the administration of Abraham Lincoln, there was been little that I could approve. We were bidden to been used to be the week of the was an account of the was account of the wa heest man; we were told that all would come out high. We believed it, and we believe not in vain. Two years passed away, and then came the Proclama-ion of the first of January, 1863, and since then there to been wave after wave of anti-slavery success rollthe ken wave after wave of anti-slavery success roll-ingta upon us, until now we see slavery aboilshed in the Dittict of Columbia, Hayti and Liberia acknowl-stage at our capital, the fugitive slave law repealed, three of the slave States already free, and others rapid-ble coming so—and shall I not rejoice? Sr. I want to keep up the anti-slavery testimony. I as desirous exceeding that this Society aboud not

want to keep up the anti-slavery teatimony. It derivous exceedingly that this Society should not one its work until slavery is entirely dead. I think kill die. If we should lie down and go to sleep, if the Masschusetts Anti-Slavery Society should go out fixthence this hour, I think slavery would go down; lat then, I don't know that fact; I think so. I don't man to run any rick as all. I when the Regist of libory. ness to ren any risk at all. I mean to keep on labour the state of the por Joe Stillings was in regard to his fox. The root joe Stillings whe in regard to his fox. Inc manig for had stolen his ball, two or three times when their caught; but one morning Joe found the fin the trap, and picked up a stick, and hit him on the bead, and the fox fell down, as he thought, dead, he had a still be to the to the to the to the to the to the light of the top the beed, and the fox fell down, as he thought, denothe first him one aide, and turned round to fix his
as, and when he looked up, the fox was forty rods
atting for the woods at the top of his speed.
[aspher.] I don't mean to be cheated in that way.

The state of the woods at the top of his speed. been to be sure the enemy is dead before I leave off I shall act on the principle that the boy did found beating a dead dog. "What are you tim for ?" said a man who came up. "Don't ead ?" "Yes," said the boy, "but be er, and I mean to let all dogs that

n instituted between former times and these just gone down in glory (loud applause); he lived long enough to embalm himself in the hearts of the American people for ever, and when we have all done that, we can afford to die;—in former times, I say, we criticised all these men, and it is asked that the same criticism shall be given to Abraham Lincoln that was given to Mr. Everett, or Mr. Webster, or any of those men who have passed away. Now, sir, things have changed. The direction of the Government was then all towards slavery. There was nothing hopeful; the Government is on the high road to anti-slavery; now, all its powers are against slavery, and in favor of freedom; and shall we not cheer the Government on 1 Shall I stand howling on the track of the Government, letting its imperfections, whatever they may be, fill the whole range of my vision, and not be able to see a single good act? Heaven forbid! I want to cheer on the Government; I want to cheer on every general, every naval officer, every soldier, every sailor, every marine, and everybody who is contending with slavery. I think that, in this change of condi-tion, there should be a change in our line of policy. We thought to free the slave by opposing the Government, by dissolving the Union, by overthrowing the Government-if not by the Constitution, then over it or through it-any way to get the slave his freedom. In our changed circumstances, we can do it the sustaining the Union, the Constitution, and the Government. In Heaven's name, sir, are you not as welling to do the sustaining the Union, the Constitution, and the down out of that gallery, I met men who, I have no doubt, have thrown rotten eggs at me—or, if they did willing to do the we constitute the sustaining the Union that gallery is the sustaining that gallery is the sustaining the Union that gallery is the sustaining that gallery willing to do it by co-operating with your country, as you were to do it by overthrowing your Government in the former time? Moreover, it is to be remarked, that while the first two years of Mr. Lincoln's administration were not very severely criticised by us, when he most deserved criticism, the last two years, when he has been doing his best, anti-slaverywise, meet with the severest criticism! I do not understand that. Now, I want to inquire, very briefly, what is our

duty in this crisis? I do not understand that there is any division among us on the main point. Mr. Phillips says—"The ballot for the negro." Mr. Garrison said it thirty years ago, and never has said anything elsesays it to-night. All the privileges that belong to the citizen are to be given to the emancipated slave. That we demand. We sak nothing short of that. What is the difference, then? Why, Mr. Garrison says: "We can have emancipation. That is the greater act: the greater includes the less. Let us secure that, and we get a foothold to stap up higher," If, in the past four years, we have been able to convert a pro-slavery government (I mean, de facto, for that is certain) to an anti-slavery government; if we have been able to change the entire policy of the Government; if we have arrayed all its influence and all its power on the side of freedom; if we can get the slave emancipated, and begin the next administration with nothing to do but to get for the negro his political franchise, can we not do that in the next four years, if we have done so

word in regard to Gen. Banks and his policy. I do not know that I understand it, but I think I do. In the first place, Gen. Banks is down there in Louisiana with an exceedingly difficult state of affairs to man-age. We do not know, we cannot know, all the diffi-culties that surround him. It is a mighty and terrible cullies that surround him. It is a mignty and terroue responsibility. That he should have erred in some things was natural; that in his main intent and purpose he was right, I have no more doubt than I have that the sun is shining in the heavens this day. (Application of the control of the plause.) Now, here was a large colored population. Friend Douglass says,—"Let them alone." I do not say so. Here were the white men; they had the advantage of the blacks. Who owns the land! The white men. The blacks are to be the laborers, the employees of the white men. In the courts of Louisiana, these men are not known at all. They cannot sue or be sued; they cannot give testimony in the courts. What then? Gen. Banks consults their wishes, and asks them, by a committee of colored men, what they want. They tell him they want employwhat they want. They tell him they want employ-ment and wages; they want clothing and food for themselves and their families, and schools for their themselves and their families, and schools of children—and he provides it all. The wages are fixed at \$8 a month, including provisions and clothing, mailtail treatment, maintenance for their families, and schools for their children. That is as good as \$20 a month, at least. Now, where was the

Mr. Douglass. Allow me to state, that prior to Mr. Douglass. Allow me to state, that prior to letting them alone, I want justice meted out to them; and if justice were done to those blacks in Louisiana, they would not need the interference of Gen. Banka to find places for them to work. (Applause.)

Mr. Foss. Yes; but, Mr. President, the question recurs, and it is a very important one, how was that justice to be obtained for them ?

Mr. Douglass. Let them vote:

Mr. Foss. I want to know if Gen. Banks is an autocraft whose will is law? I want to know if he had a utocraft whose will is law? I want to know if he had a core; and we employ them too. That is all the difference. This Government in the hand of Almight the wages of the black man was to be sure that he had. wages; for if he had been "let alone," he could not re recovered a dollar, under the laws of Louisians; have recovered a dollar, under the laws of Louisians; he would have been left in a perfectly helpless condition. He threw around the slave the protection of the military power, and took care that the rascally mass tern should be in the hands of the military power, and took care that the rascally mass there should be in the hands of the military power, and and the same that the rangements. That is the view I take of it. (Applause.) It was not that he wanted to oppress the negro; it was not in derogation of the best of the property of the military power.

terf death." (Laughter and applause.). So Lam for of the Government that the slave have all his rights; but if we cannot get them, for God's sake don't let enaued. But how am I to do this 1. Now, there is a us refuse emancipation if we can get it, for then we can quickly step to a higher and still higher elevation In former times, we criticised the Government, Mr. I want the act of emancipation, in order to secure to Webster, Mr. Choate, Mr. Everett—whose sun has the negro his vote. It is an essential step towards the negro his vote. It is an essential step towards that, and if we get every slave free, I have no doubt—I was going to say, I would pledge my life, and I will, for I have not more than ten years to live, any way—that he will get his vote, and that spe The tide is now running all one way.

Now, in regard to the change of sentiment in the North. Take an illustration. I went into a Conven tion of New Hampshire Republicans, a little while ago, assembled to nominate their can ernor. There were nearly seven hundred men preent-men who influence and guide and mould public sentiment in New Hampshire. I sat up in the gallery and looked down upon them. As I sat there, I saw one old man, who, four years ago, was pro-slavery, rise in his seat, and read a resolution, instructing ou delegation in Congress to use their influence to have the bill amending the Constitution, and forever abol ishing slavery, passed, and offered to the people fo their ratification this winter; and, if the present Con ble the new Congress immediately after the 4th of March, and have the work done. That resolution passed without a dissenting voice, and with great ac-clamation. Four years ago, you could not have got fifty votes, probably, in the State of New Hampshire, for such a proposition. All is changed now. The old heavens and the old earth have passed away; and be not do it themselves, they did not object to having it done, at any rate—and they came up to me, and shook me by the hand, and said,

live to see this day?" All joy, all gladness!

I spoke forty times during the last canvass for the election of President. I spoke to audiences of from 400 up to 10,000 at a time, and everywhere I uttered just as clear and strong anti-slavery sentiments as I ever did on this platform; and the stronger my anti-slavery utterences were, the louder the applause everywhere. I say, there is a mighty change! I

gladly recognize it.

A word or two personal to myself. It was said this afternoon, by Mrs. Foster, that some of our lecturers had left the anti-slavery field, and were electioneering. Now, let me tell you how that matter is; for I suppose the allusion was to me. I was at home minding my business, when a gentleman, one of the National Republican Committee living in our city, the came to me, and asked me if I would speak durin the campaign. "Yes," I said, "if you will let me speak as I have a mind to." "We couldn't help that if we tried," said he, "and don't want to." " I am a Gar risonian," I said, "and if I go, I must go as a Garri-sonian." "That is just what we want you to do," said he. So we struck a bargain. There wasn't much of a bargain either. There was not a word said about pay. He said, "We want you to go;" and I said, "I will go." Well, I went; and as I have much in the past four! I have no doubt of it.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say a word in regard to Gen. Banks and his policy. I do word in regard to Gen. Banks and his policy. I do word to regard to Gen. Banks and his policy. I do word to regard to Gen. Banks and his policy. I do word to held Mr. Poster responsible.

Now, I don't want to hold Mrs. Foste would not be fair; but I want to state to you a fact, as Mrs. Poster has criticised me somewhat for going out in this manner. Two years ago, before the Re-publicans had ever said to me, "Will you go?"—before I had ever labored under their direction or in their employ—they made application to my friend Stephen Foster to come up to New Hampshire, and aid them them in the work of electing their Governor; Gilmore. Well, he went up. (I think he did right ) and lectured, they said, extremely well. I went ov and rectured, they said, extremely well. I went over the same ground, in the employ of the Anti-Slavery Society, the winter after, and leading Republicans told me they never had better service done by any speaker than Stephen Foster did for them. Did he do right? I say he did. But he was employed by leans; and so important an agent did they consider him, that they hired a man to go into the towns, a John the Bantist, and tell the more than my friend Foster, who was my predecessor by two years 1 (Applause.) In the day of coming glory, which the Administration of Abraham Lincolo, and the history of the Republican party; shall fill the Republican party, shall fill the vault of heaven with the sound of praise, Stephen Foster's name will be repeated as having been two years ahead of me in the Republican party. (Laugh-

ter and applause.) am an Abolitionist, a Garrisonian Mr. President, T am an Abolitionist, a Garrisonian Abolitionist if you please, (heplanes,) exactly as I was thirteen years ago, when I first appeared on this platform. I have watched every body is movements but my own, (laughter), and I have tried sometimes to watch them. I have never seen any departure from the principles that I first heard announced on this platform, on the part of any of our leading friends. We ull adhere to the old faith; we all work with the old warman. But God have the weapons and muscles of human arms and hands,) has been hurled as a thunderbolt against the Slave Power, and I go with it! While I hear God

to oppress the negro; it was not see to it that the white man, ingred right; it was to see to it that the white man, infalled his obligation—that those reacally, slaveholders were made to walk aquare up to the chalk; and it could not be done in any other way.

Again, it is supposed that this is a permatent matter. It is simply a military order; there is nothing permanent about it. When the war crases, a new order of things must some; and then the question will be, what rights shall the black man have? I am it will not any, I won't will be, what rights shall the black man have? I am is favor of Mr. Phillips's resolution. I shall demand.

Sir, everything has its growth. Anti-slavery seathers and the same of the same of

gress, and must have its perfections. It takes time, I would not compromise at all; I would stand holding the banner fall high; but, at the same time, I would take advantage of the weapons the providence of God has placed in our way for the overthrow of slavery, and I am glad that I have lived to see this glorious day, which a few years ago I had not hoped to live to Why, friends, it seems to me that I can an the language of Dr. Watts, in one of his

> " How blessed are our ey That see this heavenly light!
> Prophets and kings desired it long,
> But died without the sight.

The "prophets" we have had in this country, if not the "kings," and they have "died without the sight." I feel that I have occasion to congratulate myself, you, the American people, and the world, on this might change. I think that when a few more years shall passed, and slavery is no more, we shall all be sing that beautiful song, that I read in the old "American Preceptor," when I first began to read.-

"Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise, " I have the gueen of the world, and the child of the skies! I say to you sir, that I have always loved my country, and do now. We have been accused of being , and do now. We have been accused of being tious. I think we stand entirely redeemed from that imputation—those of us, at least, who are ready to commend the Government for the work it is doing We are not factious men. When the Government gets in the right position, we acknowledge it, go with it, and use it for the overthrow of slavery. My friend Mr. Garrison is a non-resistant. I am not, and never was. I tried to be, and held out a day and a half (laughter). When Burns was on trial, I came here, resolved to be a non-resistant. I had been turning it over in my mind for a long time, and thought I had got suff convicted, and came here a converted man on that Monday morning, held out a day and a half, and then I was ready for "stratagems and spolls." (Laughte se.) I cannot be a non-resistant; I don know but it is the better way. The same objection, therefore, that lies in Mr. Garrison's way, does not lie in mine. He cannot vote; I can, because I am not a non-resistant, because I believe in this war, because I upon the champions of slavery, and grinding them to

Now, friends, I will relieve your patience. I thought, with Elihu of old, I would "show you mine opinion.

SPEECH OF A. BRONSON ALCOTT. I know that I have no right to occupy a moment of this evening, but I cannot leave this audience without speaking a word. Coming as I do unconnect-

ed with any party, a recluse, a scholarly man, an ob-server of the times, I cannot, I say, go away withou expressing my latest thought concerning the great

issues which are now before us.

Who are the people's teachers? That, essentially,

question. Who, my friends, can instruct us as t is to be done in this national crisis? I shall not undertake, it would be egotism in me to under take to tell you who your teachers are. Providence is our greatest teacher; and that Teacher of teach ersehas taught the teachers, and has taught the couneradas taught the teachers, and has taught the country, and has advanced us all, individually and nationally, half a century. But who has received the largest measure of light t—who can speak to your instincts, speak to your reason, speak to your magination, speak to your hearts, and carry the day over all private and individual differences of opinion, reconcile even your leaders, and show you that each man on this platform, and each one of you, are aiming at the same grand end—that the little differences of concern only the self-after one of your self-accept. concern only the end—that some of you require less, and some require more, to be done? Now, who are your teachers? Will you allow me

to state who I conceive to be your teachers, and the teachers of the country—the teachers of the President, and of those who made him President, and who will keep him there, or remove him, and put anothe man in his place, when they please? The man who, more than thirty years ago, in this very city, ventured to think, in his private heart, that slavery could be abolished in this country, took his position, and throughout all this intervening period has steadily held fast to it, and is about to see it consummated by other hands than his, or those of his immediate colleagues and associates—he is your teacher. (Applause.) He is the nation's teacher. He has been the President of these Victor Victor (Teacher). people known it. He is President of the United States to-day, if he choose to be so, and if he hold up before him that grand future, that high destiny, to which this people is swiftly advancing. He is no longer the President, no longer your leader, unless he do. You will take sides then with him who calls he do. You will take sides then with him who calls he do. You will take sides then with him who calls he do. known it. He is President of the United himself the disciple of the leader; you will take sides, then, according to the breadth, and depth, and scope of your experience. If you are content with the President of the United States being but the inthe President of the United States being but the in-strument of your teacher, and executing what your teacher conceived so many years ago, then follow him; it is but following your leader. If you feel that, at this crisis, the destiny of the country de-

him; it is but following your leader. If you feel that, at this crisis, the dectiny of the country depends, not upon what becomes of the white man, but upon what shall be done for the black man, then you will determine what course you will take.

Now, does it appear to any of you, my friends, to day, that you can easify trust any administration that you can elect with this humane question, this religious question, this care of a whole people? You cannot. We are none of us quite equal to the care of a whole people? You cannot. We are none of us quite equal to the care of a whole people? To mankind has not yet reached to such humanity that one human being can be entrusted to another, without great uncertainty whether he will be able to fulfill his duties—to be a humane and kindly master and friend. And yet here is this people, to-day, to be entrusted with the legislation of your Congress.

Now, I shall inlimate, as distinctly and discriminatingly as I can, where my sympatities lie. I shall endeavor to be just to your teacher, the leader. I have now a word to say respecting his disciple, who is, let me tell yoe, if my instincts fall me not, to be, and are revoluence, through the elegiance of the sequence of his words, the sympathies of his heart, and the scope of all his facilities, the leader and deliverer of the

mention his name. (Loud applaque.) It is not etrange for gentlemen of my age, and the age of my friend, [Am, Garrison] not to know our own sons, and to call them by new names. Does my friend know that he when he should be calling another name ! For wha is Abraham doing but what this disciple of his but taught him to do? (Applause.) This is his bright est son; this is the fruit of his long labors. Let him own him, let him know him, let him bless him. (Loud applause.) Let there be no quarrel in the hou If the son can do more than the father, shall we not all say, "God speed!" (Applause.) Is it not likely that the work to be done, during the life of his hopeful son, is unlike what has been done during erform, shall we not find speedier ways of discharg ing those duties? Is it not time that the Anglo-Saxo ace should know how to do things in an Angl Saxon way !: (Applause:) Is it not time that w should cease borrowing from abroad? We are not nation until we have grown our poetry, our liters ture, our philosophy, our politics, our religion, ou modes of reform; and yet, see to-day how slowly w move ! We are Old England men vet. My friend who sits before me [GEO. THOMPSON, Esq.] perhaps I am hardly entitled to call him my friend-will pardon me if I say he is not an Old Englan man, he is a New England man, and has found his own country at last. (Applause.) It is because, in the old country, they are still doing this new Anglo-Saxon way, but in the old N in the old Hebrew way; and so he flees Old England, and comes here for more freedom.

Will my friend [Mr. Garnson] allow me to say

that I think he, too, is behind his times; that what was good thirty years ago,—good for him, something of a Hebrew as he is, and a prophet after that order, —may be superseded by something better now; that the time has come when swifter, speedler and more Saxon ways of doing our work are demanded? We must have a politics and religion of our own. We ust no longer borrow; we are not a people while we do. See to day, what is our religion? Borrowed What are our r only the f dications, to day, of some slight Saxon, New England genius. You know I allude to my own townsman Emerson. (Applause.) Let me speak my belief, tha his is the first American mind which has any right t eive itself to be detached and independent of the old isle. (Applause.) Well, our politics are to be of ne new and Anglo-Saxon type, and here is its [The speaker pointed to Mr. Phillips, and the

est called forth loud applause.] Now, do not understand me to say that I am blamin any one. I am discriminating, and telling what I b ieve is true, independent of any thought of mine-a solutely true. It is, my friends, it seems to me, a lit tle too trivial for us, at this juncture, to be inquirin hether we think alike, or not; the main point is pquice whether we can act alike-whether we can do The question is not so much with regard to n and men, as the things to be done. That I concei

You will excuse me if I have spoken frankly and reely; excuse, the imperfections of my discrimina ion; but I tell you precisely what I think; and I am o-day pledged, so long as I am permitted to walk here freely; excuse the imperfection to the cause and the interests of him who represent the new idea of what is proper for the people of New England, who are the leaders of all the world, to dhereafter. They say that in Philadelphia, the people are getting to be very jealous of New York; that New York is very jealous of Boston; and if it would n seem egotistic in me, I would add in a whis begins to be a good deal jealous of Concord. (Loud laughter and applause.)

SPEECH OF STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

I do not rise to make a speech, but simply a persons explanation, which perhaps may not be of much con equence to anybody else, after all.

here never was a time when I was in closer relation with the Republican party, or had a higher respect and esteem for it, than I have to-day, for it never was so worthy of my confidence and respect and cooperation I think, as to-day. And yet, Mr. Chalman, here is a thizes exactly with my friend Mr. Foss, of my pr three exactly with my friend Mr. Fors, of my public-ly expressed, views of the Republican party. I want to put this and that together, and see if you do not come to the same cooclusion that I have on this sub-ject, namely, that if these reports are to be credited, I am a very strange man indeed, live in a very strange community, if I can be employed by a party of which I express such oninjons at I am about a read. This I express such opinions as I am about to from the report of a meeting held at Worcester, Ja uary 15, by the Secretary of that meeting:—

"Stephen S. Foster followed in condemnation Fost's positions, and of all those who hopefully manifested any sympathy with the Anti-Slave gress of the government, denouncing in particular of the condemnation and the Liberator as having forsaken denouncing in partic r as having forsaken firmed that the gove

lican party to go out and lecture on the subject of ela very. They would not accept them. Hence, from no fault of mine, I have never been an agent of either, never lectured under the auspices of either. I am sorry, not for their sake, but for my own. It is true that, two years ago, certain Republicans in New Hampshire, after hearing a speech that I made in my native town, came to me, and asked me if I would terested enough to get up a series of meetings and transport me from town to town, bearing my travelling expenses, I will spend from this time up to elec-tion in the work." The arrangements were made, not by the State Committee, but by some anti-slavery Republican friends. They put a man into the field who went from town to fown, and got up my n and made it, to me, a very pleasant and profits paign. I have this day had an invitation to go back into New Hampshire, and travel over that same ground, which I may possibly accept. I wish the Republican party of New Hampshire would invite me to go there; but I don't think they are likely to, especially if they read the report of Mr. Howland, and credit it. I do not believe they would credit it. I think it would be not believe they would credit it. I think it would be very difficult to make anybody believe I said what I am there reported to have said. I do not think my friend Foss intended to make you think that I had advised anybody to vote for the Repu though that, I think, would be the effect of his speech. I have never advised any man to vote with that party. I have shown that the interests of the country were identified with the triumph of anti-slavery, and that, as between the two parties, there could be no question as to which was the party of patriotism, and thus thrown my influence into the scale of the Republican party, necessarily and inevitably. Thus far and no farther have I gone in support of that party.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. President,-I rise, now, simply to refer to the remarks of my friend, Mr. Alcott. I was very glad to see him on this platform, and wish he would occupy it more frequently than he seems disposed to do, through his innate modesty. His personal reference to myself was not only highly con the past, certainly—but partial and excessive, I think.
At least, allow me to say that I have never undertaken to be the teacher of this nation. Nobody has ever heard me put forth such a claim; nor have I aspired to lead anybody. A young man thirty-six years ago, without influence, without friends, solitary and alone, seeing the slave in his fetters, and recognizing his alf, I have continued to prosecute the work to this hour, as one only of a multitude of noble men and women in varionly of a multitude of noble men and women in vari-ous parts of the country, whose combined efforts have all been necessary to bring about the marvellous change in public sentiment which we now see, and over which we how rejoice. Not a tear has been not a prayer offered, not an effort put forth by the humblest of the humble, not a testimony borns; not a pecuniary contribution made, that has not been necessary and indispensable to the achievement of the tri-umph of our cause, as it now stands before our coun-try and the world. No "teacher" and no "leader," sir, but simply a true friend and a humble advocate of

My friend has attempted to draw a dist My friend cas attempted to uraw, a unemotion of tween Mr. Phillips and myself, as though I had fallen into the rear, and, he was now the "leader." in this cause. "Leader," sir? "Leader"—where? "Lead-er"—in what? I should have been gratified if my respected friend had thrown some light upon that issu I cannot allow, because it is not tree, that Mr. lips is more firmly anchored in anti-slavery prin than I am, or more inexorable in the application that Mr. Philthat principle. Have I not always declared, that all proscriptive complexional distinctions are cruel, un-natural, and wicked before God 3. I deny here, not in the spirit of rivalry but as a matter of justice, that he precedes me, or the humblest member of this Society, a hair's breadth in demanding that equal justice be herefore, against this alleged difference between Mr. Phillips and myself—as though there had been a re-treat, or standing still, or getting "behind the times," on my part, and a bold, radical advance on his part, separating us from each other. There is no su tagonism, isolation, retraction or precedence. Neither is he in advance, nor am I behind; neither does he lead, nor are the sbelitionists led. We all stand side ider to shoulder, and m lanx against the common fee—God alone being our "leader." Wherein we may chance to differ relates not to the principles we cherish, the doctrines we dise, or the claims we make for the constant rhether bond or free; but solely as to the relation of praise or blame, of satisfaction or compant of praise or blame, of satisfaction or company of the constant of praise or blame, or satisfaction or company of the constant of seminate, or the claims we make for the colt, to be expressed or awarded concerning plaint, to be expressed or awarded concerning certain public men and measures in their bearing upon the cause so dear to us all. And herein we shall differ in opinion, more or less, according to the standpoint we occupy, the information we possess, or the ability we have to perceive and understand the relation of in this transendous convulsion of the country. Sir, I do not think it is any evidence of st

fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause to deal in sweeping accusations against President Lincoln, General Banks. General Sherman, or any other public man. Nor do I think it is to halt, or retreat, or get "behind the times," to proclaim that our cause has advanced far times," to proclaim that our cause has advanced far beyond any thing we had a right to expect, and to ve-joice with joy unspeakable in view of that fact. Wot to do so would indicate either a morbid or prejudiced state of mind, or total blindness of vision. Within the last two years, we have witnessed a revolution in public sentiment that would be worth a whole contury of labor to bring about. And shall we not be jubilant Labarain a

One word, sir, in regard to the dissolution of our Society. I have proposed a resolution to this effect that in case the proposed amendment to the Constitu-tion of the United States, forever abolishing slaves. tion of the United States, forever abolishing slave in our country, should be passed, as is probably we by the requisite number of States, during the press year, the Board of Managers be instructed to call special meeting of this Society, to commemorate a great and glorious sevent, with a view at that time terminate the Society's existence. For what do a pressure of the society's existence. For what do a pressure of the society's existence.

osophy upon which I act. (Applause. GEORGE T. DOWNING. I would like to ask Mr Garrison how he reconciles his position with the thir article of the Constitution of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society, and the Declaration of Sentiments of erican Anti-Slavery Society, adopted in Phila delphis? The third article of the Constitution is a follows

are beginning to palpitate with our own. Let us re joice that: they have entirely changed, in spirit and feeling, towards us and the cause of the oppressed and not say or insinuate that they will betray freedom

for Union the earliest moment they can. Let us b

just, magnanimous, hopeful; co-operative, and thus stimulate them to complete the work so well begun

"The objects of this Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and reli-tion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people, of color; to improve and correct public opinion to relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and priv-ileges with the whites."

The Declaration of Sentiments says-

We further believe and affirm, that all persons o color who possess the qualifications which are demand of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise other same perceptives, and that the path of preferment, of wealth, and of infelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion."

Mr. Garrison. Nothing is more easily answered than this inquiry. We had two classes in view, of course, when we organized the Society. First, the entire slave population, for whose liberation we band ed ourselves together. Next, half a million free peo ple of color, laboring under many and grievous disa bilities; and we pledged ourselves to seek their relief improvement and elevation. But I never supposed that, after the abolition of stavery, we should attemp to perpetuate our Anti-Slavery organizations. Fo one, I shall not be guilty of any such folly. (Applause.

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

If the question before this Society were, "Shall the light of suffrage be extended at once to the freed men ?" I do not believe there is a solitary individ ual in the Society who would raise his voice agai enge any man in the Society, or out of it to quote a solitary word uttered by the Liberator of Anti-Slavery Standard, or any member of this Society or of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to show tha he would make a distinction in the matter of suffrage nd of color. No such word has ever uttered; and I challenge any one to prove the con-trary. In all our meetings, in all our papers, that has been a cardinal point, whenever it came up; and were the question to be put to the Society to night, I do not beliave there would be a dissenting voice. But that is not the question before us now.

Then, again, as to the equal right of the colored

man to work for whom and for what he pleases, jus-like the white man—I do not believe there is a solitary member of the Society who would or ever did oppose it; and yet from the tenor of the remarks that I have heard, I should suppose that the Society itself was optses, jus

posed to that idea.

Then, again, as to the equal right of the colored man to education. I never have heard the sentiment uttered in any anti-slavery meeting, or in any anti-slavery mapper, that the colored man should not have an equal right to education in all its branches.

Then, again, as to the Amendment of the Constitu-

cal, social or religious action; but the question is, clear from every spends and to show that the only question is to me to beet him, and to show that the only question was in some the time to claim t Unior actually make color the basis of exclusion from
political rights? (Volces—"Yes." Shall Pennsylvanational attention to get the best result? I answere nia demand of the 'rebel States that they admit the 'the point which the nation presents to us, the reconstruction of Louisiana; and I endeavored to chain you its herself? I say, let Pennsylvania pull the beam out of practical issue, offered us by the Government. No her own eyes before she undertakes to claim that the olitionist can deep the cardinal principle of thirty other States shall full the beam out of theirs. I say, let this nation heal itself. Let the Free States go to work and abolish all distinctious of color in legislation, in schools, in social customs—everywhere. It seems to me perfectly monstrous for anybody to stand up and demand that no State shall be re-admitted into the land platform, "Absolute equality before the lew"? Inion unless it extends the right of suffrage could be the state to be no Constitution or setsute in the nation. Union unless it extends the right of suffrage equally there is to be no Constitution or statute in the na to all its citizens, saying, at the same time, not a single with the word 'white in it." (Applaine.) That word about the existence of the same inequality in his own State. I would say, let every man and every the only question is a fact to a worder woman stand on an absolute equality with regard to suffrage, as I believe they have a perfect right to do, and with regard to education and labor; and I believe the great mass of this Society, and of the Abolitionists rebel States under military rule until they can be reconstructed under a constitutional provision prohibiting legislation based upon distinctions of color! Mr. Chairman, I say, NO! I would like to see the Union re-constructed on the abolition and everlasting pro hibition of slavery. And what do I mean by slavery? From the remarks that have been made here to-day, and from remarks which I have heard in other places in our anti-slavery meetings, it seems to me that some of our friends hold out the idea that the man who has not the right to vote is a slave. We have been care ful for the last thirty-five years—and I speak from my personal knowledge—in all our publications, and in all our addresses, to draw a distinction between slavery and other forms of oppression. When the friends of slavery in this country and in Europe have taunted us with conniving at slavery in England the laboring class in England being slaves, we have said, "There is no such thing as a slave in England There are people who are denied the right of suffrage oppressed in their labor, and in various ways; but no slave." A slave is a man turned into a chattel, and that, and that alone is what we have been fighting against all our lifetime as abolitionists. We have labored for the redemption of the slave from his condi-God and immortality among beasts and creeping things, and to place him on the platform of humanity and I maintain for one, that so far as that is concerned the labor of this Society draws to a close. When the Constitutional Amendment shall have been adopt forever prohibiting chattel slavery within the limits of the United States, chattel slavery is abolished so far the Government can do the work, and then we mu go to work to secure to the freedman his rights in al other departments. I have no objection to having the matter discussed now. Let us have a resolution her declaring the equal rights of the colored man in regard to labor, education and suffrage, with the white nan. There is not a person in this whole Society such a resolution

Why, then, imply that there is such an one? We approach, in my opinion, the consummation of our work—the abolition of chattel slavery—the lifting up of human cliattels, and placing then in the position of men and women, to be dealt with as men and women, and not as beasts and things. We have right to demand that the rebel States shall not be pe nitted to come back into the Union while they reta the cause of all our trouble. And why? Because the act of rebellion was an act of emancipation to every slave in the rebel States. The rebels then rebel States when they went out of the Union.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. Mr. Chairman-Allow me one word, which I utte with the greater pleasure and frankness, because m friend, Mr. Garrison, has left the Hall, that there is nothing more unpleasant to me than any allusion to him and myself as antagonists. Whatever may have half-dozen anti-slavery sermons which our history,—the quiet scruples of soof Landy atill, the Anti-Slav Garrison's work, and, as agitators, we all owe to him the breath of our nostrils; and I do not see to-day, that in regard to the great principles of the cau there is any difference between him and myself. In our speeches to-day, we have both wandered, on the our speeches to-day, we have both wandered, on the one side and the other, from the direct line off to the Garrison wrote the words which my friend Downing has read to us, as the Declaration of Sentiments o the American Anti-Slavery Society-" We believe that all persons of color, who possess the qualific ch are demanded of others, ought to be ad tions which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others." It was his own pen, that same year, which drew the third article of our Constitution, affirming, as my friend read, that we were to "aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, that thus they may share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges." That was from his pen on the 4th day of December, 1833. This very morning, that same hand writes these words;

"Resolved. That Congress should lose no time it submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution, making the electoral law uniform in all the States, without regard to complexional distinctions."

What can be better Alpha and Omega to the Anti-Slavery Gospel than this Declaration of Sentiments Slavery Gospel than this Declaration of Sentiments and this resolution offered to us to-day? It is the same great leader—whether he accept the title or not—who drafts both these declarations of sentiment and purpose for the Anti-Slavery cause. Whatever, therefore, may be the conclusion of this debate, I recognize the same leading mind at the head of the anti-slavery struggle. In times past, note but his own modest lips ever dreamed of denying him that title; in time to come, we shall need, find and welcome the ame leader.

tion forbidding all State legislation based on distinctions of color, I do not believe there is any one in the Society who would oppose it for one moment. We all go for such an amendment; I never heard anything to the contrary.

What, then, is the difficulty ! What is the fault to be found with the Society on those matters? The question before the meeting, as I have understood it from the remarks that have been made this afternoon and evening, is the condition on which the rebol States shall be readmitted into the Union—Louisians, for instance; I put this question to the Union—Louisians, for instance; I put this question to the Union until it shall have abolished all legislation based upon distinctions of color! That is the great question before us. Shall we refuse to receive these States into the Union until they shall have adolpted a rule that color shall make no difference at the ballot box, or in labor, or in education! There is not a man among us, Mr. Chairman, who does not be lieve that all laws and customs ought to be abolished that make any distinction of color as a basis of political, social or religious action; but the question is, Shall we shut out the rebel States until they come up to that point, which is of the States are reconstructed, that it secure to the negro the ballot! He says, "No"; I say. "Yes"; and there is our difference. (Applauss.) No difference as to the right—none whatever; and I have been the proposed the substance of the contraction of the color as a basis of political, social or religious action; but the question is, Shall we shut out the rebel States until they come up to that point when you had so the color as a basis of political, social or religious action; but the question is, Shall we shut out the rebel States until they come up to that point when you had so the the only question to the third when the only question to the third when the only question to the third was the contraction of the proper that the only question to the third was the proper that the only question to t on to get the best result ? I answered, Or

inti slaver meeting to-day-Is it good now, and on this special matter of the admission of Louisians, to in-ists sist on the ballot? I think it is. Mr. Wright says throughout the country, would say the same. But the question is, Shall the United States Government be called upon by us to go on with the war and keep the

Mr. WRIGHT. My friend Phillips does not mer to misrepresent me at all; but I want him to add one sentence, which Lalways added—"as the con dition of its return to the Union." Mr. PHILLIPS. Exactly; the ballot for the negro

ate to you why I take this gre

this. As I indicated this morning, the 8th day of

is to be demanded of any rebel State "as the co ion of its return to the Union." Let me, as briefly a

November is my new starting-point. The significa of that canvas, nationally, is this. Of the fwenty-two hundred thousand who voted for Lincoln, some looked to emancipation, some to war, some to peace, as the just. That is the meaning of the twenty-two bundred thousand votes. It is my goal as an Abolitionist and citizen. In order to have it, we must have one ider must have labor resting on manhood,—educated, I ored, because it is labor. In order to that, we mus educated 7 Gen. Banks says that he has set up a for the blacks. I am very much obliged to him for his intentions. I have no doubt there are some hun-dreds of scholars in those schools; but I undertake to say that Gen. Banks cannot educate a mass of men by ny system of benevolence. It never has been done o nation ever yet educated the mass of its people b the simple instrument of benevolence—never. Eng land is the foremost nation of the world, outside of our own; she educates, to a certain extent, her poor, from the motives of benevolence; and the narrow fringe which hangs round wealth and comfort there has some thing like education; but the masses, I suppose nobody will be offended if I say, are almost as ignorar steers, they drive. So are the masses of al ther nations. Fear-the consciousness that the low er classes had power, and hence the need of adding to it intelligence—has been the ruling motive for ferring education on the masses of any land. S as the mere sham which Austria and Prussia call eduation deserves the name, this is its cause and motive cated its masses, that has ever covered every cradic with civilization and intelligence. We spent \$700,000 on this peninsula last year for the education of the common people. Why I I do not believe it is Chris-tian benevolence. I do not believe education for the masses has ever wrung out of the upper classes by any such motive. It has been wrung out of them by mixing that motive with fear, with selfishness. Wellth sees the ballot in the hands of poverty, and knows that its gold and its roof depend upon the use made of that ballot, and wealth hurries to put intelligence on the one side and religion on the other of the baby footsteps that will one day find their way to the bal lot. That is the essence of democratic nothing more unpleasant to me than any allusion to lit mortgages wealth and learning and strength to lift him and myself as antagonists. Whatever may have been the immediate cause of my anti-slavery life and black man. How shall I get it! I will explain. Go of the Anti-Slavery morement, that I may well saye raggedest Irish boy that sells newspapers in the streets I have never uttered an anti-slavery word which I and in a week I will show you the Advertiser and the did not owe to his inspiration; I have never done an Transcript, the Journal and the Herald, the Travellet and the Post covering that boy with their advocacy, and the Post covering that boy with their advocacy, his. More than that: in my experience of nigh thirty years, I have never met the anti-slavery man applause.) And why do they do it? Because that thirty years, I have never met the anti-slavery man sor woman who had struck any effectual blow at the slave system in this country, whose action was not wield about ten thousand votes, and covered with the born out of the heart and conscience of Wm. LLOYD GARRISON. (Loud applause.) I do not forget the ons which sparkle along oles of some tender conthe black man, and I shall have it. The moment I our history,—the quiet scruples of some tender con-sciences,—the passive disapprobation of Friends, their protection of individual fugitives, or the devoted life Gen. Banks may then relieve himself from the labor is of establishing schools; the white m will see to it that those black men, who have their hands on the helm of the State—whose purpose makes life and gold safe or otherwise, are educated. I plan myself always on democratic principles. I am a democrat, ingrained, from top to toe; and I mean to welcome the negro to the same shield that has made me one side and the other, from the direct line off to the come the negro to the same shield that has made me consideration of motives. But it was in 1833 that Mr. and the Irishmen of this peninsula equal and equally safe. I shall give myself no rest till the negro stands

> My friend Garrison says Gen. Banks co My friend Garrison says Gen. Banks cannot give the negro the hallot. I do not blame him for that. I blame him for pretending to make freemen, where in reality he makes apprentices. But he could have given the negro the ballot, had he chosen. He tore in pieces the United States Constitution and the Louisia-na Constitution. Judge Durant has shown that he put them both under his feet, and made a Constitu-tion to suit himself. Then, when Dumas (educated in Paris and a wealthy man) and his comrades asked him for the ballot, and said, "We have earned the malignant hate of every white man in this cite to assein Paris and a wealthy man) and his comrades assets him for the ballet, and esid, "We have earned the malignant hate of every white man in this city to save you; give us the ballet to protect ourselves before you withdraw the United States cannon," he answered them—"I cannot violate Louisiana law "I I heard of a man who committed theft on Saturday, was arrested on Monday, and said to the Sheriff, "I sould have escaped, but I had conscientious acruples against traveling torn in pieces the United States Censtitution and the State Constitution and the State Constitution, had conscientious acruples against giving the black man a vote, because it had once been law in Louisiana. No defence whatever!
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> But I am not arraigning Gen. Banks. He is not the object of this criticism. I criticise Louisiana and his system of apprenticeship; and when you sak me what sort of Louisiana I want, then I answer, I want not only emancipation, but the ballet. My friend, who sits here, [Mr. Foss.] says, "Take emancipation

first, and then get the billot." I have two answers to that. In the first place, when Mr. Lincola offered dions falled for bill's century 1" and answers, "The manufaction to the black man, did we dissolve this mistake has been one only too prevalent at the present dissolve this mistake has been one only too prevalent at the day,—that of trusting the government of the it unews from the into to those who had no share in making it and recream at recream to the same thing is true to-day, it seems to me, in the proclams against take which some Abolitionists make. In the first piace, when Mr. Lincoln offered unerpation to the black man, did we disacte this tely! Mr. Chase said that was efficient; Mr. algomery Blair—of whom, the latest news from shington is, that your President is making his binations cover all Maryland to put that recreant the United States Senate—said, "That Proclams machinations cover all Maryland to put mat recreating into the United States Senate—aid. "That Proclamation frees every slave." Many lawyers said the same. If any one objected that, at the best, the Proclamation only freed the present slave; the masses cried. "Well, that precileally kills the system." But did we dissolve the Sockey? No. We said, "No matter what other men think of that parchment, we mean to have the liberty of the black man now living, and that of his children put beyond doubt. We mean to have the shillren put beyond doubt. We mean to have the system destroyed." Now the nation has taken a stride still further, and says to me, "We will give an actual prohibition of slavery indorred on the Constitution," I say, "Thank you! that is a gain." But, at the same time, I see a fence between me and the negro; I see him, though covered with this parchment prohibition, ground to powder by the power of Sinte sovereignty; I see Salmon P. Chase walking up to the line of fence that divides him from Londstam, looking over, and seeing the white man grind the nto the United States Sen looking over, and seeing the white man grind the negro to powder, and looking on powerless to protect the victim. I recognize the interlocking of State and Federal Governments, as I explained this morning; so like an Abolitionis( with a client, I demand, not only like an Abolitionist with a citerit, I demand, not only the record of the judgment, but the execution in the hands of the Sheriff. (Applause.) I demand, not only an Amendment of the Constitution, but the per-fect power, according to American ideas, put into the hands of the negro, to defend himself. To an Ameriensable, the only effectual assertion can, this is indiscan, this is indispensable, the only effectual assertion and guaranty of the negro's liberty.

"Having given thirty years of my manhood to teat-ing off the shackles, so far as my influence goes, of four millions of staves, I shall not stand by silently,

(Mr. Wright) turns to Illinois, and says, "She don allow her black men to vote,"—I reply, More sham to Illinois; but I have nothing to do with her; she is a loyal State; she has all her State rights; she has got her fence up, and we cannot pass it. But, thank God I the fence between me and Carolina is down, and it shall never be put up until I do my utmost to secure to every man on her soil the ballot. (Loud applause.) My pathway to loyal States is over loyal States. My pathway to Carolina is over the best blood of the North; and in order to open it, we have mortgaged the industry of this generation, and taker so much comfort from the table of every laboring man for fifty years to come; and having now this pov er at such a cost, I intend, before the war is closed, to have out of Carolina, not the parchment form of jus-tice, but its very substance and self. (Loud applause. Then, again, my friend says,-" We have got, in four years, the amendment, and thus, in four more, we will get the ballot." That is not the law, either of national or individual life. You know it is a law of our nature, that after every great spasm comes a lnll; the system rests in order to gather reserved strength, and saves itself for another effort. So nations, after a struggle for a great idea, settle down to the dull routine of common material life. After the Revolution, our fathers devoted themselves to making their bread, building roads, cities, houses, ships England has shown us the same fact once or twice oce half a dozen times within the last century So, mark me, friend! whatever peace you make whatever be the nature and elements of that peace that, and nothing more, must content you for twenty years, unless civil war breaks out anew; for as for mere agitation, America will set the hand of absolute prohibition on the lips of every man who agitates for change for twenty years, if peace is attained. That is the law of national life. What you get by the bargain, you get now, and you will not get any more for some length of time, unless Davis, as I indicated to day, goes over the Rio del Norte with the remainder of his veterans, and watches this nation for the rift o ntent into which he may insert his sword. The Abolitionist is to ask now, or he will find his labor an

and let the nation cheat me out of a sub-

hundred fold greater in all hours to come of our lives. very body to stand behind the Republican party. That party is weak in its very numbers, weak in the very auxiliaries it has received. The old guard saw again, half a dozen Northern and Eastern Senators have told me that the Republican majority may be trusted on all party measures, and while the technical the ablest debater in the Senate, the leader of that body when he goes back there, recognized by many as such. Henry Wilson said to him, when we were cussing the duty of the nation to pay the 54th and h colored regiments, (I give the substance, not the words of the debate,) "It is a question of contract, Mr. Fessenden. Gov. Andrew published his procision mation to the black men as far west as the Mississip-pi, in the columns of a hundred journals, offering they accepted the contract." Turning to the Senator, Mr. Wilson said, "Will you fulfil it?" And what do you think was the answer of the pettifogger who ents the State of Maine ! "I would like to while it refuses to pay the price which it knew its fabor stay, the nation stays, and if they come home, Agent had for long weeks publicly promised in its name; but such remarks presuppose that the negro part of the nation by sending Sherman there, to walk in Buffalo or St Louis, ignorant and a fugitive, poor and friendless, is bound, before answering to the call of Major Stearns, to make, his way, at his own expense, to Boston State House, bto the Governor's chusetts ideas may take penamber, and to ask him—"Gov. Andrew, I hear you must be contented, treated are authorized to calls: blacks—show me your author-ity!" Now, I venture to say there is not one chance in ten hundred thousand million billion (laughter) that even Senator Fessenden would never have used neful evasion in the case of a white Portland

that shameful evasion in the case of a, white Portland regiment saking for its just due. Yet that is the man who has just been returned to the Senste by the State of Maine, to be the leader of that body. Surely, prejudice against color is not wholly dead yet, while men reputable enough to hold public office show themselves, without blushing, thus incapable of applying the same ethics to the white man and to the black. Power entrusted to such hands is sure to bring national disgrace.

Now, it is to a party, the average morality of which is represented by such a man, that we are to trust reconstruction. I will cheerfully trust reconstruction to the man who deals with the negro's rights as he does with the white man's, wherever I find him, and I will never trust it to any man except he be of that class; and I do not find that class either at the White House or in the majority of the Senate. Allow me to remind you of one prophetic warning of Mazzini. In one of his will settle that I''—and the black man was sent to a will settle that I''—and the black man was sent to a will settle that I''—and the black man was sent to a will settle that I''—and the black man was sent to a will settle that I''—and the black man was sent to a will settle that I''—and the black man was sent to a limit of the sent that the sent that it is the same of the matter. Abbilitionist, this is the end and aum or the matter. Abbilitionist, this is the end and aum or the matter. But I say such recognition to suggest. Reconstruction to suggest. Reconstruction to suggest a such that is propher or an anti-alwery platform. But as a citizen, I should have another consideration to suggest. Reconstruction to suggest a such that is propher or an anti-alwery platform. But as a citizen, I should have another consideration to suggest. Reconstruction to suggest a section of suggest and that the same and to the South as you are reconstruction to suggest. I know of a south state of the propher of the sense of

that we make her a part of

the nation. (Applause.) And in order that Massa-chusetts ideas may take possession of Georgia, labor must be contented, treated justly, and farnished with

I will not turn aside to say, as a citizen, no nati

can be safe or at real peace till the laboring class is contented—it will never be so till it feels that it has

all its just rights—education and the ballot among

same thing is true to-day, it seems to me, in the mis-take which some Abolitionists make. They are for letting the helm of the anti-slavery cause go out of the hands of Mr. Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Society into those of Republican Abolitionists, who did not create, but were by as created. Glad and ready as I always am to trust our pioneer, I do not join in that confidence he gives to public men, which leads him, I think; to trust them too implicitly. It seems to me it that same fatal generosity which Marzini and his comrades have met. It is a suicidal policy. We have had enough of it. We stood aside at the beginning of the struggle, and sald, "Let not the odium' that we have incurred hurt the gause—to avoid it, let other men lead the masses forward to this anti-slavery work." We did that as long as prudence would justify. To-day the ship labors in heavy seas. To-day the nation gropes blindly, its purpose all right, but its intelligence at fault; and that honest nation needs the constant, increasant, discriminating criticismwhich my friend Garrison thinks animadversion but which I think necessary, indispensable criticism, the duty of the original anti-slavery host. This is not self-cohecit, as has been intimated. What are we worth, if, after giving thirty years to the study of one question, we do not understand it better than men who were converted yesterday, and their vision distorted by probable sill thes. Containly it is not all contains. which I think neces by prejudice till then ! Certainly, it is not self-conceit to claim that we do in some degree understand this fits trials, in all ages and all climates, under every form of government and faith. We have traced the colored race in all its history; we have studied reform as our daily task; we have stood outside the political machine and watched it; reading the game better than the players. We are wise by thirty years of ex-perience; our vision cleared by the isolation of our cess by the offer of a parchment picture, if I have the ower to get something more; and when my friend perience our vision cleared by the isolation of our lives. Like Tocqueville, on the outside, we have been impartial observers how in America the game of politics was played; and now, at the acme of the ques-tion, in the very crists and agony of the struggle, some are for sitting down, folding their hands, and trusting everything to the newly converted intellect of the country. It is not necessary that I should arraign the conscience. I only refuse to trust the helm in this

night of tempest to a fresh hand.

The Constitutional Amendment, grand and sublime

as that National Act will be, will secure only two

as that National Act will be, will secure only two
things. First,—that there never again shall be an
auction-block for men, under our flag. It abolishes
chattelism. Secondly,—it gives the negro, what he
never had, the liberty, if he is oppressed in Kentucky,
of moving to Missouri; a substantial protection, unless
the laws of the neighboring States forbid, as they now
lawfully may, the full enjoyment of any right except
technical freedom, within their territories. But beyond these two privileges lie a score of questions af-fecting the rights, manhood, civil status, career, educa-tion and national privileges of the negro. For the just settlement of these, we must rely on men who are more than Anti-Slavery, in a narrow and technical sense; on men who use the same ethics for all races. I do not deny that Mr. Lincoln means to be an antislavery man; but I maintain, as I have done since 1881,—and any one who will do me the honor to look over my speeches will see that warp running through them ever since 1881,—that Mr. Lincoln, a Kentuckian, born in the Border States, is not capable of seeing a negro exactly as a white man. It is not in his nature. God will not hold him responsible for this constitutional and almost inevitable defect, or lack. He gives us the blessing of being born under the clear skies of Massachusetts, with no slave system to con-fuse our ethics. You preceive the difference in our public men. Compare Butler with Lincoln: Butler is a Democrat-bred in the very lowest tier and stratum of the worst New England Democracy; but he goes down to New Orleans; the soil is ripe, and the in ment contact with slavery melts the prejudice against blacks, which is a monstrous growth under our New England sky—abnormal, alien to all the general ways and rules of thought and policy here—that moment I claim, therefore, that it is the duty of the anti-sla-very body to stand behind the Republican party.

That party is weak in its very numbers, weak in the and other subjects, whatever chips fly into his face ! this subject clearly; the new men do not. What I I know his early short-comings in the days when he said to you this morning of the state of mind of Congress, the best men there have said to you again and that, after a very short while, he righted; and from that day to this, whatever faults any one may charge have told me that the Republican majority may be him with, no man will assert that Butler ever knew trusted on all party measures, and while the technical the difference between a black man and a white man. liberty of the negro is in the scale; but beyond that, (Lodd appliause). The good seed of this war's exwhen his manhood, civil rights and just claims under perience fell into Massachusetts soil, and the free grew when his manhood, civil rights and just claims under our laws and institutions are urged or in peril, you straight, shapely and well-proportioned. The same good seed fell into Kentucky soil, and the tree grows Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, as a specimen. The son of one of the first aboitionlests in that Commonwealth, better. No matter whether it is the Lincolof's fault, or how much, if any. The only important question is, body when he goes back there, recognized by many.

"What is our duty?" As for Abraham Lincoln, his same. Henry Wilson said to him when we were future is in God's hands — more merifal ludge than future is in God's hands,-a more merciful judge than any one of us. We have not to settle his merit or de-merit. But he stands either a helper or a hindrance to the great question of righting a race, and no man is entitled to call my criticism of him unjust, morbid, too severe, ogili-timed, while I liave a right to claim that justice to the negro and the nation demands it. ph, in the columns of a nundred journals, onering them, if they would be mustered in, the same pay I am only "as harsh as truth, and suncompromising &c., as the whites. The War Department knew that these hundred journals carried that proclamation every morning over the Northern States, and in some the black man shall come out unbraned, with all his aix or twelve weeks, in answer to these calle, Major, Stearns mustered his two regiments, and brought them to Readville. Now that is a Government contract. Every man, certainly every lawyer sees that the Federal Government, which god made to rise, shall rise; and that the head, black or white, that God made to rise, shall rise; eral Government, well-knowing beforehand the offers go down, shall go down. (Applause.) Justice, absorof their Agent, our Governor, was bound by them lute equality before the law, was the high-water level of American politics reached by the theory of the ments. To keep their promise thus made is one. Consequently, and at the same time refuse the make it real, it shall be real before the featurent are called by called home, and peace is made. (Applause.)
Nationality, to me, means the idea. It goes exactly
as far as the idea goes, and not an inch further. You
may send Grant's cannon down to the Gulf'; you do not
send the nation there, necessarily. The school-house,
honor to labor, the ballot-box, naturally follow the represents the State of Annual and the common the common that the common that

FEBRUARY 17. ion, twenty miles down the river, to work for plantation, twenty miles down the river, to welt to eight dollars, a month! Does that make is counted in the country of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through. And we shall in very of the country through, and we shall in very of the country through the country through of the dev in the country through our debt off like dev in the country of the country through the country throu brown upward into being above it inevitally. De-North crowded, wages railing, the supply beyed at demand; tax prices, and industry mortgaged to plut demand; tax prices, and industry mortgaged to plut demand; tax prices, and industry mortgaged to plut depth will. Write Repudiation on its banner. States thing. Bring back such men as Judge Freil in the United States Congress, and you bring back the size of the Democratic party. You bring back a size of the Democratic party. You bring back a size of the Democratic party. To be been size of the Democratic party. To be size of McCela. Holding such allies in one hand and in the color tax. Holding such allies in one hand and in the other than Holding such allies in one nand and in the other for Bank despotism which our present monetary trees, gives the Government, the Democratic party will be committed as a fearful trial for Republican Institution. omnipotent—a fearful trial for Republican Institution. What will they do! They will say to the North tepposing the Anti-Slavery amendment secured—for temen, you have immediate emancipation—you vast full citizenship for the black. The Northera on science wants inslimited, entire, as conditional, shanning the angular pro-quo. We will sell, grediene; we will sell cheap. The Northera conscience wants entire emancipation—we will give it; only fad or determined. will sell cheaps. The Northern conscience wants extire emancipation—we will gire it; only fasd our det
along with your own." Leare the South one when de
caste, and she will go into Congress to trade with it;
and the Northern conscience, anxious to get rid of the
perili, will trade easy. The offer will be, "we will
give you black citizenably in fall, immediately or in far
years, or, four; but put our bottomiess det on your
aboutders." Seal that bargain, and cheated lake
writes. Repudiation on its banner.

O, no, citizens! This is a "big job" basis.

writes, Repudiation on its banner.

O, no, citizens I This is a "big job." It holes political, economy, national honor, justice to the sepn, safety, to the white man, all in its ample grap. It full of the direct issues. They wait at the door, they forward the anter-room, they hover in the offer, they thunder at your gates, threatening the nation's Ec. God has given you one seal of Solomon to dispendent and like shadows. It is justice—shoolts, immadiate, unmixed justice to the nezro. No other said. liate, unmixed justice to the negro. No other spell will control the demons that crowd around, to best back and down the nation in her upward and coward flight. There is no other path but that one hair Justice. As an Abolitionist and a citizen, I use the hours, the precious, golden, momentous hours of these six months to educate the nation, if possible, up to this conviction. I want every lip on this platform, or both sides, to fill the air with its protest, to waken the public to aid us, and bring the nation to its feet in slet vigilance. That is our duty, peculiarly ser duty a Abolitionists. The Past is gone with its rever and sins. The Future is in God's keeping. The Present ne trusts to us to be well shaped and rightly used. Thirty years of earnest toil claim of us this crowning vigilance. The negro, the nation, the world, have th right to claim it of us.

LAUS DEO!

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

On hearing the bells ring for the Constitutional Anendabolishing Slavery in the United State It is done!

Clang of bell and roar of gun Send the tidings up and down. How the belfries rock and reel, How the great guns, peal on peal, Fling the joy from town to town!

Ring, O bells ! Every stroke exulting tells Of the burial-hour of crime. Loud and long that all may hear, Ring for every listening east Esernity and Time!

Let us kneel!
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground.
Lord forgire us! What are we That our eyes this glory see, That our ears have heard the sound!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the cartbquake He has spoken:
He has smitten with His thunder The iron walls asunder

And the gates of brass are broken! Loud and long Lift the old exulting song ; Sing with Miriam by the sea He hath cast the mighty down : Horse and rider sink and drown

He hath triumphed gloriously! Did we dare, In our agony of prayer, Ask for more than He has done When was ever His right hand Over any time or land Stretched as now beneath the sun?

How they pale, seient myth, and song, and tale, In this wonder of our days, When the cruel red of war Blossoms white with righteons law, And the wrath of man is praise !

Blotted out ! All within and all about Shall a fresher life begin ; Freer breathe the univers As it rolls its heavy curse On the dead and buried sin!

It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a roice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

Ring and swing Bells of joy ! on morning's wing end the song of praise abroad;
With a sound of broken chains, Tell the nations that He re Who alone is Lord and God! reigns

Who alone is Lord and God!

THE FRIEND OF PROGRESS is the title of a maprine, established by C. M. Plumb & Co., New Yeth City, of which four numbers have thus far been issued. It, is started as the organ of the "progressire thinkers on religious and social topice, and has irready colleted a good deal of talent among is contributors. Rev. O. B. Frothingham farnishes is each issue one of his remarkably brilliant, thoughtful said well-reasoned casaya. Of the other more noticeable writers are T. W. Higginson, Geo. S. Barkeja, Ber. Edward C. Towne, and Alice and Phebe Cary, Mr. Edward C. Towne, and Alice and Phebe Cary. Towne writers a series of articles addressed to Heart Towne writers a series of articles addressed to Heart Ward Beecher, on the subject of his theological tens, which are pointed and searching. The animal steadily increase in merit. Its subscription price is 20 per annum.

DORATION: Rev. L. A. Grimes has recived a communication from Mrs. P. W. Freeman, the left who drew the cabinet organ placed at raffe in the recent fair at Mercantile. Hall, enclosing \$40 for its benefit of the families of our colored soldiers. A ref. praiseworthy act.

H

BOS I a wind a street in the confidence of the c

Mr I I Can o leet to leet to make ful k leiaur repir I late, I vey t ing a

To const of his and to terly many GE ant a zer :-

My ter se ple, I a stat preac at len ished ing th check

Of the L of na sent t will. closed thank will. closed thank will. closed thank present to his present to his me, a cen t low in Library low in a cen t low in a cent low

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Gr. Union Co. Union Co. Union Co. In the In the Interest Co. In th

# The Biberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! ROSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1865.

I SEPAN THE DECLARATION MADE A YEAR AGO, THAT THE I SEPAN IN MY POSITION, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT WE SERVED THE TENDED THE EMBELT OF MODIFY THE EMBELTATION PROCLAMATION, BUILD I SERVER ANY PERSON WHO IS PRESENTED. TERES OF THAT PROCLAMATION, OR BY ANY OF TH NAME OF MEASS, MAKE IT AN EXECUTIVE DUTY TO BE OR OR WEATS, MARE IT

SELECT FERSONS, ANOTHER, AND NOT I, MUST BE
SELECTED SELECTION IT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT.

stemmer, after the public exhibition in this city Mr. W. T. Cariton's very meritorious painting, en res Hour "-the Hour of Emancipati he President's Proclamation of January 1, it was deemed eminently fitting that it should mark of personal respect, and warn der Lincoln as act, whereby more than three operation of his act, whereby more than three operations of elters were broken, and a death-dealing micro system of chat-The list of subscribers was beaded by Andrew, and composed of some of our most re Gor Andrew, and composes of some or our most re-speciel citizens—the sum raised amounting to \$500. The painting was duly forwarded to Washington, acaied by an explanatory and congratulatory le the President; but, though the safe arrival of i gto the President; but, though the sate art of it is the White House was ascertained, its receipt has a the White House was ascertained, its receipt has remained anacknowledged till now. The reason for remained anacknowledged till now. The reason for the its attractority given in the following ingenuent and appreciative letter just received by us from

Liscoin:

Washington, 7th February, 1865.

Washington, 7th February, 1865.

Dale Mr. Garrison:

I have your kind letter of the 21st of January, and lare your kind letter of the 21st of January, and solve any bry that you will pardon the seeming negality bry that you will pardon the seeming negality bry that you contain engagements. When cretified by privide and admirable painting, which is privided and admirable painting, which is privided and admirable painting, the seeming the se

pager not, spring at all.

There you will believe that my thanks, though the most cordial, and I request that you will contribe to those associated with you in this flatter-

11m, rery truly.
Your friend and servant,
A. LINCOLN. WE LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.

In the nature of the case, the President must b to the nature of the multifarious duties of his dice, aside from all presentations of this kind; and the nikrel is that he has not long since been utbroken down by the pressure. Nevertheless mer his days be long in the land!

GENEROUS AND CHARACTERISTIC. Here is a please at and pithy note from Rev. HENRY WARD BEECH

BROOKLYN, Feb. 4, 10790My Dear Mr. Garrison—I have had the Liberative to me, free, for several years; on the principle, I presume, that I needed it. So long as I was in rate of nature, I consented to have a free gospel practed to me. But, as I have made up my mind, sleed, that slavery is an evil, and ought to be abolised, I suppose that I can find no good reason for taking the Liberator without paying for it. Please find a deck for \$23.

I am very truly yours,
II. W. BEECHER. BROOKLYN, Feb. 4, 1875.

Of course we did not mean, by sending our friend state on the anti-slavery question, or to place en under any obligations for receiving it; but the paper as an act of personal esteem and good As he would not like to have the check he en descrior his generous co-operation.

Broser Kindunss. A few weeks since, we pub iched a touching lester from our esteemed and vener sile friend, John Barrey, of Lynn, in which he ex pressed his very deep regret that his limited pecuniar, reins rould not permit his continuing his subscription to the Liberator. We intended to send the paper 12 him without charge; but, no sconer was his letter en by one of our subscribere than it elicited the fol bring appreciative note :-

Boston, January 16th, 1865. BOSTON, JANUARY-JOHN, 1000.

BEAR FRIEND GARRISON-CONTINUE to send the Librator to our aged friend, JOHN BALLEY, of Lynn. It some one of quicker thought has got the start of me, speoppriate the enclosed (83,50) to alike purpose as one other direction. Very truly yours, Fekral Street.

A few days after the receipt of this, another (ut

For this double payment, we are sending a copy o the Liberator to another poor but meritorious friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, who has labored long therein, and by whom the reading of the paper will be greatly

EMANCIPATION JUBILEE. The colored citizens of Boston held a meeting in the Tremont Temple, o kanday evening, to celebrate the passage of the antiment of the Constitution of the United William Wells Brown presided, and in a few congratulatory remarks explained the object of the the lith chapter of Exodus by Rev. Mr. White. Rev. Mr. Grimes of recedency of Net. Art.

Mr. Grimes of Green prayer. The song "Vival'America" vassung by Prof. Stewart. Addresses followed by Rev. J. D. Fulton, Rev. William R. Alger, John S. Red. William R. Alger, John William Lloyd and Hon. George Thompson. Although this was inand the special celebration of the great event by the colored citizens of Boston, strange, to say there were scarcely any of them present. Either the meetnot have been held, or they should have hen fully represented on the occasion. Fortunately three attendance of their white friends saved the eeting from being a failure.

GRAND DEMONSTRATION. The Colored People' Association gave a grand demonstra nal Hall, Market street, Philadelphia is bosor of the Amendment to the Constitution thanking slavery in the United States, on Wednesday renning, February 15th. Addresses were determined by distinguished speakers. Music he had stinguished speakers. Music by a band spuder with a chorus, by upwards of one hundred distree, who performed several pleces, under the ferction of William A. Burris. There was also ion during the evening.

In AMENDMENT. Since the passage of the measurement by Congress, fourteen States have fully model it; Indiana has ratified it through one house of her Indiana. her Legislature, and but one State (Delaware) ha

Carpenter's picture of the reading of the had to Washington. It is to be temporarily hung

is The Bichmond papers state that the rebe-banic had unanimously rejected the proposition to us 20,000 slaves. One reason for this is, probably, to be this Lee is very short of arms for his white tops, and has recently issued an order for collecting all sets of small fire-arms.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXVII.

New York, Feb. 9, 1865.

New York, Feb. 9, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Prof. Felton remarked, in his visit to Modern Greece, the injurious effect upon the people of their fito frequent holidays. It seems as if our colored fellow-countrymen were in danger of suffering from the very same cause. The climax is perfect from John Brown and the 2d of December to New Year's Day and the Preclamation, and now to the 81st of January and the Constitutional Amendment. For two consecutive months, the enfranchised race will be naturally neerry, and pardonable if indolent. Nor will our white population be destitute of sympathy in these iniversaries. The difficulty is to entertain feelings commensurate with even the least of them, and no wonder that the last and the greatest is either not celebrated at all, or defies all attempts at adequate expression. We who, by abolishing slavery, have assisted at the birth of a new nation, cannot foresee the man-child's fature; or, if a glimpse is lind, we fear to be thought extravaggant in our predictions. That America, long extravagant in our predictions. That America, lon a name for the Old World's oppressed to conjure with will work abroad hereafter with irresistible potency, must be evident to the smallest reflection. A friend muss be evident to the smallest reflection. A friend of mine, of Teutonic propensities, has set off this idea

> DER JUBEL: DEN 31 STEN JANUAR, 1865.

Es schrei'n die Völker freudenreich: "Die Freihelt kommt zur Erde wieder! Und ihr Gesicht ist nicht mehr bieleh, Und ketterlos sind ihre Glieder.

"Die alte Wund'—wer sie geseh'n, Wer hätt 's geglaubt, sie könnte narb Das schwarzgekleidte Liebchen steh'n Wie heut' in diesen hellen Farben !

"Sie kommt doch 1 wehe dem Tyrann"! Kein fester Ort soll ihn beschützen. Der jüngste Tak bricht furchtbarlan Dort über seines Schlosses Spitzen.

" Sie kommt! die Thure birst entzwei,

"Der Kerker öffnet sich; die Gruft Hat ihre Opfer hingegeben: Der freie Mensch in freier Luft Geniesst das neuerlangte Leben.

"O, wie der ewige Jude, lauf, Unsterbliche! bei allen Landen; Richte die matten Völker auf, Und die Despoten mach' zu Schanden!" It was inauspicious that your rejeicing in Bosto

which Gen. Butler styled "the funeral obsequies o

slavery," should have been marred by an attack from that distinguished leader upon Gen. Sherman's order of colonization. No one who is acquainted with the views of Secretary Stanton will doubt that he was the author of the scheme in its general scope, though he probably consulted Gen. Sherman, and, it has even been affirmed, the freedmen themselves upon the de-tails. In this we may detect a sufficient (if the only) motive for his visit to Savannah. It is next to be remarked, that the order does not pretend to be a plan of reconstruction for the entire territory in rebellion; its provisions were made to suit a specific emer gency, and are to be judged by the conditions which determined them. For instance, there were a contridetermined them. For instance, there was a certain number of freed people who must be cared for, and a definite district to which they must be assigned. It was desirable to establish families in homesteads, and to this end it was necessary to distribute whatever territory was available. Now, Gen. Butler may be right in decrying the quality of the land which has en allotted, but what else was there to give ? The marsh and fen; but when you are confined to rice land, it is unreasonable to reject it because it will not blossom with cotton. But these islands and river plantations have been the homes of thousands of the blacks, and are confessedly more healthful for them than for the whites. They are also defensible from their isolation, and admit of a naval patrol, which the Government insures them. Forty acres, pays Gen. Butler, are not an equivalent for one hundred and sixty. Very true; but suppose the allotment was restricted by the extent of territory; shall some be unprovided for that many may get their due, or all be endowed with something, though it be less than any man's due? Shall we be indignant that those who never owned their own persons, are suddenly invested with permanent abodes, and encouraged to im-prove their property to the utmost? Let the freed-man scorn his quarter-loaf before we counsel him to man scorn his quarter-loaf before we counsel him to starve till the whole loaf can be had. Gen. Butler omitted to remind his auditors that the bulk of the population to be furnished with land is composed of population to be furnished with land is composed of cultivators and artians, and that it was an especial favor to the colored soldier to include him among the recognized applicants for a settlement. As a bounty, this may not be equal to what the white soldier will obtain, but it is all the locality affords, and will be prized by men who have just acquired a right of ownership in themselves. Gress composite it made of ership in themselves. Great complaint is made of the segregation of the blacks, and the stringent exclusion of white residents from these colonies. The phraseology of the order does imply the non-admission of teachers, but Mr. Stanton was far from mean-

material welfare he is so solicitous; and I condently predict that the various freedmen's associations will find no obstacle to their beneficent labors in the newly opened fields which Gen. Saxton governs. Where there is only evidence of good intentions, we Where there is only evidence of good intentions, we should be careful not to criticise and condemn as almost criminal the acts of men who are constrained by when the interference consists in establishing then on an independent footing upon their native ground, and in preparing them, however imperfectly, for comand in preparing them, however imperfectly, for competition in the marts of industry, and in the regenerated society of the South. Least of all is if fitting, ules of slavery, to stigmatize a at the funeral obseques of savery fundamental postu-late of that system, and by which, for the first time in the history of the war, it is conceded that the prime duty of the black man is not to swell the govlike any other freeman-the subject of equal laws yet having a special claim upon the government for assistance and protection, by reason of two centurie assistance and protection, cylinder of repression and bloody outrage.

M. DU PAYS.

ing to obstruct the enlightenment of those for whose material welfare he is so solicitous; and I confidently

CROWDED. Since the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Auti-Slavery Society, our columns have been largely occupied with the report of its proceedings and the speeches of the most prominent speakers—to the exclusion of much other matter, par speakers—to the exclusion of much other matter, par-ticularly the favors of correspondents, who, by patient waiting, will lose nothing in the end. Next week, we shall publish a full report of the very eloquent speech made at the last evening session by Gronco Tripurson, Esq.,—a speech which gave the highest satisfaction to those who heard it, reminding them of Mr. Thompson's oratory in his palmy days. The week after, we shall be able to find room for the Report of the Ladies, Massacres of the last Subscientific April.

A SURPRISE!

RESPONDED FAIRND-MR. GARRISON. A noble group of friends, from all our religious societies, best my house, Tuesday evening, in the shape of "A warprise," gage me a purse of nearly \$500, and with words of cheer bade me go on in my Temperance. Fitchburg, Feb. 9th, 1865. GEO. TRASK.

been to this disinterested and persevering laborer in the field of reform, whose efforts to save men and women from fifthy habits and unnatural appetites, as from filthy habits and unnatural appetites, as ing to the use of strong drink and tobacco, are

deserving high praise, and constant generous co-opera-tion. The following is the felicitous poem that was written for the occasion by the gifted Mrs. CAROLER A. MASON, of Fitchburg, whose effusions entitle her name to a conspicuous place on the scroll of American female poets:—

Behold the sacred promise not in vain; Give, and it shall be given to you again; Who watereth others, lo! himself shall b Watered and cheered, and that abundant

So to your generous, open door we bring, O friend revered I our free will offering: Content and glad if only we may be God's chosen almoners to thine and thee.

O patient hand! that still through toil and doubt Hast held, unfluching, Truth's bright beacon out; O loyal, steaffast soul! still strong to wield Thy weapon only death can make thee yield!

Gird yet thy sword, undannted, on thy thigh ! Heaven is thy champion, angels thine sily ! What though thine earthly triumphs seem but small ? Truth is divine, and God is over all !

And though this offering that we bring is weak, Dear triend, to symbol what our hearts would speak, Accept it in His name who bids us bear Each other's burdens: 'tis his work we share. That thought shall hallow, with a warmer glow, This meed of sympathy that we bestow, Bidding thee still pursue thine upward road, Working for Truth, Humanity, and God.

His hand uphold thee—guide thee as of old; And when, at length, thy years on earth are told, His mercy crown thee with this sweet award— "Well done! well done! thou servant of the Lord!"

CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTH DAY-CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

DAY—CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

EMANCIPATION was celebrated in this city, on Thursday, by the ringings of the bells. They were probably rung in all the citles and towns of the State, and it is proper that they should be over the whole land. What a change of public sentiment does this indicate! Would the bells of Newburyport have been ringing four years ago, if Congress had taken like action! I knust have been a glad day to Garrison, and those who commenced this struggle with him thirty-flve years since. Of those original men, three were natives of Old Newbury, Garrison being the only survivor; and John G. Whitter was another of the twelve, living within sight of us. Those who still remain must on Thursday, have felt something as did old Simeoa.

The passage and signature of the act for the amend-

still remain must on Thursday, have felt something as did old Simeon.

The passage and signature of the act for the amendment of the Constitution—which is the real proclamation of Liberty throughout the land—caused great Joy in this city. While the bells were ringing out their merry peals, the flags were run up in all parts of the town, the boys brought out their pistols and burned their fire-works, the people collected in the streets to congratulate each other, the Committee gave the schools a holiday, and all appeared as glad as the occasion demanded. We think it will be further celebrated—probably on the 22nd of February, if Mr. Garrison can make it convenient to be the orator at that time. His friends will sake him to speak first after the triumph of his policy, in this his native town. On such an occasion, he would have a story to tell that no other man of the nation could tell. The people with bands of music would greet his advent. Such a day would bring a song from the New England poet, who might grace the platform with his presence; and all would regret that the associates of the orator and the poet—like Moses and Aaron who led the people through the wilderness—had passed on without entering the promised land.—Newburgort Herald.

The Celebration of the 22nd. Arrangements

ing the promised land.—Newburgport Herald.

The Celebration of the Constitutional abolition of sixvery, on the 22nd inst., the anniversary of the birth of George Washington. The City Hall has been engaged for that evening. William Lloyd Garrison will deliver the oration, and John G. Whittier, the Quaker Poet, will write a song for the occasion, and himself be present. We shall be able to announce the entire programme in a few days; and we hope that our citizens will enter heartily into the demonstration. However much people may have differed as to the measures for the abolition of slavery, that it is now a "fixed fact," and as parties, whatever their politics, love not slavery, but hate it as an evil and as in, all will rejoice in that fact. This consummation is the triumph of the principles and policy first enunciated by Mr. Garrison, and therefore it is to him a personal triumph; and Mr. Garrison being a native of Newburyport, it is meet that this celebration should take place with his fellow-townsmen, who have now come to an agreement with him on this subject. He will return to his own—to the place of his birth, not as a warrior glorying in bloody victory, but as a moral reformer whom Provilence has spared to see the fullest realization of the fruits of his labors and the hopes of his life.—Newburyport Herald.

Anone the Chances which events have produced

AMONG THE CHANOES which events have produced in men and communities may be mentioned the fact, that William Lloyd Garrison has received and accepted an invitation to deliver an address in Newburg-port, on the 22nd inst., Washington's Birthday. It was an in that city Mr. Garrison was born, and learned his trade as a printer. It was there he conducted a paper, advocating the election of Harrison Gray Otis as Governor of Massachusetts. It was at the same place he determined to devote himself to the cause of abolition, and adopted his uncompromising resolution in regard to slavery. It was owing, we believe, to his mortification that a ship from his native town was chartered for the inland slave trade, that he wrote the article that led to his incarceration in a Baltimore prison; one of the consequences of which was the inspiration of his noble sonnet, "The Free Mind."

Mr. Garrison may at times have felt the truth of the saying, that the prophet is not without honor, save in his own country. If so, he has lived to see its application to himself become obsolete, to find his life-work approaching a triumphant close, and to be able, an honored guest, to revisit "home," and ANONG THE CHANGES which events have produced

verse pass the joyous hours."

ce, attracted by the an ed to-day by a large audience, attracted by the an-nouncement that the Rev Henry Highland Garnet, a negro, was to preach. Mesers. Boutwell, Eliot, and other representatives were present, with many promi-nent officials. Some of the most fashionable ladies in the city, and a large number of colored people, who were not restricted to any portion of the galleries, but sat mingled with the fairer portion of the eongregation, were also present. The singing was by the choir of the Israel church, a colored congregation, and surpass-ed any devotional music ever, heard at the Capitol. The officiating clergy man took his text from the 23d chapter and 4th verse of St. Matthew:

"For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they them-selves will not move them with one of their fingers."

selves will not move them with one of their fingers."

Upon this passage he based a thorough anti-slavery sermon, which displayed great intellect, research and oratorical power, and no one present could dispute his acquaintance with the subject of his discourse. He feelingly alluded to his first recollections, in his native State of Mariand, of his mother in chains, and of the cracking of his master's whip. He was listened to with marked attention, and his preaching in the hall which so recently reverberated with the arrogant arbitraism of slavery concluded another of the significant, "signs of the times."

shall publish a fall report of the very eloquent speech made at the last evening session by Groons Thompson, Esq.,—a speech which gave the highest satisfaction to those who heard it, reminding them of Mr. Thompson's oratory in his palmy days. The week after, we shall be able to find room for the Report of the Ladies'-Managers of the late Subscription Anniversary at the Music Hall, on which occasion the amount of donations made exceeded THEER THOURAND DOLLARS.

23 The General Agent scknowledges the receipt of the following sums as donations to the Liberator from friends abroad, through Samuel May, Jr.:

From Richard D. Webb, Dublin, Ireland, \$35-48 or Miss Mary A. Estilin, Bristol, England, 20 on These foreign tokens of interest in the continuance of the Liberator are gratefully appreciated.

particulars in reference to Mr. I hmond, and how the conference at. Particular instructions were gives all the par how the rebel commissioners should pass through our lines, promising them safe conduct and protection. The President communicates copies of all the correspondence in relation to the conference, and his instructions to Mr. Seward, who was directed to confer on the basis of a restoration of the national authority—no recedible by the Executive on the slavery question—no cessation of hostilities short of the end of the war, and the disbanding of the rebel forces. Mr. Seward was further instructed that he was not definitely to conclude any arrangement, but to hear all they might choose to say, and report to the President. The President, in the meanwhile, sent an order to Gen. Grant, nor to delay military operations.

Mr. Saward communicated with the President, and the latter went down on representations of Gen. Grant, having previously received a dispatch stating that the Commissioners had accepted the proposed terms on which the conference was to take place.

The Message concludes as follows:—

On the morning of the 3d the sentiment.

The Message concludes as follows:—

On the morning of the 3d, the gentlemen, Mesars. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, came aboard of our steamer, and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself of severah hours' duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there inside or mentioned. No other person was present. No papers were explanged or produced, and it was in advance agreed, that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely. On my part, the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State, inertofore recited, was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith; while by the other party is was not said in any event or on any conthing was said inconsistent therewith; while by the or party is was not said in any event or on any con-on they ever would coment to reunion, and yet equally omitted to declare that they never would onsent. They seemed to desire a postponement of question, and the adoption of some other course, which as some of them seemed to argue, night lead to reunion, but which course we thought ild amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result, he foregoing, containing, as is believed, all the in-nation sought, is respectfully submitted.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ormation sought, is respectfully submitted.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
Executive Mansion, Feb. 10, 1855.

Executive Mansion, Feb. 10, 1865.

To the President of the Confederate States:

Siz: Under your letter and appointment of the 28th, we proceeded to seek an informal conference with Abraham Lincoln. President of the United States, upon the subject mentioned in your letter. The conference was granted, and took place on the 80th, on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads, where we met President Lincoln and Hon. Mr. Sward, Secretary of State of the United States. It continued for several hours, and was both full and explicit. We learned from them that the measage of President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States in December last, explains clearly and distinctly his sentiments as to the terms, conditions and method of proceeding by which peace can be secured to the people, and we were not informed that they would be modified or altered to obtain that end. We understood from him that not terms or proposals of any treaty or agreement, looking to any ultimate settlement, would be entertained or made by him with the authorities of the Confederate States, because that would be a recognition of their existence as a separate power, which under no circumstances would be done, and for like reasons that no such terms would be entertained by him from States separately; that no extended truce or armistice as at present advised would be granted or allowed without satisfactory assurances in advance of a complete restoration of the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States over all places within the States of the Confederacy; that whatever consequences may follow from the re-establishment of that authority must be accepted, but that the individuals subject to pains and penalties under the laws of the United States in pain and penalties under the laws of the Constitution of the United States, because that we are substanced to the power confided to him to remit those pains and penalties, if peace be restored.

During the conference, the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, or any

Jeff. Davis has sent a message to the rebel Congress saying in substance that Lincoln refused an armitities of any length, refused recognition either of the Confederacy or any State composing it, refused independence, and only conceded the merciful and liberal exercise by himself of the pardoning power. During the conference he communicated the passage by Congress of the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, and declared that the question was whilly removed from his control and placed beyond negotiation.

ing savery, and occurred that the queen and the removed from his control and placed beyond negotiation.

The Richmond Enquirer of the 6th says: "Submission, abolition and reconstruction were the only terms that could be got out of Lincoln and Seward by the Peace Commissioners. Hence the South has only to fight." It also says this result will have the effect to unite the people more closely and strongly than ever. If defeated and destroyed, those who survive will have nothing worse to submit to than is now demanded by the enemy."

If defeated and destroyed, those who survive will have nothing worse to submit to than is now demanded by the enemy."

The Sentine says the South has been insulted. It regards the passage of the Constitutional Amendment as an outrage, an upurning of the social institutions of the South, and robbery of its citizens. Lincoln's prepositions were that the South should lay down their arms and disperse to their homes, and he would appoint for the Confederate States Marshals, Attorneys and judges for the United States Courts; that in executing the confiscation law he would do it as leniently as possible; that he would treat neither with the Confederate States nor any State separately; that lew will listen to nothing short of unconditional submission to the Constitution and the laws passed under it; that the slavery question was disposed of and not now to be discussed.

Governor Smith of Virginia calls a meeting to respond to Lincoln's answer to the rebel commissioners. The Sential endorses the call, and says: "Let us put our heel on Lincoln's insolent insult, and return defiance to his menaces.

THE SPIRIT OF THE RENKL LEADERS. Mr. Jefferson Davis proclaims the tenth of March next as a day for "public fasting, humiliation, and prayer, with thanksgiving to Almighty God." He exhorts the South to pray, in conclusion, "that the Lord of Hosts will be with our [Confederate] armiers, and flight for us against our enemies, and that he will graciously take our cause into his own hand, and mercifully establish for us a lasting, just and honorable peace and independence."

ence."

A daily journal says truly that this proclamation is near to sacrilege. The rebel President saks Divine favor for the acts which the rebels have committed during the last four years: favor for a conspiracy to sank A. Allen sabvert the only nation in Christendon wherein a man is permitted to "worship God according to the die."

Mrs. Philander Shaw Mrs. Philander Shaw tates of his own conscience; "favor for a cause which is founded upon the worst system of human oppression, in direct contravention to that "new commandment" which is the foundation of the Christian religion; favor for a cause that has drenched a nation with blood and caused sorrow to pervade every hamilet; favor for a rebellion that seeks to subvert right and build up a fabric dedicated to oppression and wrong.

WEST VIRGINIA FREE. The Constitution under which West Virginia was admitted into the Union prohibited slavery only after a term of years. Now both houses of her Legislature have concurred in the following, which becomes law immediately on the approval of the Governor: "Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Vir-

ginia:

1. All persons held to service or labor as slaves in this State are bereby declared free.

2. There shall hereafter be neither slavery nor invol-untary servitude in this State, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly con-victed.

NEGRO SOLDIERS KILLED BY GUERILLAS. A party of negro soldiers, numbering about eighty, left Camp Nelson, Ky., for Louisville, last Wednesday, with a dozen of cartle. They were attacked by fifteen guerillas, and probably made no resistance, as no attack was expected. The robbers shot them down in cold blood, and a gentleman who has visited the scene of butchery counted thirty-five dead bodies lying in and near the road. It is known that not one of the guerillas was wounded.

23 Gen. Sherman set apart the South Carolina coast Islands for the Georgia negroes freed by his army. If the rebels persist in their refusal to treat, we hope the Government will set apart the whole South for the negroes or whoever else desires to settle there.—Newburgport Herald.

WELL CHOSEN NOTTOES.

Daniel O'Connell, Father Theobald, and 60,000 other Irishmen, wrote to frishnen in America these word: "Oppose clavery by all the peaceful means in your power. Join with the Abellitants everywhere; they are the countient advocates of liberty. Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the saids man, all alvery for the Mach man; and that you are for liberty for all, of every color, creed and country."

Maryland recognises the wisdom of the advice, and conforms to it by emancipation.

The colored race fought in the Revolution, and under fackson, Perry, Stewart, Decatir, Bainbridge, and other secreces, against English aristoracy and tyrausy; and hey will always be found on the side of justice. Maryland to her sister Southern States greeting would "speak unto you, and show you these glad tidli My bondsmen and bondswomen I have made free. Do likewise!"

"The Union will not be divided by Mason and Dixon ine, or any other line. The North will never tolerate a livision of territory."—John Hickman in Congress, Dec. 12,

1859.
"The curse of our nation is almost blotted out; but let into the said that Catholic citizent took pity on the brute, and bound its wounds, and played the part of the Good Samaritan to the monster."—Archichop Pyrcell.
"Ass mere question of justice, no one can allege any right to reduce a human being to slavery. It is detestable to mind and heart. And, moreover, he who reduces a free man to slavery is excommunicated by the Church. Slavery is the cause of all our national trouble."—Archichop Purcell.

Purcell.

"Emancipation was just to Ireland. Emancipation is ust to Negroes." All praise to Daniel O'Connell, the author of the first, and to Abraham Lincolo, the author of the last.

Referring to the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment by Congress, an exchange says.—
This result is a memorable victory far greater tflan my the nation has gained since it secured its Independence. Amid the exciting events surrounding us suused by our efforts to unaintain that independence, ec cannot appreciate the successful culmination of

triumpa too:

2. Daniel Webster, was born January 18, 1782, and died October 24, 1862, aged 70, years, 9 months and six days; Edward Everett was born April 11, 1794, and died January 15, 1885, aged 70 years, 9 months and 4 days. The difference between their ages at the time of death was therefore only two days.

Theodoro Tilton, in a recent address at Chicago, denounced, with deserved severity, the infamous Black laws of Illinois. A colored man heard bim with delight. He was a fugitive from slavery, but is now an opalent merchant. He entertained Mr. Tilton at a splendid banquet; everything being in the highest style of sumptuousness; even the table-cloth and bill of fare being of white satin. Ladies with Southern sympathies in Washing on and Baltimore have a new way of "distinguish

A great fire occurred in Philadelphia on the 8th inst., which destroyed 20 lives, 100 buildings, and \$500,000 worth of property.

PLEDGES Mendell Phillips, George Thompson, Mrs. Mary May, Samuel May, Jr., Jas. M. W. Yerrinton, E. H. Day, Lewiston, Mrs. Caroline R. Putns

## COLLECTIONS

Eliab Wight A. A. Bent

m. Willis

nittee. Annual Meeting, Jo By Finance Co 1 00 1 00 1 00 1 00 1 00 0 50 \$ 1 00 Robert R. Crosby 1 00 Mrs. Daniel Mitchell J. Buffum H. B. Shaw J. Hayward P. King W. Wilson Hannah B. Drape Anna T. Draper Charlotte A. Joy Mrs. A. W. Clapp George Draper Mrs. Wm. Ives Mary Willey Katy C. Ruth Buffum W. W. Dutcher R. Howland 1 00 George M. Ros 1 00 Miss Em 

0.50 D. S— 1 00 Abby A. Bennett 2 00 Edward B. Perkins 1 00 Maria S. Page 1 00 Willard Russell 1 00 Mary Clap 5 00 M. H. L. Cabot Mrs. R. A. Danforth w 1 00 Lillie B. Chace 1 00 Samuel May, Jr., 1 00 A Friend 2 00 E. Allen 1 00 M. B. C. 1 00 Mary C. Sawyer 0 50 J. Sawyer 1 00 E. A. Spring 1 00 H. Willey 1 2 00 Mrs. S. S. Pringl

27 25 MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY. TREASURER'S REPORT.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

DR.

1864. } For balance,
Jan. 1. }
Samuel May, Jr., for salary and expenses as
General Agent,
Expenses of Annual Meeting in 1864,
Rent of office one year,
R. F. Wallcut, salary as Depository Agent,
J. M. W. Yerrinton, for reporting,
Expenses of New England Anti-Slavery Convention,
Office boy.

vention,
Office boy,
C. C. Burleigh, attending Convention, Total, \$2112 81

Jan. 28. By collections at Annual Meeting, \$407 13 "N. E. Convention, 408 89 "bequest of Mary T. Tidmarsh, 400 00 "piedges, donations, 4c., 896 79 Total, \$2112 81

EDMUND JACKSON, Tw

there—Newburyport Herald.

Jan. 2, 1865. I have examined the accounts of Edmund Jackson, as Treasurer of the Mass. A. S. Society for the year 1864, and find the same correctly cast and properly vouched—and the above abstract is correct, w.M. I. BOWDITCH, Auditor.

THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC FOR 1865;

The third edition of this popular Annual now ready.

In addition to the usual Calendar and Astronomical alculations, it contains:

United States Government, Ministers, &c.
Senstors and Representatives of XXXVIIIth Congress
XXXIXIth Congress, so far as chosen.
Law passed at the last Sension of Congress.
Public Resolutions and Proclamations. Party Piatforms of 1864, (Baltimore and Chicago.)
The Rebel Government, Congressmen, &c.
Staveholder's Rebellion, or Chronicle of War Eventa.
Native States of the American-born People.

etion Return, for President, Governors, Congressmen, &c., in 1864, compared with the Presidential Vote in itate Capitals, Governors, Salaries, Time Legislatures

meet, Time of State Elections. mest, Time of State Rections.
criterial Capitals and Governors.
opular vote by States in 1854, 1860, and 1864.
ote of 1860 elaborately analyzed and compared, by Population, Free and Slave, with percentage, &c.

PRICE 26 CENTS. SEVEN COPIES FOR ONE DOL

Orders (enclosing cash) should be addressed :

MARRIED-In Fairlee, (Vt.) 7th inst., by Rev. Mr. McAllister, Mr. FRANK M. YERRINTON, of Boston, to Miss NELLIE M., eldest daughter of the late Calvin S. Waterman, Esq., of the former place.

#### A FARM OF 1500 ACRES FOR SALE.

THE St. Mary's Lake Parm, 31-2 miles North from that eity of Battle Creek, Calhoun county, Michigan, is offered for sale. The proprietor wishing to retire, offers this Farm for sale on reasonable terms as to price and time of payments. The Farm condition to 1500 acres of an tich 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, mostly new. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most beautiful sheets of clear crystal water in the country, and one of the finest fishing lakes in the State. This lake is in the centre of the farm, and is a mile and a quarter long by one third of a mile wide. The surroundings of this lake are unsurpassed for beauty of scenery. There are some eight or ten beautiful sites for residences on either side of the lake. No low marshy grounds connected with the shore of the lake. No low marshy grounds connected with the shore of the lake. There are about 400 acres of timber, and 100 acres of the best marks meadow is and on the west side of the farm. The buildings are, the large Farm House, 85 by 56 feet, elevated 50 feet above the lake, commanding a view of a great portion of the farm and of the lake; also, a large frame Bearding-House, and seven frame Tenements; two large Barns, 155 by 70 feet sach, with stabling below for 130 head of cattle; siso, four other Barns, 50 by 40 feet; also, a 5team Circular Saw Mill, 80 by 60 feet—said to be one of the best mills in the State; an Orchard of 800 apple and 1200 of the Colocast peach trees, all in fine bearing order; 350 standard pear crees, a large number of plums, cherries, quinces and a great quantily of grapes and sumil fruits, too numerous to mention. Perhaps there is not a 1500 acre farm in the Union better adapted to cattle and sleep-rasing than is this farm, a gentleman baving sons to settle around him could arrange to make six or eight beautiful farms, each having a large front on the lake, with a beautiful sandy beach. B receive prompt replies. I refer to Henry C. Wright, Charles C. Burleigh and Parker Pillsbury, who have visit-ed the St. Mary's Lake Farm.

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

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral,

FOR THE HAPID CURE OF

Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Hourseness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease. suspitive Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

So wide is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous as the cases of its cures, that almost every section of the country abounds in persons publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other expectorant is too apparent to escape observation; and where its virtues are known, the public ho longer hesitate what antidote to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs that are incident to our climate. While many inferior remedies thrust upon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflict diby can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgotten. We can only assure the public, that its quality is care fully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all that it has ever done. Great numbers of clergymen; phyricians, statemen, and eminent personages, have lent their names to certify the

be relied on to do for their relief all that it has ever done.

Great numbers of clergymen, physicians, statemen, and
eminent personages, have leat their names to certify the
unparalleled unefalness of our, remedies, but space here
will not permit the insertion of them. The agents below
named furnish gratis the ArmitiCAN ALMAKA, in which
they are giren; with also full descriptions of the complaints they cure.

Those who require an alterains medicase to parify the
blood will find Arks Cour. Ext. Exharantle the remedy to us. Try it once and you will know its write.

edy to use. Try it once, and you will know its value.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & C.J., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all druggists.

Jan. 6.

2m.

MR. GARRISON'S PORTRAIT.

THE Portrait of Mr. Garrison, the publication of which has been delayed in consequence of the severa of portracted ilines of the artist engaged in transferring it to stone, its now ready, and will be furnished to subscriber immediately. Orders may be addressed to R.F. WALLCUT, ESq., Liberator office, or to the Publisher. Price \$1.50 per copy.

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

C. H. BRAINARD, Publisher. IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing,

"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

MADAME. CARTEAUX. BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from
213 Washington Street, to
No. 31. WINTER STREET,
where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.
She is sure to cure in nine cases out of tan, as she has
for many years made the hair her attudy, and is sure there
are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.
Her Restorative differs from that of any one slee, being
made from the roots and herbs of the forest.
She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this
country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before
using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from
turning grey.
She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natu-

using the Lestorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey. She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natu-ral color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, at they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing, abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER, **\\TT//一一** 

() ( ( ( ) ) ) ) A Li interested in Phonographic Shorthand should send for the PHONOGRAPHIC VISITOR, No. 4, seven cents. Nos. 1, 7, 3 and 4 now ready, 73 cents.

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June 24. Dec. 1.

A. J. GROVER,

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW. Orrawa, La Salle Co., Illin

For the Liberator. MY KING. BY AUGUSTA COOPER RIMBALL

If my soul has a king, it knows well where to find him Though Fate guards the secret with rigilant eare; And I patiently walt with the crown Love has swince

him; God tells me the place, and I know he is there:

Where Liberty's eagle
From Tyranny's beagle
Hac torn out the heart, I shall find him—my king. He wears not a badge upon bosom or shoulder, As sign of distinction ; but angels can see, out army and host, not an arm can strike b

Country, and Justice, and Freedom, than he ; Not choosing his mission.

Not choosing his mission.

For gain or position.

He counts with our saviors, that private—my king.

And he thinks every foot is the foot of a brother,
That follows the light of the Rederal stars:
Though darker the brow or the race is another,
The manhood's proved under the anhood's proved under the red and white bars;
"Who bears well a rifle Rebellion to stifle, her and man," says the voice of my king.

His strong tawny hand, labor-hardened, is royal; Lip, touch with thy honey and velvet, his palm; pulse 'neath his blue coat is steadily loyal; Oh, Lore in my breast, ears thy odor and balm!
With thy wealth clothe and cover
My grand hero-lover!
Bring out thy hid treasures, anoint him my king!

His feet will not halt on the wearisome marches, Nor falter from duty, nor loiter for rest; But forward, this Liberty's bow overarches umbia's soil from the east to the west : O, soldier-feet speeding, Though shoeless and bleeding,

I bow to thy footprint,-I kneel to my king. Forget not, my soul, in thy pure adoration,

That brave ones will perish, and heroes must fall;

Tis true blood alone that can ransom the nation,

And tranquillize Justice for Africa's thrall; For the crimson that's given
Is demanded by Heaven :
and thy Samaritans, God, to my king !

Seek, beavenly Commission, the wounded and dying, Where Liberty's vanguard stands firm as a rock; Where the old banner waves, red Rebellion defying And our Eagle soars calm o'er the fierce battle shock Oh, seek and recover My own hero-lover!

ed Evangel, rest

For he Liberator. SLAVEAY'S DEATH-KNELL. ₹ 2, .505. BY LATY CARLISTS

Die, die, thou monster! Dost not hear, On every breeze's swell, How, tolled by glad hands joyfully,

ogs forth thy passing knell! Thy hand, thou fiend, was raised to strike One last and deadly blow;
To lay, 'neath mad rebellion's knife,
Our young Republic low!

Oh ! wild and fierce the struggle rose ! Free blood like rain was poured; Yet in that blinding strife few saw What hand upraised the sword.

- At last, by cannon's murderous glare, And red shell's fearful shine Grown watchful through defeat, men saw

So they have tracked thee to thy den, Where thou doet trembling lie— The righteous sentence hath gone forth, Thou, hell-born wretch, must die!

Five years ago, our helpless hands Wrung with despairing cry, We saw thy victims turn to us The dying, pleading eye.

Te martyred saints! look earthward now, Lean from your blessed skics! Is not the light that floods you heaven The joy-light of your oyes? Ye new-freed millions ! Gop's hand frees

Not earthly power or might; Uplift your foreheads, glorified With conscious Freedom's light!

And you, ye miscreants of the North, So lost to sense of shame, Who still would wield the lash, and make This freedom but a name—

Lift that new yoke your hands have forged Put down your greed of pelf,
And let the Freedman "organise"
His labor for himself!

Seek not to guard his rights, nor prop What best can stand alone But put a ballot in his hand,
And let him guard his own!

So shall Virginia's purple peaks To Vermont's mountains tell How not in vain, by rock and flood, New England's heroes fell.

So shall our freedom, root-fast here, Bear fruit in Southern sun;
And our fair land, from strand to strand,
Be Heaven on Earth begun.
Boston, 1865.

MISSOURI AND NEW YORK. "Free Missouri greets you!"—[F. C. FLETCHER, Gov "God bless Free Missouri!"—[R. E. FERTON.

Listen! ye, whom Fortune raiseth .
To the bills where Honor blazeth ; Listen ! ye, whose lowlier station Tis not man nor Fate that giveth ; For the Lord our God yet liveth !

ms, through the dust of trial Point the hour on Victory's dial ; Crucibled from dross and ashes, Skill the crown of triumph flashes; And from Midnight's womb of sorrow Comes the new-born king—"To-Monnow!"

Out of Christmas days benignant, O'er the New Year sweetly reguant Out of Slavery's tomb emer Out of Slavery's death resu LIBRETT her shackles rend LIBERTY, like Christ, ascendeth O ! my Heart ! look up and hearken Let no doubt thy gladness darken !-Hear that Voice, on lightning's pinion Thrill and fill the soul's dominion, And with gospel grand and certain Lift and rift the Future's curtain!

Listen, Land of mine, whose borders Make the giant Lakes their warders!
Thou whose freeborn thunder surges
From Niagara's awful vergus!
List, O, list I these words of fire—
Thou, whose watchword still is "Higher!"

Oft, full oft, in love, low pleading,
Thou hast prayed for Preedom bleeding;
Prayed the South with accounts ruthful,
Prayed the South with friendship truthful;

O! that Voice, on wings of lightning, All the glorious Future brightening ; All the glorious Future brightening; Of that Voice, with virgin yearning Seeking Love's divine returning;

Scaring up, from shackles rives, To the great free Northern Heaven!

And, from large imperial bosom, Bich with Freedom's fruit and bi Rich with Freedom's fruit and blesson.
Brave New York, whose bannered story
Climbs "Exzesisor" hills of glory,
Lifts her Voice, o'er battle's lary,
Shouting, "God sizes Free Missouri !" South to North, with Freedom's greeting, North to South her prayers repeating; From the Hudson's allvery sources, From the deep Miscour's courses, Freedom's lides, at occan's portal, Mingling life and strength immortal!

Mingling, as in old caresings, Mutual prayers and mutual blessings; Northern brother, Southern sister, Twined in Farmon's arms, have kissed Northern sister—Southern brother— God be praised! they find their MOTHER!

## Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. M. F. CONWAY, Delivered at the Banquet in Honor of Senato Lane, at Leavenworth, Kansas.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Mr. President, Lodies and Gendemen:

I rejoice to be here on this festive occasion to unite with you in this celebration of a great triumph.

I see around me many of the old familiar faces—many of the pioneers of freedom—the men of '55—with whom I first became acquainted ten years ago, and together with whom I passed through that grand struggle for free institutions which here took place—a struggle, which, in its consequences, has revolutionized the nation, changed the destinies of the Continent, and forever identified the name of Kansas with the cause of American progress. Glady do I embrace the conortunity to renew that old the Continent, and forever identified the name of Kansas with the cause of American progress. Glad-ly do I embrace the opportunity to renew that old communion of thought and feeling which was before so strong a bond between as.

We are here to do especial bonor to our distin-guished and most able Senator, General Lane, whom the Legislature has again commissioned to represent the State in the Senate of the United States.

represent the State in the Senate of the United States.

I thank you for the privilege of being present to render my respects to one who is so signally deserving the esteem and gratitude of the people of Kan-

render my respects to one who is no signally deserving the esteem and gratitude of the people of Kansas.

But happy as I am to be with you on account of the exciting reminiscences which this occasion revives, and the opportunity it affords of doing homage to an emiaent public servant, my gratification is exceedingly enhanced by being invited to respond to the sentiment proposed in honor of His Excellency, the President of the United States.

To be President of the United States is in my judgment, Mr. President, the greatest distinction that can be conferred on any individual of the human race. To be the one of twenty millions chosen by free suffrage to preside over the destinies of the leading power of the American Continent implies a character for native consideration and worth beyond that of any Prince or Potentate on earth.

The present incumbent of this high station is a man of the people. No higher tribute can be paid to his eminent merit than that recently rendered by his countrymen in refusing to permit him to retire from his office at the end of his official term. It is safe to say that the reflection of Mr. Lincoln was due entirely to popular favor, and not in any degree to political artifice. The aspiring politicians were against Mr. Lincoln, but the virtuous masses were for him. In the dancers which surrounded the olitical artifice. The aspiring politicians ast Mr. Lincoln, but the virtuous masses

due entirely to popular favor, and not in any degree to political artifice. The aspiring politicians were against Mr. Lincoln, but the virtuous masses were for him. In the dangers which surrounded the country, there were none beside to whose wisdom and virtue they were willing to confide (over his) the control of the national destinies. This of itself speaks a praise which only the most commanding qualities could elicit.

The first thing which strikes us in contemplating the character of the President is the quality which I have observed to belong to all truly great men, that of simplicity. Mr. Lincoln is a perfectly natural man. This is why he has always been called "Honest Abe." People see that he has no pretension—no ostentation. He proposes to take credit for nothing which does not belong to all: "Great in his simplicity as kings are little in their grandeur." I have seen, in my time, not a few of those whom the world calls great; and I find that this is the best test by which to distinguish the genuine from the spurious article. While sufficiently observant of the conventionalities of society, Mr. Lincoln is not a man of forms or ceremonies. He despises shams. He clothes himself with no mock dignity; plays, no fautastic tricks. He is a plain man, like Washington, or Franklin, or Jackson. He believes in realities, being himself a reality; and in his contact and dealing with others, bandles himself as if conscious of being one of the elementary forces of nature.

The President's humor is one of the leading traits

being bimself a reality; and in his contact and dealing with others, handles himself as if conscious of being one of the elementary forces of nature.

The President's humor is one of the leading traits of his character. He has an instinctive kindness of heart, and sees the ludicrous side of human nature, not with the eye of a cynic but with the genial sympathy of a man and a brother. His extraordinary propensity to tell funny stories is but an indication of a large and charitable nature, endowed with a keen insight into motives, and not distressed so much as amused at the short-comings of his fellow-men.

The next quality which seems to me most distinguishes our illustrious Chief Magistrate is his magnanimity. I believe Mr. Lincoln to be less affected by low and narrow sentiments than any man in America. He hates nobody, nor does he permit himself to be prejudiced against a political opponent. His whole public life is proof of this lofty trait. It will be remembered how he refused to resort to the usual chicanery of politics in his contest with Judge Trumbull, for the Senate in 1855; and withdrew his name under circumstances which extorted praise even from his enemies. I do not believe he ever said anything with more sincerity than that his gratification at his reflection was not enhanced by the reflection that others were suffering the mortification of defeat. Intensely as he has been assailed, vilified, and ridiculed, by the rebel leaders and their newspaper press, both at home and abroad, I am satisfied that even Jeff. Davis himself, were he a tried and convicted traitor, would rely upon Mr. Lincoln's magnanimity for any consideration and elemency which justice would permit to be exercised in his behalf.

With regard to he President's ability as a

Indivinishanding his masterly canvass against Douglas in 1856.), as a man of second-rate powers. It was thought by gentlemen in the Eastern cities—collegians, saccants and the like—to be impossible for one who had passed his whole life at the Bar of a small town in the West to have any special ability for anything. It is hardly necessary to say that this opinion is not as prevalent now as it was. The President is recognized by all these fine gentlemen —literati, exquisites, professors of law, divinity, &c., to be a person of some knowledge of affairs, and no little skill in running a Government. He played out all the aspirants for the presidential succession with a dexterity and grace delightful to behold; and in writing his State papers has given an example to the scholars and rhetoricians who set themselves up for statesmen, by which they will do well to profit. In short, it is now pretty generally conceded that Mr. Lincoln, as President of the United States, entirely "fills the bill."

You will remember, no doubt, that as your Representative in the 37th Congress, I deemed it my duty to dissent from the earlier war policy of Mr. Lincoln's Administration. I avail myself of this occasion to say, what I said at the time, and what I have often said since, that this action of mine was dicatted by no ill-feeling towards the President, by no want of confidence in his ability or integrity, by no diminution of that high respect for his magnanimous character which I had always entertained.

In my discussion of the views and policy of the President, my motive was that of the friendly agitation, not of the hostile partiana. My intention was to operate on the minds of the people, not to incite opposition to the administration in order to defeat it. It has always been the view of the President that he is but the instrument of the national will; and that whatever may be his own predilections or wishes, with regard to either men or measures, he is not at liberty to place them above or against the sentiment of the country.

T

I inclined, however, to a different idea. I was in favor of liberating the nation from the domination of slaveholders—Union or no Union. This was my own individual sentiment, and I believed it to be also the sentiment of Kansas.

The President sought the destruction of slavery; but above this he sought the restoration of the Union.

Inion.

I desired the restoration of the Union, but above

Mr. Lincoln would have secured the Union in any event; I would have preferred to secure freedom in any event.

It was manifest, however, that in these views the sentiment of the country was with the President; and not with me; but knowing as I did the President's respect for the will of the people, my hope was to assist in developing a public sentiment, which, while demanding, would authorize the most radical measures against a return of the slavsholders (as such) to their former power in the Union.

In doing so, however, I was inspired by no factious or inunical spirit towards the President or any of his advisers, but solely by a conscientious conviction of public duty. This issue, however, has long since passed away, and forever. We are called upon to face new responsibilities.

The President, in his sublime discretion, has wrought out for us a deliverance from alwary through pre-existing forms. He has maintained the integrity of our constitutional system, but has equally assured as against the "Union as it was." The Slave Power is annihilated. Union and Liberty are no longer in conflict, but made one and inseparable, now and forever. Our country is regenerated. It is established upon the immutable loundation of justice. To the patriotic imagination the future looms up in glorious outlines. Our country's destiny is onward. It is to control the American continent to the purpose of a redeemed and regenerated humanity. This is our sublime mission. continent to the purposes of a redeemed and regenerated humanity. This is our sublime mission.

To Abraham Lincoln let us look in the future with a confidence springing from the teachings of the past. Let us give him all the strength which ou cordial and united support can inspire.

## THE BLACK LAWS ....

THE BLACK LAWS.

Illinois has repealed her black laws, and indeed she could hardly help wiping the stain from her face when her neighbor Missouri was lifting her whole body out of the slough. The black laws of Illinois, though Illinois is a free State, were as much a part of the code of slavery as any slave law of Arkansas or Mississippi; for they were the work of what was called the Democratic party, and that party was the minister of slavery. In Illinois, for instance, all colored persons were presumed to be slaves unless they could prove themselves to be free; in other words, were held to be guilty, until they proved their innocence; thus directly reversing the first humane maxim of the common law. By another act, if any negro or mulatto came into the State and staid ten days, he was to be fined fifty dollars, and sold indefinitely to pay the fine.

We read such things incredulously, in the light of to-day. The wicked folly of selecting for outrage, a special class of the population, and that class the most innocent and defenceless, is so like a caprice of Ashantee society, or a measure of Patagonian statesmanship, that it is quite impossible to believe that it was tolerated in the great, prosperous, and enlightened State of Illinois. It explains the curiously inhuman and heartless tone of Mr. Douglas in speaking of the colored race. He lived in the midst of this senseless and fierce prejudice, and he rose by pandering to it.

The black laws of Illinois were another proof of the fearful, demoralization which slavery had wrought in this country, and upon which it counted for easy success in its rebellion. When slavery saw that Pierce and Buchanan, too successive Presidents, were its most abject tools; when it saw every Northern city ready to take by the throat any man who demonted it; when it saw even in Boston a rich merchant and noted citizen named Fay, with the Mayor of the city, turning a meeting for condemnation of slavery into the street; when it read such laws as these of Unions. When it saw he city

ern city ready to take by the throat any man who fercely denounced it; when it saw even in Boston a rich merchant and noted citizen named. Fay, with the Mayor of the city, turning a meeting for condemnation of slavery into the street; when it read such laws as these of Illinois; when it saw the city of New York cringing beneath its frown and fawning upon its contemptuous smile, how could it help believing that Franklin Pierce, wrote the truth to Jefferson Davis when he said that blood would flow this side of Mason and Dixon's line rather than the other, and suppose with Robert Toombs' that any man could driuk all the olood that would be shed in the war?

Now that Illinois has repealed her black laws, is it too much to hope that New York will do the same thing? The Constitution of the State allows colored citizens to vote, provided they have lived twice as much tax as any other voter. The other voters may be ignorant and brutal sots, who are nuisances and pests in any country, and these may be intelligent, industrious, thrifty, valuable citizens; but the Constitution of New York, enslaved by the same mean and inhuman prejudice which dictated the black laws of Illinois, declares that ignorance and brutality are politically preferable to intelligence and thrift. If intelligence is to be the condition of active citizenship, it is a test which every body can understand, and most people will approve. But to make it dependent upon complexion is as wise as to reat it upon the color of the hair or the breadth of the shoulders. The monstrous subjection of this country to the projudice against color is not, as many who, are under its influence suppose, "a natural instinct," it is only the natural result of a system which arbitrarily and forcibly makes color the sign of hopeless servitude. If red-haired men or men over six feet in beight were enslaved and embruted for contrus, there would be exactly the same "natural aversion" to them which is gravely alleged by many otherwise sensible people against the colored race.

race. ouri has emancipated herself; Illinois ha thrown off her black laws. Suppose that sensible men and women now emancipate themselves from the black law of a most cruel and senseless preju-dice.—Harper's Weekly.

## THE DEATH OF A BAD MAN.

the reflection that others were sultering the mortification of defeat. Intensely as he has been asailed, villified, and ridiculed, by the robel leaders and their newspaper press, both at home and abroad, I am satisfied that even Jeff. Davis himself, were he a tried and convicted traitor, would rely upon Mr. Lincoln's magnanimity for any consideration and elemency which justice would permit to be exercised in his bahalf.

With regard to he President's ability as a statesman, there is much less difference of opinion now than formerly. It was quite common at the beginning of his administration to hear him described (nowithstanding) his masterly canvass against boughs by gentlemen in the Eastern cities. Duglas in 1836,) as a man of second-rate powers, it was though by gentlemen in the Eastern cities. The played out all the whole life at the Bar of a small town in the West to have any special ability of anything. It is hardly necessary to say that this opinion is not as prevalent, now as it was. The President is recognized by all these fine gentlements in the President in running a Government. He played out all the aspirants for the previdential succession with a desterity and grace delightful to be hold; and in writing his State papers has given an example to the estate with the subtraint of the colors and rhetoricians who set themselves up for statesmen, by which they will do well to profit. In short, it is now pretty generally conceded that Mr. Lincoln, as President of the United State, entirely "in fist the bill."

You will remember, no doubt, that as your Representative in the 37th Congress, I deemed it my duty to dissent from the earlier war policy of Mr. Lincoln's distinct of the proposition of the hostile partiana. My intention was to operate on the minds of the people, not to nicite opposition to the administration in order to defeat it. It has always been the view of the President his hand of the people done to deserve this at the hand of the people of the President his bott the instrument of the national

demailion resting upon any to the bonest soul.

The State will breathe freer now that he has gone. Men will rejoice as at the staying of a perticence. His memory will be execrated, and history will rescue his name from oblivion, only as she does that of other notoriously inflamous men, to hold it up to the contumely of coming ages.

TRIBUTE TO EDWARD EVERETT.

Extract from a distriminator and an appropriate Dispussed in Derekaster, (Mass.) by Narnarthe Hark State while hones is due for the mere cultivation, in tastic considered, of faculty and gift, much snow; it for their exercise in behalf of high and courty, ends. Mr. Everett's of the community, some of the behalf of high and consended of us this greater hone. It has been demands of us this greater hone. It has been demands of us this greater hone. It has been demands of us this greater hone. It has been demands of the highest concernments of State, come of the holbest measures of philanthropy and patriolism, stand in incalculable indebtodness, not more to his persuavive oratory, than to his wealth, and profoundness of an equisitor, his habitual and conscentious thorough, ness of investigation, his patient and self-deroting industry. What rear and conscentious thorough, ness of investigation, his patient and self-deroting industry. What rear and self-deroting industry. What rear and scharmful interest imparted, by his presentation and advocacy, of them, to themes historical, biographical, literary, political, belonging to the domain of letters and of affairs; addressed to men of thought and of action, to the scholar and the laborer? No idder was he in this world-field, in triffer with his great and chiming powers. Amided the thronging instances of perserted talents, of desortated genigh, be stands in glorious contrast, stands as a grand incitement. In order to render due honor to this fact of his career, there is need that we appreciate the peculiar temptations, which beset the peculiar force. His lowe of approval and applause was a marked tendency of his nature; a love forted and fed from early boydow of his present measures of what is covered. Few, probably, have lived in the properties of the proper

that he "could not marry ber," and that upon one occasion, when Mr. Burroughs mentioned to Miss Harris the subject of his marriage, she told him she was engaged to a Mr. Devlin.

But whichever of these statements may be credited, the fact remains that the reason given by Miss Harris for her act of homicide was, that Mr. Burroughs had broken a promise of marriage.

Now, admitting for the sake of argument that this is true; the question arises how the whole matter is to be regarded, how the courts are to treat such cases, what are to be the verdict and the practice of society in the premises? May a woman, who has by any means been led to understand or fancy that a man intends to marry her, kill that man with impunity, if for any cause he, do not marry her? And, in like manner, and on the same principle, may a man kill a woman who fails to keep a promise she may have made to wed him? Are jilted lovers of either sex to have the delightful privilege of mutual butchery at will or convenience?

We suppose there are few men who have arrived at the age of thirty, without having at some time or other given at least a half, dozen of Eves daughters an idea that he might possibly marry them—without having murmured soft things which the fair creatures construed into protestations of devotion—without perhaps having been even so weak or indiscreet as to utter some word which an eager listenet might distort into a promise that she might yet be wholly, wholly his. In like manner, there is no good-look ing girl of twenty summers who has not, by word or by smile, by billing or by cooling, given each one of at least a confer on him infinite felicity by making wholly his. In like manner, there is no good-look ing girl of twenty summers who has not, by word or by smile, by billing or by cooing, given each one of at least a score of beaux the impression that she would yet confer on him infinite felicity by making him the sharer of her crinoline. This is certainly a most unhappy characteristic of goshing and youthful hearts, and deserves to be severely frowned upon and reprehended by all devout people of both seven and of all ages, over forty; but yet we know it has been so from the beginning, and we greatly, fear it will be so to the end of time—or at least until the arrival of Dr. Cumming's millennium.

Now, while wren't man of thirty and every woman

of twenty know these things to be so, all men and women of forty know how often and how saidy the building hope becomes willed, the expectation is disappointed, the promise, expensed or implied, is broken. This, too, is a grievous and quite painful matter; but the first peet sang it; and every poet and postess since the first has continued the strain; and see fear that the last wall of the last singer will be a vail of blighted love.

Now, to return to the question irredwed: May a vail of blighted love.

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Now, to return to the question irredwed: May a vall of blighted love.

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Now, to return to the question irredwed: May a vall of the irredwed love.

The results of the irredwed love fall of the interface of the individual case.

The laviant symmetry that has been held out, thill, and the return of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as, is on many others, there is at abstract justification of deeds of this kind in women, apart altogether from the merits of the individual case; for in the instance now under notice, there has been no proof whatever of Mr. Burroughs because the broke, in the many public, sentiment justify her deed, we may conclude that the zooner all and every law on such matter is declared null, and m men are reverted to the original condition of self-defence and personal verigeace, the quicker shall we arrive at a state of things which must speedily prove its own cure.—New York Weekly Review.

### PERSONAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

The lecture of Frederick Douglass, at Me-chanic Hall, on Wednesday evening, was, as we have before remarked, a wonderful exhibition of the genius and oratorical power of one belonging to a race which has been kept in bondage in this counrace which has been kept in bondage in this country, on the ground, among other reasons which are alleged, that it is so far inferior to the whites as to be incapable of rising to a dignity above that of servile labor. While many of the reasonings of Mr. Douglass were put with remarkable force, and some of his descriptions—like that, for instance, of the various elements which enter into the American body public, as seen during a day and the state of the control of t

than of siming permussion his ligs loved, his hears prompted. He was the barque, of wondrass perspectures and grace, not less of high utility; passing, with codifiest freight, from polity to point of the benaty of its practice, and the blessing of tight; this rather than the was no-fower, ploughing as if in Joy, the stormy seas, and belching thunder on sproung foes. And yet who of as can ever for on sproung foes. And yet who of as can ever for on sproung foes. And yet who of as can ever for a splicition, briefly the state of the past-case? It was a grand moral spectacle, before which the state of the past-case? It was a grand moral spectacle, before which the provision of thoughtful observations, there cannot be forgot,—that voluntary coming forth from his retirement, which aga, it may be supposed, had made desirable to him, and—with a trength and glove of intellect, an eliquence and the strength and glove of intellect, an eliquence and the strength and glove of intellect, an eliquence and the strength and glove of intellect, and since the strength of the strength and the strength and glove of intellect, and interest of the past—priving his place of the past—priving the preferred against him is fort for her salvation; nor resting therefrom tills to fort for her salvation; nor resting therefrom tills to find an eliquent properties of the past—priving the properties of the past properties of the

more an encumbrance to his plans a.

Mr. Douglass is of the opinion that there is an ignorant class of men in New York city who are not in to vote; and he is right. He would exclude them by the test of a constitutional requirement that they be able to read the Constitution of the country. That test would exclude the whole class of Southern blacks in favor of whose enfranchisement he argues. But equality is what he saks for, and he would probably say, "Apply the same rale to the whites also and I will not object—the narroes would all learn to read in a few years." Then his factual voting day for the negro would be a few years distant, even if immediate provision for their enfranchisement should be made, subject to the above restriction, applied to all alike. If this is his position, why does he find fault with Mr. Garrison for "basking in the sunlight" of what has already been brought about, and saying that it is not to be expected that everything is to be accomplished at once?

Great allowance, as we said before, must be made for the position which Mr. Douglass occupies. But the disposition to watch with a jealous eye and unfairly criticise much in reference to the negroes that could not well be otherwise, is not confined to those who occupy his stanlyonint. However desirable and commendable may be all the efforts to promote real equality before the law, these efforts cannot at once bring about the desired attainment in point of fact. There may be room for improvement, in government policy, in questions of compensation, and the like, but to say that either Southern negroes or whites are above all interference, aid and direction,

bring about the desired attainment in point of fact. There may be room for improvement, in government policy, in questions of compensation, and the like, but to say that either Southern negroes or whites are above all interference, and and direction, is, we think, hardly warranted by the facts; and it is neither right nor just to charge the government or its agents with a love for, or desire to perpetuate slavery, simply because their tutelage does not commend itself to our hasty and distant judgment. Slavery is surely domned as a result of this conflict, and the ultimate elevation of the slaves to a higher position is a stechasity which must follow—regulating itself jest as surely as do those social questions, as between blacks and whites, which constitute so serious a bugbear to many minds, and which Mr. Douglass so effectually disposed of — Salem Genetic.

FEBRUARYT COLORED PERSONS IN THE CITY PASSEL.

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press:

JOLORED PERSONS IN THE OUTY PASSIT.

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press:

Sin: There seems now to be but one opinion at the practise of ejecting indiscriminately all persons of color from our city cars. Judge Allisses models, early spoke; the sentiments of the community has been also been also

car men should grow bold and insolent in their deant ruffianism.

Why should not our city authorities have instanted the officers of police to interfere occasionally is
our behalf, rather than always in behalf of the aggressors, and thus put upon them the oour probadof vindicating their tyrannical rules?

But public sentiment, as we have said, now fairly
demands a change. It is, therefore, proper that the
public should know what we, the aggireed part,
ask. We do not claim to speak for others—for these
are among us, as among you, honest difference of
opinion. But in speaking for ourselves, we may
possibly speak for a large and influential class of
colored persons, who, though possessing cultivatios,
intelligence and worth, are not prominent in natters of this kind, and are not usually head at pake
meetings.

neetings.

Let us say, then, that we indignantly reject the proposal to place on our highways and thorough forus labelled negro pew, and we call upon the colored ma-and women of the city to join us in this protest against the inflicting upon us of any such mark of december 15. egradation. The separate car would be but an exhibition of the

and women of the city to join us in this protest against the inflicting upon us of any such mark of degradation.

The separate car' would be but an exhibition of the mean spirit of caste, unsatisfactory and hamilating alike to all classes in the community; it would test to foster the very discrimination, and fan the dige embers of that senseless prejudice which all would fain see removed. Mark the language of Judge Allison in the case already referred to: "If this not done, (i. e., the putting on of separate cars.) public sentiment will soon break flown the present obstruction, and admit all." That is, keep off these separate can, and all discrimination will soon cease. This is the opinion of one who is accustomed to weighing endence, and knows whereof he affirms.

Men of color! self-respect before convenience. Shun the proscribed or "Jim Crow" car as you would any other device for fastening upon us a mark of degradation, and for bottering up the misrabilides of our inferiority.

Surely, there is nothing unreasonable in the smand that all color distinction shall immediate case, on our city passenger railways. New Yesteity, (which at meat tolerated but one line with the labelled cars,) with a colored population of our twenty thousand, makes no discrimination as to ceity, (which at meat tolerated but one line with the labelled cars,) with a colored population of our twenty thousand, makes no discrimination as to ceity whatever. That is, the city which has a larger feeign population than any other on the continent, and gave the ultra Seynour-McClellan pro-slavery idea amajority of over thirty-five thousand votes, freely accords her twenty thousand colored men and when the right to ride unquestioned in all her public conveyances: while Philadelphia, which gave the undustry of the public conveyance and the same of the conductor on the Darby and on the Fish and sint years and the maximum of the public conveyance is the colored ferenties is to allow colored persent fill and unquestioned facilities in city travel, Phil

soat the four spirit of cases and democrate institutions. Why then delay by a step in the draft (at the running of the proscribed or "Jim Des" at certainly would be,) what we all know and some 22

certainly would be,) what we all know come?

But while we ask a change that shall give in simply what is accorded to others—onling and nothing less—we would at the same time velous any regulation for the peremptory exclosed all persons, without regard to color, on account of cleanliness of person or other repulsive habit.

Principal of Colored High School.

WILLIAM J. ALSTON.

Rector of St. Thomas's Clark.

Divided by J. 1865.

留情を寄止 中京監督

Rector of St.
Philadelphia, Jan. 12, 1865.

THE undersigned begalears to inform his friends at the public, that (owing to ill health) he are obliged to leave his situation at Meser. H. S. States & Co., now Mesers. Shreve, Stanwood & Co., where he been employed for the last fourteen years, the west help too heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepare to do all the contract of the cont

JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES, JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES, in the most careful manner. New Fixtures furtherland pair up, old Fixtures and Glass Drops cleaned, leafs speed, Oas Fixtures done over, and Gas cleaned all the ped, Oas Fixtures done over, and Gas cleaned all the ped, Oas Fixtures done over, and Gas cleaned all the approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Particular attention given to Lighting up for Particular attention given to Lighting up for Particular attention.

Shop under the Mariboro Hotel. Ore may be fall the Shop under the Mariboro Hotel. Ore may be fall to the performance of the Company of t

MRS. GIAGER wishes to inform ber friends as for public, that she has laken house at Washington A. Cambridgeport, where she can accommodate a few boars or folgers. References exchanged.

There 2.