EVERY FRIDAY MORNING. - AT -

MASHINGTON STREET, BOOM No. 6

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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B The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn. The Agents of the American, massacquisetts, Pennia, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies a prized to receive subscriptioms for The LIERRATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial The following gentlemen constitute the Financial mittee, but are not responsible for any debts of the mitter, but are not responsible for any debts of the mitter, visitue weeking the participal of the participa

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

Liberty throughout all the la

lary authority lakes, for the lime, the place of all mutui-ipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so for from its being-tree that the States where alarey crists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COURAIDER OF THE ARTY, HAS POWER TO OPDING THE INTERPRETARY. THE USTED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SIAVES. Prom the instant that the daysholding States become the theatre of a war, CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. From the instant that the shareholding States become the theater of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Courants extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WRICH IT CAN IN INTERPRETARE WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. It is a war power. I say it is a w. a foreign power and when your country is actually in war, whether is be a war of insurrection, Congress has record to the control of the state of insurrection, Congress has record to the control of the state of the tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial singte all the slaves in the invaded territory

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 10.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 10, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1779.

Selections.

LEFTER FROM "BROOKLYN HEIGHTS."

The Writer at Baltimore-Maryland and Emanci le Writer at Bultmore—Maryland and Emanci-gione—Negro Education in Baltimore—Wash-usgon and the Peace Excitement—Aspect of the People—The President—Richmond and Davis— Mr. Lincoln's Aitulus Toward Peace—Southern Journals—Mr. Seward's Letter—Conclusion.

I meant to have written from Washington let no man calculate beforehand what he wil There have been more sad dis what he does.

Called to Baltimore for a speech, I made the first

course of my life in what was, till recently, a slave te. But no one would have dreamed it. The spland institute, a ball of large dimensions, was Maryland Institute, a hall of large dimensions, was filed with an audience as intelligent, and to the full sentiment for liberty as any that ever gatheries of the full season. It is true that men of the old opiniess would withhold their presence from any such seeably; and that only they would come, for the most part, who already were in sympathy with anolatery tieses. Nevertheless, such an audience is Balimore, zealous for human rights, elated with the great deed of emancipation just accomplished inteir own State, and most enthusiasrie at the very points which, five years ago, would have beopt an explosion of wrath, is a fact that, at any other time than this, when great events crowd and just each other, would have been remarkable month.

Enseight Enseighton in Maryland was not the result of goal principle, but of political feeling. On that second the next steps are all the more difficult. Dere is Maryland a population of 700,000. Of these 160,000 are blacks, and 50,000 of these are in thes 180,000 are blacks, and 50,000 of these are in Bahimorecity. The black people are well behaved, selom charged with crimes, never creating police flatabances, and rarely becoming paupers. Judge BL Bond, of the City Criminal Court, has been a pains to collect the facts on these points, and they are highly favorable to this people. From this gentleman I received also some striking illustrations of the effect of slavery in excluding emigrants from the counties.

from the counties.

In seven counties where so few slaves exist that they are called free counties, there were, at the last casus, over 74,000 persons not born in the counties, and so, mostly from other States; while in fourteen due counties there are but a few over 3,000 not born there! Emigrants refuse to go where slaves are the chief laborers.

an there! Emigrants refuse to go where staves twise their laborers. Ornat credit is due to the gentlemen in Baltistre who are earnestly pressing forward the education of the blacks. Large schools are in operation of the blacks. Large schools are in operation of the property of the great not day, and great progress is made in learning to read. I visited several rooms, and saw all says, from the girl and giggling boy to the grey-ward of men and women with spectacles, cagerly tensing their books or responding to the questions. Most excellent teachers have been secured, and the scho have this matter in hand seem determined to spare neither pains he expense in educating the blacks. It is hoped that the Legislature, now in season, will make ample provision of common shools for both white and black children through-out he State.

am very sorry to learn that little help or sym r two noble exceptions there are, but I fear ere our Savior again on earth He would turn for houses and temples bearing His name, to the post and despised. Is it not painful that the ac-troduced Christianity of a city should betray Christ? But a futhil band of men and women are working strictly many than the contract of the contract of the contract strictly many than the contract of the

reduci Christianity of a city should betray Christ? But a hithid hand of men and women are working senseally, and great hopes may be entertained that Marjahad will flot only be a free State, but a State of free schools and truly Christian churches.

I reached Washington on Wednesday, and the diy was yet rocking with the enthusiasm of the great event of the previous day,—the passage of a let for the Amendment of the Constitution: Daybody was narrating the enthusiasm of the day before, and I was commisserated by every one, that I was absent from an occasion and experience so essentiale. When you have lost a dinner, it is so pleased to the wealth of the distribution of the day of the day

offied it.

sident seems well and in good spirits.

more wrinkled, and if possible, driet President seems well and in good spirits, is more wrinkled, and if possible, drier er. But he seems tough and elastic, and farkly to live a hundred years than two years was to live ten. Seldom has any man gone hear such years of burdens immeasurable

ready with Davis might hatch all sorts of com-pensions and difficulties.

Mr. Liscoln has, by his unexpected condecension hearly to Fortress Monroe, taken away all sense of decorates in not permitting the Southern Peace and the sense of the sense of the sense of the sensioners to come to Washington and spin what there, and by the same act he has shown him-sifer more in earnest to secure peace than Davis spen like his by the clear and sensible conditions to which the his step in the sense of the sense of the spend of the sense of the sense of the sense of the spend of the sense of the sense of the sense of the weld that this nation is one and indivisible; that treason is an attroctous heresy and a mortal treason. We shall see here by yielding up every ques-tion for which we have waged war. You can have lead as soon as you cease to robel and submit to

campaign, and then, if deemed expedient, in the spring, arms might upon some easy pretence be resumed in early summer, while Mr. Benjamin would exultingly exclaim to foreign courts, "See what Mr. Lincoln is willing to do! How empty and insincere have been his professions of friendship!" All hight long spiders toil, weaving from blade to blade an ingenious web, fine and finished. In the morning the sturdy farmer starts across the fields, and with one sweep of his foot every vestige of the night's work disappears, and the spider is glad to escape into his hole to prepare for new meshes.

But enough. Some other things I propose saying of men in Washington, but must wait another time.

HENRY WARD REECHER.

HENRY WARD BEECHER. Brooklyn, February 13, 1865.

THE BRISTOL EMANOIPATION SOCIETY'S ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.
Yesterday the address of congratulation to President Lincoln on his re-election, adopted by the Bristol Emancipation Society, was delivered at the American Consulate, in Queen Square, to Mr. Z. Eastman, the American Consul, for presentation to the President of the United States. There were present, Mr. H. Cossham, Mr. J. Wethered, Rev. Dr. Grosvenor, Rev. J. Edwards, Messre. J. Sollis, W. S. Mathews, T. Mathews, J. Shipperly, John Harris, John Howe (Baptist College,) J. Moss, and George Powell.

Mr. Cossham said he bad the honor of being entrusted with the precentation of an address to Mr. Lincoln through Mr. Eastman, as the refresents.

AIT. Cossiam said he had the honor of being en-trusted with the presentation of an address to Mr Lincoln through Mr. Eastman, as the representa-tive of the American nation in this city. He ther read the address—which was embellished on vellum by T. Mathews—as follows:—

read the address—which was embellished on vellum by T. Mathews—as follows:—

We, the officers and members of Committee of the Bristol Emancipation Society, in the name of a large number of our fellow-citizens, who, in meeting assembled, on several occasions, and invariably by a large majority of votes, have adopted resolutions in agreement with the tenor of this address, desire most cordially to express to your Excellency our congratulations on your re election to the Presidency of the United States by the popular vote of your freedom-loving fellow-countrymen.

We rejoice in this result, regarding it as evincing the will and design of the American people to sustain you in the anti-slavery policy inaugurated under your Administration by the Federal Government—a policy which, while rapidly making your country as free in fact as it has been heretofore by profession, will, for the future, identify your Administration with the liberation of the enslaved.

We believe that in issuing your Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all persons held as slaves by citizens who were in arms against the United States Government after 1863; and your corresponding recommendation to purchase, for emancipation, the slaves of loyal persons in States not in rebellion; and your signing the law excluding slavery from all the lands of the United States at present under a territorial form of Government, together with the anti-slavery policy marking many of your acts, you have commended your course to the approval of all true philanthropists.

Disclaiming any desire to mingle with the mere civil and political questions of the day, in which

territorial form of Government, together with the anti-slavery policy marking many of your acts, you have commended your course to the approval of all true philanthropists.

Disclaiming any desire to mingle with the mercivit and political questions of the day, in which among Americans there exists a diversity of opinion, we feel that the policy of your Administration, to which we have referred, affects the great interests of humanity—by it we are reminded afresh of the acts of our own Government in abolishing the slave trade and slavery; and in venturing to send to you our congratulations we would express it as our conviction that such deeds, while in harmony with the highest laws of morality, tend of their own nature to draw nearer to each other the two great Protestant nations—leading to their alliance and cooperation, and placing them in a position to influence, by their united example, the civilized world. In the long struggle which has passed, and in the conflict which may yet be continued, we see the chastisement of a great and erring people for the crime of slavery, peace and prosperity will speedily be restored.

The following names were appended to the address:—Handel Cossham, Hill House; George Thomas, Brislington; Henry Naish, Ashley Hilli, Algernon A. Warren, Great George Street; Joseph Wetthered, Kingsdown; James Goo, Davey, M.D., Northwood: Rev. John Burder, M.A., Cilifon; Rev. James Edwards, Kingsdown; Rev. Richard Morris, Redland; John Harris, Tenby Villa; John Wesley Willis; Robert Nott, Portland Square; Geo. Powell, Thomas Mathews, John Bond, &c., &c., W. S. Mathews and J. Slipperly, honorable Secretaries.

Mr. Cossham stated that he had taken a deep interest in the struggle now taking place in America, because he saw there were issues in it involving the interests and happiness of the world. He believed that, ere long, would be realized the extinction and downfall of that evil—alavery, which was injurious to any country in which it existed. They rejoiced in the re-election of Mr. Lincoln's ca

that government which holds and will hold every. State in this Union subject to its proper authority." The rage of Southorn journals and of Davi's speech show, that to military disaster is now added the mortifications of being ontwitted and baffled in cunning diplomacy.

You did not fail to notice in Mr. Seward's letter which accompanied the President's Message, allusion is made to some proposals of an extrinsic character. People are puzzling their heads to determine what that can mean. We will give our own guest. What if Davis, through Blair and Hunter, should say, "We will not submit to lay down our arms, but the same results would be gained, if—upon an agreement to unite our armies, purge Mexico of intruders and vindicate the Munroe detrine—an armistice should be agreed upon." This might seem to one less astute than the President, a way of wooning the South into submission. And if agreed to might secure a breathing-spell to Southern armies and resources, prevent the pressure of a winter's campaign, and then, if deemed expedient, in the spring, arms might upon some easy pretence be resumed in early summer, while Mr. Benjamin would exultingly exclaim to foreign courts, "See what Mr. Lincoln is willing to do! How cupty and instence have been his professions of friendship!"

All night long spiders toil, weaving from blade to blade an ingenious web, fine and finished. In the morning the sturdy farmer starts across the fields, and with one sweep of his foot every vestige of the night's work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the spider is glad to each of the work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the work disappears, and the spider is glad to each of the wore well and the country be restored to a state of prosperity. Re-Thomas—who was known all over the world as one of the leading men in all that was liberal and noble —Mr. Naish, Mr. Warren; and said they had intended to present the address by a popular vote of a popular meeting, but the Consul was probably aware that some fifty or sixty drunken men were turned into the meeting to prevent the address being carried by a large majority; and thus the speakers were prevented from being heard. There was the same sort of policy to contend against in America. They could bully, but they could not argue. After further reference to the meeting, Mr. Cossham presented the address.—Bristol Press, Jan. 27.

[Z. Eastman, Esq., the American Consul, then made an elaborate and eloquent speech pertinent to the oc-casion, which the Bristol Press reports at some length, but for which we cannot find room.]

MR. LYULPH STANLEY ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

WAR.

Yesterday evening, a crowded meeting of the supporters of the Freedmen's Aid Society was held in the Assembly Room of the Free-trade Hall, on the occasion of an address to be delivered by the Hon. E. L. Stanley, founded upon the impressions and information acquired during his recent visit to America, concerning the war in the United States, and its effect on the free and slave population. The chair was taken by Mr. F. Taylor. There were also present Mr. J. H. Estcourt, the Rev. J. Cla. k, Mr. F. R. Wilkinson, Mr. J. Galloway, Mr. Councellor Booth, Mr. E. O. Greening, Mr. E. Hooson, Mr. J. E. Nelson, &c. A large number of ladies attended.

After a few introductory words from the Chair-After a few introductory words from the Chair

After a few introductory words from the Chairman,
The Hon. Mr. Stanley, who was warmly received, said that few would deny that the objects of the Freedmen's Aid Society were deserving of support. Whatever the views of the people might be of the merits of the combatants in the American war, at any rate the negroes should have the good wishes of all Englishmen, and any efforts which might be made to improve their condition should win our approval, if they did not move our substantial assistance. And yet the efforts of the Society had been much impeded by doubts and imputations cast on the objects of its care, and a mass of floating prejudices, which would not take any substantial form, but which shifted from one vague argument and suggestion to another, had to be combatted. He knew that the cause of the negroes could not be separated in theory from the cause of the two parties in this great conflict; but it was pretty well known in effect that very few persons who took the side of the Society. Indeed, a conviction forced itself upon the mind of the most unwilling, that it would be mockery to say that we were in favor of emancipation and at the same time to set our faces against that party who, both by their profession and practice, had identified their cause with the freedom of the negro. (Applause.) In speaking thus he knew he was treading upon dangerous ground. For the last four years in England we have been fighting over this American war with almost as much excitement and determination as the Americans themselves. Everybody has taken sides in the most distinct manner, and although there were a great many persons in this country who were ignorant of the lacts of the struggle, there were very few who had not made up their minds as to its merits. (Laughter.) It was always hard to convicte a person who began by strong oppopition. He sometimes was inclined to give up in despair any attents the test of the conviction of the hors of the person war; The Hon. Mr. STANLEY, who was warmly received the chicago of the

few who had not made up their minds as to its merits. (Laughter.) It was always hard to convince a person who began by strong opposition. He sometimes was inclined to give up in despair any attempt to convince people upon the American war; but as he felt very strongly upon its right and wrong, he should be norry to leave any stone unturned that would assist in presenting the thing in its right light. (Applause.) His apology for urging his opinions against those who differed from him was; that he had had special opportunities of studying the question. Ever since the war begun he had been deeply interested in its progress; had watched its every phase; and last year he spent six months in America, observing for himself. At the outset the important question presented itself—was alavery right or wrong? Was it foolish to believe that freedom was a boon to the negro. These questions must not be set aside as unreasonable, for the Freedmen's Aid Society existed on the assumption that freedom was good for the negro—(applause)—and that in obtaining freedom, the negro was passing from a lower to a higher condition. If we believed, with Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, that slavery, meaning subordination to the white man, was the natural and moral condition of the negro, the Society was engaged in a foolish, mischievous, and wicked task. (Applause.) Often now-a-days, newspapers, in spite of some general restriction of the negro, the Society was engaged in a foolish, mischievous, and wicked task. (Applause.)

Often now-a-days, newspapers, in spite of some general restriction of the megro, the Society was engaged in a foolish, mischievous, and wicked task. (Applause.)

Often now-a-days, newspapers, in spite of some general restriction of the megro, the Society was engaged in a foolish, mischievous, and wicked task. (Applause.)

Often now-a-days, newspapers, in spite of some general reputation of slavery for respectability's sake, and the same same consumers and persons held the anti-slavery faith as a matt

pably ask the dector to cut it off fittle bits at a time.

(Lagghter.) These people were dreadfolly shocked of when Fresident Lincoln brought out his emancing pation proclamation, because they said he was got a proper particularly the property of the pro

groes had seen put of lorce into the army; but an army that gave freedom and dignity to the men themselves, and would win freedom for their wives and children. But how great was the proportion of negroes torn from their families to be put into the army, compared with the annual partings which took place in Kentucky and Virginia, when the slaveholder collected his batch of negroes for the year's venture, and started with his carge to Louisiana or Mississippi? (Applause.) This trade in human beings was so notorious, that Macaulay, in the House of Commons, compared it to the trade of pigs from Ireland, or coals from Newcastle.

Some men were so enthusiastic for abolition that they repreached the North with being too slow. No doubt there had been some wavering in the North, but they would have been superhuman if they could at one stride have passed from the subservience to slavery of Buchanan's administration to the uncompromising attitude of Wendell Phillips. But if mancipation had been alow, it had been continuous. It was rather those who had a lurking suspicion of emancipation altogether, and distrusted the competency of the negro, who were apathetic as to the result of the war; and, naturally enough, those who could not see any moral principle at stake, but looked upon the struggle as a mere fight of gladiators and prizefighters, could not help being carried away by the bravery shown on the weaker side. If these persons really felt how unfounded was the idea of negro unfitness for freedom, they would shrink from the advocacy of a cause which rested upon human slavery. No man, whether white or black, could show either energy, industry, self-respect, or any other manly virtue while he was enslaved. (Appliause.)

for the colonies, in advocating the cause of emancipation in the West Indies, said, when speaking of the planters, "Those gentlemen make this great and palpable mistake—that they attribute to the physical character of the negro those faults which are the necessary results of the moral condition of the slave." (Applause.) The truth was too often forgotten in the present day, and it we well to be necessary results of the moral condition of the slave." (Applause.) The truth was too often forgotten in the present day, and it was well to be reminded of it in the words of one who would not be suspected of partiality on this particular question. Men talked of the brutality, licentiousness, and indolence of the negro; but every such proof only made him (Mr. Stanley) the more anxious to stop the great cause of all these moral diseases. (Applause.) The success of the South would be the success of a social system based on the most cruel nijustice, and therefore he most earnestly hoped the South might be subjugrated, and be saved in their own despite from the triumph they had sought, but which must at length have brought round their utter destruction. (Loud applause.) On the other hand, let not the mistake be made of exaggerating the contrast in case the North should succeed. In all revolutions we should strike a balance between the good and evil, and take the side which would be best in the long run for humanity. But there would always be a great deal of evil mixed with the good, and there might be much good mixed with the evil. There had rarely been a cause so absolutely bad as that for which the South took up arms. (Loud applause.). Yet there had been much heroism and self-devotion on the part of the men of the South. The motives of the North were more mixed than those of the South, but yet the cause of the North was a noble one. But the greatness of a cause did not necessarily ennoble the men in whose keeping it was entrusted.—Manchester Examuner, Feb. 11:

IT—It is estimated that the capture of Charleston and Fort Anderson, together with the certain capture of Mobile before two week more, will liberate at least twenty-dive thousand mon from the navy. who can be organized into corps for offensive operations on land.

Society to be present at a special meeting of the Society for the purpose of paying a tribute to the memory of our late illustrious associate, Edward Ewerett.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that the state of my health will not permit me to be with you on an occasion of so much interest.

It is most fitting that the members of the Historical Society of Massachusetts should add their tribute to those which have been already offered by all sects, and the state of th

ant!'
When I last met him, as my colleague in
Electoral College of Massachusetta, his look of h

When I last met him, as my colleague in the Electoral College of Massachusetts, his look of health and vigor seemed to promise us many years of his wisdom and usefulness. On greeting him I felt impelled to express my admiration and grateful appreciation of his patriotic labors, and I shall never forget how readily and gracefully he turned attention from himself to the great cause in which we had a common interest, and expressed his thankfulness that he had still a country to serve.

To keep green the memory of such a man is at once a privilege and a duty. That stainless life of seventy years is a priceless legacy. His hands were pure. The shadow of suspicion never fell on him If he erred in his opinions (and that he did so, he had the Christian grace and courage to own), no lelfash interest weighed in the scale of his judgment against truth.

truth.

As our thoughts follow him to his last restingplace, we are sadly reminded of his own touching
lines, written many years ago at Florence. The
name he has left behind is none the less 'pure' that
instead of being' humble' as he then anticipated, it
is on the lips of grateful millions, and written ineffacably on the record of his country's trial and triumph:—

mph:

Yet not for me when I shall fall saleep
Shall Santa Croce's lamps their vigils keep.
Beyond the main, in Auburn's quiet shade,
Beyond the main, in Auburn's quiet shade,
Wish those I loved and love my couch be made;
Spring's pendent branches o'er the hillock wave,
And morning's dewdrops glisten on my grave,
And Heaven's great arch shall rise above my bed
When Santa Croce's crumbles on her dead—
Unknown to erring or to suffering fame,
So I may leave a pure though humble name.'

Congratulating the society on the prospect of the speedy consummation of the great objects of our associate's labors—the peace and permanent union of our country—

1 am, very truly, thy friend,

ROBERT C. WATERSTON, Boston.

FT The Wilmington correspondent of the New York Herald says a large number of Union prisoners were relieved by the capture of the place. They were confined in Camp Lamb, about one mile from the city. Their treatment was of the most bruill character, and for three days preceding the evacuation, they had not received 4 monthful to eat. The citizens had endeavored to feed them, but the food was taken away by the officer in charge. They presented a most sickening spectacle, many of them having been rendered idione, and forgotten their own names.

LETTERS FROM "CARLETON." SAVANNAH, Feb. 13, 1865.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

Society in the South, and especially in this city, has undergone and is still undergoing a great change. I have had an opportunity to observe it in all its phases. The extremes were wide apart before the war, they were very widely separated the night before Sherman marched into the city, but the next morning there was a convulsion, a disruption, a breaking up of the crust, an upheaval, and also a shaking down, which has had no parallel during the war. The tread of that army of the West as it marched into the city with drums beating and banners waving, singing of John Brown's body, produced an earthquake which sent aristocratic pride, privilege and power, reeling into the dust. Old houses, with foundations laid deep and strong in the past centuries, fortified by wealth, name and influence, went down in an instant. At the same moment there was an upheaval from beneath which has produced a common level to all. A change of the poles of the earth would scarcely produce a greater convulsion in the physical world than that brought about in the social condition of the people of this city.

On the night before Sherman entered the place there were hundreds of citizens who could enumerage their wealth by hundreds of thousands of dol-

of this city.

On the night before Sherman entered the place there were hundreds of citizens who could enumerage their wealth by hundreds of thousands of dollars, who at sunrise the next morning were not worth a dime. Their property was all in cotton, negroes, houses, land, Confederate bonds and currency, railroad and bank stocks.

Their cotton was seized by the Government; their confederate bonds are wester paper; their negroes are free; their houses are occupied by the Government; their Confedrate bonds are waste paper; their railroads are torn up; their banks are gone out of existence.

The time may come, undoubtedly will, when something will be realized; but at present they are absolutely penniless. But it is not in wealth alone that they feel the convulsion. The greatest sbock of all has come in the loss of privilege and power, which never can be regained. It is this which cuts deepest and sorest.

"I never will live in a city where I have got to mix with free niggers," said one of the former wealthy sons of the city.

"Very well, you can go out of it, I suppose," was all the comfort be received in a reply.

"It is hard to have to lay our loved ones in the grave—to have them fall by thousands on the battle-field—to be stripped of everything; but the hardest of all is nigger equality, and I won't submit to it," was the remark of a lady who was intensely bitter in her feelings towards the North.

"Leave the country—go to Canada, or Europe, or Cuba," was the reply, accompanied with tears.

The people are not able to see yet that society always has been, probably always will be aristocracy.

always has made itself into classes. Free society is not totally democratic, nor can it be. There always has been, probably always will be aristocracy of intellect, or wealth or blood. Men can and do select their associates. So long as the negro was compelled to enter their parlor as a servant, it was well, but freedom implies the possibility of his living there not as a servant, but as an equal by the laws and customs of society; that is intolerable. The rich rebels of Savânnab, those who were rich, are thinking now not how they shall repair their shattered fortunes here—how adapt themselves to the new order of things, but are looking forward to the time when they can leave the city, shaking off the dust of their feet against the Yankees who are swarming in, and especially against the negro, and seek a bome in other lands. There are some men of wealth not to be included in this assertion, men who will adapt themselves to the new order of things.

men who will adapt themselves to the new order of things.

I have visited the houses of the rich and sat down in the humble homes of the negroes, and the equally mean houses of the poor whites, and have endeavored to ascertain the feeling of all. The poor whites here, as everywhere in the South, are inert and lifeless. Nothing stirs their ambition. They hover under the sunny sides of the bildings, visiting the city supply-stand, to receive the contributions sent from New York and Boston. The warhas taken out the best blood of that class. The bone and muscle of this element in society is decaying beneath the soil of Virginia, and what is left is the dregs of society. It never has been a controlling power, but has always been controlled by the aristocratic class, now deprived of its ancient power, and thinking not how to regain it, but how to get

mands under the order of Gen. Sherman. That order was written by the Secretary of War, or if not written by him, was read by him while he was here, and before it was issued. It is, therefory, a government measure, and not emanating from Gen. Sherman. A New York paper attacks it editorially because it prohibitis white men from dwelling on the islands. This pohibition was not designed to perpetuate caste, but to protect negroes from the rapacity of unprincipled men.

This brings me to speak of the real bone and muscle of the South and of its rising brain power. Last Fridry, a party with Rev. Mr. Houston, pastor of the Third African Baptist Church, went down to Skidaway Island to select their future homes. Mr. Houston has always been a slave. He is now forty-one years old. In his early years he was a nurse in the marine hospital. He had an earnest desire to learn to read, and by his kind attention to the sallors was able to do so.

He hired his time, paying his master fifty dollars a month, and established himself as a butcher. He went to Augusta and Macon, and all over eastern Georgia, purchasing cattle, but employing all his spare hours learning to read, studying the Bible and theology. He was ordained to preach by the Baptist Association of white ministers three years ago. He and his fellow-colonists selected their lots, laid out a village, numbered the lots, put the numbers into a last, and draw them out. It was Plymouth colony repeating itself. They agreed that if any others came to join them they should have equal privileges. So blooms the May-flower on the islands of the South Atlantic coast.

"We shall build our cabins, and organize ow town government for the maintenance of order and the settlement of all difficulties," and Mr. Homston. He has four hundred hides, has own property, "I want to turn them into monony, and purchase a portable saw-mill to cut out tumber for our houss."

In one day, five thousand acres were assigned to the colonists, who were asger to till them. A large party went down this morni

Yesterday there was a meeting of these men at the old slave market. The room was crowded. Its do the platform where thousands of their fellow-men had been sold, where women had stood stripped of their clothing, bearing the rude jests, the indecent remarks, the insoling examinations made by a hardhearted, licentious crowd; where mothers had heard for the last time the cries of their little ones; where heartstrings had been torn asunder; where the image of 6 dof was bruised and crushed; where unimaginable horrors had been witnessed—i sat there, and beard the men, some of them as white as myself, talk of their future. They came together to hear remarks from Rev. Mr. French and Lieut. Ketchum, to ask questions and consult with each other.

They wanted to know what title they would have to their land—what assurance they could have that it would be theirs, after they had improved it. Their questions were plain, straight-forward, and showed abrewdness which I had not looked for.

Rev. Mr. French said: "I heard a white man ridicale the project, who said one white rebul going among you will come down five of you. Is that so?"

"Let him try it!" "We'll fight!" were the re-

"Let him try it!" "We'll fight!" were the re

sponses.

A tall middle-aged man, black as anthracite coal, rose and said, calmly, deliberately, but with a tone of voice which revealed determination not to be trifled with:

with:

"They may talk about one white man scaring five negroes, but he can't scare one. It has been the power of slavery which has cowed us, but that power is gone. They can't scare us now!"

Mr. French said that the freedmen at Beaufort, although not so intelligent as they were, had become independent in thought and feeling upon the subject of their research. freedom.

though not so intelligent as they were, had become independent in thought and feeling upon the subject of their personal freedom.

"What would you do if your old master should come to take you into slavery again?" he asked of an old woman who was hoeing her cotton. "I would hoe him down, sir! That is what I would do."

There were intelligent men in the audience—men who have hired their time, paying fifty dollars a month to their masters, supporting themselves and their families. It is idle talk to say that they will not take care of themselves. They are the bone and muscle of the South, and they have already shown that they have no mean brain power. "The negroes of Tennessee have shown a greater capacity than the poor whites to rise above the chas of the times," was the remark of an officer who holds a high position in Gen. Sherman's military family, and who has had great opportunity to make observations. In this same old slave market, where the iron gratings are still standing in the windows, are hundreds of colored children, learning the rudiments of language, taught by teachers of their own color.

Sitting for the auctioneer's platform, where the wailings of despair have rent the air, I listened to recitations as correctly given as by children of their own years in the graded schools of Boston. They sang the songs of liberty with a sweetness such as I never heard from an Anglo-Saxon choir of youthful voices. Yesterday those hundreds of dark visaged men, led by Lieut. Ketchum, rolled out in grand chorus the song sung by the colored soldiers around their eamp fires, and on the march into battle at Honey Hill—

We will fight for Liberty,", closing with Old Hundred, not sung by a half-dozen,

Honey Hill—

"We will fight for Liberty,",
closing with Old Hundred, not sung by a half-dozen,
but by every person present.

Such is a brief review of the original elements of
society in Savannah. Another element is here—the
restless, energetic Yankee. Stores are multiplying,
but they are kept by men from Boston, and New
York, who have not come for a day or a week, but
who intend to make Savannah their future home;
who will be its citizens, who intend to build the city
anew.

Great has been the convulsion. The lofty and the stream has been the convision. Ine lotty and the lowly shaken up. There is the beginning of a new order of things. Great hardships, krals, sufferings and struggles are before all classes—before the colonists. and struggles are before all cases—color the colorists who go upon the islands to begin life, with nothing but their hands—before the poor whites who have been ground down by a moneyed and privileged class—and before that class, deprived of its power—reduced to poverty—bumbled in spirit—defeated in its plans—and conscious in some degree that its retained to the construction of the co ribution is deserved. Some persons demand our sympathy, others need our contributions, and there are those who should receive only strict, inflexible, impartial justice.

CARLETON.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF CHARLESTON.

CHARLESTON, Feb. 23, 1865.
To the Editor of The Boston Journal:
I have passed three days in this city, conversing

To the Educor of the days in this city, conversing freely with all classes of people to obtain accurate information. I have already given an account of the evacuation and occupation of the place, the conduct of the colored soldiers, also an account of the visit to Sunter. In this letter I shall endeavor to the class of the classes of the colored soldiers, also an account of the visit to Sunter. In this letter I shall endeavor to CHARLESTON AS IT WAS.

give a picture of Charleston as it was, and also as it is.

CHARLESTON AS IT WAS.

Four years ago, Charleston was rich, powerful, aristocratic, arrogant and dictatorial. She was the proudest city in the world. She was the great cotton mart of the South Atlantic States. She had lines of steamers to Boston and New York. Her wharves were piled with bales of cotton and tierces of rice, to be sent outward to Europe and the North, or with goods from the warehouses and manufactories of New England and Great Britain. With the network of railroads in the interior, she had become the great commercial centre. She had a dozen stone marts. Next to New Orleans, she was the most populous city in the South, having by the census of 1800 forty-eight thousand inhabitants. Her banks, insurance offices and moneyed institutions were as stable as those of State or Wall street.

She was those of State or Wall street.

She was the exponent of the doctrine of State Rights. She was conscious of her influence. She aspired to be the commercial emporium of the South. She preclaimed cotton king—not of America, but of the world, and in her pride and arrogance believed that all kings, emperors and nations would be compelled to do her homage. In her ambition to rule, she became callous to the claims of justice and of human rights, and brought herself to believe that right was wrong, and that wrong was right.

She called the people of South Carolina into council. The Charleston Mercury—the able but wicked advocate of secession—threw out from its windows this motto: "One roice and millions of strong arms to uphold the honor of the people, but of South Carolina—the Mephistopheles of the Confederacy, the seducer of States. With soft and honeved words, and with well-timed flattery she detached State after State from the Union.

In the address of the South Carolina Convention which lies before us, are these words to the slave-holding. States

ddress of the South Carolina Con which lies before us, are these words to the slave-solding States;

"Whilst constituting a portion of the United States, if has been your statesmanship which has guided it in fix mighty strides to power and expansion. In the field and in the cablent, you have led the way to re-command randow."

The ministers of her churches were first and foremost in helping on the rebellion. Church and State, minister and statesman, merchant and planter—all, from high to low, brought themselves to believe that their influence was world-wide, through King Cotton and his Prime Minister, African Slavery. Hence the self-confidence and arrogance, the dictatorial attitude, the fierceness, intolerance, hate and madness which has its only prototype in the rubellion of the devil and his angels against beneficent goodness.

BOUNDARDMENT OF THE CITY.

The shells were fired fat a great elevation, and

The shells were fired at a great elevation, and were therefore plunging shots—striking a house on the roof, and passing down from the attic to the chambers, lower stories, ground floor and basement. Some exploded in the attics, some in the cellars, some in the chambers, others in the walls. The effect has been a complete riddling of the houses. Brick walls have been blown into millions of fragments, roofs have bleen for no pieces—raiters, beams, braces, exantlings have been battered. There are great holes in the ground where cart-loads of earth have been excavated in a twinkling.

To present a lively picture of the place, I must incorporate personal adventures into my The shells were fired at a great elevation, and

The lower half of the city is called Gilmore's town the inhabitants. I have made a thorough exoration of Gilmore's town, also of that part of the y still inhabited.

shabited.

ed the old office of the Mercury, in Broad
messenger sent by the "Marsh Angel"
led us, entering the roof, passing into the

chimney, and exploding within, dumping several cart-loads of brickbats, mortar and soot into the editorial room, amashing all the windows, splintering the doors. It was the room where secession had its incubation. The leading rebellious spirits once set there in their arm-chairs and enthroned King Cotton.

chimney, and exploding within, dumping several cart-loads of brickbats, mortar and soot into the editorial room, amashing all the windows, splintering the doors. It was the room where secession had its incubation. The leading rebellious spirits once set there in their arm-chairs and enthroned King Cotton, and demanded home go to his majesty from all nations. The first shell sent the Mercury up town to a safer locality; but when Sherman began his march into the interior, the Mercury fled into the country to Cheraw, it is said, right into Sherman's line of advance! If so, Amen!

The Courier office, in Bay street, had not escaped damage. A shell entered through the roof, went tearing down through the floors, ripping up the boards, breaking the timbers, jarring the plaster from the walls, exploding in the second story, ratting all the tiles from the roof, bursting out the windows, smashing the imposing stone, opening the whole building to the sunlight. Another shell had dashed the sidewalk to pieces, and blown a passage into the cellar, wide enough to admit a six-horse wagon. Near the Courier office were the Union Bank and Charleston Bank. They were costly buildings, fitted up with marble heantles, floors of terra cotta tiles, counters elaborate in carved work, and with gorgeous freesoing on the walls. There, five years ago, the merchants of the city, the planters of the country, the slave traders, assembled on exchange, talked treason, and indulged in extravagant day dreams of the future glory of Charleston.

The rooms are silent now. The caken doors splintered, the freesoing washed from the walls by the rains which drip from the shattered roof, the desks are kindling wood, the highly wrought cornicework has dropped from the ceiling to the ground, the tiles are plowed up, the marble hemantles is a million fragments upon the floor. In short, the banks have broke! They helped on the rebellion—centri-

the tiles are plowed up, the marble mantles shivered, the beautidu plateglass of the windows lies in a million fragments upon the floor. In short, the banks have broke! They helped on the rebellion—contributed of their funds to inagurate it, and invested largely in the State stock to place the State on a war footing. By a document which has fallen into my hands, and which lies before me, I notice that the three banks already named held on January 6, 1865, six hundred and ten thousand dollars' worth of the seven per cent. State stock, issued under the act of December, 1861. They would sell it dog cheap new.
Passing from the banks to the hotel, I found a like

Passing from the banks to the hotel, I found a like scene of destruction. The door of the Mills house was open. The windows had lost their glazing, and were boarded up. Sixteen shots have struck the building. The rooms where secession had been rampant in the beginning, where bottles of wine had been drunk over the fall of Sounter, echoed only to our footstep. The Charleston hotel has several great holes in the walls.

pant in the beginning, where bottles of wine had been drunk over the fall of Sumter, echoed only to our footstep. The Charleston hotel has several great holes in the walls.

The churches have not escaped. St. Michael's, the oldest of all, has been repeatedly struck. The pavement is thick with broken glass which has been rattled from the windows by the explosions of the shells. All the churches in the lower portion of the city are wreeks. The preachers were early imbued with the spirit of revolt. Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Baptist—all preached secession.

Rev. Dr. Porter was paster of the Church of the Holy Communion. He was especially bitter against the Yankees. He called upon his people to fight to the bitter end, till the streets ran with blood—to perish in the last ditch. But he left Charleston very suddenly last week, going to Cheraw, probably in search of it. Perhaps he will find it, for Sherman is in that vicinity. He turned over his house to the care of an English lady where we obtained lodgings. In the morning, I found the old negro cook very jubilant at something. She was dancing in great glee, laughing, holding her sides, and making extravagant demonstrations of joy.

"What pleases you, aunty?" I asked.

"O, massa; I'se tickled to tick dat Massa Dr. Porter, who said dat no Yankee eber would set his foot in dis yere city, had to cut for his life, and dat a Yankee slept in his bed last night! Bless delord for dat!"

The old woman went off into another fit of eestacy. Warshouses, stores, dwellings, alike are shaken

The old woman went off into another fit of cestacy. Warehouses, stores, dwellings, alike are shaken to pieces. The family residences overlooking the bay or battery, as it is called, are windowless, some even without doors. The elaborate centre pieces of stucco work in the drawing-rooms have crumbled; the marbles are defaced; bedrooms are filled with bricks; the white marble steps and mahogany balusters are shattered; owls and bats can build their posts in the comping surjuctings undisturbed in the

the marbles are delaced; oedrooms are fined, with bricks; the white marble steps and mahogany balusters are shattered; owls and bats can build their nests in the coming spring-time undisturbed in the desolate mansions; the esplanade of the battery, the pleasure ground of the Charlestonians, their delight and pride, is dug into defensive trenches; there is a breastwork in King street. There are masked batteries along the shore, which show that the determination was fierce for holding the city, even if the iron clads had succeeded in passing Moultrie.

In 1861, the heart of the city was burned out by a great file, which swept from the Cooper to the Ashley rivers. Since then there has been no sound of saw or hammer, except in the ship-yards where the gunboats were under construction. Those, like everything else, have been lost labor. Last Saturday they too were burned.

It is an indescribable scene of desolation and ruin, of roofless, doorless, windowless houses, crumbling walls, upheaved pavements and grass-grown streets—silent to all sounds of business, and voiceless only to the woe-begone, poverly-stricken, haggard people, who wander up and down, amid the ruins, looking to a jubilant past, a disappointed present, and a hopeless future. They are in rags, and their boots are out at the toes, their shoes down at the beel. There is no longer a manifestation of arrogance, lordly insolence and conscious superiority over the Yankees on the part of the whites.

I cannot well analyze the feelings of the people. They touched their hast to me, and spoke respectfully. They were retieent except when questioned. Once they asked questions of Yankees. "What is your occupation? What they out of this town the better." Such was formerly their language. So they talked to Col. Woodford in 1860, of whom more in another letter. So they talked to many other men.

"We are here, and we have come to stay, I am Yankee and an abolitionist." I said to a citizen.

more in another letter. So they salace to the other men.

"We are here, and we have come to stay, I am a Yankee and an abolitionist," I said to a citizen. He made no reply—did not even look daggers. It is the most completely subjugated community I ever saw. There is mortification, disappointment, hopelessness in their countenances. I have given utterance to my most radical sentiments to try their temper, and have not even succeeded in making any one threaten me by word, look or gesture. William one threaten me by word, look or gesture. lessness in their countenances. I have given utterance to my most radical sentiments to try their tenper, and have not even succeeded in making any
one threaten me by word, look or gesture. William
Lloyd Garrison or Wendell Phillips or Henry Ward
Beecher can speak their minds in the open air,
upon the parade in front of the citaded, without fear
of molestation, and with a certainty of hearty cheers
from one portion of their audience. The bayonets from millions of men on earth there is now the psalm

of molestation, and with a certainty of hearty cheers from one portion of their audience. The bayonets of, a thousand colored soldiers are flashing in the sunlight, and there are other thousands who have suddenly felt the shackles drop from their limbs, who are ready to shoulder a musket and fight for the Union.

There are a few Union men in the city, mostly Germans. I have seen a list of their names. Some of them have been true and staunch friends to our officers and soldiers who have been prisoners in the city; but so terrible has been this tyranny, so sharpeyed that these men are shy and cautious. They talk softly, and look behind the doors to see if there is not a listener. Not so the colored people. They dance and shout and sing, and bless the Lord in open day. They are the true Union people of Charleston. I shall say much more about them in another letter.

harleston. a colored soldiers. COLORED SOLDIERS. The hardest thing to the Charlestonians is the presence of negro soldiers. They are the provost guard of the city, with their headquarters in the citadel. Whoever desires protection papers or passes, whoever has business with the Marshal or the General commanding the city, rich or poor, high-born or low born, white or black, man or woman, must meet a colored sentinel face to face, and obtain from a colored servent negroise. from a colored sergeant permission to enter the gate They were the first in the city; and it is their privi-lege to guard it, their duty to maintain law and

It gave me great satisfaction to see a major in It gave me great satisfaction to see a major in robel uniform marched off to the goard-bose by these colored soldiers. It was galling to his pride, he marched with downcast eyes and a sorry countenance. It gave me pleasure also to see the citizens and women of the city who came to obtain protection from the General wait at the gate, obedient to the nirty, giving each their turn, and showing no distinction on account of color.

Many of the colored troops were formerly residents of Charleston, and now they are at home. They are the lions of the hour. When off duty,

for Auranam Linetin and John A. Andrews! Thinle of it! all this in the city of Charleston!

Last evening, while passing through the city, inquired my way of a white woman, and improved the opportunity to ascertain her opinion of the Yankees.

the opportunity to ascertain her opinion of the Yankees.

"How do the Yankees behave?" I asked.

"O, they behave well enough, but the nigger troops are dreadful assay." (She spells nigger with two gs.)

"They have not insulted you, I hope."

"O, no, they haven't insulted me, but they have other folks. They don't turn out when we meet them; they smoke cigars, and they go right up to a gentleman, and ask him for a light."

"Dear me, that is very had, but we shall have to put up with it," I said.

"I suppose so," was the reply of the lady, who, I think, never mistrusted that she was talking to one of the terrible vandal horde of Yankees.

The citadel in which Gen. Schimmeltennig has his beadquarters was originally a tobacco inspection

The citadel in which Gen. Schimmeltennig has hibeadquarters was originally a totacco inspection office, but when South Garolina began to set up, nationality for herself in 1830, she made it a citade and established a military school therein, which habeen kept as such to the present time. There the proud old State fanned the flame which is now consuming her.

POPULATION AND MEANS OF LIVING In 1860 the population of the city was 48,409 6,969 whites, 17,655 slaves and 3785 free colors The first flight from the city was in Dec. 1861, when Port Royal fell into our hands; but when it was found that the opportunity afforded at that time for an advance upon the city was not improved, most of those who had moved away returned. The attack of Du Pont upon Sunter sent them flying once more; but not till the messengers of the "Marsh Angels" dropped among them did the inhabitants think seriously of leaving. Some went to Augusta, others to Columbia, and others to Cheraw. Many wealthy men bought homes in the country. The The first flight from the city was in Dec. 1861, who Port Royal fell into our hands; but when it we

others to Columbia, and others to Cheraw. Many wealthy men bought homes in the country. The upper part of the city was crowded. Men of wealth who had lived in princely style, we've compelled to put up with a single room. The fire of 1861 made thousands homeless. Desolation has been coming on space. The city has grown old rapidly within the last twelve months, and is now the completest ruin on the continent. I judge that there are from ten to fitteen thousand people still remaining in the city, two thirds of whom are colored.

There is a large amount of rice in the city. Cattle can be obtained from the country. There is no danger of starvation. The poor people are greatly in want, but they will receive rations from the city, the rice having been turned over to the authorities for that purpose. Three citizens have been appointed to distribute it, one of whom is Gov. Alken. I hear various opinions as to his Unionism, but this much is certain, he as taken no nart in public

the rice having been turned over to the authorities for that purpose. Three citizens have been appointed to distribute it, one of whom is Gov. Alken. I hear various opinions as to his Unionism, but this much is certain, he has taken no part in public affairs since the beginning of the rebellion.

There is some gold and silver in the city. There have been two classes of speculators in the South—those who have invested in cotton, and those who have invested in gold. There are very few, however, who have an abundance of means. The poor are very poor. When gathered in a crowd, it is a grand rag-picker's fair.

THE CHANGE

THE CHANGE.

Neither the white nor the colored people comprehend the change which has taken place in their fortunes. The whites forget that they are no longer slave drivers. Passing down Rutledge street one morning, I saw a crowd around the door of a building. A friend who was there in advance of me said that A friend who was there in advance or me saut man whipping a colored woman. Her outeries brought a colored woman. Her outeries brought a colored sergeant of the provose guard and a squad of men, who quietly entered, marched the woman away, told her to go where she pleased, and informed the man that that sort of thing was "played out." Two white women were passing at that time. "O my God! To think that we should ever come to this!" was the exclamation of one. "Yes, madam, you have come to it, and will have to come to a good deal was the reply of my friend.

PROPERTY CAPTURED. The military property captured in the forts is immensely large, consisting of cannon and ammunition. The cannon were all spiked, but the spikes can be removed without difficulty. The number of guns captured is reported at four hundred and seventy. Five locomotives and several cars were left in the city. The locomotives are much worn, but can be made serviceable. There is considerable resin and turpentine, and a few small lots of cotton—that is all. Speculators and traders may stay at home. The military policy, I think, for the present, will be to let Charleston alone. "All we ask is to be let alone," was their cry. The time has come to heed it. Let the gunboats protect the harbor, let the colored troops protect the town, let the school-houses be thrown open to the colored children, let the city remain a closed port till the last rebel has laid down his arms and sued for peace. The military property captured in the forts is im

THE GAME.

THE GAME.

The game which the rebels have played is about over. It has been characterized by lying, and by a barbarism which in the future will astound the world. It was their intention to destroy the city, and the people who remained behind. I am informed that the guns of the iron-clads were double-shotted, and turned upon the city purposely, and that the shells the guns of the iron-clads were double-snotted, and turned upon the city purposely, and that the shells fell far up-town, but fortunately no one was injured. In the beginning, the rebels gave themselves over to work iniquity, and they have continued to the present time. One hundred millions of dollars will. ent time. One hundred millions of dollars will scarcely make good the property destroyed. The city is a ruin. The tall rank weeds of last year's growth, dry and withered now, rattle in every passing breeze in the very heart of that city which, five years ago, was so proud and lofty in spirit. Lean and hungry dogs skulk amid the tenantless houses. Cats which once purred by pleasant firesides run from their old haunts at our approach. The rats have deserted the wharves, and moved up town. The streets have disappeared. They are starved out-rook cawed to us, perched on the vane of the Coun-House steeple. Spiders spin their webs in counti-houses. Such is the lower half of Charleston to-da

om millions of praise—" Alleluia! Salvation and glory, an honor and power unto the Lord our God, for tru and righteous are His judgments; for He hath judge the great whore, which did corrupt the earth wither fornication, and hath avenged the blood of Hiservants at her hands!" CARLETON.

THE TERRITORIES ON THE AMENDMENT

THE TERRITORIES ON THE AMENDMENT.

Mr. Bennett, of Colorado, asked the unanimous consent of the House of Representatives, a few days since, to spread the following paper upon the Journal of that body:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1865.

Representing Territories which must soon become States, as Delegates deprived of the inestimable privilege of voting in this House, and Reling a deep interest in the proposition to smend the Federal Constitution, forever prohibiting alswery within the jurisdiction of the United States, demanded alike by the exigencies of the times and the voices of the loyal people, and by dur efforts in the field to suppress of perpetuating slavery, we cannot do less than attee that the measure meets our unqualified approbation.

H. H. BENNET, Colorado.
J. F. FINEY, Utah.
S. G. DAILY, Nebraska.
CHARLES D. FOSTON, Arizona.
J. B. S. TODD, Dacotah.
W. H. WALLACE, Habb.

J. B. S. TODD, Dacotah. W. H. WALLACE, Idaho. FRANCISCO PEREA, New Mexico.

The Tiberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 10, 1865.

T repeat the declaration made a year ago, that while I remain is my position, I shall not attempt to restrate or noutry the Beaucylands Proclaration, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is pres ACTS OF CONGRESS. IF THE PEOPLE SHOULD, BY WHATEVES MODE OR MEANS, MAKE IT AN EXECUTIVE DUTY TO BE R MEAS, MAKE IT A. R. SUCH PRISONS, ANOTHER, AND NOT 1, STRUMENT TO PERFORM IT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS. The following is the Inaugural Address delivered by Possident Lincoln at Washington on the 4th of

by President Lincoln at Washington, on the 4th of March. It is without a parallel for brevity, and also for the contrite spirit and reverent recognition of the chastising hand of Divine Providence for our grea-national sin of slavery. It will inspire fresh confi dence in the integrity and firmness of the Pretouching that hateful system, and deepen the popula feeling as to the duty and necessity of utterly abolish ing it in the present struggle :--

ing it in the present struggls:—
Fellow-Countrymen:
At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued, second very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have constantly been called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all.

Withhigh hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured. On the occasion corresponding

gard to it is ventured. On the occasion correspondy rected to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, sought to avoid it. the inaugural address was being delivered

While the inaugura from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war, seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation.

and divide the effects by negotiation.

Both parties deprecated war, but one of them wor make war rather-than let the nation survive, and to ther would accept war rather than let it perish, a the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were color

omer would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.
One-eighth of the whole population were colored alaxes, not distributed generally over the Union, but located in the Southern part of it. These slaves con-tributed a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend shirt. that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgests would rend the Union by war, while Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected the magnitude or the distinon which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease, or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the aweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both should not be answered. That of neither has been answered dully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but were to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills, to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terribbe war as she woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern there is any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away.

Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondmen in 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword—as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with

it must be said, that the judgment of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in this city, General Saxton was denounced by Dr. T. P. Knox as a "coward and scoundrel," and by other opprobric epithets; and all the benevolent efforts made, in vicinity of Port Royal, for the relief and elevation of the freedmen, were scouted in the same spirit of de-traction. We felt very reluctant to publish such wholesale condemnation; but it constituted a part of the official report of the proceedings, and we let it stand; satisfied, of course, that it would injuriously affect only the one who uttered it.

In the Liberator of the 24th ult. we published an ex-

cellent letter from Gilbert Pillsbury, Esq., (brother of Parker,) at Hilton Head, in vindication of General Saxton, and in rebuke of his assailant. In our present number we give Dr. Knox's reply, in which repeats his very offensive charges, and seeks to find his justification in an assumed jealousy for the rights and interests of the people, and in his arrest and in: prisonment by order of Gen. Saxton. Such sweeping, denunciatory language can do no harm either to the kind-hearted General, or to the National Freed

men's Association or its agents.

We also publish a letter from a most radical abolitionist, chaplain J. H. Fowler, at Beaufort, in which he repels as baseless all Dr. Knox's allegations, and represents him as a mischief maker, and something orse, who ought to have been expelled from the De partment at a much earlier period. Mr. Fowler speaks the more confidently from his personal ac uaintance with Dr. Knox in this city.

Now, we do not intend to allow in our columns Saxton, as a true friend and benefactor of the freed ople under his supervision, we have the highest opinion; and that opinion, we believe, is held by the abolitionists, with scarcely a dissenting voice.

SERFDOM. In consequence of the charge of "ser dom" having been brought against General Banks's system of plantation labor in Louisiana, a correspondent in another portion of our paper refutes the charge, and furnishes a very interesting communication the subject, in which European serfdom is closely analyzed, and shown to be wholly unlike the tempora ry arrangements made by General Banks, in time o peril, for the welfare of all parties.

GIVE THE DOCTOR A HEARTY WELCOME. The respondent of the N. Y. Indepen

London correspondent of the N. Y. Independent says:

"Dr. Frederick Tomkins and Mr. Levi Coffin, of
Cincinnati, have left for America. Dr. Tomkins has
rendered inestimable service to the Anti-Slavery cause
as one of the bonorary Secretaries of the Freedman's
Aid Society. He intends to visit in succession the Aid Society. He intends to visit in succession the various plantations occupied by the emancipated ne groes; but as he is first of all bound for Boston and New York, I take the liberty of asking for him is those cities the cordial reception to which he is entitled. I have every confidence that his mission will be eminently beneficial to both countries; and that on his return he will be able to stimulate anew the old spirit of British philanthropy. From the beginning, he has ardently taken the right side in the great American controversy."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, March 1865. The illustrate papers in this number are a Tour through Arizona, territory now exciting much interest. The Siege an Capture of Port Hudson, by J. T. Headley, and Suga Capture of Port Hudson, by J. T. Headley, and Sugar-making in Cuba, containing a full description of the processes of Sugar manufacture. In the way of stories we have another totallment of the Mutual Friend, and Armadale, with some shorter tales, poetry, and the editorial matter, making up an interesting number. For sale by A. Williams & Co. SERFDOM.

The most recent and authoritative definition of SERIPDOX is contained in the decree of Alexander, Emperor of Russia, proclaiming the prospective emancipation of the serfs of the empire, published (19th February,) March 3, 1861, (new style.) Serfs are described as "peasants attached to the soil;" thus designated because either from ancient laws or from custom they have been hardinarly subjected to the authority of the proprietors, on whom it was incumbent at the same time to provide for their weifare. The rights of the proprietors have been hitherto very extended, and very imperfectly deflored by the law which has been supplied by tradition, custom, and the good pleasure of the proprietors. See Annual Register for 1861, for a copy of the decree.] The limitations of power embodied in these "laws, traditions and customs" restrict the power of the master in cases affecting the life or limb of the serf, or the safety of the reigning family and the Government. The Government and the serf have only the partial power of self-protection. The exclusive right of poasession and control is in the master. The same idea is embodied in the representations of the best writers upon the condition of villeins and serfs—between villeins or free men, and serfs or slaves. The word "villein" is used as symonymous and serfs-between villeins or free men, and serfs o slaves. The word "villein" is used as synonyn of the Roman "coloni." Ducourge says that the lord has not full power over the villeins; "the latter was not a slave—a thing which the master might dispose of at his pleasure." (Guizot's History of Civilization, vol. 4, p. 54.) Pierre de Fortune, in his treatment in the colonial surfavardence of the French, cited ise on the ancient jurisprudence of the French, cited in Guizot, says, "that which is said, that all things which the villein has are his lord's, it is well to guard against; for if they were his lord's, there would be no difference between serf and villein." "The serfs their persons and property, were given up to the abso-lute power of their masters, which had no limit excep-public executions." (De Gerebetzoff, Civilization in Russia, vol. II. p. 79. Paris, 1858.

ot be comp The serf can

egainst the law.

He cannot be restrained from giving evidence in cases of conspiracy against the Government.

He cannot be sold apart from the land on which he

With these general exceptions, the law of serfdom s expressed in the sovereign will and " good pleasure

f the proprietor." His degradation is not the accident of his co as from capture in war, but attaches to the blood of his race. Servitude is the law, and freedom the excep-tion. If he purchases freedom, or gains it by military service, his children remain serfs.

The right of self-defence is denied him. His servitude is for life.

He cannot change his master, or leave him without

is consent.

He cannot volunteer in the army. His military service is the contribution of the master to the support of the Government. If killed by accident, the damages are paid to his

He is bought and sold with the land on which he

He cannot give evidence against his master, except n cases affecting the safety of the realm. He can enter into no contract, except with the conent of his master.

He is subject to police regulations declared solely by the interests of the master.

His children remain serfs, though born of a free

If he escapes from service, he is returned to his naster at any time within ten years. He is subject to unmerciful and daily corporal pur

He is hired out to service at the will of the master. His master is supreme judge in all civil matters. He is liable at his will to Siberian exile, or to im

isonment in any penitentiary. He can travel only upon the passport of the master. He cannot marry, except by his consent.

He is an "hereditary bondman"; his servitude and the rights of his master being alike subject to the law of inheritance.

He is deprived of the benefit or protection of any rovisions of law which tend to the social, moral or stellectual advancement of his race.

There is nothing that distinguishes the condition of he serf from the worst form of chattel slavery, except that he cannot be sold from the land on which he is born. If he is the recipient of better treatment, it is because the proprietors are of a higher order of mer than slaveholders, or that the race of serfs is superior the race of slaves. The spirit of the laws, tradi ions and customs, as well as of the principle upon which they are founded, is a denial of the rights of the Government and the serf, except in cases affecting their existence, and the assertion of an irresponsible and absolute right of possession and control within this limit on the part of the proprietor of the soil and the serf. [General reference to "Russia as it is," by A. Gurowski.]

The emancipated labor of Louisiana stands upon an

pposite and higher principle.

The interests of the Government are recognized as first and paramount; the rights and necessities of the laborer of equal public importance, subordinate only as a matter of right to that of the Government. No absolute right is recognized in the owner of land, ex-cept the fee of title, even when he is loyal to the Government. He has not been permitted to allow his land to lie waste. The planter suspected of indiffer-ence to the Government, and willing to defeat its policy by contributing to the disorder which would neces sarily follow the suspension of all ordinary busines has been notified that, if he did not, others would cu tivate the land. Assuming the culture of the soil to be a public necessity, and the proper employment of as a free man, except in the matter of wages, and that as a free man, except in the tracter of anger, imposed from the necessity of supplying, for his bene-fit, some equitable standard of compensation in a comfit, some equitable standard of compensation i munity without courts of justice, or recogni ute or local law. The suppression of vagrancy, and the employment of idle persons, is universally recognized as an indispensable condition of civilized government. There is no other basis for the statute law ernment. There is no other basis for the statute law of public or private contracts than the right which the Government has to enforce industry. Assumin that people must labor, the Government has the right to establish the terms and conditions; and in every ivilized country, the foundation of industry is the la of compulsion. The right of private contract does not confer the privilege of subverting, but it is substi-tuting something not inconsistent with the right or inerest of Government.

In addition to the necessities imposed upon all Gov ment to provide for the employment of the people isiana had an additional incentive in the fact, that the industry of the year depended upon the employ ment or indolence of the first two months of the year The time was as imperative as the necessities The time was as imperative as the necessities of the case, and allowed no opportunity for arrangements between employer and laborer; neither parties, from the tenor of their lives, being either willing or competent to effect such an arrangement, if the condition of things had permitted it. A governmental stipulation was, therefore, indispensable to give character and effect to the industry of the State for event. fect to the industry of the State for a year. All its arrangements were in the nature of police regulations, intended to secure public peace and the general welfare of the people, as distinguished from the recognition of the right of one class to oppress or to apprint the labor of another class of citizens.

riste the labor of another class of citizens.

There is no affinity or resemblance whatever be ween the condition of the free laborers of Louislan. and that of the serfs of other countries.

* Gurowsk's Russia, p. 00. Each owner of seris so locks absolutely by his will the number to be delivered by him. * * All other peasants are utilized to board elected from among themselves, to govern the selection of rescribts.

The free laborer is absolutely independent of the will of his employer, and subject only to the interest of his Government, of which his own individual interest is a component and essential part. This is the first and highest condition of his worldly position in first and highest condition of his worldly position is given to him a special and independent character of the property of the property

wn.
His condition, in contrast with that of the seri is en in the fact, that a complete seen in the fact, that a complete census or regime his people was established, so that a soldier or ish was able to ascertain the location of parent or the relative or friend, by inquiry of the Government He cannot be restrained from giving eviden He cannot be restrained from giving eving aniset his employer in any court or in any case.

He cannot be sold with or without the land.

He does not transmit to his children any deputs on which may fall to his lot from misfortune, hereation which may rail to his lot from misfortune, included ity or crime. The law of his situation is the full ity or crime. The law of his situation is the fall measure of human freedom. Any limitation of his measure of human freedom. Any limitation of his recognized and deciral rights, incident to his situation.

The limited gervice due to his employr, has believed and for an account.

is own choice and for an equita on, is regulated by his Governs ion, is regulated by his Government, whose interest are identical with his own, until he shall obtain cape, ity and power to manage his own affair. He has all the rights of self-defence enjoyed by at-

men.

He can change his master, or leave him for different

He can change his master, or seave him for different employment, at his pleasure, within the libits of the conditions to which he has assented. He may volunteer in the army at his pleasure; and he service he renders, or the honor he acquires, the he service he condition and his name, as in the case of

sales mis commen.

If he suffers from accident or design, whatever damages may accrue in consequence of paid to his family, and not to his master. He is free to contract with anybody upon any are

ect, for the use or purchase of land, or for his ensloyment in any way that does not interfere with the ployment in any way time took not interfere with the temporary arrangement he has made for the crop. If he leaves the service in which he is employed, there is no law compelling him to return. He is not subject to corporal, or other cruel or unusual panishment. He cannot be transferred to other labor or on loyment, by his master, than that upon which he is ngaged by his consent. He cannot be separated fro ringaged by insconsent. The cannot be reparated from all family, nor can he be punished in any form, either by exile or imprisonment, at the pleasare of his employer. He moves from place to place by peraission, and under the general protection of the gord-ment. His marriage is authorized and recognized by the Government, and not subject to the will of the naster; the sanctity of his domestic relations has been enforced by the dismissal of officers from public seen enforced by the dismissal of officers from police employment, when interfering with his rights. The unity of his family, their support in sickness and in health, and the education of his children, are secund

to him by the Government.

There is no assistance which a beneficent govern ment can wisely offer to an oppressed race that he does not enjoy to the fullest extent of his power; and the social, moral, intellectual, political and rejious elevation of himself or his children is limited only by their capacity and ambition.

There is nothing in the condition of the emancipated laborer of Louisiana which distinguishes him from any class of laborers in any civilized community, that loes not flow from the condition of war, and the absence of all civil law, equally restricting, in different ways, the rights of all classes of citizens. The spirit of the reulations which govern his industry, and the principles upon which they are founded, is a denial of all claims of proprietor or master; and an assertion of the freom of the laborer, except so far as it is restrained by the general condition and necessities of the people and the Government. Thus, in every respect, his dition not only differs from that of the serf, batis is founded upon principles directly opposite, and pri luces entirely different results.

The Roman people having gained the right to be rms, won for themselves in succession in the content of a scentury and a half civil liberty, political mi religious freedom, and equality of rights before the judiciary and the law. [Vide Drury Hist. Romains

Serfdom was partially abolished in France by the Decree of Louis the Gros, A. D. 1118, who delard that "serfs of the Holy Church should have full and entire license to give evidence and to combat against all men, free as well as serfs, in all cases, pleading and business." It was extirpated from the soil of France by the Decree of Louis l'Ilutin, A. D. 1815a document that has no parallel in history, unless it be the Declaration of American Independence-which failed of its full effect only because personal liberty was not full? appreciated, and was unsupported by the institutions of modern civilization, which render it se

Serfdom was abolished in England by the statute of Edward III. (dated A. D. 1351,) (Re on Edward III. (dated A. D. 1851.) (Rees's Escribe pedia, Woges, and Pickney's Statutes at large, 11 pd. v. 6th, 51.) which provided simply for the payment of wages. Equitable compensation for labor has been rendered as the equivalent of freedom in English legiation for more than five centuries.

In the emancipation of serfs, proclaimed by the Em-In the emancipation of serfs, proclaimed by the Emperor of Russia in 1861, it was proposed, in order relieve the "peasants attached to the soil "from disabilities of serfdom, to invest them, within the true of two years from the publication of the imperial materials," with all the rights of freeg colirator. We leave it to the proprietors to come to smicable bridge with the peasants, and to conclude transactions relieve to the extent of the territorial allotment, and is tive to the extent of the territorial allotment, and is the rental to be fixed in consequence, observing at the me time the established rules to guarantee the incir-

bility of such agreements. The proprietors, it is declared, are "not to be deprived of rights legally acquired, except for a fit sel sufficient industry, or by a voluntary coccusion at their part; and that it would be contrary to all equiv to accept this enjoyment of the lands, cocceded by the proprietors, without accepting also towards then equivalent charges. "The "free cultivators," like the tory, the villeins of England, had the right to rent land

Emancipation is thus made to depend upon the vil Emancipation is thus made to depend spec as of the proprietor of the soil. The imperial depends serts the power of the Government, and provides to the prospective elevation of the serf; but both he pa-ter of the Government and the freedom of the soft are made to depend upon the "good pleasare" of the proprietor and his equitable compensation, at his estentiate, by the serf, for any losses sustained by the proprietor, or any advantages gained by the pessal or any advantages gained by the pessal in the charge of conditions, or the transfer of acquisition of less.

The allotment of land is limited to the homested or cupied by the serf. The compensation required of the serf, when estimated by his master, will isolate the value of the land and the services of the ensuring that pated laborer. In Russia as in the America :
States, the value of land is only in the numb States, the value of land is only in the unhands that can be applied to its cultivation. The set knowing that it is his labor that gives the sell rule, regards it as his own. The proprietor, following the terms of the imperial decree of emancipation, estight to determine upon what terms the transfer shall be made. Until this is agreed upon, the condition all the parties is unchanged by the terms of the deem In this view of the condition of things, it is not sepreing that the terms offered by the propriets as prising that the terms offered by the propriets of rejected by the seri, and that, as yet, emancipation is deferred, though not defeated. The right to rent or own land, to give evidence, and

The right to rent or own land, to give evidence, and of self-defence—the payment of wages, and he like ty to dispose of one's capacity and time for his evipersonal benefit, subject to the necessities and its own on interests of all—are the distinctive characterists of all the emancipated races of mea. There is no one of these that the negro laborer of Louisian determined the self-defended in the engine of the self-defended in the engine of the self-defended in the se

"The world is all before him where to choose, And Providence his guide."

English writers, upon the general admission that a Refigh writers, upon the general admission that a not by any other name will smell as sweet, assume that personal liberty, under another, name, must be redeless and oppressive. They call free, compensated abor seriom. They might as well call it athelem or They might as well call it athelem or occasmption. There is no analogy between Europer sets and the emancipated free men of Louisiana. Haman history does not afford a parallel instance There is no analogy between Europea

Haman history does not amord a parallel instance of deration and progress in an enslaved race like that chibited in Louisiana, between the 1st of January, 1865, and the 24th of January, 1865, when they celebrated in New Orleans the emancipation of their brethma in Missouri and Louisiana.

THE "WHITE." PROVISO IN RECONSTRUC-TION.

DEAR SIR, - That Nevada, or any or all of the Free Sutes, should have been admitted into the Union with Sates, noute mare extra state and the Constitutions of evend "white" in their respective Constitutions, it is to be a constitution in the constitution in the same footing. It is objected that, to reject the constitution in the sat on the same rooting. At its objected that, to reject Louisins, after having so lately admitted Newada, would be treating the Southern State with "partiality" and "inconsistent" on the part of Congressinen, whose was States still adhere to the mean distinction. It is surely no part of the work of Abolitionists to his strely no part of the work of Acontonia's to execute themselves for the consistency of time-serving politicians, but to drive them into inconsistency with their former wicked ways as quickly as possible, and their Louisian by the "partiality" of rebuilding her sevinstitutions on justice. Under the Old Mosaic sevinitionin, no greater prophet had arisen than John the Baptist, yet the least under the New dispensation opened by Christ should be greater than he. And it est too much to expect or demand, that the least of the new-formed States in late rebeldom shall be great er and better than the best of the Free States, under he old order of things. Anti-Slavery could have sothing but protest in the case of Nevada; and, sure gothing on protest in the case of Acevina, and, are-ly, as a practical measure, the case of Louisiana is ratify more urgent, where the dark skinned are so much more numerous, and indigenous, and loyal, while shites are disloyal. Either this question is of gret importance, or it is not; if it is of importance, if the devil of slavery clings to this "white" pro. vio as a respite from his home in helf, all the more sed that Anti-Slavery should be inexorable in its de mads for justice, for fair play for the late victims of clarery. It it is not of much importance, if the ex-develoders should be indifferent, then what excuse for putting off, to any more convenient season, this ob rios piece of simple -justice? Mr. Douglass lately used the fitting figure as to the opportunity and the dur, "Strike while the iron's hot." Louisiana is in the fre; the workmen are around the anvil, prepaying to fashion and form her for the future; if the North and cause of freedom are strong enough to dictate, then sinks while the iron is hot, but strike only for justice : the strength of the North is doubtful, then more in

unble the folly that would confer power on her en-er, allenate her friends. he resolution No. 7, which you added to those preested by Mr. Phillips at the late meeting in Boston, Inderstood to be NAY to this proposition, to strike while the iron is hot, unless every bar in the smithy in he heated at the same time, for the sake of " con

istency," and to avoid "partiality"!

L'a fitting that Abolitionists should be thankful ce, that they are seeing so much of triumph the deir long fought battles; but eternal vigilance the price of liberty. Those who build the walls of remaken will need to keep their weapons in one said while they work with the other. We need to galous of this glorification of Emancipation Pro ishations and Constitutional amendments; innocent and sincere on the lips of the true-hearted, but a lipice only with others, the shirkers of the work yet to be done, which they will be most ready to join in.

Bretofore, the key-note to Fourth of July orations has been. "Union and Independence"; hereafter till be incorporated "Emnacipation," by the same ne of hollow, windy demagogues.

There need to be no ungenerous criticism of men in pover. So infamous a piece of work as re-enslaving the pegroes set free by the war, Abraham Lincoln Give him credit for that, and thank the ird; yet, let jt not be forgotten that, not long ago,
was a party to the mean and wicked proposition to
the freed blacks from the country—a project thandoned now, as you once excusingly observed, bu cine, or only because it would have proved a "big note charitable supposition that such a project is a project is appearance of its wickedness as well as its folly ach recent and superficial converts need to be alafter, and are not fit to be implicitly relied on Is see that the line of policy so carnestly and ably tracted by Mr. Phillips will be promptly responded usy all who would not have the good cause betrayed in the start. is the short-sighted and the time-serving. The pres popularity to which anti-slavery has attained will decreasing be followed by a reaction. The antia regetable and animal growths, growths are value is a the ratio of the time taken to produce them.

Nathroom growths have their value, but let them be usuated according to their value. Some progress in hern made during these four years of war; a fit-fast mad. That is all that wise reformers will look fr. the higher the good to be accomplished, the slow-th process. Those pro-slavery mobs, and churches, all hammon arrays of years have age may be tammon servers, of not very long ago, may be any hope, a little changed for the better; that is Let us be thankful for what has been done, but yet et our plans for the future, adapted to what wil he fiets of the future, and not our hopes or fancies

With much respect,

Yours, truly, GEO. SUNTER. andford, Canada West, Feb. 28, 1865.

"Far fetched and dear-bought" is not always aristoned and dear-bought. Is not aways for tabe. The medical world is becoming alive a fat, that our common Dock Root of the fields important remedial agent, and one of the most dual streatives known. It has always been a file medicine with the fire method of the countries of shis medicine with the wise mothers of the countries and sores, and for purifying the blood. It root which grows so abundantly around us everythe is now known to be one of the ingredients of the Stenaparilla, which is attracting public attention as the attracting reason and ulcernical and the strangelianty cures of cutaneous and ulcernical and the strangelianty cures of cutaneous and olcernical and disorders, as was said of old—"and upon the strangelianty cure for meat, whose flow-nian style for the fruit thereof shall be for meat, at least thereof the strangeliant in the strange medicine with the wise mothers of the coun

The President has commissioned as Surgeo Valuaters, with the rank of Major, Dr. Delany, a second of the will be ordered to report to Gen-bia, lo espains the medical department of the col-cultural products. REPLY TO GILBERT PILLSBURY. .

To the Edite

Boston, March 2, 1865.

In honorable self-defence, allow me to enlighten the writer of the article signed "G. Pillabury," in the Liberator of February 24th. Mr. Pillabury writes that he "does not know the precise causes which resulted in mercential". he "does not know are in the property of the property of the property of the colored people, in public and in private, that all of the second-hand clothing was given by the Northern people to be given to them; therefore, the agents had no right to sell it. Second, I told the property of the property o t know the precise causes which resulted ion." In all kindness, I will inform him. lore, the agents had no right to sell it. Second, I told the people, at all times and in all places, that they ought to receive the same pay for labor that white men and women received. I told them they had a right to vote, and elect their delegates to Baltimore, cause the convention to be held in Beaufort was called without distinction of color. I told them they ought not to support a minister who would not grant them equal rights in the church. The utterance of these sentiments, and making them practical, was the sum total of my of-ending. Would Mr. Pillsbury be gratified to see my head shorn, followed by expalsion to the tune of the "Rogue's March," for this? For these first two offences. these first two offences, Saxton removed me. Soc after he ordered me to his office, and said, "What is the trouble you are making?" "I know not," I replied, "of what I am accused, or the parties." He answered, "I know the parties," He answered, "I know the parties, and will have them up, and allow you to confront them." "That is all I ask," I replied. Several days intervened; I then called at Saxton's house five concentive days to seve house five. Saxton's house five consecutive days to see him. He refused each day to see me. Any man, after this pledge, to utterly condemn another without a hearing is a "coward."

me into a rebel prison at Hilton Head, subjecting me to insults and abuse—robbing me of my sacred rights as a loyal citizen for no-cause other than that of per-sonal hatred. For this inhuman treatment I call him "a scoundrel."

If Mr Pillsbury, or any other man in that depart

ment, should utter these sentiments, and make them practical, he will, at the hands of Saxton, if in his power, receive the same persecution; therefore, I re-peat, that Saxton is the ringleader of the slaveholders at Port Royal and Beaufort. I challenge Mr. Pills-bury to find in that community anything but slave-holders and slaves.

Mr. Pillsbury says, "by some irresponsible Shylock, it may have been done." I assert, fearless of contradiction, that it has been and is now being done by all the Northern Shylocks; that they, unlike Shakspeare's Shylock, demand the whole body, instead of the one pound of flesh. The fact is, they are all John Mitchells, sighing and conspiring for a plantation well-stocked with negres. To accomplish the second contradiction of the second contradic well-stocked with negroes. To accomplish this nefarious work the more speedily, they are treading the soil of South Carolina with muzzles on, well se-

Again, Mr. Pillsbury remarks, "I presume I shall not be charged with lack of sympathy for the down-trodden wherever I am known." A muzzled sympa-pathy for the down-trodden is one of the most contemptible things on God's green earth. Hence the bitter hatred of the South for the North. cause is to be attributed this fearful bloodshed. The South has far more respect for the ashes of John Brown than for this inexpressible meanness of the This foul ulcer needs probing until it discharges

its inhaman virus. I hope Mr. Pillsbury will throw off the muzzle, and

walk in the footsteps of his illustrious brother, and assist us in the vindication of the great doctrine of an rights. Mr. Pillsbury does not attempt to vindicate the Na-

tional Freedman's Association, but says it is direct from heaven. If so, its ejectment is like that of a certain character we read of. I say this Association is for self-aggrandizement, fraught with negro hatred.
This secures position—fills their pockets—builds houses—monopolizes the land that is virtually the blacks; and to promote these ends, this Association dares to get goods under false pretences, begging the North "to give for these poor freedmen," and then compelling these poor freedmen to buy every thread they got with the few cents they receive from their masters for their day's work. By this means they are masters for their day's work. By this means they are prevented from receiving better pay from their masters. This class of slaveholders enable the planting class to say, "You are fed and clothed, and that is all that slaves need." So the Union slaves are, by their toil, supporting and enriching two classes of slaveholders, all from the "Paritanic North."

God has established that man shall have the feuter.

they got with the few cents they receive from the precisive from the few cents they receive from the rece

representations, especially against those who are the proved friends of the negro; and, first of all, against General Saxton, whose heart is as pure as any man's in the army, and whose conduct towards the colored people here has proved him, beyond all possible cavil or envy, their true friend. He has their entire confipeople here has proved him, beyond all possible cavil or envy, their true friend. He has their entire confidence. Every day, simost scores of them go to him personally for advice and instruction. What he says, they are always satisfied is right, he has proved himself in so many ways their true friend. Every one, of whatever views or feelings, except a few such miserable creatures as Knox,—who ought to have been sent away long before they were,—gives General sent away long before they were,—gives General

Saxton the credit of being the true friend of the freedman. But he has been subjected to the severest embarrassments. Frequently the commanders of the department have been unfriendly to the cause, and have sought to oppose him. Frequently he has had in his employ men to carry out his plans and orders, who had no faith or heart in the work. The last of these difficulties he has, in a great measure, got rid of. The first he has been subjected to till within a few days, and even now there is much opposition in some departments.

me departments.

Most respectfully, with the highest este Yours, truly, J. H. FOWLER, Chaplata 33d S. C. Reg't.

LETTER FROM MR. MAY.

LEICESTER, March 6, 1865. DEAR MR. GARRISON :—I do not quite understand, from Mr. Pillsbury's letter in the last week's Liberator, whether he means to say that his "remarks" (at the late Annual Meeting), or the Secretaries "report of his remarks," do "great injustice to Gen. Saxton." If the former, of course I have nothing to say. I thought so at the time, and was wholly at a loss to eccount for those remarks. But if Mr. Pillsbur means to say, as it would appear, that the report of his remarks does the "injustice," I must protest against any such conclusion. As one of the Secretaries of that meeting, I testify that the greatest pains were taken to have the report correct; and I respect-fully but distinctly affirm of that part of It, which reessential points verbatim.

Let me briefly recall the circumstances. At win or remembered that Dr. Knox, in course of some excited remarks, denouncing the existing condition of things at Port Royal, declared that the freed people there were only slaves under snother name, and were bought and sold with the plantations, and concluded with calling Gen. Saxton "head-overseer of slaves where the many hear. Let me briefly recall the circumstances. It will be there." Strong dissent was expressed by many hear-ers. When, subsequently, Mr. Pillsbury spoke, he referred to Dr. Knox, and said, with emphasis, that 'every one of Dr. Knox's statements could be sub stantiated by witnesses whom none could impeach."
I immediately asked Mr. Pillsbury (sitting within a few feet of him) " if he said that of Dr. Knox's statement about Gen. Saxton, namely, that he was but headoverseer of slaves." Mr. Pillsbury, answered, "Well, perhaps not exactly that." Hs glid not then say that he had heard no allusion to Gen. Saxton by Dr. Knox; but when I distinctly spoke of Dr. Knox's aspersion of Gen Saxton, and quoted his words, Mr. Pillsbury replied as above. I am rejoiced that Mr. Pillsbury wholly refuses to sustain or endorse Dr. Knox, in his attack upon Gen. Saxton; but I again affirm the correctness of the "report."

May I add, that I was greatly gratified to see Mr. Gilbert Pillsbury's defence of Gen. Saxton, (in Liberator of Feb. 21,) and his rebuke of Dr. Knox, whose remarks at our late meeting were calculated to mis-lead strangers. I wish that all might be ready to renere it is due, and refrain from needles censure and aspersion.

Very truly, yours, SAMUEL MAY, JR.

REMARKS OF CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE,

On taking the chair at the annual meeting of the Nation Freedmen's Relief Association, held in the hall of th House of Representatives, at Washington City, February 28, 1865:

House of Representatives, at Washington City, February 25, 1865:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It has been my duty, and I certainly esteem it as a great honor, to call this meeting to order.

An accident just now dims the light in this noble room; but every effort is being made to repair it; and we hope that this hall will soon be filled with its wonted illumination. Meanwhile we must be patient. I have seen the time when the great cause of freedom was in dimmer light than this; and I thank God that I have liyed to see it made all glorious by the double illumination of popular favor and Divine approval.

This war, now waged for national unity, is marked by peculiar characteristics. The praise of our brave army and navy is upon all lips. The endurance and patriotism of the heroic people, which has never faltered in its resolve to maintain, at winterver cost, the integrity of the American Republic, furnish to this, and will furnish to all after-coming generations, objects of wonder and topics of eulogy. The vast energies and the vast resources which have been called into action puzzle the statesmen and economists of the old world, and astonish our own.

But these, I think, will not hereafter be regarded as the most peculiar characteristics of this war. Men of thought, and especially men who recognize the providence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men, cannot fail to obdence of God in the affairs of men,

SENATE DEBATE ON THE LOUISIANA

QUESTION.

The struggle on this question in the Se nessed this session. In the course of the day, Mr. Somer offered a series of seven resolutions directed against the principle of admitting Louisinan in the manner proposed, and speeches were made by Mr. Howard of Michigan in opposition to the admission, and by Mr. Johnson of Maryland in favor.

In the evening session, Mr. Summer offered an amendment to the resolution of the Judiciary Committee, as follows:

Provided that this shall not take effect upon the fundamental condition, that within the State there shall be no denial of the elective franchise or of any other rights on account of color or race, but all persons shall be equal before the law; and the Legislature of the State, by a solemu public act, shall declare the assent of the State to this fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States an authentic copy of such assent whenever the same shall be adopted; upon the receipt whereof he

Mr. Henderson of Missouri moves to annua mis-ylanesting after the word "race," the words "or 1x." Remarks followed by Messrs. Pomeroy, Sauls-1ry, Johnson, Carlile and Lane. Mr. Wade moved Postpone the subject till the first Monday in De-ember, which was negatived by a vote of 17 to 12. Ir. Howard moved to lay it on the table—refused by 8 12. Mr. Sumner said he would regard the pas-age of the resolution of the Judiciary Committee as ne Bull Run of the administration. He moved that he Sensts allians.

Mr. Doolittle of Wisconsin then wished that the sir. Donittie of Wisconsin then wished that the whole country could winces the scene in the Senate to-night. Five of its members who usually supported the administration were unling with the opposition to defeat the will of eighteen who had always voted with the administration. This was an act of usurpation.

The Senate then; at 11, 45 P. M., adjourned.

The following are the Senators who appear to have coted in favor of staving off action on the measure—the administration men being in italics:

Messrs. Brown, Buckalew, Carille, Chandler, Davis, Hendricks, Howard, Powell, Riddle, Sumner, Wade and Wright.

THE INAUGURATION.

At twelve o'clock, the official existence of the Congress was ended, Vice President Hamlin making a brief valedictory address.

Vice President Johnson, on taking his seat, made a few appropriate remarks. The President was announced, and Abraham Lincoln entered, escorted by a brilliant cortege of marshals.

Mrs. Lincoln occupied a seat in the diplomatic gallery.

lery.

In a few moments a procession was formed, and the distinguished assemblage moved to the platform at the cast front of the Capitol, where the President delivered his brief inaugural in the presence of the assembled mulitude. The weather was cloudy, but no rain fell.

The procession reached the Capitol about a quarter to twelve, escorting the President elect. At a subsequent period the President and Vice President, together with the Justices of the Supreme Court, members of Congress, foreign ministers and other persons of distinction, assembled in the Senate Chamber.

Here the Vice President elect took the oath of office, preceding it by an address. Chief Justice Chase administered the oath of office on the castern portice, where the President delivered his inaugural address.

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL. Prolixity would be manifestly out of place in commenting upon a document so distinguished by brevity as the President's Inaugural Address. Short as it is, however, it may be divided into two parts—what it does not asy, and what it does. Unexpectedly to many, it presents no new scheme of peace, and seeks to give no other basis to the war than that upon which it is now being fought out. Considering the conferences through which the President has recently gone, and the pressure which has been brought to bear upon him to make hew announcements of a conciliatory character, this is a great and significant fact. It proves the President to be convinced that the leaders of the rebellion are so fixed and desperate in their guilty course that nothing but the continued application of the force of arms can restore the Union. What the President does say, then, is simply to sketch, in wonderfully clear and powerful outlines, this mighty contest as it now stands, and the whole duty of the people with regard to it. In language of touching simplicity and beauty, and with a reverential spirit that finds a response in every Christian heart, he acknowledges the hand of God in this civil war, and, what now is an apparent, His purpose to make it the means of uprooting slavery. Upon this point the inaugural address will sound like the gospel of deliverance to the millions in bondage, con to be free, themselves and their posterity, forevernore. Surely, it is not the least of the grand providences of the time that Abraham Lincoln is continued in the Presidential chair.—Boston Journal.

CAPTURE OF CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., BY GEN. SHERIDAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, March 5.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, States of Major General Dix:

The following despatches in relation to the reported defeat and capture of Gen. Early by Sheridan, and the capture of Charlottesville, have been received by this Department. Gen. Sheridan and his force commenced their movement last Monday, and were at Staunton when last heard from. Major-Gen. Hancock was placed in charge of the Middle Military Division during the absence of Gen. Sheridan, headquarters at Winchester.

E. M. STANTON, Sceretary of War.

CITY POINT, Va., March 5—11 A. M.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

Deserters in this morning report that Sheridan had
routed Early and captured Charlotteville. They report four regiments having gone from here (Richmond) to reinforce Early.

(Signed)

U. S. GRANT.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

Deserters from every point of the enomy's line confirm the explare of Charlottesville by Gen. Sheridan. They say he captured Gen. Early and nearly his enter force, consisting of eighteen hundred men. Four brigades were reported as being sent to Lynchburg to get there before Sheridan, If possible U. S. GRANT, Lieut. General.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:
Refugees confirm the statement of deserters as to the capture of Gen. Early and nearly his entire force. They say it took place on Thursday last between Staunton and Charlotteaville, and that the defeat was total.

U. S. GRANT, Lieut. General.

New York, March 2. The Hera'd's dispatches from Charleston 26th, by the Arago last evening, say we have just received the official intelligence of the burning of Columbia, S. C., on the 24th inst. After the town had been taken possession of by Slocum's corps, some four troops were fired on from the houses, and some seventeen were killed, on account of which Gen. Sherman ordered the burning of the city, which was carried out to the letter.

The World says, Augusta was evacuated on the approach of our troops. It is said a large amount of rebel property was left in our possession, and that General Sherman left sufficient force to garrison the city, and proceeded northward. Also that Sherman was probably proceeding to Florence and Charlotte in force, and had captured a large amount of supplies on the route.

PHILADELPHIA, March 6. The U. S. transport the route.

PHILADELPHIA, March 6. The U. S. transport Massachusetta has arrived here, and reports that our naval forces have captured Fort White. It is a splendid work, mounting seventeen heavy guns, and situated just below Gorgetown, S. C. The sallors and marines then landed, and captured Georgetown The rebel cavalry made a charge off them in the streets, but were gallanly repolsed with the loss of several but were gallanly repolsed with the loss of several but were gallanly repolsed with the loss of several but were gallanly repolsed with the loss of several but were gallanly repolsed with the loss of several but were gallanly repolsed with the loss of several but were gallanly repolsed with the loss was one man. Admiral Dahlgren's flagging Harvest Moon, on her styl down, was sunk by a torpedo. All hands were sayed, excepting the steward.

25 Mrs. Caroline Gilman, author of those well-known works, "Recollections of a New England Housekeeper," and "Recollections of a Southern Matron," though a native of Boston, is now a rebel sympathies. She left Charleston about two years since, and has since resided in the interior of South Carolina.

REMARKABLE SCENE IN CHARLESTON. The correspondent of the New York Tribune gives the follow-

or Tuesday evening, about seven s'clock, we heard prolonged and hearty cheering in a neighboring street. I mai in the direction indicated by the shouts, and found that the Massachusette Fifty-fifth (colored) regiment had just landed in the city:

John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
His soul is marching on!
Glory! Glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! Glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! Glory! Hallelujah!
Joury! The grave of the grave o

We go marching on f
Imagine, if you can, this stirring song chanted with
the most rapturous, most exultant emphasis, by a regiment of negro troops, who had been lying in sight of
Charleston for nearly two years—as they trod with
tamultaous delight along, the streets of this pro-alsvery city, whose soil they had just touched for the
first time—imagine them, in the dim twilight of the
svening, seeing on every side groups of their own
race—men, women, maidens and little children, who
greeted them with a joy that knew no bounds save
that of physical insbillity to express itself fully—imagine them, as they finished their song of triumph,
unite with equal ecstacy in joining in that other thrilling melody:

"Down with the traitor!
Up with the flag!"

Up with the flag!"

Imagine them cheer, as only triumphant troops can cheer in honor of the "stars and stripes," and "Massachusetts," and "Governor Andrew," and, you may conceive (albeit very faintly,) the sublime and unequalited scene that I had the privilege of witnessing on Tuesday night in Charleston.

I heard a Lieutenant of the 55th, in command of company I, give the order—"Shoutlet awar" and in

company I, give the order—"Shoulder ARMS," and in a minute afterwards shook hands with him, for he was an old acquisintance. Who do you think he was? The son of William Lloyd Garrison!

Buildings formerly used for the prosecution of the trade in human flesh were broken into, and over one slave trader's deak were inscribed these texts:

TEXTS FOR THE DAY.

"I am ansabolitionist; I glory in the name."

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." [Isalah.

"Put a pike in the hands of a slave, and you make man of him." [John Brown.

"On to Richmond!" [New York Tribune.

FER. 22, 1865.

HON. LYGLPH STANLEY, son of Lord STANLEY, of

The following are the Senators who appear to have the administration men being in italics:

Messrs. Brown, Buckalew, Carille, Chandler, Davis, Hendricks, Howard, Powell, Riddle, Sumner, Wads, and Wright.

THE INAUGURATION.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1825.

At twelve o'clock, the official existence of the Congress was ended, Vice President Hamlin making a vice and Abraham Lincolas entered, escorted was anounced, and Abraham Lincolas entered, escorted by a brillisint cortege of marshals.

Mrs. Lincoln occupied a seat in the diplomatic galery.

In a few moments a procession was formed, and the listinguished assemblage moved to the platform at least rout of the Capitol, where the President delivered his brief inaugural in the presence of the assembled multitude. The weather was cloudy, but no sin fell.

The procession reached the Capitol about a quarter of welve, escorting the President elect. At a subsequent period the President and Vice President, to the content of the President of th

How the New York Ship was Received at Savanan. In view of the differences of opinion in regard to the loyalty and good feeling of the people of Savanani, the following account of the reception by them of the New York relief ship is interesting. We copy from the New York Post:

"The news that the movement of our merchants was in progress, and that the relief vessel might some be expected to arrive, reached Savannah three or four days before the steamer sailed up to the wharf of the city. Five or six persons, including the committee of the Common Council, were waiting to receive her. There was, however, no excitement; and no interest whatever was manifested by the citizens in the fact of her arrival. When it was proposed to unload the provisions, the inhabitants did not come forward to assist, and the work was finally done by the aid of the commissary department of General Sherman's army. One or two persons in citizens' dress were present during part of the time, and gave advice. When the steamer took her departure for New York, ten days, afterwards, a few men were on the dock; and idlers observed her at a distance. No cheers were given, and the vessel went as she came, almost without notice, and without a demonstration of any kind.

Senator Trumbull and Representatives Wilson and Dawson, last week, waited upon the President, and formed him of his reelection. To this he respond-

ed:

"Having served four years in the depths of a great, and yet unended national peril, I can view this call to a second term in no wise more flattering to myself than as an expression of the public judgment that I may better finish a difficult work, in which I have labored from the first, than could any one less serverly schooled to the task. In this view, and with increased reliance on that Almighty Buler, who as so graciously sustained as thus far, and with increased gratitude to the generous people for their continued confidence. I accept the renewed trust with the yet onerous and perplexing duties and responsibilities."

perpicxing, duties and responsibilities."

The END OF THE WAR NOT FAR OFF—THE VALLEY OF HUMILIATION REACHED. The Richmond Enquirer of the 18th says: "The question of negro soldiers we consider settled. Fublic opinion has definitely declared in favor of arming the negroes." The stoutest rebel hearts are exclaiming, "Help us, Julius Caesar, Hannibal, or we sink!" Great preparations are accordingly going forward to get the negroes ready for the field. This, and the fall of Charleston, must fill the rebel cup nearly full.

New York. Ech. 25. The Communic!" Webble.

New York, Feb. 25. The Commercial's Washing-ington correspondent animadverts strongly upon the release of Roger A Pryor, and his appearance in the streets of Washington, where he was five years ago most active in formenting the present rebellion. The Commercial editorially says the tortured victims of An-dersonville cry out against this misplaced philanthro-py. [Pryor is now in Richmond.]

py. [Fryor is now in Richmond.]

The Grara Celebration in New York. New
York, March 6. The processign to-day was of great
length. The military display was fine, and the firemen made an excellent appearance. Other portion
of the procession, including the wounded veterans in
our ringes, and the trades, excited much interest. The
procession was about three hours in passing a given
point. The meeting in Union square was largely attended. The crowd in the streets was probably the
largest ever seen in New York.

The taking of Columbia is a severer blow than the loss of Charleston. The rebel railroad communi-cations are all destroyed and their supplies are becom-ing exhausted.

The spoils of war captured at Charleston were immense, including over four hundred guns, with thousands of tons of shot, shell, &c., &c.

A dispatch from Mobile 14th, says the largest meeting ever held in that city took place on the 13th, at which resolutions were adopted with "Victory or death" as the watchword. Carpenter's picture of the scene in Mr. Lin-coin's Cabinet when the emancipation proclamation was under discussion, has been placed over the north-trn door of the rotunds of the Capitoi at Washington.

The three States, Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey, that voted for McClellan, have voted against the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

CAIRO, March 7. An extra session of the Arkansis Legislature has been called for the first Monday in April, to consider the constitutional amendment to abolish slavery.

New York, March 7. The Richmond Examiner of the 4th denounces the execution of Beall, the guerilia and spy, and says threats were made in the streets of Richmond to hang sny Yankee officer on parole, and who might be found at large.

PHILADELPHIA, March 1. Governor Cannon, of Delaware, died this morning, after a short illness. Delaware, died this morning, after a snore interest.

27 About thirty negro soldiers that were captured at the explosion of the Peteraburg mine were exchanged by the rehels last week.

27 Gov. Randall of Wisconsin, in his message of 1801, said: "This war began where Charleston is, it should end where Charleston icus?"

Henry S. Foote, member from Tennessee of the rebel House of Representatives, was on Monday ast expelled from that body by a unanimous vote.

The friends of General Butler at Washington urge the President to put him at the head of the new Freedmen's Bureau, but it is said that he will not accept the position. Better send him to Charteston.

THIRD EDITION. THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC FOR 1865.

The third edition of this popular Annual now ready. In addition to the usual Calendar and Astronomi alculations, it contains:

United States Government, Ministers, &c. Senators and Representatives of XXXVIIIth Con Senators and Representatives of XXXVIIth Congu XXXIXth Congress, so far as chosen. Laws passed at the last Senator of Congress. Public Resolutions and Proclamations. Party Pintforms of 1864, (Ballmore and Chicago.) The Rebel Government, Congresseen, &c. The Rebel Government, Congressmen, &c.

Slavsholders' Rebellion, or Chronicle of War Events.

Native States of the American-born People.

Election Return, for President, Governors, Congress

&c., in 1864, compared with the Presidential V.

ors, Salaries, Time Legislat meet, Time of State Elections.
Territorial Capitals and Governors.
Popular vote by States in 1834, 1869, and 1864.
Vote of 1800 elaborately analysed and compared, by Population, Free and Slave, with percentage, &c.

PRICE 20 CENTS. SEVEN COPIES FOR ONE DOL-

Orders (enclosing cash) should be addressed : THE TRIBUNE

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will feeture in ger Williams Hall, at Providence, Friday eveni-arch 10th—being the second of an Independent Con-

OBITUARY.

Died, at Central City, Colorado, Dec. 27, MARY JANE,

Died, at Central City, Colorado, Dec. 27, Mary Jake, wife of Charlers Strakays, of that place, and daughter of Thomas Cartor, of Cumberland county, Ky.

A Kentackian by birth, Mrs. Stearns married a Yaskee Abolitionist, at a time when this involved much sacrifice of personal comfort and social position. She followed her husband to New-England, sharing all his hardships, and patiently enduring the toil, privation and powerty consequent upon his adherence to his principles. For trenty years she has been a faithful and devoted wife, exemplary in all her duties, and decided and setive in the cause of Anti-Slavery; saying to her pro-slavery sequalitances that no one could throw cotton dust into her eyes; they had been well washed out once, and were not easily filled again.

ck of freedom, finding not even a house to shelter their ands on their arrival. They steadfastly advocated the right side through all that great contest between Freedom and Slavery, never flinching nor faltering. Their house was ever a home for the panting fugility: one room, bearing the name of "Uncle Tom's room," was seldom unoccupied

Ing the name of "Uncie Joms room," was seldom unoccupied

In the days of the Kansas famine, the pressure of circumstances induced them to remove to Colorado. During most of her residence there, Mrs. S. has been an invalid, and a great sufferer. She has now gone to her reward; and though we would have wished her to live to see Kentucky free, and to rejoice with us in the last grand triumph, yet we are glad she was permitted to witness the dawn of the day-star of freedom now hovering over our beloved land. The manner of her death was an appropriate close to her beautiful and consistent life. About sunset, she fell into a peaceful slumber, from which she never waked, but, without a struggle or a groan, her spirit passed away from earth to heaven. spirit passed away from earth to heaven.

She leaves one little girl two and a half years of age,

(all her other children having gone before her,) and a deep-ly afflicted husband, to mourn their loss, which is her un-

CLEANSE THE BLOOD.

CLEANSE THE BLOOD.

WITH corrupt, disordered or vitinted blood, you are stone and the control of the control of

with which it cleanses the blood and cures these disorders.

During late years, the public have been misted by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Extract of Sarsagarilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick; for they not only contain little, if any, Earsagarilla, but often no curature properties whatever. Hence, bitter disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsagarilla which flood the market, until the name itself has become synonymous with imposition and chest. Still we call this compointd "Earsagarilla," and intend to supply such a remedy as shall receute the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. We think we have ground for bolieving it has virtues which age irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. We can only insure the sick that we offer them the best alterative which we know how to produce, and we have react to believe it is by far the most effectual purifier of the blood yet discovered by anybody.

Arran's Chrant Pecronat is so universally known to

AYRE GURRAY PECTORAL is so universally known to surpass every other boundy for the cure of Goughs, Golds, Influents, Horaneness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Con-sumption, and for the relief of Consumptive patients in advanced stages of the disease, that it is useless here to recount the evidence of its virtues; the world knows them. Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mass., and old by all druggists.

March 15.

Medical Notice - - - The New Cure.

DR. W. W. BROWN, DERMAPATHIC AND PRACTICAL PHYSICIAN FOR ALL CHRONIC DISPASES

Office 140 Court St., Boston. [Late 34 Winter St.] CONSULTATION FREE.

THE DERMAPATHIC REMEDY is not a patent medicine, nor is it a pill, a powder, or a syrup, but

A NEW TREATMENT OF DISEASES. DERMAPATHY — WHAT IS IT? Nature is always striving to throw off disease, and the Dermapathic treatment steps in to her assistance. Its curative power is without a parallel. Its influence is felt over the entire system. It changes the secretions, purifies the blood, gives strength to the different organs, and its continually adding in such where medical knowledge remains helples at the turning point of its grt.

The Feeble, the Languid, the Despuiring, the Old!
SHOULD GIVE THIS NEW DISCOVERY A TRIAL. Office hours, from 9, A. M., to 4, P. M.
March 3.

"A THING OF BEAUTY IS A JOY FOREVER!" AND nothing is so beautiful as A FINE HEAD OF A HAIR. All preparations for the hair are injurious. By using Professor Wilson's process, you can have beautiful, lively, curly hair in four weeks; costs but a few cents. Warranted to give satisfaction. Try it Enclose 50 cents to Wilson & Co., P. O. Box, 2871, Philadelphia.

LOST

LOST,

N Wednesday afternoon, 8th inst. in Worcester depot,
Boston, a calfidin Wallet, containing about \$70 in
green backs, and seven or eight wheat receipts, dated Battic Creek, Michigan; also, a bill of male of wheat, and
several other papers; a draft in favor of Antheny Burton.
All said papers are of value to me, and cannot be of any
value to the finder, who will confer a favor by enclosing
said papers to me by mail to Battle Creek, Michigan,
and as much of the money as they may wish, after retaining ample pay for their trouble.

Battle Creek, Michigan, Feb. 13.

MR. GARRISON'S PORTRAIT.

THE Portrait of Mr. Garrison, the publication of which has been delayed in consequence of the severe portracted. Illness of the artist engaged in transferring it to stoom, is now roady, and will be furnished to subscribers immediately. Orders may be addressed to R. F. WALLCUT, Req., Librarian colless, or to the Publisher. Price S1.50 per copy.

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

l'eston, Dec. 23 1864 C. H. BRAINARD, Publisher.

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Mr. Span a the path of the pat

IN NEW ENGLAND BY K. C.

Smile down thy crystal deeps on me, O blue New England sky; Smile warmly down, and melt my soul In floods of costsoy!

And you, ye hills, right royally
In purple glory rise;—
How my heart rises with your tops
To Him who made the skies!

And glory, glory to His name, From my soul's depths I cry; His love and power alone could b The mountains and the sky! And you, sweet, sweet New England homes,
Low nestled in the dells—
How blest the child whose mother's song

Chimes with your village bells! Thou iron steed of fiery breath, Wilt thou not wait with me, Where the broad, bright stream the poet loves

For " the world I'd give, if the world were mine," For but one moment sweet To twine his mountain laurel there, And cast it at his feet.

To bathe my lips in that river's flood, To kneel where I fain would die, And to bear the memory away with me Of the glance of the Poet's eye! Land of the Pilgrims! Motherland!

Has not thy first glance smiled A smile of welcoming love to me, Thy poor adopted child? Now clasp me to thy great, true heart,

Close, close—and held me still,— And though thy first breath on my cheek Be somewhat harsh and chill, Is't not the same sweet air that filled Elequence' richest tone; That moved dear lips for Freedom's sake,

Whose words were music's own ! Flow brightly on, ye classic streams ! And rise, ye mountains, grand! Who would not die ten thousand de For such a glorious land?

What marvel that, for such as she, So many braves have poured
"Their last breath on the battle-storm,"
"Their young blood on the sward"? The snow lies in the hollows here,

Where violets oft were nursed,—
The Bay State, queen of the North, must went
The winter's ermine first!

It well becomes her;—pine-clad hills, And cliffs with laurel green, And this fair mantle's downy folds "Hiding the dells between!

Now, "Pilgrim City," here with thee My wild heart seeks its rest; The home of minds that sway the land, The Athens of the West .-

What grand old names, to History dear, Are written on thy walls!
What voices, echoed through the world;
Are sounding in thy halls!

What feet that oft, for freedom's sake, In thorny paths have bled, Still daily press thy pavement-stones, Made sacred by their tread!

O mills of Newsury, far away, I feel your gales blow free; And, nearer, golden lips have spoke Kind words of cheer to me! Boston, Mass., Dec. 9, 1864.

> For the Liberator. SONG.

THE LAND THAT FREEDOM CHEERS All hall the land that Freedom cheers, The sand of equal rights,
Where Justice rules, and Plenty rears
Her garden of delights!

The land where noble Warren bled, The land of Washington, Where lie the ever honered dead, Who Freedom's buttles won!

The land where despots vainly strove
To rule with iron rod;
Forgetful that there dwells above
A just and righteous God.

All hail the men who would not bend Beneath the tyrant's stroke, But bravely dared their rights defend, And spurned the traitor's yoke !

Brave, ransomed land, forevermore
To bear the starry sign
That evermore from shore to shore Sweet Language is thine !

In vain would tyrants fix their throne Where dwell the just and brave-One blast upon thy bugle blown Should rouse a world to save.

Preedom has built her palace here.

Homma to the mighty one,
Who gave the great decree,—
COLUMBIA, LAND OF WASHINGTON,

FOREVERMORE BE FREE! F. M. ADLINGTON, Weymouth.

AMERICA'S FREE

AMERICA's FREE! America's Free! Glory to God, America's Free! Flash it with lightnings from sea to sea! Chime it and ring it, O bells! Ring Slavery's dirges and knells!
Till every breeze that swells
Over the continent, tells From wild Atlantic's jubilant rear Valley and prairie and mountain o'er, To vast Pacific's unmeasured shore,

America's Free! America's Free! Glory and blessing, O Father, to Th Shout, happy nations, the jubilee! Cannon bellow and blaze! Carol, O Birds, with your lays! Carol, O Sun, with thy rays! Shine, O Sun, with thy rays! Oceans and Thunders, praise! All gied voices of Heaven and Earth Ald us, for words are of little worth! Mingle and struggle in mighty mirth! To praise Janoyau at Lemmar's birth!

Augusta 's Fren! America's free! Millions of myriads yet to be
Shall weep and sing at the Genery Docum.
Forged in anguish and fears?
Written in blood and tears;
Bread for both hemispheres i

watchword of Man I GEO. LANSING TAYLO JANUARY Blaz, 18651-Company of Estimate 18 (2) And 18

The Wiberator.

GERRIT SMITH TO WILLIAM LLOYD GAR-RISON.

The Theologies the great Enemies of Religion—The The ologies the great Hinderances to Justice and Reform— The Theologies the great Carse of Mankind. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston :

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRIBON, Boston:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I see in the newspapers a
Bill of Sale of "two negro slaves, which slaves were
lately the proper goods of the said Jonathan Edwards deceased." It is subscribed by Timothy
Dwight, Jr. and Timothy Edwards, the Executors.

This Jonathan Edwards was the celebrated elder
President Edwards, and this Timothy Edwards was
his son. Of the President's purchase and treatment of the

black boy, Titus, you have doubtless often heard.
Mrs. Mason Whiting, of Binghampton, daughter of
the aforesaid Timothy, has twice told me the particuiars. The last time, only sixteen months ago, I wrote them as they came from her lips. This excellent la-dy, although eighty five years old, is still blest with a

healthy body and a healthy brain.

Titus was eight years old when the President bought him, and fifteen when the President died, and left him still in slavery. The President allowed him no education. Mrs. Whiting's father, who inherited him, allowed him none. Although he lived to old age, poor Titus could never read. He was, however, remarkable for his good sense and integrity. Now, how can it be explained that Preildent Ed-

as a slavehölder?—was this unqualified, un mitigated, unrelenting slaveholder 1 1st. It was not because he was a man of weak in-tellect. A stronger one there was not, perhaps, in all

2d. It was not because he was an ignorant man

for he abounded in learning.

3d. It was not because his conscience was dull.

No man had a more wakeful or tender one.

4th. It was not because he had a shallow sense of

justice. Who had a deeper 1 For none of these reasons was it that he stood in

this guilty relation. He stood in it solely because his theology called for or permitted the relation, and be-cause with him the claims of theology were para mount to all other claims. Had his theology forbid den slavery, he would have been an intensely earnest abolitionist. I, of course, speak of his theology as he, and not as others, viewed his teachings at this point. His son, the younger President Edwards, was such an abolitionist. But he would have been as pro-slavery as was his father, had he interpreted his theology to be pro-slavery. For the son, like the father, set the ological above natural obligations, and was devoted to theological rather than to natural justice. Both of them, like the great mass of religionists, confounding tent on that true religion which is obedience to na ture, they were intent on one, which, like every other false religion, is antaganistic to her. Edwards' theology was his justification for being a

slaveholder. The curse upon Canaan, or the permis

sion to buy bondmen and bondmaids, or something sion to buy bondmen and bondmans, or sometime, else in his theology, he construed into such justifica-tion, Calvin's theology was his justification for con-senting to the burning of Servefus. His theology made it the duty of the Church to condemn Gailleo. It was their theology that prompted the managers of the Inquisition to kill scores of thousands, and tortur hundreds of thousands. Earnest and conscientiou and sublime souls were Edwards and Calvin, and als many of these managers. I cannot join with those, who pass upon them an unqualified and sweeping condemnation. Their errors, although so horrible, were, nevertheless, far more of the head than of th heart. They were educated to set theology above na ture, and to enforce theological justice at whatever ex pense to natural justice; and, alas! they were but to faithful to their education. Thus kindly, too, would I judge my neighbors, my countrymen, and, in short, the people of both Christendom and Heathendom for the vast majorities of them have been taught the supreme obligation of their theologies. Their belief in miracles shows that they set their theologics above nature—for miracles are the greatest possible outrage upon nature. Drownings in the Canges and crushing of equal rights to woman, and the allowing o polygomy and slavery. And emphatically unnatural is the doctrine, that another can relieve us of the penalty of our own transgressions;—the obvious doc-trine of nature at this point being: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Others may suffer for the sinner ; but he too must suffer.

Within the last few weeks, there have been in the adjoining county of Onedia a couple of very la-mentable instances of the subordination, or rather sacrifice, of nature to theology, of natural right to con ventional right. A State Temperance Meeting was asked to set its face against all use of alcoholic liquor as a drink, such use doing more than everything else to drench all Christendom in tears, if not indeed in blood also. But it failed to do so. Theology pleaded for its continued use at the Lord's Supper—for its con-tinued use there, where the sacredness of the occasion makes the practise of the occasion a sacred and powerful example. Theology pleaded successfully, however silently. In a word, theology triumphed, and nature and temperance and truth went to the wall. The other instance to which I refer is connected with and nature and temperance and truth went to the wall.

The other instance to which I refer is connected with a libel suit. A very poor man in that county has, for many years, employed himself in writing books, hoping that he might in this wise both. truth and add to his scanty means for supporting his books are on religion, and although he is not only a the objects of your faith. Once we could say with very learned but a very pure and plous man, an influential sectarian newspaper of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York "By two immutable things," &c. "We have also a property of the city of New York and in that o them, as "composed entirely of ballerdash and twaddle," and its author as a "renegade infidel." The reckless and atrocious libeller was prosecuted. nasmuch as it was proved on the trial that the book, though written in the kind, candid, truth-loving, Christian spirit of the author, is, nevertheless, at dis-agreement with some of the dogmas of the current theology, it was held that he was not entitled to a ver-dict. The law of natural justice, which the libelled had not at all, and which the libeller had grossly violated, called for a very heavy verdict. But, as the law of theological and artificial justice was paramount with the jury, so the author, having studied to conform his books to claims of natural and real justice, was left to pay the costs of the suit. The doctrine prevailed that a man, in expressing his doubts of any of the dogmas in question, does thereby make himself an outlaw. You may, with entire impunity, vilify You may, as did the libeller in this case, hold up the books as marked with lunsey; and you may, as did his eminent counsel, help along the libel at this point by putting in open whether he did not think himself to be a lunatic. Nay you may blacken the libelled with the worst epithets you can find in the dictionary. The shield of law is no longer over his head—but the condemnation of a theology. The trial in this case was nominally the trial of the libeller by the laws of the land, which are the law of natural justice; but really it was the trial of the libelled by the laws of theology—laws which not only do not harmonize with, but are at utter war with, the laws of natural justice.

Oh, ye well-meaning but misled jurors, what a pity it is that when it was argued before you, that it is no more than established usage to call the doubters of

these dogmas "insidels" and "renegades," and no more than recognized liberty to call their writings "baiderdash and twaddle"—what a pity it is that you tad not been manly enough to resolve that you would do what you could, by your rerdict, to put an end to such an abaurd usage, and to such a wicked liberty! Alias, that you, too, should, however undesignedly, have helped to dishearten this poor, toil-wern, good and noble man, and to encourage this unjust and cruel man who was crushing him!

By the way, has it never occurred to you that the theologies are largely responsible for the currency and

by the way, has it never occurred to you that it heologies are largely responsible for the currency an nuccess which attend tale-bearing, slanders, libels are success which attend tale-bearing, slanders, libels and lies! Receiving a theology without proof, (and all the popular theologies are destitute of proof,) prepares the way for receiving other things without proof. If, in the important matter of embracing a theology, we can ignore the laws of evidence, how natural that we should make but too little account of them in inferior matters! Why should I wonder, when I hear that the people believe I have been guilty of oppression here, and fraul there, and falsehood elsewhere? For that I have been guilty of all this, or you have For that I have been guilty of all this, or you have been guilty of the thousand things said sgainst your self, is not a millionth part as improbable as the fish story and some other theological storics which people believe. As long as the theologies obtain, you and must not wonder at the popular credulity in regard to any stories about ourselves or others, be they howev er big or however false. What the people of a land need is to be lifted up out of their superst eredulity into a healthy skepticlam—out of the habit of believing without adequate evidence into the habit of exacting such evidence. This better habit created, and they would laugh at the baseless theologies, and be as slow as they are now quick to open their ears to

I may be thought unfair for having spoken in the same connection of the wrongs to which theology prompts in our day, and of those far greater ones of which Calvin and others were guilty in former days. But why is it that the theological wrongs of our day are less heinous? It is mainly because of that o pressure and restraint upon the Church which has come of a more general enlightenment and of a higher civilization. Is it said that the Church has reformed herself? I answer, that no moral reform are to be looked for at the hand of the Church until she is rid of the incubus of theologies. The theolo gies being the work of the past, necessarily keep the face of the Church toward the past. Her very life being in the past and in the preservation of the past, she is intensely conservative. Change is the dread of Protestantism as well as Catholicism; and will be the

The Church, in her branches which retain their theological stiffness, is as intolerant to-day as she eve was toward departures from her theology; and I as severe a punishment for them as she ever did For instance, she still holds that doubts of the popular view of the Atonement or of the Divinity of Chris deserve a never-ending damnation. Formerly, when life to wrest nature into conformity with religion, in-stead of letting religion grow into conformity with nature. Or rather, I might say, instead of being inporal hell to the eternal hell. I am willing to admi that now, when she has for so long a time lost the power to make this addition, she has quite naturally lost much of her disposition to make it. But the Pope's late Encyclical is only one of innumerable evidences that the disposition would revive with the power. The Pope, by the way, is the mouth piece as well of Protestantism as of Catholicism. Both, i is true, are anxious to draw a line of separation between themselves. Nevertheless, they are essentially one, and must continue to be, so long as they continue to be ruled by theologies which are essentially

What can prevent the recurrence of these thee cal wrongs? Nothing but the throwing away of the theologies. These wrongs, now greater, now less restrained in one age and breaking through all re straints in another, are the necessary fruit of the the ologies. Safe from these wrongs none will be, so long as men are held amenable to theologies. Safe, indeed from no wrongs will men be, so long as they shall b judged by any other standard than reason and nature The libelled man, in the case I have referred to The libelled man, in the case I have referred to was judged by the theological standard; and was therefore sent forth to get along as well as a hereti without property and with a libel-blasted reputation can get along in a theology-bound world. The Tem perance Reformation, too, must do the best it can un der the calamity of having theology stop the wheel of that beneficent and blessed Reformation at the very point where they should turn the swiftest. So, als astronomers and geologists must lay their ac with the disadvantage of having their discoveries come into collision with an infallible and inexorable

But it will be asked-" What shall we gion if we throw away the theologies?" I answer that they never were religion, nor any part of it; and that they never stood in any other relation to it than that of its greatest binderance and mightiest enemy. Were the theologies of the whole world cast aside, the re ligion of reason and nature would quickly bless the whole world. Were the historical and traditional religion cast aside, and were there in its place the reli gion of a present consciousness—the religion of the present voice of God to the soul, and of the present voice of the soul to itself—men would not need to go

from earth to find heaven. from earth to find heaven.

I have often thought of your great change in thes
things. You were brought up in a strict Calvinisti
theology. You have lost your theology, but your re
ligion remains. God, and His Spirit, and Jesus, and your days. But, though you have not lost your reliand add to his scanty means for supporting his gion, there is, judging from my own experience, on large and helpless family. Although all his thing you have lost. This one thing is the certainty of ourselves remitted to all the conscious uncertainty of human reasonings. Nevertheless, we would not, if we could, buy back this lost certainty. The price would be too great. It would be no less than ignoring the ons of science and the laws of evidence, and turning our backs upon reason and nature, and again picking up and prizing the bundle of fiction cies and follies, which our convictions had compelled us to throw away. For one, however great the comfort which may

ceed from this certainty, I deny the right of any may to the comfort, because I deny the right of any may to the certainty. Such certainty is begotton of igno-rance and superstition; and only the ignorant and su-perstitious have it. God does not give it to men. But persitions have it. God does no given men. He gives them powers, in the constant exercise of which they may be constantly travelling toward such certainty. Instead of telling men what is truth, he leaves them to learn for themselves what is truth. Instead of treating them as machines, he treats them as free agents. The machine runs its round of necesty. The beaver and the bee do their work unerr

y, because instinctively, and from the necessity their nature. But man is left to choose his course, and to reason out his daty and his destiny; and this im-plies the grandeur and responsibility of his nature, and his infinite superiority to the other orders of earth-That God makes these direct revelations, which th

That God makes these direct revelations, which theology claims He does, is contrary to all analogy. In
order to know and supply the wants of the body and
the brain, we must be ever studying and toiling; and
so must we to know and supply the wants of the soul.
Alas, that men should so generally cling to this
chesp way of getting religious knowledge and advancing in the religious life! Alas, that they should
so generally believe that God has prepared to the

hands what He has but given them hands to prepare

These preachers of the assumed certainties of a religion of miracies and magic remind one of the quack doctors who, with their specifics and panaceas, promise to cure the patient by a single dose. Empiricism is as much out of place in religious as in medical science.

I spoke of the loss of our certainty in regard to the objects of religious faith. And yet I am slow to believe that this entire certainty, which there are no reasons to justify, can afford as much comfort to its possessor as the measure of certainty which is built up on reasons. Moreover, might we not rightly expect that, if men would throw away the things which have come down from the superstition of the sages to their own superstition—such as the remerkably accommodating disposition of the su and mosh toward a band of slaughterers, the transmutation of Mrs. Lot into a pillanghterers, the transmitation of Mrs. Lot into a pil-lar of salt, and God's hating an unborn child—and would set themselves, in the exercise of their reason, to learn more and more of Him and of their relations to time and eternity-I say, might we not then right short of absolute certainty 1 And, for our encourage-ment in this connection, we must remember that his dear Spirit, that never works with auperstition, does

With great regard, your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

CHURCH AND STATE.

I find in the Pittsburgh Commercial of the 11th ult. a sermion preached at New Castle, Pa., by Rev. A. B. Bradford, upon the following subject, namely:—
"Would it be right to incorporate Religious Dogmas into the Constitution of the United States?" which called forth this sermon was the circulation, among the people of Pennsylvania, of the following Memorial to Congress:—

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representa

To the Honorane in Scante and House of Representa-tives, in Congress assembled:

We, citizens of the United States, respectfully ask your honorable bodies to adopt measures for amend-ing the Constitution of the United States so as to read, in substance, as follows:—

read, in aubstance, as follows:

"We, citizens of the United States, humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christas the Ruler among the nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority, in order to constitute a Christian Government, and in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the inalienable rights and blessings of life, liberty, and alt he pursuit of happiness to ourselves, our posterity, and alt he inhabitants of our land, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

convelves, our posterity, and all the inhabitants of our land, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

And we further ask that such changes be introduced into the body of the Constitution as may be necessary to give effect to these amendments in the preamble."

in circulation for signatures, by a Convention of Pres-byterians recently held in Philadelphia. A Convention of the same sort, and for the same purpose, had pre-viously been held in the city of Allegheny, in the Western part of the same State. The alleged object of the movement is to effect a change in the Consti-tution of the United States, with the view of making that instrument "Christian" in character, and thu giving to the people of the United States a better title to call themselves a Christian nation. The author of the sermon, though a Presbyterian takes a different view of the matter, and gives hi reasons in the interesting and able discourse above

to the traditional acceptance, by a portion of these Presbyterians, of the old Westminster Confession of Faith, which teaches (Ch. xxiii., sec. 3.) that the civil magistrate has authority, and is bound in duty to take order "that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all biasphemies and heresies be suppress-ed, all corsuptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered and observed." He then proceeds to give reasons for disapproving and op-

posing the movement.

After making the preliminary statement that we, of
the present generation, understand the genius of
Christianity, its doctrines and requirements, far better

nta teach contrary doctrines? What shall be de cided about Slavery, which a majority of all the cler-gy of all the principal sects have considered to be up-held by both Old and New Testaments? Who shall settle the multitude of differences of opinion and principle? What shall be the ultimate court of appeal ions as there are judges ? As to the further request of the Memorial-

such changes be introduced into the body of the Con amendments in the preamble' door for most dangerous innovations, and might be interpreted to warrant the institution of an Establish-ed Church, to cooperate with the civil magistrate in carrying out the changes in question.

Mr. Bradford proceeds to set forth, ably and well,

that God is honored infinitely more by the Govern it attends religiously to its own specific business of protecting the persons and property than when it intermeddles with matters with which in the very nature of the case, it has nothing in the world to do. He shows that God alone is Lord of the conscience, and that he made both conscience and in-tellect to be free. He shows that there is no man nor set of men, nor no church, great nor small, that can be trusted with absolute dominion over the hu-A. What was?

Q. It was your opinion that I intended to anounce that they would appear? A. (emphatically) by opinion was that you intended to make the public decide what is truth and what or our frame of government the time to the history of the world, e, for the first time, attends to its without arrogating to itself the can be trusted with absolute dominion over the hu-man conscience; that the gigantic folly of the propo-al to amend the Constitution by incorporating reli-gious dogmas with it consists in this, that in the matter of religion and religious doctrines there is, and can be, no umpire on earth to decide what is truth and what is error; that under our frame of government the Church, for the first time in the history of the world, is free, and the State, for the first time, attends to its

business of expounding, propagating and enforcing religious doctrines; and that our Constitution is pre-eminently Christian by the very omission of the mat-ters in question, honoring God as the Christian man coninently Christian by the very delication wan honors Him, by doing the work which God has ap-pointed it to do, and thus accomplishing the end of its being. It attends to its own business, namely, regu-lating the things that are Cmsar's, and it leaves to God the things that are God's.

For a Pershverian elergyman to preach such a ser-

God the things that are God's.

For a Presbyterian clergyman to preach such a sermon as this is to set a noble example to his brother preschers, and to fulfil his duty alike as a citizen and a minister. There ought to be a wide circulation of this discourse in Pennsylvania, as well in those Western States where Presbyterian ideas and traditions prevail. The clergy and members of those churches, and the people who are accustomed to hear Presbyterian preaching, are in special need of the truths here set forth.

The manufacture and advances of this Manufacture and advances of the truths here set forth.

The manufacture and advocacy of this Memorial
are only one more illustration of a vicious habit belonging to most of our religious sects, that of substi-

longing to most of our rengious sects, task utiling profession for the performance of duty, pretence for obedience, lip-service for practical righteousness. The devotees of sectarism who conceived this idea are now teasing the nation, just as they tease the attendants on their preaching and praying, to make a profession of religion; as if they would become more sultinus, or be likely to grow more acceptable to God, religious, or be likely to grow more acceptable to God, by that method! The highest and loudest, and most minute professions of religious character, far from bearing corresponding fruit, bear less fruits of right-cousness, other things being equal, than other Monks and nuns do not lead more Christian lives than the fathers and mothers of Catholic families.
Deacons and church members are not more prompt or
thorough than others in really good works. Schemes and enterprises for the practical benefit of mankind, or of communities, larger or smaller, originate oftener and are sustained better out of the churches than in them. Common people put their duties into their daily lives—church people put their duties into the making and manifesting of a profession. The se-verest denunciations of Jesus were levelled against the fewish professors of religion—the class most nearly corresponding to our orthodox church-members. It was the Pharisees, not the Sadducees—the Pharisees, not the Samaritans—the Pharisees, not the publicans and harlots-that excited his greatest indignation. They were, preëminently, the men of profession; and the men of profession in our day are the very persons whom he would again most strongly censure if he should reappear on earth.

Moreover, profession being easier than practice, is

open to the worst men in the community as much as to the best, and is certain to be used by them in proportion as it is popularly esteemed to indicate a good character. Let those who wish to distinguish themselves as better men lead better lives, instead of mere ly making proclamation, by sound of trumpet, that they are better. What folly would it be for public documents and deeds of contract to be prefaced by pious sentences, with the assumption that these wo give them a Christian character! We might as well as evidence of our devoutness.

One of the most wicked associations that ever was rmed-a compact between three European sovereigns to suffocate popular liberty wherever it should raise its standard, and, by forcible intervention, to overthrow the independence of all inferior States, call-ed itself the *Holy* Alliance! Did that make it holy? Its Proclamation was prefaced by the formula—"In the name of the most holy Trinity." Did that make it Christian, religious, good, or even tolerable, in any manner or degree? Did these forms of speech pre-vent it from being utterly villanous and abominable, from beginning to end, a disgrace to the contracting ruled 3

in the history of our own country. Where have the hypocrisy of profession, the quintessence of cant, the superlative degree of sanctimonious wickedness, been very by ministers, church-members, and ecclesiastica in these United States ! The piety of South ern clergymen who were slaveholders and defenders of slavery, the frequency of revivals and the respec After making the preliminary statement that we, of the present generation, understand the genits of divery. No people in the land professed piety more that and this, and therefore that we have no need to seek theological or religious instruction from the Westimister Assembly, Mr. Bradford proceeds to no-tice the three propositions which the Memorial proposes to insert in the premible to the Constitution.

As to the first—"That Almighty God is the source of all austhrity and power in civil government"—he have that the variety of meaning which may be put upon this formula would be sure to make it a bone of contention, and that for this, if for no other reason, it is should be denied administron.

As to the second—"That the Lord Jesus is the riler among the nations"—he suggests that there are contention, and that for this, if for no other reason, it is should be denied administron.

As to the second—"That the Lord Jesus is the riler among the nations"—he suggests that there are contenting the nations of the discovery the support the constitutions.

As to the second—"That the Lord Jesus is the riler among the nations"—he suggests that there are contention, and that, by the adoption of this article, their religious opinions (to which they have as much right as we to ours) would be subjected to constitutions.

As to the third—the demand that the Constitution, and that, by the adoption of this article, their religious opinions (to which they have a subjected to constitution).

As to the third—the demand that the Constitution, as a many propose when the use of the demand that they themselves would be rendered inexpable of holding any one of those offices which require an oath to sup

Mr. Williams proceeded with the examination.
Q. Have you in the course of your life—of course you have, but I sak the question—have you had it within your line of duties to issue programmes and ements of theatrical perfor For how long? A. Twenty-five years.

Q. For how long? A. Twenty-five years.
Q. During that period, has, it been with you a matter of some considerable study—this matter of play-bills, &c.? [Laughter.] A. A great deal, sir.
Q. It is a matter that requires considerable ingenuity? A. I think it is, sir.
Q. It is a matter that requires considerable ingenuity? A. I think it is, sir.
[The advertisement of the Count's benefit, as published by himself, shown.]
I have read this. Under ordinary circnmstances I should have thought from this that Mr. Booth and Miss Jones were to appear, but as it was, I did not suppose that they would, because I knew the reputation of the Count Joannes. [Laughter.]
Mr. Barnum was so imperturbably serious during his whole testimony that the audience burst into laughter at nearly every reply he made.

He continued—But for that I should have believed they were to appear. In any extent of my man-

He continued—But for that I should have believed they were to appear. In any extent of my management I never went so far myself as to humbug people by advertising anything that I did not expect to exhibit. [Laughter.] This is undoubtedly an announcement that these two persons would appear. The Count rose toleross-examine.

Q. That was your opinion, was it, Mr. Barnum?

A. What was?

Q. Then, sir, you are gratified in that respect tow, I suppose? A. (Very emphatically.) Mg

Q. Have you ever acted on the stage, sir? A. A

Very trifling? A. Very.
I presume, sir, you know you are in a count of e. A. I believe I am, sir. Q. Ve Q. I p

Q. I presume, sir, you know you are in a consider justice. A. I believe I am, sir.

Q. Ah! I presume you feel that you should reak with all dignity in reference to this court? A has disposed to speak the truth, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Barnum, is there not an old present you have a child unborn.

Q. Now, sir, when in England in 1842, did you not make an application to purchase the boss wisn you than a child unborn.

Q. Now, sir, when in England in 1842, did you not make an application to purchase the boss wisn you than a child unborn.

Q. Now, sir, when in England in 1842, did you not make an application to purchase the boss wisn had you will be you have you had not have you had him to have you had have you had had bright a whole you will not have you will sir, that I was the may wonted you? A. I do not know any sechien.

Q. You know very well, sir, that I was the may who prevented that descration, and called a pable meeting to prevent it, and that is now one of the honorable things connected with my busble sin.

Witness—I have only known you as a measure you.

The Count, somewhat wilted—I think I mill frey erly appeal to the court against this I that I was the rely appeal to the court against this I that I was the rely appeal to the court against this I that I was the rely appeal to the court against this I that I was the rely appeal to the court against this I that I was the rely appeal to the court against this I that I was the rely appeal to the court against this I that I was the rely appeal to the court against this I was the rely appeal to the court against this I was the same was

The Count, somewhat wilted—I think I may proerly appeal to the court against this; I think I may
ask the indulgence of the court.
Witness—I deal and am an expert in monatracties. [Loud laughter.]
The Count—Then I have no dook you will offer
me a splendid engagement tomorrow? A I deal
think I could go any further than the "What-sit."
[Loud laughter.]
The Count—This is a court, sir, not a show-shop;
have done, sir; I have done.

The Count—This is a court, sir, not a show-shop; have done, sir; I have done. Redirect by Mr. Williams—What would be the effect of an annonacement of this character at a theatre where Miss Jones was in fact under an engagement? A. The effect would be to draw a large number to the theatre where diswas announced to appear.

Q. If she had allowed this to go uncontradicted, do you think it would injure the Winter Garden, where she was to play? A. Undoubtedly, and the shown; do you think it would in jure the Allowed English Shown; do you think that denial legitimate? All think it is a little milder than I should have written it; such a denial would be absolutely necessary for the protection of the Winter Garden; the effect appon the future success of the actress in ming ragagements, if she had allowed it to go uncontradicted, would be injurious.

tue protection of the Winter Garden; the refer inpon the future success of the actres in making engagements, if she had allowed it to go uncotrade, ed, woold be injurious.

Q. Did you ever hear of the Count in England?

A. I did.

Q. What was his reputation there?

The Count—Reputation for what—to make low to women, or to get drunk, or what?

A. So far as my knowledge is concerned, in—n far as I read or heard the speech of the people, his reputation was that of an impostor; that washout 1842.

The Count—In what branch of life did you kee that I was an impostor? A. I believe I saw a publication in Punch, a copy of a letter or libograph of a letter issued by the editors, which they said they had sent to various courts and other places in Europe, to show that that was your handwring, as that you had denied it. That gave me an impostor, which I have never had occasion to change, that you which I have never had occasion to change, that you had denied it. That gave me an impostor. [Loud laughter.]

The Count—There is a phrase with which they state here are familiar—Praise from Sr Illeden Stanley is praise indeed. I take it that blane has Mr. Barnum is complimentary.

The Count—You have quoted from Pach, whether or not that is a satirical and comic page.

A. It is a very excellent and common-sense page, though it is satirical. It is founded in justice, salf think it does a great deal of good.

Q. Have you ever had the hours to be in it, sil. A. I have, frequently.

The Count—I am content to be in your company.

Mr. Barnum—I am not. [Loud laughter.]

Mr. Barnum—I am alsence of twenty minutes a turned a verdict for the defendant. It is sguite that the plaintiff appeared greatly surprised as even staggered by this result. The Tribune suries that the plaintiff appeared greatly surprised as even staggered by this result. The Tribune suries politic jury, and to save him from arrest ad englett he jury, and to save him from arrest ad englett he jury, and to save him from arrest ad englett he jury.

"We regret to state that the Count was unable be poll the jury, and to save him from arrest and estinement, Mr. Williams, counsel for the defence, put the jury fees for him."

The fees were said to be about one hundred is twenty dollars.

RICH COLORED MEN. Ciprian Risaid is with over a million dollars, and is the richest coined an in the United States. The colored men in Net have many rich men, among them Peter Yasipit have many rich men, among them Peter Yasipit who owns about \$3,000,000 in property, religant who owns about \$3,000,000 in property, religant otherwise. In Philadelphia, there are, as four thousand families, nearly three handred living four thousand families, nearly three handred living their own houses. Among the rich men are that their own houses. Among the rich men are that Frosser, White, and Stephen Smith, the later and be worth over \$500,000.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD CHANGE HIS MANWhen the war began, Beauregard asserted had be
would die in the last ditch. The other day, in the
interest of the control of the control of the control
ing to the bilter end—and that if he failed be coal
fight to the bilter end—and that if he failed be coal
ways said that his "last ditch" derution would a
ways said that his "last ditch" derution would not be
would run away, as he now confesses he will.

THE ANTI-SLAYERY AMENDMENT IN MAIN IN Maine Legislature has ordered to be prepared as belie copy of the proposed Amendment to the four turtion of the United States, about surely start, this will be signed by the members of both brancher will be signed by the members of both brancher of the state of the

Rebel papers are very indignant at the time of the bill to put alares into the army, and the fa-States are charged with abandoning the case.

Letters from Charleston, S. C., state this Mercury of that city will be immediately refresh James Redpath, of John Brown memory, sell-Mr. Redpath is now in Charleston.

The rebel debt proves to be four hundred in the debt proves the debt proves

No truce in the vere in the ve

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