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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts therised to receive subscriptions for THE LEBERATOR.

athorized to receive suscerptions for LIE LOWATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial.

Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the sper, viz :-Francis Jackson, Engurso Quisco, Ebburso Jackson, and WENDELL PRILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor,

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

laim Liberty throughout all the land, to

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printer

VOL. XXXII. NO. 5.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1862.

WHOLE NO. 1628.

Refuge of Oppression.

WITHDRAWAL OF SECRETARY CAMERON.

WITHDRAWAL OF SECRETARY CAMERON.

The public cannot but be glad at the retirement of this gentleman from the great effice of Secretary of War. We give him credit for his fine energies, and his fortune from obscurity and indigence to wealth and power may well be admired; but his integrity has been often severely questioned, and on an important feature in the fundamental law of the land, he has principles of the most pestiferous description. It is on the latter ground that there must be common exultation on his withdrawal. He is the very man—the identical Secretary of War—who recently urged, in an official paper, the arming of the blacks of the South for the suppression of the rebellion. The illegality and imprudence of this suggestion need not now be enlarged upon. When he had the addacity of broaching it, the independent journals of the country—and in independence, The Prior mest be allowed to be bold enough—arraigned him in merited terms. Had his advice been respected by the President, the loyal parts of Virginia and Tennessee, and the whole of the States of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, had now been out of the Union, and for secceting they could not be condemmed. In that case, the Federal Constitution had been broken against them, and in self-defence they would be compelled to rebel openly against the consequences of the violation. But the Chief Magistrate kept his outh of office, and the allegiance of those sections of the Union has not been destroyed. Nor is this all the trouble Cameron's abolition manifesto had been followed by: it would have intensified the treason of the remainder of the South ten thousand degrees, given incalculable augmentation to the savagery of the war, and it would lead to the perfect dissertement of the whole negro race in the confittence of the Windows of the Cabinet. Various causes are assigned for his retiring. We dare say the man has been politely expelled the Cabinet. Various causes are assigned for his retiring. We dare say the man has been politely expelled the Cabinet. The public cannot but be glad at the retirer

ABOLITION LICENSE.

The civil war by which the Republic is now on the verge of irreparable dissolution, is the effect of two causes: the disappointed political ambition of the South, and the abolition doctrines of the North fanatically used for the overthrow of the chief Souththe South, and the abolition doctrines of the North fantically used for the overthrow of the chief Southers interests. These are the agents from which the rebellion has sprung. Had the latter never existed, it is certain that treason would not make its appearance in the slave States. The public men of those wretched sections of the country have shown a disobedient, distempered, aspiring, violent nature, in presence of which no legislation could be permanent—before the arrogance of which no laws could endure. In the absence of abolitionism, the treason of the South had not, perhaps, yet appeared, but break out it would before a great length of time. The rabid conduct of the philanthropists only hastened its incubation. But had the latter shameful truth not existed at all, had it been the case that the loyalty of the South were as entirely free from all taint as the fair spirit of the Constitution could require it to be, a doubt cannot be entertained that abolitionism per se would provice the slave States to rebellion. There is guilt in the South proper to itself; but had it been completely free from guil from proper reasons, its submissiveness the Black Republicans would lash into open revolt. In each division of the country, the Constitution has been murderously signed at. It is difficult to settle on which side the larger treason prevails. On the first perception, abolitionism bas it, and like all first judgments of a universal nature, this first perception may be very well admitted to be tree.

is and like all first judgments of a universal nature, this first perception may be very well admitted to be true.

We have now in the field over six hundred thousand armed men for the suppression of the Southern rebels. Against this nothing can be said; in favor of it, every tongue and pen in the land should be deliberately exercised. But the Northern rebels are allowed to persist in their treason. Nay, they are at full liberty to increase in it. Abolitionism, which has been the principal cause of Southern disloyally springing to action, was never so violent, so extreme, so wicked, so fanatic as it is at this very instant. Its clergmen, its editors and its "wretched spourters"—both men and women—are now in bold enjoyment of the utmost license of action. The Administration, however, does nothing to cheek them. On they go, in their certain treason, without a single barrier to stop their progress. The pillars of the abolition churches are made to vibrate every day and evening with emancipation sermons of the most turbulent kind; throughout the country, the anti-slavery societies are in the fullest exercise; for the abolition journalists, no excess is too wild for advocacy, and the speakers of the tribe are utterly unbridled in their speech. Still, the government at Washington does nothing to hinder the guilt. This may be the result of having too much dury on hand. No doubt the rebellion of the South will be squelched down at last. But the real integrity of the Union is impossible while abolitionism is allowed to prevail. The rebels of the South will be squelched down at last. But the real integrity of the Union is impossible while abolitionism is allowed to prevail. The rebels of the Konth. Down the latter must be put, as deeply as the former, or there can be no continuace of the Ropublic. It may be, that the Administration, which has given high military places to Lane and Phelps, has a clear perception, and an upright, patriotic resolve on the case: but we advocate the uprising of the people in public meetings f parriang of the people in public meetings for the ession of abolitions—for the removal of one causes of the present rebellion—for the stern

demand of real action by the government with the fanatic robels of the North. If they be tolerated, the fires of the robellion will continue inextinguishable. But we have an abolitionist Congress!!!—Ibid.

A GOOD SYMPTOM.

We quote below from the Worcester Spy the following timely, and no doubt just, piece of criticism upon Wendell Phillips's lecture. From the description given of it, the philippie is the same which this past favorite of the Spy, and of the other abolition newspapers, and of abolition gatherings in general, has delivered on repeated occasions recently. The charm of his oratory, however, now ceases to exercise its wonted influence over even a Worcester andience. The reason is plain. The country is now dealing with facts instead of theories, and with those facts the speculations of Mr. Phillips are inconsistent, so that "his tone in reference to the Government was," as the Spy justly observes, "in all respects unfriendly." In a word, the good people of Worcester, who have been in the habit for years of listening with delight to Mr. Phillips, who were fed upon his diatribes and rolled his invectives as a sweet morsel under the tongue, begin to feel that this indulgence has betrayed them into a false position towards their country; and as they feel this, "outward graces" and all the tricks or accomplishments of clocution pall upon the eye and the ear—and, as the Spy now does, they call

"Him vile who was their garland."

"Him vile who was their garland."

This is the natural course of things; and the change which it exhibits is no less inevitable than gratifying. Mr. Phillips's lecture is no whit worse in the key-tone and animus of it, than Mr. Sumner's, at the Worcester Convention, early in October last, which was received by a majority of that body with such enthusiasm—but the times have changed, and men's minds with them.

The Spy cannot, however, forgive those who have always seen and resisted by argument and expostulation that course of finatical abolitionism, which has brought our country to its present deplorable state; and, accordingly, in the same sheet, in which it disposes of Mr. Phillips so summarily, it uses some characteristically elegant language towards a Boston new-paper, the "organ and oracle," it would seem, of those who have felt the folly and guilt of destroying their country on professed philanthropic principles. It dreads the effect of the "memorial, to Congress, sent forth by the Courier, and which is having so wide a circulation. It denounces Phillips for his logical deductions from "the negro question," and assails the newspaper in question for taking means to induce Congress to let the negro alone. This is the Spys article: and assalls the newspaper in question for means to induce Congress to let the negres. This is the Spy's article:—

"Wendell Phillips's lecture, last night, brought out a large audience at Mechanics. Hall, thought not so large as some we have had there on other occasions, this winter. He spoke of the war, a topic, he said, that should be the only one with every serious-minded American. But the lecturer fell below his reputation for eloquence. There was a lack of heartiness and generous enthusiasm. We have never heard him when his words had so little power to control the sympathy of his audience.

There was no lack of the outward graces that have contributed to give him his high position as an orator. The failure came from the clear, strong, and just conviction that he was atrociously unjust to the men in whose hands rests the control of our national affairs. The man who can so unhesitatingly denounce Mr. Seward as a "Micawber," and Mr. Lingelm as a man 'who left his brains and conselence in Kentucky,' does not deserve to hear enthusiastic responses from an intelligent audience. His injustice was felt as one feels the utterance of falsehood. Moreover, his vituperation was ill-timed as well as misdirected.

His tone in reference to the Government was in all respects, unfriendly. Looking at the rebels, he saw

peration was ill-timed as well as misdirected.

His tone in reference to the Government was in all respects unfriendly. Looking at the rebels, he saw ability, statesmanship, and others great and noble qualities, on account of which, he said, they deserve success; while in our Government he saw nothing but imbeedility and lack of everything that can merit culogy. It is not thus that patriotic men deal by the Government at a time like this. It is the habit of Mr. Phillips to utter invectives, and in his mind, it may be, they have less meaning than to those who hear them. This, however, cannot render such injustice excusable."—[Boston Courier.

The further reports of the Anti-Slavery noticed by our correspondent, "Bristol." In old Federal and Democratic party times, many of our tall, and the print could give the print could give the property of the print could give the property of the p

and afforded another convincing illustration of how these gentle philanthropists can rail.

But as the best set off we can furnish for their amiable allusions to this paper, the following pas-sage in the speech of Senator Davis of Kentucky, delivered in his place, on the 22d inst., seems to fit their case precisely.

age in the speech of Senator Javis of Aentucky, delivered in his place, on the 22d inst., seems to fit their case precisely:—

"But, Mr. President, these fanatics, these political and social demons, your Beechers, your Cheevers, your Phillipses, and your Garrisons, come here breathing pestilinee from Pandemonium, trying to destroy this Union, so as to secure over its broken fragments the ennactication of alexes. They oppose Mr. Lincoln, as honest and pure a man as ever lived, because he stands by the Constitution, and is opposed to interfering with slavery. The utterances they have put forth in this city have descented the Smithsonian Institution. If the Secessionists had dared to give expression to the same utterances, they would have been sent, and properly sent, to Fort Lafayette or Fort Warren. What will you do with them, and with that terrible monster Greeley, as they come sneaking around here, like hungry wolves, after the destruction of Slavery. If I had the power, I would take them and the worst Seceshers, and hang them in pairs. (Laughter.) I wish to God I could inflict that punishment upon them. It would be just. They are the disunionists. They are the madmen, who are willing to call up all the passions of the infernal regions, and all the horrors of a servile war. This they would carry out over the disjected fragments of a broken Constitution to obtain their unholy purposes, and I am too fearful that the Hon. Senator from Massachusetts (Kr. Sumner) aympathizes with them. (Laughter)."

No wonder that Senators more familiar with Mr. Sunner's sympathizes laughed; that Mr. Davis should

THADDEUS STEVENS

We trust that no good citizen and patriot read the telegraphic report in yesterday's paper of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens's fanatical and insane ravings without indignation and disgust. The madness and recklessness of such language at such a time are inconceivable; we can compare the man who talks in this bedlamitish strain to nothing so much as to a mischievous monkey playing with fire in the magazine of a splendid line-of-battle ship. But Mr. Stevens is no inconsiderable person, but the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and the leader, so to say, of the House of Representatives; and thus his words are not like water spilled upon the ground, but rather the dragon's teeth that sprang up armed men. The President of the United States has exercised pretty liberally during the past year the privilege of arrest and imprisonment during his pleasure; if such powers are to be used at all, we recommend Mr. Stevens as a proper subject for them. We would not send him to Fort Warren or Fort Lafayette, but simply to the nearest lunatic asylum, where he may have his head shaved, a large blister put on between the shoulder-blades, and be fed on bread, water, out-meal gruel and other anti-phlogistic diet, till returning reason re-assume its sway.—Boston Courter.

The Liberator.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Massa chusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, or Thursday and Friday of last week, commencing a 10 o'clock on Thursday, at Allston Hall, corner o Tremont and Bromfield streets, with the exception of the closing one on Friday evening, which was hele at Music Hall. A large number of the old and tries friends of the cause were in attendance, from variou parts of the State, and the proceedings were characterized by the same carnestness and faith in the ultimate triumph of the right, which have made the meetings of the Society memorable from its organ zation to the present hour.

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., one of the Vice Presidents, presided on Thursday, and, after calling the meeting to order, stated that prayer would be offered by Rev. 200. W. Oraci, of Blumbar. After the clusion of the prayer - which was appropriate to the MUND JACKSON, Esq., Treasurer, read his report, as fo

lows : RECEIPTS	報力	327
Of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from Je 1861, to January 1, 1862.	SHOW I	tick
Ralance in the Treasury, Jan. 1, 1861, Bequest of the late John Rogers, Receipts from the Bainar, Contributions at the meeting of July 4th, Contributions at annual meeting, Contributions at annual meeting, Contributions at the 1st of August meeting, Denation from the Hovey Fund, Pledges, substrictions and donations, as published	\$1234 100 183 161 192 89 150	00 33 15 88 75 00
monthly in the Liberator,	1999	48
Total,	\$3710	43
DISBURSEMENTS		

DISBURSEMENTS	
During the same period, as fo	llores :
Paid Office Rent,	\$487
Expenses of annual meeting,	250 (
R. F. Wallout, one year's salary,	425
E. H. Heywood, General Agent,	one year's
salary and expenses,	886
C. C. Burleigh, lecturing and exp	enses, 167
Printing.	84
Office furniture,	24
Reporting by J. M. W. Yerrinton	97
American A. S. Society,	408
Repository,	80
Expenses at Framingham meeting	25
Circulating Petitions,	19
Fifty copies Liberator,	24
A. T. Foss, lecturing and expense	ss. 535
Sallie Holley, do. do.	136
Charles L. Remond,	Commence of the A
Samuel May, Jr.,	41
Balance,	11
the second and second and the second	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE

EDMUND JACKSON, Treas'r.

January 10, 1862. I have examined the accounts of dinund Jackson, Treasurer, for the year 1861, and find he same to be correct, and properly youthed; and the regoing abstract of the same is correct.

. WM. I. BOWDITCH, Auditor Assistant Secretaries were then appointed

C. K. WHIPPLE, J. M. W. YERRINTON, WENDELL On motion of Mr. Garrison, a Business C

On motion of Mr. Garrison, a Business Committee was appointed, as follows:—W. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maris W. Chapman, C. L. Remond, Lydia Maria Child, Henry C. Wright, Giles B. Stebbins.
On motion of Mr. May, the following Committees were appointed:—
On Nomination of Officers—Samuel May, Jr., of Leichter, Jan. N. Business J. W. D. C. W. D. C.

On Nomination of Officers—Sanuer and Art, Ashby, of Cester; Jas. N. Buffum, of Lynn; Wm. Ashby, of Newburyport; J. B. Swasey, of Roxbury; Briggs Arnold, of Abington; Henry Abbot, of Amherat; Armond of Armondord George Miles, of West-minster; Alvan Howes, of Barnstable. Finance Committee—E. D. Draper, E. H. Heywood, Maria S. Page, Mary Willey, Thos. M. Hathaway,

Maria S. Fago, and Williams A. Landson, and Calledon Elbridge Sprague, Georgina Otls.

The President then introduced Rev. Wst. R. Atoric, of Boston, who was received with applause.

SPEECH OF REV. WM. R. ALGER. I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the go

here, like hungry wolves, after the destruction of Slavery. If I had the power, I would take them and the worst Seceshers, and hang them in pairs. (Laughter). I wish to God I could inflict that punishment upon them. It would be just. They are the distundance in the state of the part of the power in the properties. They are the madmen, who are willing to call up all the passions of the infernal regions, and all the horrors of a servile war. This they would carry out over the disjected fragments of a broken Constitution to obtain their unholy purposes, and I am too fearful that the Hon. Senator from Massachures to (Kn. Sunner) sympathizes with them. (Laughter)."

No wonder that Senators more familiar with Mr. Sunner's sympathies laughed that Mr. Davis should feel the slightest hesitation about his entire communion with the others designated.—Boston Courier.

159-" The sole object of solicitude with the abolitionists," says Wendell Phillips, "is the negro." The thirty millions of white people are not regarded at all—the sole object is the segro! Why don't they all po to Africa, then? They could indulge their solicitude" there without harm to any one, except the "object" of it.—Boston Post.

omens of the hour are good. Even if this revolu-tionary spans should terminate by restoring things simply as they were before, estenably, still, an un-speakable gain will have been made in reality; for the dominance of the South in our politics is hope-lessly broken forever. (Loud applause.) And, fur-thermore, the exclusive monopoly of the production and supply of cotton is hopelessly broken forever. (Renewed applause.) And, in consequence of that, (Renewed applause.) And, in consequence of that, still more and further, the price of slaves has been fatally lowered, and thus the backbone, the vital moshould worst come to worst, a colossal, unimaginable advance and gain have been made. But I, for one do not believe that these things will eventuate and close in a simple restoration of the status quo. Far from it. Our Southern brethren—"our misguided en of the South "-saw what is called by sailors brethren of the South —saw wint is cancel by sample a cyclone; that is, one of those gales in southern seas which have a rotary motion, and, at the same time, a very rapid forward motion on their axis. They saw this storm whirling round in the direction in which their ship Confederacy was sailing, towards the gloomy this storm whiring roam in the direction in which their ship Confederacy was sailing, towards the gloomy port of slavery. They cut into the outer circle of the storm, thinking to be hastened on their way—forgetting that it was moving with irresistible and tre mendous activity on the line of its axis towards the smiling haven of Liberty. (Applause.) I expect, Mr. President, one of these bright mornings, to see, by the carbon of the bright mornings, to see, by the carbon of the bright mornings, to see, by the carbon of the bright mornings, to see, by the carbon of t activity on the line of its axis towards the some Providential interposition or other, the bloody curtain of this tragedy which is going on in our coun-try torn aside, and the lights of Justice and Freestreaming across the stage on the ruins of the sole cause of our troubles, on the sprouting germs of united interests, and on a people, hand in hand, marching to the goal of a harmonious and enduring prosperity. (Applause.) This cheerful faith I, for one, cherish, and mean to, until disastrous facts and necessition to this course, which is so common in every sities shall destroy it,-which I think they never will.

cause he is eternal." We, being finite, and so quickly passing off the stage, are haturally impatient. And sometimes, when we see how slowly events appear to be moving towards the end we covet, we cannot but sign and complain, and wish the end were clearer and nearer. The old Greeks were accustomed to commemorate the battle of Platas or each and the contract of our people and the contract of our people and the contract of our people and the contract of the contract of our people and the contract of our people and to the contract of our people and the contract of t its anniversary, by crowning the bowl of Liberty offices of political advancement and power of unpramids the very scenes of its occurrence. They went pled men, there is not a man on the continent out with peans and gardands, beneath the benings. amilds the very scenes of its occurrence. They went out with peans and gardands, beneath the battleant Grecian sky, and, amilds the tombs, weaving wreaths, the other hand, if we could see where an assault of and hanging them on the sepulchres, they filled the bowl with wine, and poured it out upon the sod, conjuring back again the shades of the immortal heroes of the asphodel Elysium, to join with them in their rite of Liberty. We, too, have our famous battle-fields, our storied tombs, our illustrious names, our blue sky, our mountains and our sea; when, when

shall be do it?

First of all, he is bound to exemplify, in himself, the principles and virtues which he wishes to see beuniversal and support of the contry. This is a direct way to the accomplishment of his end; for the collective country is made up of individual citizens. Its character, conduct, experience and destiny are composed of and determined by them. To fulfil this duty is also the direct way for him to acquire public respect and influence, private integrity and peace. But to fail of doing this is to incur serious censure and odium—to become this is to incur serious censure and odium—to tecome himself a sour, querulous and pernicious disorgan-izer. Now, I believe that it will usually be found true of Reformers, that they observe this primal and cardinal obligation. They do incarnate in themselves and observe in their conduct, in an unusual degree, the principles and sentiments and rules which they up for the observance of others. It is one o the great, current, fashionable fallacies of the world to charge them with the opposite; because every one whose interests are assailed, whose ease is disturbed, whose complacency is rebuked by their assaults, by their requirements, by the ideal which they set up in superiority to his real,—every such one, naturally folavoid the point and edge presented to him by some evanion or other; and the most obvious is, to retort and say—"You are guilty of as great crime in this particular as I am in that"; and in that way undertake to evade the obligation. So that the fashionable criticism of Reformers as "malignant philanthropiats," and all that style of invective which is so current and and all that style of invective which is so current and common, is really, as a general law, in my opinion, unfounded and false. So obvious and almost inevita-ble is the result of rebuke and odium which will come upon the Reformer, if he does not exemplify in him-self what he preaches to others, that he will naturally be very careful to exemplify it. Perhaps some of you have read the modern fable—as good as anything in Æsop, I think, although it is new—The Sparrow and the Earle. One day the marrow went to the earle. Asop, I think, although it is new—The Sparrow and the Eagle. One day the sparrow went to the eagle, and said to him, "May it please your royalty, I notice that you fly away with kids and lambe, that never did any harm to anybody. There is no creature in the world so malignant as the cat. She prowls round our nests, eats up our young, and bites off our own heads. She feeds so daintily, she must be good eating herself. She is lighter to carry than a kid, and then you would get a famous grip in her loose far! Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why don't you feed on cat!" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, "Why

holding up a high standard of duty for others and for this State, we are to be careful to see to it that we come up to it ourselves.

Then the next thing which the individual may do for the public good is with a quick and generous eye to recognize every form and particle of good already existing in others or in the State, and strive, in the the present beginnings of good, there may be spread abroad, to final consummation, universal good. To labor consciously and earnestly in that direction is a contribution to the public good which every individual may make—an offering to lay on the altar of the great human weal which will be incense in the nostrils of the Almighty, and upon which no man can film edium.

Now, what are these beginnings of good which we are to recognize, and, by recognition, by praise and honor strive to increase! Well, the consummation of all hu man good is the full, free and happy exercise and fruition of all the faculties of human nature; and whatever con tributes towards that is in its degree good, and to be re-cognized and prized. Knowledge is good, freedom is good, enterprise, energy, industry, resolution, are good; but, above all, truth and virtue are good. But con, in order that all fallacies may be refuted, and all truths be enforced and established. Every individual, according to his lights, his gifts, his opportunities. herish, and mean to, until disastrous facts and neces-ities shall destroy it,—which I think they never will.

It is true, events move too slowly for our impatient
tishing and disastrous.

There is but one officer particular specification that

has come to the character of our people and to the welfare of our country, from the predominance in our good would be consummated at once if no man wa ever put into any office in the gift of the America been slow to learn the lesson that Carlyle has taugh we, too, crown our bowl of Liberty ? (Applause.) with prophetic eloquence and power, that only the best shall we, too, crown our bowl of Liberty? (Applause.)

Mr. President, the subject upon which I propose to submit a few thoughts to you and to this audience, on this occasion, is this: What to do for the public good, and how to do it. As constituent members of the country, it belongs to us to do whatever properly lies in our power for the good of the country. Now, in this direction, what can a single citizen do, and how to the first good of the country. The chose or the best symbol of Democracy. They chose or the best symbol of Democracy and the best symbol of Democracy and the best symbol of Democracy. They chose or the best symbo were horses, because they had made generals by votes
This, instead of being the highest expression of free
dom, is, as Dr. Lieber has well said, "the annihilation of freedom." When a speech is to be made on an important occasion, if Demosthenes can be had, how a dozen tedious declaimers, and run the direful risk o a dozen redious declaimers, and run the unresult as which will come out first? The lot is the blank negative of intelligence. Chance is the direct antithesis of choice. Now, it is true, we do not take our rulers in this way—by sheer luck; but we often do what is a great deal worse—a great deal worse; we let half a dozen corrupt politicians combine and collude in nominating men who they suppose will be the in nominating men who they suppose will be the support them pell mell, without a question. (Applause. In the Koran of Mohammed there is this verse— "The ruler who appoints any man to an office when there is within his dominions another man better quali fied for it, sins against Allah and against the State. plause.)

But another political crime we are guilty of, which every citizen ought to understand, is that of permit-ting selfish ambition and resolute perseverance to put itself into whatever office it places. authorities and the honors of the country. Instead of seeking out the noblest men,—those who are the most competent to fulfil official duties in the most beneficent seckers, noisy self-asserters, who are omnipresent, to lay hold of whatever prizes they desire, and take whatever positions they assume themselves to be worthy of. I have nothing to say on this platform, or worthy of. I have nothing to say on this platform, or anywhere else, against an honorable ambition,—a man seeing a high prise, fixing his eye fist upon it, and firing his heart to pay the price manfully, and win and wear it worthily;—that is good. But it is a very different thing when we allow selfish, incompetent aspirants by frands and tricks to accomplish their ends, and injure, perhaps destroy, the country. A true patriot, who climbs by genuine superiority, mounts as the lark mounts through the matin clouds, with prophetic sunshine on its breast, while the world yet lies dark below; but the selfish demagogue, who climbs from station to station by scandalous means, rises as the seum rises, collecting the filth of the successive strata through which he ascends, and making a clot on the top. (Applause.)

lar,—as the outcry against the assault upor "You want to do good to the public, do you?

"You want to do good to the public, do you? Well, then, in Heaven's name, hold your tongue and keep in private; let other people alone!" That is what they say; and yet, the absurdity of this—how obvious it is! It is refuted by a common sense view of the facts, for no great evil lodged in a community ever died out of itself. It has a self-sustaining, self-propagating power, as all other things have in the world; and if let alone, it will destroy the body politic on which it fastens and thrives. It must be assailed and mankind been served in the great epochs and crises of the past by men who held their tongues, kept in pri-vate, and disturbed nobody ! Not at all. Come from your graves, ye heroes, saints and benefactors of man-kind in every age! Were you not the contumely and the buffet of your contemporaries? It has always been so, and will be, until mankind grow a great deal In order to the full realization of the good growin

field every where, without being persecuted or pre-vented, the only checks that are allowed to be put

I believe, Mr. President, in presenting this view of the case—so old and hackneyed that I am afraid it is tedious, and yet so overlooked and neglected that it is vitally necessary—I am not going beyond the line that, on this platform, is considered useful. His locyma. This is the reason why your little body, pledged to opposition to slavery, is so odious to the community, opposition to slavery, is so edious to the comm that sometimes you find it hard to get a "respec-name (e-salled) to be seen in one of your gath It is to your honor, to your everlasting cred It is to your honor, to your excelabiling credit, that you have this odium, and God grant that it may endure until it has done its work! (Applause.) If the knowledge which the Anti-Slavery Society has had, and has most bravely endeavored to diffuse through the whole country, had been attended to, we sh knew perfectly all the perilous facts of the case twenty years ago, and faithfully unfolded them before the public. Had they been beeded, had their statements been discussed, had they been opposed, no matter how much, if fairly, for the elimination of truth, all this much, it tarry, for the elimination of ruth, and any would have been averted. But the people of the South, insane with arrogance and conceit, turned an ear of deafness and a front of wrath, and the great leaders and majority of the North, absorbed in business, caring for nothing in comparison with making money, were indignant, irritated, and treated this presentation with correctuous and contempt, refusing in this awful catastrophe! So will it always be. If criticism and discussion are permitted to have their full away, untrammelled, thousands of evils will be prevented from reaching the explosive point of ruin; but if they are stifled or restrained, the evils will go on, until they burst in desolation and horror. That is the lesson of all experience, and common sense cannot fail to see why it is so, and must be so.

There never was a country in the history of the world which rested so entirely upon falsehoods as the slaveholding portion of the United States of America, in the last fifty years; and we know very well hov swiftly harmony and belief, the elements of all endur wer, fly from foundations hollowed with lies and of falsehoods on which the institutions of the So-rest totteringly, and soon to fall. There are a do-connected falsehoods in political economy, there atal falsehoods in ethics, there and upon those three sets of lies rests the South. It would be interesting to some, but I fear tedious to most of you, to undertake to specify these in detail. We will let them pass with simply an allusion to one or

In regard to political economy, the South knows In regard to positical economy, the South knows itself to be dependent upon the rest of the world; it sees the North to be free, rich, prosperous. Instead of looking into the laws of political economy to discover the true reason of this, in their childlish ignorable the second that the state of the second that t cover the true reason of this, in their childish ignorance and conceit, they say, "It is all the fault of the North; they take our money away from as We make all the money in the country, and the North steals it away from us by tariffs, and various other shrewd Yankee devices." The best service that could be done to the South would be to buy about five hundred copies of Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Henry C. Carey, and other good works on Political Economy, and send them (If it could be done) to different parts of the South, and compel the people to read them. They would then see that all their troubles come from the falsehoods on which their political system reats.

Then in regard to ethics, they maintain (and it

FRIDAY MORNING:

on, for the falsehoods in fact. They are truly unt, lawless, flerce; they falsely fancys us so, envy, hate and four us; and they call these ig. sions magnanimous scorn. We pity there gine we hate them, and tremble at the on hate them, and tremme a countern writer can pen a doze dly accessed and indire. They are impatient of the sup-and value try to discusse their North, and vainly try to disguise the tful satire. Let me read a sweet n mond Whig:-

"The Yankees are very little better than the Chinese They lay the same stress on the jingle of their dollars that the Collectuals do on the noise of their gong. With access in their pockets, won from a generous and chiralrous race and multitudinous as Norway rats, they are swollen wite concelt. The atter break-down of the Yankees forces on pire on us of the South."

Now, we know very well, it is perfectly obvious, that the Yankees are no "failure." at all. us, that the Yankees are no "failure," at all. We take care of ourselves; we enjoy equal rights; we are pretty independent of the world; we have no mobs; no cry of "Bread or Blood!" in our streets; and we do not have to appoint a secret body of police to watch one portion of the community, and see that they do not cut the others' throats. The Richmond Director was the heat scale to the world. ch says they have the best society in the world and in the next parsgraph it says :-

"The great slaveholders in Virginia form a stone wall of indomitable resistance to any reconstruction of the Union; but the poor whites, the single-niger men, are the instru-ments and spies of Lincoln, not valy in Richmond, but all over the South. It is appalling to think of the mischlet they may commit. A corps of secret agents should be ap-pointed to watch them."

It is the falsehoods in political economy, in ethic It is the falsehoods in political economy, in emices and in facts that they cherish, which are proving the ruin of the South. Their practical refutation by the irrestatible logic of events will bring the South it only possible salvation. For forty years, the slave holders have deliberately looked on lies; now their retribution shall be a vision of the truth.

But I fear I am wearying you. Here is our good friend, Mr. Phillips, the hero of this platform, whom I am detaining you from hearing, and I will very soon make way, and you shall listen to him. But let me, friends, before I sit down, say, that ho let me, friends, before I sit down, say, that howered dark are the fossbodings of many,—and I thought Mr. Phillips himself was terribly gloomy in his programme the other night,—I feel, in every sense, (with only the qualification of sorrow for the crimes and calamities of war,) chip and merry, and think everything is coming out right. They say we cannot whip the South! I do not believe that. In fact, I am constant of the contrary. We have two to their one, fident of the contrary. We have two to their is a pity. Besides, we have not got the united and total South to whip. We must remember that the "great slaveholders" are only three or four thousand, the "single nigger men" 66° ". "great slaveholders" are only three or lout housand, the "single nigger men" fifty times as numerous, and those who do not own a dollar of slave property are millions. When a few tremendous blows have been struck, you will see these rebels yielding much more readily and gracefully than they have bragged about. The great majority are fighting under debusions. These delusions, many of them, will inevitably be dispelled by the progress of events, and then there will be a tre-mendous collapse of the motives for fighting. Un-doubtedly, those men who are in the Confederate armies are brave men. I would not say a word against their valor or determination; but they are en; and although passion may govern men me on pervaded and magnetized by tarily, yet it is pas est that governs men permanently! Passion, pr interest that governs men permanently! Passion, provoked to acute heat, may do great things for a little while, but if it is not fed by principles, it does not last—it quickly burns out. They have not got any principles to feed their passion. They are fighting only from passion, and they will collapse much quicker than many people believe. And then, as to the "hopelessness of reunion," the "perpetual feuds," that our quondam friend. John Bull. talks about and "the ondam friend, John Bull, talks about, and

our quondam friend, John Bull, talks about, and the fixed fact of secession," "the country is severed, and can never be brought together again"—it is all ex-aggeration or fallacy! Look at history! There have been separations, feuds, fifty times as deep as this, and yet the parties have come together again, and so shall we. Look at the war of the White and Red Roses, at We. Look at the war of the write and need loose, at Cavalier and Roundhead, in England In Fearer, look at the Huguenot and Catholic. I believe that this rebellion will be crushed, and that without any very great prolongation of time. Rebeldom already trembles under the effects of Durante ler the effects of Dupont's and Sherman's de scent at Port Royal, whose significance our Whittier has just put into verse. How will they feel wher has just put into verse. How will they tred when the winter of our discontent is made glorious summer by this sun of Burnside. (Applause.) Are they prepared for the other blows to follow 1 A boy got down his grandfathers old continental musket, and amused himself by loading it. He put in six charges, and then his grandmother snatched it away, and fired it, in order to hang it up in its place. The gur knocked her a dozen yards. "Don't get up yet, gsandma," cried the boy, "there are five other charges to come." (Laughter and applause.)

No, this country is one, and will be one forever.
When geographs, history, material interests, moral destinies, make a mation one, however violent the shocks, they are temporary. What force can there be to rend asunder our mountain chains, to separate the ashes of the dead and the blood of the living?

"Or what now perpendiculars shall rise
Up from our streams, continued to the skies,
That between us the common air shall bar,
And split the influence of every star?"

Finally, I do not indulge in those lugubrio ings in which many very tender-hearted old fogies do in regard to the negroes, if they are set free—that they will imbrue their hands in the blood of the slaveholder will imbrue their hands in the blood of the slaveholder—that they are going to rot in laxiness—that they are not going to lift a hoe or do a thing—that the wor races cannot live together. I do not see it so. They have lived together so long under the laws of oppression and injustice, the slaves supporting the whole; cannot they get along better still under the laws of justice and mutual kindness? Cannot the slaves take nd mutual kindness ? Cannot the slaves take care of themselves without the load of their masters as well as with that burden! I would say, with our darling, and glorious Whittler, whom I never admired so much as when I read his last poem—I would say with him, "Let it come," and take up the song of the

"Oh, praise an' tanks ! De Lord he come To set de people free ; on, praise an tanta! De Lord he con
To set de people free;
An' maxa tink it day be doom,
An' we ob jubilee.
De Lord dat heap de Red Sea waves,
He jus' as 'trong as den;
He say de word: we las' night slaves;
To-day, de Lord's freemen."

We read, in the Koran, "Paradise is under th shadow of swords." Beneath these crossed blade of North and South may the way of the slave lie into the Paradise of liberty. (Applause.) Better times are coming in the fature for this genial, joyous, credulous but oppressed and down-trodden race; better times both in their old original home and in America asting along the shores of Africa, dream Cosar, coasting along the shores of Africa, dreamed he saw an army standing on the beach, in tears, and stretching out hands of supplication. On awakening, he wrote upon his tablets, "Corinth and Carthage," and determined to rebuild those cities. The Genius of Christendons, coasting in imagination along that tragic store, dreamed she saw an army of ghosts the ground of the country of ghosts and the country of the country o ghosts of so many generations of slaves, cap driven into exile and death, with every accom-ent of abuse and horror. On awaking, with dised conscience, she wrote on her tablets, "Sierr ne and Liberia," and established those colonies vanguard of a redemptive name. nguard of a redemptive power, which shall final ad the light and fruits of liberty over the whole

me, it frequently bappened, that on th In Pagan Ro death of their masters, slaves, emancipated by will, followed the funeral, wearing Liberty caps. O if this colossal oppression of the South might but die in the agony of this war, and its funeral be followed by four millions smancipated slaves, in Liberty caps! (Ap-

ise.) And if they join hands around the grave

"We own de hoe, we own de plough,
We own de hands dat hold;
We rell de pig, we sell de cow,
But nebber chile be sold.
De yam will grow, de cotten blow,
We'll hab de ries an corn:
Oh, uebber you fear, if nebber ye
De driver blow his hors?

WENDELL PRILLIPS followed, in a speech of great loquence and power, the leading ideas of which were mbodied in his address on "The Times," printed ortnight ago. For this reason, we attempt no report

of it here.

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's speech, the meeting adjourned to half-past 2 o'clock, P. M.

Arreneon Session. The meeting was called to order by James N. Buffum, of Lynn, who introduced to the meeting J. B. Swasey, Esq., of Boston.

Mr. Swasey commented on the statement of Henry Ward Beecher that the North should beware of initating the South by unconstitutional action. He showed that the exigencies of war require a policy and a course of action entirely beyond that ordinarily contemplated by the Constitution; and that, since that instrument recognizes the possibility of war, and provides for it, the movements indispensable to success in war are not in violation of the Constitution. Great darkness and doubt prevail in the public mind Great darkness and doubt prevail in the public mind in regard to this matter. Gen. Sherman neglects the instructions of the Secretary of War about drilling and arming the slaves; and our people at home do not see that military law under the Constitution is just as see that military law under the Constitution is just as constitution as any other law. Even Mr. Beecher hesitates before this question; cannot recognize the expediency of emancipation under martial law; does not remember the benefits of the overthrow of slavery not remember the beneats of the overthrow of savery even in Jamaica, where it was so strongly opposed. When such a man fails in this emergency, the pros-pect for heroes is dark indeed. Who knows what from North or South may override us, so deep is the demoralization of the Northern peo

He, however, took a more hopeful view of the position of the country than that taken in the morn-ing. He expected military success on the part of the North, and great results to freedom from such success. Perhaps a generation of toil and conflict is before us But he believed no fugitive slave would ever again be returned to bondage from New England. be returned to b

Mr. EZRA H. HETWOOD, (who became acting Gen eral Agent during the illness of Rev. Samuel May, Jr.) then made a statement respecting the action of the Society and the labors of its Agents during the past year.

past year.

On motion of Mr. Max, the Finance Committee
was enlarged by the addition of Elbridge Sprague of
Abington, and Miss Georgina Otis of this city.

Mr. May spoke carnestly of the continued necessities of the cause, the urgent need of unremitting labors in this critical hour, and the duty of giving liberally to sustain those labors. The Finance Commit tee then entered upon their work of collection.

Mr. GARRISON then mentioned the case of a colored wife and one child from slavery, was now seeking

means to purchase the freedom of another child.

Mr. WAED appeared on the platform, and gave some account of his life. Born a slave in Maryland he began, at fourteen years old, to work in spar the purchase of his own freedom. nours for the purchase was accustomed to split rails at night for this purpose; and when it was accomplished, he felt as good as Mr. Lincoln, though he had become only a freeman while Mr. Lincoln had become President (Applause.) He served nine years as pilot on the Chesapeake He paid \$1300 for himself, \$500 for his wife, \$450 for one child, and was now raising the residue of anothe \$450 for his second child.

Mr. Garrison remarked on the absence of revengefulness and bitterness of spirit in the story of Mr. Ward. He declared this to be characteristic of all the statements of freed slaves he had ever heard. They exhibited only thankfulness to God for their deliverance; and we should take to heart the lesson taught by such facts, as well as her street ne lesson persevering industry with which Mr. Ward had sought the freedom of himself and his family.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem, next spoke He had been for some months comparatively silent, and he could see little to hope in our position at the present moment. He sided rather with Mr. Phillips than with Mr. Alger in the view taken of our pro-pects. Few men could place themselves in the poi pects. f view of the black man, and the more one did so of view of the black man, and the more one did so, the less encouragement would he feel. Not only in Washington and in Pennsylvania, but in Massachu-setts, the colored man is still disfranchised, and kept in an unequal, a degraded position. In Washington, he (the speaker,) would be no safer now than he was ten years ago; even in Massachusetts, his native State, he could not shoulder a musket for his country and if he were with the army on the Potomac, he could not wear the national uniform. Things were not so in 1776 and 1812, under Washington and Jack son. In both these wars, black men as well as shed their blood in defence of their country. they are not allowed even to bear arms for this pur-pose. Yet not one of this race has been found a rebel or traitor to his country. Such treatment, under such circumstances,) made him doubt whether the boasted forbearance and forgiving spirit of the black boasted forbearance and forgring spirit of the bar man were a virtue. They had yet to prove their manhood by rising against their masters. This peo-ple, whether triumphant or trampled under foot, are an existing element in this country. They have grown, under all sorts of persecution, to more than four millions. As well can you extripate the Canada thistle as expatriate them. At this moment the negro is blocking the progress of the Government's success, nor will the rebellion be put down until just tice is done him. You cannot with impunity viol God's laws upon this subject, any more than his physical laws. John Brown has shown us the way to suc ical laws. John Brown has shown us the way to suc-cess. If freedom come not so, beware lest this poor blind Samson pull down the pillars of your national edifice, and bury you with himself in its ruins. Hon. F. W. Birn was then called on by the Pres-

ident. He asked-

Who is it that now keeps the chil in slavery? Not the local laws of Maryland. It is in slavery? Not the local laws of Maryland. It is the Massachusetts troops whom we have sent there; it is you and I who are protecting slavery in Mary-land and Virginia to-day. Against Constitutional right as well as justice, the blacks are held in slavery by the Parkland of Maryland Parkland Parkland Parkland Parkland of Parkland Pa right as well as justice, the states are each statery by the Federal officers, or sent back to the masters from whom they have escaped. When Major General Banks was Governor of this State, he vetoed the measure which would have secured militia privileges to the blacks, in this State. Mr. Seward has uniformly declared that this war is for the institutions of the outh as they were before the rebellion. The war we re now making is not only not against slavery, it is are now making is not only not against slavery, it is expressly for the protection of slavery. Our Govern-ment has not emancipated a single slave where it could imprison him. Those in possession of the Fed-eral army are still held as slaves. We have slaves with their rebel masters at Fort Warren in Boston harbor, waiting for the release of those masters to be again placed in their power. The slave roll is called there every morning under the abadow of Bonker. again placed in their power. The stave roll is called there every morning under the shadow of Bunker Hill. He was no longer for "schooling ourselves to silence" under such circumstances. The key of the slave's chain is now kept in the White House. Our administration has gone to the rescue of slavery, which had almost committed suicide.

Mr. Burrum wished to ask whether, in Mr. Lindowski and the suicide.

coin's very peculiar circumstances, he had not done all that could reasonably be expected of him. His ap-pointment of the anti-slavery General Lane to active ervice he thought was an encouraging sign of pro

Adjourned to 7, P. M. Adjourned to 1. T. A.

EVENING SESSION. The meeting was called to order soon after 7 o'clock, Mr. Quincy in the chair. The descendants of those heroes who founded this republic, first speaker was William Davis, one of the fruits of and the real friends of its growth and prosperity. In

hly interesting accountrabands" at Fo

and then the content of the land soven children, we maked a slave. He had soven children, we maked a slave. He had soven children, we maked the claim often make that the slaves desire freedom, and that they expressly say it sen asked by their master and his friends ankly admitted that he had often made this same ser to the inquiries of his mistress, leing well ared that it was his only way to escape being the land of the slave. But, said he, when William said so, William said s ured that it was his only way to exact so, William side. But, said he, when William said so, William side. He knew, and God knew, that he wanted to be free. When Mr. Pierce, one of their trachers in the Fortress, asked if they wanted to be free, they all shouted, yes! They were also very decirous of education. They need books, teachers and money. They wish to lears to read the Bible, and they wish instruc-

SPEECH OF HON. N. H. WHITING. Hon, NATHANIEL H. WHITING was then introduced

MR. PRESIDENT,—This Anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is convened under ne ing its dimensions and gathering up all its forces hunting for the life of the nation. The sar is now nunting for the life of the nation. The san-guinary conflict raging around us might well have been prevented if the warning voice of the despised and persecuted Abolitionists had been heeded. And now, when the maddened and despairing Slave Power has precipitated the country into this direful-contest, the mission of the Abolitionists remains the same, and that is, to preach the truth.—to preciain as accordance. that is, to preach the truth,-to proclaim, as ever, the ess alone exalts and saves a nation, and hat sin is a reproach to, and will be

of, any people.

Peace is valuable, but it can only be secured thr Peace is valuable, out at can only or purity and truth. Union is worth seeking and preserving, but its inevitable conditions are that the par ties shall be agreed. There never was, and ever will be any concord between truth and false od, freedom and slavery, Christ and Belial. For many years these truths have been sounded in the ears of this people, but they would not heed them The consequences of this insane folly are now be

Sir, it is sad to think, after all the light furnished by the experience of past ages, that we can find no better way of settling difficulties, determining the value of principles, and the true theory and practice of politi-cal, social and religious life, than by cutting each other's throats. It is a melancholy and by no other's throats. It is a metanenty and by no means encouraging result which presents to us this bloody harvest as the culminating growth of the understand-ing, heart and conscience of civilized man. A nation, occupying the front rank in intelligence, prosperity and freedom, is torn by intestine convulsions, and is and freedom, is form by intestine convensions, and in-seemingly on the verge of dissolution through the mad ambition and unreasoning prejudice of a portion of its people. "Grim visaged War," with his storm of fire and blood, arches over our sky. A people, who, by the ties of nature, of language, of history, of deatiny, should be fast friends and fellow-countrymen, heavilso no striffe, no rivier, but that of peaceful -knowing no strife, no rivalry, but that of peaceful progress, and an emulation to present the fairest pic ture for the copy of less favored nations,—are at deadly

Yesterday, we thought, and loudly boasted, that we were on the full tide of successful experiment in free government. Our eagle flapped his wings exultingly ver land and sea, and screamed a joyful welcome to the oppressed of every clime. To-day, the stars and stripes are no longer recognized as the national em blem over half the land, and they are mocked, jeers and insulted by the minions of despotism in every

Why this change? How does it hannen that ove this broad and goodly land there is discord and vio-lence, commercial disaster and ruin, the neighing of the war-horse, and all the grim preparation for the terrible game of war? How, but because the people of this country have been so foolish as to imagine they could combine truth and falsehood, freedom and slavery, in fraternal and harmonious union. A thou slavery, in fraternal and narmonious union. A toou-sand times had the experiment been tried; as many times it had failed. The earth was covered with the graves of nations perishing in the embraces of the monster, Slavery. The warning voice of prophets, martyrs and patriots was uttered to us in vain. Like Sinbad the sailor, we took the "Old Man of the Sea" on our shoulders, in order, as it was said, to carry him like way that he might see reads to die decently. a little way, that he might get ready to die decently But his legs have been drawing tighter and tighter about our neck, and we are in great danger of being strangled in the operation, because we have not the trength or disposition to throw him off, and dash hi

But, sir, whatever may befal this nation in the grea convulsion through which it is passing, you, and those who have wrought with you through these weary and lisgraceful years to awaken her from the sleep of leath into which she had fallen, will be guiltless of the blood of this people.

I know there are those, principally such as have fee upon the nation's life through the plausible catch-word of Democracy, who, with brazen mendacity, declare that the Abolitionists are the cause of this rebellious war against the General Government. Not that they stole the national forts and arsenals, robbed the treasury, insulted and fired upon the flag, bom barded Sumter, beleaguered the capital, and mu our people. Nothing of that sort. But then they have, by their intemperate and unconstitutional agi-tation of the slavery question, at last exasperated the South to madness, and enabled the demagogues there to precipitate her into a rebellion against the Union Now, whoever asserts that the discussion and condem nation of slavery is unconstitutional, or that we have not a right to legislate for its restriction and fina overthorow, are guilty of branding the founders of the republic as hypocrites and liars, as well as traitors

They said they founded this Government in the in terest of freedom; that all men had a natural right to this divine gift; and that they ordained the nations constitution to "establish justice, ensure domesti-tranquillity, promote the general welfare, provide fo the common defence, and secure the blessings of lib crty to the people." And whatever apparent com-promises they might have made with slavery for loca and temporary purposes, they always looked upon it as an evil, and never ceased to hope that, through the prohibition of the African slave trade, and in other ways, it would gradually disappear. The Washing tons, Jeffersons, and others declared that the exercise of their political power should not be wanting to re move it; that "one hour of the slavery to which the negroes were subjected was more intolerable than whole ages of that which they rose in rebellion against:" and that when the conflict between the man against;" and that when the conflict between the mas-ters and slaves should come, as come it would, there was "no attribute of the Almighty that could take sides with the oppressor." And the brightest page in the history of the infant republic is that which re-cords, in the Ordinance of 1787, the entire prohibi-tion of slavery, in all the wast region northwest of the Ohio. Indeed, there has not perhaps, been an Ad-ministration, or Congress, from that day to the pres-ent in which slavery, in some of its aspects and rela-tions, has not been a subject of agitation and legisla-tion; and yet we are charged with having sought to wrest the Government from its legitimate uses, and Government from its legitimate uses, an pervert it to the exercise of powers utterly at with the Constitution, and of the Declaration of dependence upon which it rests!

ed!' and human nature, with nesed! Let it be And his heart is false to human natu

And an active a mass of mines and active asy Amen's Ours has been, and still is, a war of opinion and principles; the light of Christian civilization against the five-fold barbarism of slavery. Being a conflict of opinion and of principles, we were desirous that is should be settled, if possible, through the enlightened and peaceful growth of public opinion. Slavery has chosen that it shall be otherwise, and so we find our selves launched out upon an ocean whose shores no man can see. What shall be the length of the voyage, what port we shall enter, whether we shall be swallow in the great maelstrom, like so many nationave gone before us, or shall enter gloriously a that have gone before us, or shall enter gloriously and triumphantly the peaceful haven of universal liberty, will depend mainly upon the people of the loyal States. If we are true to the Idea upon which the Govern-ment was professedly founded, and avail ourselves of this wanton and causeless rebellion of the pampered minions of slavery to crush the poisonous serpent whose deadly fangs are aimed at the life of constitu-tional liberty on this continent, the contest will be cheet though as Gen McClellan area it may be also short, though, as Gen. McClellan says, it may be des-

perate.

But, Sir, in my judgment, there never will be a reconstruction of the Union in which slavery shall be a
recognized element and controlling power. I believe,
too, that there can be permanently but one government
in the limits of this nation. More than that will be
the signal of continued war and bloodshed. Our lakes and rivers, our mountains and valleys, our varied cli-mate and productions, our net-work of railroad and telegraph, our community of interests, of language, of race, imperatively demand that there shall be but one government, which, at last, will be all slave or all free. It is too late in the day, altogether too late. Sir, to think of founding or maintaining a democrat government which shall recognize the ownership of men as a cardinal principle in its organization and life. That experiment, thank God, is played out. Those who think the old machine, half truth and half falsewho think the old machine, and that has have head half liberty and half slavery, half God and half devil, with the devil always employed as engineer,—can be again repaired and put upon the track, and that intelligent, freedom-loving men will again place themselves under its guidance and control, know little of the age in which they live, and have studied human nature and the history of the race to very little pur pose. It even begins to be whispered in unwo opose. It even begins to whispered in discontinuous quarters, that we have already paid sufficiently dear for that kind of whistle.

It is time that we looked this question of slavery

fairly in the face, and prepared ourselves to meet it like men upon whom the dread, yet glorious responsi-bility rests of settling this whole "irrepressible conat once and forever.

Slavery rests solely upon force. It has no other foundation, neither in soil, climate, color or race. It is the doctrine that "might makes right" in its last analysis, and carried out to its legitimate results. I am stronger than you, and I sell you in the market, write you down as "property," and drive you to un-paid toil. To-morrow, through your own strength, or with the aid of others, you sell me upon the auction-block, and expose me to all the fearful contingencies of "goods and chattels personal, to all intents, purposes and constructions whatsoever." And this is all the validity there can ever be to slavery's title deeds. It has now scornfully rejected the protecting power of the government which has so long saved it from the condemning brand of outraged and indignant human nature, and aimed a particidal blow at its heart. Does it still desayers the television, the sampathy which it receives from men in high places J. Have we not already suffered enough in character, in prosperity, in everything which honorable men hold doar he comvalidity there can ever be to slavery's title deeds. It in everything which honorable men hold dear, by ou connection and complicity with slavery? Who that sees what this country is, and what it might have been but for this demon,—who that contemplates this dread-ful war into which it has plunged us,—the thousands ful war into which it has plunged us, on thousands of lives, the millions on millions of treas ure which are to be thrown into its awful cauldron. the widows and orphans it will make,—the general demoralization that will follow in its train,—the cup of bitterness and hate it will leave for us and for posteri ty, and all the unnameable horrors of which it is the

ty, and all the unnameable norrors of which it is the
cause,—who that sees it all is not ready to exclaim
with Macduff—

"But, gentle Heaven!

Cut short all intermission: front to front
Bring thou this fiend of 'Slavery,' and myself;
Within my sword's length set him; if he 'scape,
Then Heaven forgive him too!"

To me, sir, it is as plain as that I am standing here we have got to tear up slavery, root and branch, or the conflict upon which we have entered will outlast this generation, or end in the destruction of constitu-tional liberty in these once United States. There is one door open for us—but one—and that is the door of Universal*Emancipation. (Loud applause.) Through that, and that alone, we can pass out of the darkness and death which now encompass us, into the glorious sunlight of Liberty, Union, and Peace.

sunlight of Liberty, Union, and Peace.

But that passage must be speedily made, if at all.

Not only are we exhausting our resources, wasting our energies, by this protracted conflict and these gigantic armaments, but the danger of foreign interference grows more and more imminent every day. That power, which has belted the globe with its empire, and which has never scrupled to commit any outrage. robbery, or cruelty upon other nations or pe the extension and perpetuity of its dominion,—is watching eagerly for a plausible pretext to atrike a crushing blow at a nation which has become so form-idable an industrial and political rival that even now it has outstripped her in the range of peaceful com-merce, in political institutions, and in public and prithe arrest of Mason and Slidell, by Capt. Wilkes, on the deck of the steamer Trent. And nothing, per haps, shows more palpably how heartless and unserv pulous the British Government is, and to what desperate straits they are driven in their desire to cripple and destroy the American nation, than the avidity with which they seized upon this shallow excuse to pick quarrel with us in our great extremity, for doing what they have claimed the belligerent right to do, and have done, persistently and most offensively, to other na-

tions, for many years.

That pretext has been removed. The rebels have has been given up, with "a suitable spology," to the Brit-ish authorities. Unless they have gone where they will not again be heard from "until the sea gives up will not again be heard from "until the sea gives up its dead," they are now safe on British soil, enjoying the protection and hospitality of that consistent, liberal, friendly "neutral power." We have swallowed that bitter pill, solacing ourselves, meanwhile, with the thought that we have made it less unpalatable by sugaring it over with splendid phrases about "the rights of neutrals,"—"the freedom of the seas," and in exchanging congratulations upon the tardy adhe-sion of Great Britain to those principles of interna tional law for which we have so long contended, and which they have so long denied. Just as if they had ever acknowledged any other law in their intercourse with other nations but that of the strongest; and as if they would not to morrow, if they thought they had the power, and could make anything by it, unhesits ingly diaregard and trample on the very principle under which they claimed the surrender of the rebe

envoys.

"But," say some, "England is committed on this issue before the tribunal of the world." But, alas! the only world for which abe has any love and respect.

men will be "bound to respect."

Mr. Gararsox followed, speaking in a hopeful and the only world for which abe has any love and respect.

week.

nd bull-dogs that flaunt h

know acet time how to deal with reficulty wire again, from acet time how to deal with the American Gover If we are justified, as we believe we are, in viewly solve of the American Government in this ment. If we are justified, as we believe we are, the resolve of the American Government in this mirr popular opinion, we suppose that our differences America will not for the present lead to war. But en has cocurred to put us on our guard for the future, to us to be very watchful of the temper of a people seems to have two faces, like the god Janus, to be as ing as the sands of the zee, and as changeful in color chamelion. This concession of there must not be allotter us as our future course. We have a more jumin seems to have two faces, like the god Janus, to be as shifting as the sands of the zea, and as changeful in color as the chamelion. This concession of there must not be allowed to fetter we not fatter to see fatter source. We have a more immediate interest than before in the struggle between North and South; we have found that it concerns ourselves, and fearmed that its continuance is fraught with danger to our

Now, sir, I do not say that this expresses the univer-sal sentiment of people and press in England. There are honorable and noble exceptions to it in all classes But I do say, that, so far as appears, this is the pre But I do say, that, so far as appears, this is the prevailing current of public sentiment in the controlling classes of British society. And do you think that a Government whose accredited organs can use such language as this, is to be mollified or baulked of its purlanguage as this, is to be mollined or banked or its pur-pose by any concessions we may make? The cry of "inefficiency of blockade;" the "atrocious crime of sinking vessels at the mouths of harbors," instead of abooting our enemies from the mouths of cannon, after the manner of our more civilized, humane, and Christian prototypes across the sen; "the necessities of commerce"; "the desire to stop the effusion of blood"; anything, even the plea of the wolf for eating the lamb, will answer for the resolved mind, which never

scruples in the use of means to accomplish its ends.
Sir, I venture to say that, whoever lives to feel the
warmth of returning Spring, with this rebellion not
crushed out, will witness an armed intervention in our affairs by England, France and Spain, and perhaps other European powers. They say we have not a ny. But let us be true to ourselves, to right and jusce, and we shall at last receive the sympathy and encouragement of all liberal-minded men throughout the

As the only means to crush this rebellion, restore peace and Union to our distracted country, and avoid the disgraceful alternative of a humiliating peace brough the dismemberment of the nation, or a death with the great powers of Europe, let us to day grapple proclaim liberty to the captive in a decree of Univer

Let us make make the characteristic that the dial-plate of time. The "Sisters Three," who weave and wash the shroud in which are buried the dead nations, are busy

"Time Was unlooks the riddle of Time Is,
That offers choice of glory and of gloom;
The solver makes Time Shall Be surely his—
But hasten, Sisters! for even now the tomb
Grates its slow hinge, and calls from the abyss." "But not for him," I cry, "not yet for him

er, allow me to say, in conclusion, that the only hope of salvation for this nation is, that the devil, from whom has proceeded this insane and wicked rebellion shall be exorcised and driven out. How can this b

they should receive no harm. After going out on a mission, they came back rejoicing, saying itat "even the devils were subject to them." But, one day, a person possessed with a dumb spirit was brought unto Jesus, with a request from the father of the possessed hat he would cast him out, saying at the sam he had carried him to the disciples, but the could do nothing for him. Jesus cast the devil, out though his hold of the patient was so strong and tena-cious that he rent him in departing, and he was taken up for dead. After he was gone, the disciples inquired of Jesus, "Why could not we cast him out?" "Beof Jesus, "Why could not we cast him out?" Be-cause," said Jesus, "this kind goth not out but by fast-ing and prayer"? In like manner the devil that has ruled this nation, that possesses this people, goth not out but by fasting and prayer. We must fast from pride, from avarice, from ambition, from prejudice and hate towards a poor, oppressed race. We must make the sublime truths embodied in the Declaration of Inde-condense and varies in the nations life. In this pendence a real verity in the nation's life. In this way, in this way only, can the devil of slavery be cast out—the sick man healed and saved. And though he out—the sick man healed and saveu. And the nation's has been so thoroughly colled around the nation's heart, and has taken such complete possession of all its faculties, that in his flight he will rend every fibre in for dead, yet, once purified and redeemed from the foul fiend, the divine beneficence of Omnipotent Love lifeless youth in the olden time, infuse into

nacity like that expressed by Ruth to Boaz, "When tensity like that expressed by Rinth to Boar, "Where thou goest, I will go; where thou lodgest, I will lodge." This rebellion was palpably an effort to ex-tend and nationalize the system of slavery.—I might even be called slavery itself. Yet those men who had dared to acknowledge this, like Fremont and Came-

some tropical colony. They are capable of enduring all temperatures that a white man can. Why are the blacks alone invited to leave this country? It is because we have been wronged, and, as the Spaniard proverb puts it, "Since I have wronged you, I have rever liked you." Slavery will go down if we have a foreign war; 75,000 free blacks and 750,000 slaves, capable of bearing arms, will be a power that white wen will be "bound to seaport."

"A pugilist advancing warily upon a robust adversar when he sees his for throw himself upon the ground, at hears him ery for mercy, is not more taken about than the British people so thoroughly dambdounded by these a expected demonstrations in the midst of its preparations are. We trust that our government will profit by the ratifying lesson. Should a similar difficulty arise again,

friend among them all. Perhaps we do not deserve

SAL EMANCIPATION.

Let us make haste to do this vital work. The hand

at their task, and the solemn refrain comes to our ears

Whose large horizon, westering, star by star, Wins from the roid to where on ocean's rim The sunset shuts the world with golden bar, Not yet his shows shall fall, his eyes grow dim!"

But, Mr. President, not to detain the audience los

It is related in the New Testament that, when Jesus sent his disciples out to preach the gospel, he gave them power over serpents and unclean spirits, that the warm currents of vigorous and healthful life, and he shall go on his way rejoicing through long years and ages of prosperity, freedom and happiness.

Dr. J. S. Rock said the nation was negro-mad. It haved him cought him and hadden to him with a

dared to acknowledge this, like Fremont and Cameron, were removed to give place to hunkers and kidnappers. To charge the Abolitionists with this war was like accessing one who had given warning that the slow-match was near the powder, of having caused the explosion. Slavery displays its own character in its effects, whether upon slaves, masters, or neighbors. What was to be done with the slaves? It was asked. They will suffer, of course, from lack of floggings, privations, separations, from being relieved from the burden of their masters support? He thought we need not be concerned about the slaves. It was the masters, rather, for whom we should be solicitous. They have vowed never to work where they can steal. Facts prove the capacity of the free colored people to take care of tnemselves, for, under all disadvantages, they acquire property, support their own paupers,

ges, they acquire property, support their own paupers, and contributes something towards the support of the "poor whites." Nor do they need, to be sent off to some tropical colony. They are capable of enduring

FRIDAY MORNING:

At 10 o'clock the Society was called to order.

Giles B. Sternbirs, of Rochester, N. Y., said it might be supposed that the persons present at the opening of the meeting were Abolitionists, and he should speak on that supposition.

We are accused, as defenders of the slave of carling for no other person, of disregarding the other constituents of society. But in fact, by the very act of taking a humane and Christian point of view, blooking at the rights and interests of the poorest and verticals we see with needs of the constituents.

ooking at the rights and interests of the poorest and weakest, we see with special clearness what are the rights and interests of all, and what course of setting will best promote the welfare of all,

Our work as Abolitionists is not affected by prob-

Our work as Abolitionists is not affected by probabilities in regard to this or that issue of the war. We have still to pave the way for emancipation, which must inevitably couse. Union or disamion, reconstruction or the old order, no matter which may result, slarery must go down. That is the one thing settled, and we must prepare the public mind for that result. The work is not done, even when the shackles have faller from the slave. What prejudice and hatred must still be overcome and removed after be has become a figuration. This is our work, a work of long years.

We have put ourselves in the position of the size.

We have put ourselves in the position of the slav, while plending his cause, and we must continue to labor in the same way. It is this fact which has make labor in the same way. At it this sace which has naid the Abolitioniats more clear-sighted as to the immo-rality and the disastrous effects of slavery than any other class. We know that to day the negro hold the nation in the hollow of his hand. He is to tan the scale, and our action in relation to him is to be ong or put down the rebellion. We are dying to long or put down the recentant. We are dying ea-as a nation, for want of a purpose. The Abolitonia alone have a just, worthy and manly purpose, namely, emancipation, and this ought also to be adopted by the whole country. It is this which should ingent Gen. Sherman at Port Royal, and immediately on a Geo. Sherman at Port Royal, and immediately on a adoption Savannah and Charleston would drop in his hands. Why should we not learn from the nample of John Brown? His army of twenty manier for this purpose, made Virginia tremble from one end to the other. On the other hand, McClein, wanting this purpose, sits inactive with his might army, guarding the capital, and the enemy right challenge him to meet them at Manassas. The Abs tionists see these things clearly, and must educe the people to see them; must teach the North tin the rebels have divested themselves of all Consinional rights; that slavery may be destroyed now is der the Constitution; and that whenever freeda shall be proclaimed, success begins. He did not take that hopeless view of our prospen which seemed to depress others of the speakers. On

nent, but they have underrated the pitch of public West in this regard. He knew of vast progress in the sentiments of the people, at least in the West. Is had been a witness of the unanimity which Fremm evoked all over that region. He might almost law been a dictator in carrying out emancipation. It va and to think of New England as falling behind the west in Anti-Slavery sentiment, yet he feared it un so. He had heard Charles Summer grossly abused in Boston hotels, without rebuke from people respecials in external appearance. In Illinois he was sure the such calumny would have been answered with work, if not with blows. There is a difference in the stpression of feeling between East and West. Taking them together, however, he really believed that a majority of the Northern people desire and approa-the immediate emancipation of the slaves as a vaensure.

friends have not too severely criticised the Govern

And this cause is constantly gaining fresh and among classes the most diverse in opinion upon sther subjects. Dr. Brownson, representing the entreme of ecclesiastical conservatism, openly declare that emancipation is the only safety of this nation.

On the other hand Andrew Jackson Davis, representing the highest degree of spiritual freedom, take senting the highest degree of spiritual rection, uni-precisely, the same ground in his widely circulated Herald of Progress. The extremes being thus man-mous upon this point, the means are constantly tea-ing in the same direction. Soldiers in the ranks an feeling this influence from without, and are beginning to feel that the inspiring word has not been spoken is them by their leaders. All classes are perceiving a last the great truths that the Abolitionists have less claiming for years.

Why have we war to-day? Why are we subjects to a thing so horrible as war always is? a thing wild never comes but from the low state of development man's better nature. This war was inevitable, sidering the state of depravation to which the nation had sunk. Our care must be that it shall not be re-newed five, ten or twenty years hence. Civilization and barbarism are contending, and the latter mu be throttled forever. The public press is far below the feeling of the people all over the country, on the question. Does the Post utter the sentiment of Masachusetts? Does the Courier speak the mind & New England ? No!

So with the Administration, which admits itself? be without a purpose, drifting along at the mercial events. The wise man takes opportunity by the imlock, and makes events. Whatever the grade of si vance of the people, the Government is far behind them. Lincoln is without a policy, while Jeffersa Davis has one that is real and vigorous in action

Davis has one that is get and vigorous in allowever Stains in character.

Yet, let us not be discouraged, remembering the is of degrees. Not all at once, step by step only the people will come up, and the Government must the mately follow them. "The mill of God grinds slow by, but it grinds exceeding small." We should be greatened by broad and cheerful views, working as sustained by broad and cheerful views, working with steady perseverance for the accomplishment of our great object. Garrison does not now speak alose. The New York *Tribune* speaks with him. Many pa The New York Tribune speaks with him. Many personal many persons speak with him, and the circles to the circles of the circles is widening daily. After his thirty years of persent tion and unpopularity, we nation pelled to move in his direction.

pelled to move in his direction.

Probably a year from this time will have decide
the fate of this nation. Probably twelve months silbring an either the jubilee or a defeat. If the latte,
it can be but temporary. But see shall have, in eithe case, a sense of duty done to humanity an No true word, no grand deed, is ever lost. The words and deeds of John Brown will go down the path of time as redeeming and strengthening info ences for all succeeding nations; and whatever we may do towards the freedom of the enslaved will is manner live and bear abundant fruit after a

(Applause.) On motion of SAMUEL MAY, Jr., it was voted that alf-past eleven be assigned for

It was also voted, on motion of Mr. May, that the Committee on the Nomination of Officers be enlarged by the addition of George Miles of Westminster, and

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following brief re marks, with the accompanying Resolutions, as a sebilitute for a speech:

HENRY C. WRIGHT. Mr. President, I want to

nake a speech, but not in the usual way. I would make it in the form of Resolutions. I do not offer them with a view to have the meeting act upon them. out simply as expressive of my own thoughts an own convictions, and not with any reference to all convictions of the Society or the meeting. I will read the Resolutions, and if it is thought best to pupon record what I say, I wish them to be recorded as my speech:— I wrote them solely with reference

Resolved, That we regard the preservation of Resolved, That we regard the preservation and the abolition of slavery as of more importance to the people of this and of all nations, than the preservation of the Constitution and Government of the United States, of any other particular form of government.

Resolved, That slavery is the foundation-principle and animating and controlling spirit of the slaveholders' rebi

lion, and all efforts to crush the rebellion not prompte by intense and enduring batted for slavery, and a suprem religious devotion to liberty must prove abortive. Resolved, That the present war, on the part of the South is sensedly a war for the abolition of library South, is arousedly a war for the abolition of liberty as the preservation of slavery; and, on the part of the North is-though covertly and not in form, yet in fact and in it remults—a war for the abolition of slavery and the preserva-

resulting a liberty.

Resolved, That the present bloody and serrowful conflict is not between rival States and governments, but a tely between liberty and elsavery, and the conflict is inthing between liberty and elsavery, and the conflict is inthing the service of the conflict of the control of the c

overs. Recolved, That until the friends of freedom and institutions shall have courage and honesty openly is emphasically to arow that they are struggling for like and against slavery, they do not deserve, and cannot he to succeed in their efforts to bring the war to a speedy a

riumphant issue.

Resolved, That no staveholder nor apologist for staver Resolved, That no stareholder nor apologist for clavery can be loyal and true to a constitution and government whose object is "to establish justice and to secure the blessings of liberty"; and every concession to starehold-ers, because of their supposed loyalty, is the foulest and tmost fatal treason against a government aiming at such

Resolved, That while a balld may kill the slaveholder Revolved, That while a ballet may kill the slaveholder, an rice alone can kill slavery; that all that has been achieved for liberty and against slavery, in the ages and kingdom' if the past, has been gained in a war of ideas and fot bullets; and never was the duty more insumbent on Abolitionists than at the present hour, to engage carnetly and persistently in that war of ideas inaugurated by W. L. Garrison thirty years ago, and in which they have striven successfully for the abolition of slavery and the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of liberty ever since.

Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, we can now innoc Heartree, 1888, as Acoustomers, we can now innocessity and carnestly support and help execute the Constitution of the United States, because it now empowers us to abolish starry and proclaim liberty to all under its jurisdiction; starery and processin meetry or an atomer as pressuration and if we do not use this power, and thus at once remove the cause of all our national troubles, we deserve, an shall receive, the excerations of mankind.

I close with a repetition of one remark. Slavery cannot be loyal to liberty, nor liberty to slavery. Slaveholders cannot be loyal to a government that aims to secure liberty; and the moment such a gov attempts, in any way, to sustain slavery, i

ernment attempts, in any way, to sustain slavery, it becomes a traitor to liberty, and incapable of answering the one great end of its existence.

Rev. Samere May, Jr., said he had been very much gratified with the speech of Mr. Stebbins, because the whole tone of it was well suited to impress upon Abolitionists the point at which their efforts should be chiefly aimed. Many seem to think that the specific action of bodies like this Society is nearly over, and that the same work will now be done by other agencies. This, in his judgment, was entirely erroneous. He never saw greater necessity for th existence and vigorous effort of this Society. The nation still needs to have constantly held up before i alone, have been accustomed to present. Never was nciation of the grand and simple principles of Anti-Slavery more needed; never were the carne and active labors of every Society and of every ind widual more needed than now. Though we have much cause to feel encouraged, all is not clear nor hopeful. Not only the heads of the people, but the people themselves are yet far from an enlightened po sition. Mr. Stebbins had given good evidence latter. Even the very favorable advance which he had described in the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the West needs to be enlarged and deepened. An what he affirmed of the shortcomings of New tangy what he ammed of the shortcomings of New England is lamentably true. His story about the abuse of Mr. Summer in Boston was matched by what he (Mr. May) had just heard from a graduate or Harvard College, who attributed our present difficul-ties to the ambition of a few at the South, and the foolish fanaticism of a few at the North; and who was indifferent to slavery and in favor of a restoration of the old Union. Such men found their support in the Post and Courier of this city. [A voice cried out— "The Advertiser too."] Mr. May thought the Adverrecriser the most heartless and cold-blooded paper he had ever read, but he would not class it with the other two for venality and unscrupulousness.

Shall we take the view presented by Dr. Howe respecting the policy of the Government towards the slaves in Fortress Monroe, [namely, that, since the slaves who have taken refuge in that place are held in emfinement there, and guarded like prisoners, and since the wages of their labor are merely credited, in-stead of being paid to them, it may be the purpose of the Government to keep both men and money for ultimate surrender to their old masters;] or the more charitable view presented last night by Mr. Garrison In either case, we must keep actively and vigorously at work

Honey C. WRIGHT read an extract from a New York paper reporting a farewell conversation between Gen. Lane and the President. To the inquiry of Mr Fowler whether there was a particle of evidence in support of that statement, Mr. Wright replied that it was given by a correspondent of the Tribune, who signed his name to it.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS, of Battle Creek, Michigan said that, in a recent conversation, James H. Lane had declared to him that he did not believe there was a single loyal slaveholder in the United States. He would never send back a slave, either to a loyal or a disloyal owner. He proposed to free the slaves to put down the rebellion. In reference to the assertion that the slaves, if liberated, would be a burden on the country, Lane said there were five thousand contrabands in Kansas, and not a pauper among them. Our only motto, said he, is universal emancipation. It shall be when I take the field.

Mr. Willis referred to the enthusiasm of the North rest for Fremont'and his emancipation policy. Give is him, the people cried, and down goes the war-Universal gloom followed the revokal of the proclama tion and the recall of Fremont. The public feeling had received a most disastrous check, but it would

rise again if he returned.

The hour for the consideration arrived, and WENDELL PHILLIPS rose to speak on that question. He said—It seems unnecessary to urge upon Abolitionists the support of their own organs stopped working.

and meetings. We comfort ourselves with the ten-dency of events. That is but a word. Events are only the result of ripened effort. Gen. Lane had guarded a loyal slaveholder's family of slaves in Mis ouri from Jennison, who would have liberated them In fact, we cannot trust any one half so far as we can see him. One might except Montgomery, or Jennison Slarery has undoubtedly received its death-blow The only question is by what road we shall reach emancipation. The President thinks we drift that way. But who helps us drift? That is the work of the Abolitionists. They have lost some of their former allies in the Custom House—Republicans We must work ler, scatter tracts and preachers, and suppomen in Congress who would like to favor eman-icipation. We have six agents where we should have seventy. The people are ready to hear. Lyceums which could not formerly endure an Abolitionist on any topic, now invite them, stipulating that they shall talk on slavery. It is the sense of an anti-slavery public which has sustained the Tribune in its decided anti-slavery nosition. But we make the anti-slavery anti-slavery position. But we make the anti-slavery public. They are not yet all converted. Brownson' abscribers dwindled to two hundred from two thou sand, after his article on emancipation. The Aboli-tionists need still to be seen in advance. They have now the assistance of the pulpit everywhere, and eligious presses. Let them not be outstripped by these. Real peace is not to be expected for mathese. Real peace is not to be expected for many years. In the Union or out of it, South Carolina will hate New England. Victory by McClellan will not bring us back Representatives and Senators from the South. All we can hope to do is to set in motion instrumentalities that will eventually wear out prejudice

and hatred. There is no speedy panaces for our disease of long standing. We may have a military republic for long years. Is this a time to fold our hands, and to leave our work to recent converts and shrewd hypocrites? Speak through types, if you control of yourselves. Mr. Beccher found no way for connect parties through this war, because he had never read John Quincy Adams. It was this Society which had put in circulation the opinions of that statesman in regard to emancipation under the war power, and which ought to be known everywhere. We must direct the guns which the rioters of last year are now pointing on the Potomac. There is no hope of a coup d etat in this country, as Mr. Willis had hinted. It were better not so; we cannot safely throw overboard the rule of the country, as Mr. Willis had hinted. It were better not so; we cannot safely throw overboard the rule of the majority. We must educate the Government, however slowly. Fremont was long since educated, when he wrote his proclamation. We must educate the people to gain him back as a Major-General. He might still be there, if the West had not hung its head. The undertone of the West had not hung its head. The undertone of the West had just saved Slegel from dismissal, and it might have saved Fremont. The Ge dirty work of returning slaves on the Potomac. The have come over from Europe to enslave no man, black or white.

Mr. Philips closed by an appeal for the treasury.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND next spoke, saying that though he did not wish to take gloomy views, or to throw cold water on the cause, and though he had been throw cold water on the cause, and though he had cer-reproved for his desponding remarks of yesterday, he thought those remarks should be rather reaffirmed than retracted. He found confirmation of them in Mr. Phillips's language. He would not have the colored man school himself to silence, but yet patience, caution and perseverance were necessary. He saw small cause for encouragement while Boston remains a base conservative city, and Massachusetts a base conservative State. The foreigner of every nation is welcomed among us, and may take part in our present struggle but more than 4,900,000 loyal Americans are disfran chised and disregarded. The fact (the speaker said that he remained in this country proved that he loved it and desired its welfare. But none but a colored man could judge of the depth of discouragement felt by that class, or the weight of the prejudice against them; therefore no one could judge of the position and action they should take. The leading voice of the nation cries-"Let the negro go, if we can recove our business and regain peace in the country." An anti-slavery meeting recently held in Danvers was mobbed by a party of soldiers, led by a Salem officer, from a neighboring camp. While such things continued, he could not be cheerful. our business and regain peace in the country."

J. B. SWASEY, Esq., of Boston, said that he had a wished to put the Advertiser in the same grade of guilt with the Post and Courier. But these all represented the trade and influence of Boston, and all alike hated pertiser in the same grade of guilt the Anti-Slavery Society, and the cause of freedom in which it was laboring. The Advertiser was not so ut-terly base, malignant and indecent as the others, be-cause it represents a phase of Boston "respectability." But it was only more insidious as it was more respect

Mr. HENRY WILLIS wished to mention an incident which took place at Battle Creek, Michigan. A colored man, Harrison Brown by name, had come from Kentucky to that place nine years before, and had nest and industrious life, paying for his 80 acre farm, and raising fine crops from it. When the volunteers were about to leave Battle Creek, Brown was asked if he would go with them to fight the re-bels. He replied, I will go with you if you will guar-antee me v. n I return that I shall be a man, and enjoy the rights of a man. He begged them further remember that the blood they were to lose in battle would be spilled by slavery, and that interest as well as duty and right strongly called on them to help the slaves. They promised that they would help them. And these men came back from Bull Run believing that their defeat was owing to the help given to the rebels by their slaves.

Mr. Willis referred to the lecture of Dr. Cheever

and the songs of the Hutchinsons in Washington as cheering signs of the times; and told of his own indoctrination in anti-slavery truth in Baltimore, at an early age, about the time Mr. Garrison was imprisoned

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON brought forward some resolutions, the report, in part, of the Business Com-mittee. Before reading them, he welcomed Mr. Wil-lis to Boston, speaking of the hospitality which he had received from him in Michigan, and of the thoroughness of his anti-slavery labors there. His friend Willis, he said, bore no small likeness to John Brown, both in feature and spirit.

The resolutions were as follows :-

Whereas, since the last anniversary of this So whereas, since the last animeters of the stare States have treasonably second from the Union, and organized an independent Southern Confederacy, the original design of the conspirators being to seize the Capital and overturn the National Government; and, Whereas, their course has been marked by all that is perfidious, unprincipled, brutaf, thievish and piratical in

spirit, in the seizure of the national custom-houses, postonice; mins, accessed, to say a distinct and by the conficeation of Northern property and dues to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars, and by the capture and destruction of numerous ships on the high seas salling under the American flag; and,

Whereas, every one of the remaining Slave States (Dela Whereas, every one of the remaining slave cacce (Decia-ware excepted, because only nominally included in the category) is so full of treason as to require the presence of vast armies from the Free States to force them into feigned loyally to the Union,—the withdrawal of which forces would instantly be the signal for them to join the Southern Confederacy, and raise the standard of revolt; and, the National Government is endeavoring to

sovereignty, and as subversive of the integrity an ace of the republic; and,

der these extraordinary circumsta ary for this Society to define its position re Specting the sanguinary struggle now going on between the Government and the revolted South; therefore, Resolved, That this Society regards the Government as

wholly in the right, and the Se wholly in the Fignt, and the eccessionists wholly and atto-ciously in the wrong, on the issues presented; and de-clares, therefore, that all the accusations brought by the latter against the Government, against the Republican Party, and against the People of the North, of a purpose rarty, and against the reopte of the North, of a purpose to treat them oppressively and unjustly, and to act a per-ficious part towards them, are false, malicious and calum-niatory, incapable of being sustained by a particle of evi-dence, and plainly manufactured to subserve their treason eds and shield their transcendently villanous condu

able ends, and shield their transcendently villanous conduct from the exceration of the civilized world.
Resolved, however, That, in thus exonerating the Gov-ernment and People of the North from the fool imputations so lavishly bestowed upon them by the rebellious South, this Society does not mean to screen or extenuate the fear-ful guilt they have incurred, and are incurring, by their complicity with slavery as shown in their opposition to the Anti-Slavery movement, their proceription of the uncom-promising friends of universal freedom, their injustice to promising friends of universal freedom, tacir injustice to the free colored population among them, their apologic and pleas for those who are slaveholders, and their unwil es to throw off the heavy responsibilities resting upo them, by repentance and reformation.

Resolved, That this Society still religiously holds, in

Resolved, That this Society said the Constitution of view of its pro-slavery guaranties, that the Constitution of the United States, as accepted and administered from the time of its adoption to the hour of the withdrawal of the South, was "a covenant with death and an agreement with bell," containing within itself the elements out of which disunion, treason and sivil war have as naturally and indiamino, treason and sivil war have as naturally averaged evitably sprung as the harvest follows the sowing of the sweed; so that, if the same wild and guilty experiment were tried a thousand times over, the same tragical results would

nuiled, and "the agreement with hell" no longer stothet, for the first time since its formation, the Granent, whether by the decree of the Pyrakinnt or by Congress, has now the constitutional right, which no comes its solemn duty and giorious prerogative, unde war power, as necessary to the speedy suppression or rebellion, the removal of its caure, and the preservat the Union, to "proclaim liberty throughout all the unto all the inhabitants thereof."

unto all the inhabitants thereon. Received, That (in the language of John Quincy Adams "by the law of nations, military authority takes, for th time, the place of all municipal institutions, and salvar axono rus axor; that, under that state of things, so farour its being true that the States where slavery exist. invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutionswept by the board, and national power takes the place Therefore

Resolved, That for Congress or the President to walv Resolved, That for Congress or the Pressume to man-the exercise of this constitutional power is to invigoral the rebellion, give "aid and countenance" to the traiter imperii the life of the Government and the unity of the republic, oriminally prolong a sangulnary stiffe at a fear ful expenditure of blood and treasure, render victory hope its expensiture of noos and resure, render votors soft-tes, and causer the speedy recognition of the independ-ence of the Southern Confederacy by the governments of Europe; and thus to lose the sublimest opportunity I ach history of the world for the schlerement of a grand and beneficent work towards the oppressors and the oppressed alike, and for the establishment of a free republic upon the foundations of impartial liberty and eternal justice.

Resolved. That the worst enemies of the Government are those here at the North, who, wearing the mask of loyalty in order that they may the more effectually sub-erve the designs of the Southern compristors, are con-stantly menacing and bullying it with alleged divisions in stanuy menacing and onlying it with alleged divisions in the army and among the people, to its final overthrow, if it shall dure exercise its unquestionable right by the law of nations, and its undenlable right by the Constitution, under nations, and its inheritance in a state of the war power, to abolish slavery as the most effective way, nay, the only method to ward off impending calamities and put down the rebellion; and public indignation should flame against them, so that the soil should be too hot for then

tand upon it, except as objects of universal execuation.

Resolved. That the attempt of these pseudo loyalists itesoived, That the attempt of these pseudo loyalists to place the Abolitionists of the North and the Secessionists of the South in the same category, is an exhibition of brazen effrontery and satanic malignity; being matched only by the assertion that God and Mammon, Christ and

only by the assertion that God and Mammon, Christ and Belial, the servants of righteousness and the workers of iniquity, are all equally to be abhorred and condemned. Resolved, That while we appreciate, at its true value, the insulting and bullying tone of the London Times, and other venal and purchased English journals, against the people and Government of the North, and in encouragement and defence of the Southern traitors; and while we are equally astonished and grieved to find so much misconare equally astonished and grieved to find so much miso on prevailing in England as to the real issues involved ception prevailing in England as to the real issues involved in this struggle—we, nevertheless, discriminate between the aristocracy, toryism and rabble of that country, and the mass of its intelligent and progressive people, represented by such papers as the London Daily Nees and Morning Advertiser, and by such men as John Bright, Richard Codden, Geo. Thompson, T. Perronet Thompson, and Wm. E. Forster, who, clearly analyzing this tangled question, and comprehending the immense difference of spirit and purpose actuating the two contending assetions of this serious contending assetions of the serious contending asset purpose actuating the two con tending sec public, are nobly vindicating at home the cause of free ins in this hemisphere, and espousing the side of the people of the North against the trease

Adjourned to 24 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION. The meeting having been called to order, Mr. May, in behalf of the Committee on Nomination, presented a list of officers, first me tioning that there had been lost from our ranks, since the last annual meeting, the President, FRANCIS JACK son, and one of the Vice-Presidents, RICHARD CLAP of Dorchester.

The officers nominated were as follows:-President-EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

Vice Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford Adin Ballou, Milford; Jefferson Church, Springfield Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Henry I. Bow ditch, Boston; James N. Buffum, Lynn; George Flint, Rutland; John T. Hilton, Brighton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Ellis Allen, Medfield; David P on, Haverhill; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thacher, Barnsta-ble; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Joshnownsen; Attheoretical Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitch-burg; George Miles, Westminster; Timothy Davis, Framingham; Zebina Small, Harwich; Wm. Pope, Jr., Dorchester

ending Secretary-Samuel May, Jr. Leices

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallout, Bo Treasurer—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Treasure—EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

Auditor—William I. Bowditon, Brookline.

Councillors—William Lloyd Garrison; Edmund
Quincy; Wendell Phillips; Maria W. Chapman;
Charles K. Whipple; Anne W. Weston; William
I. Bowditch; John T. Sargent; Charles E. Hodges; Charles Follen.

Rev. EDWIN THOMPSON was then introduced. He said he felt unwilling to let this Convention pass with out saying something. He had attended, he believed, every annual meeting of the Society from 1883 to the present time, and this was the first one in which he had not heard a hiss; and yet some of the stro ntterances he had ever heard had been made here He thought that if ever any movement had triumphed, it was the old Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Not long ago, Mr. Thompson said, he heard the Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson lecture in Lynn, and he ed by repeating the lines of Whittier, so fa-

miliar to anti-slavery ears-"Is this the land our fathers loved, The freedom which they toiled to win?

This from one who had been a hunker of the h ers! If that did not indicate progress, he did not what progress was.

In allusion to the general feeling of the public, Mr.
T. said he believed the sentiment of the country on e slavery question was very much like that en ained by the members of this Society. Wherever he went, the people almost all talked one way. blunders of the enemies of freedom had help cause mightily. After the attack on fort Sumter, the Hunkers found themselves turned round, they scarce-ly knew how, and he did not wonder they had felt ewhat awkward ever since.

Mr. Remoud had said that the colored people wer not heard in the country. He thought differently that the still small voice of the slave of the South wa heard every day, and would have an important infu-ence in the settlement of the great question. He fel much encouraged and strengthened is much encouraged and strengthened in regard to the issue of the conflict. The reason why the anti-slavery people had succeeded was because they had inquired simply what was right, not what the nation liked. They had relied solely on the truth, and against that, no man or body of men was powerful enough to

Mr. Thompson's remarks were interspersed with several pleasant and pertinent anecdotes, which cre-ated considerable merriment, and he was frequently ated conside applauded.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER said he had listened with a Recoived, That (though it implies no special merit on the part of the people of the North) it is matter of devost thanksgiving that, in consequence of the high-handed, them. At the same time, he felt that while he was breaken,—and also of the imperative necessity, to preserve even the semblance of loyalty in Maryland, Kentucky and

on of our country depended (if it was to be saved) on the union of our countrymer; and, divided and hostile as we had been in our feelings, that union could not take place without great sacrifice of personal feeling. 'The Abolitionists asked politicians to sacrifice their parties, and they must show themselves as ready to make sacrifices as to ask them.

Two aspects of the cause had been presented to hem—one sombre and gloomy, the other pleasing and lelightful. It was not necessary, it seemed to him, to

decide which of these aspects was the true one, for it matters little; but one thing was certain—the work in which they enlisted thirty years ago must be done, or the slave can never have his freedom in fact, nor can the country ever have a real prosperity. One thing he thought was settled, and that was, that there can be no true liberty in the absence of intelligence and virtue; and just in proportion to their prevalence, would a people be happy and prosperous.

The object of this Society, when it was established, was not merely to destroy the form of slavery, but to destroy the spirit of oppression, which showed itself, at the South, in the form of slavery, and at the North, in the bitter and relentless prejudice against color. Until that spirit was rooted out of the American heart, their work would not be done; and it was not material to him what were the objects of Abraham Lincoln, or what the purposes of General McClellan. This battle of freedom was not to be settled by armies, this question was not to be settled to net battle-field; it was to be settled in the hearts and in the heads of it was to be settled in the hearts and in the heads he people of the North. If the people were but ight, he cared not what became of the Government If we ever had a President who carried out the true

spirit of our institutions, that President was Abrahan Lincoln. (Applause.) He said, when he entered upon the duties of his office, that he stood there sim ply as the passive agent of the people of this courry, to obey the will of his masters, the American pe e, and he (Mr. F.) had no reason to believe that he had ever swerved from that purpose. He believed that the President was far more willing to go for free lom than for slavery, if he had an undoubting co viction that the American people would sustain in such a course. Hence, instead of condemning Administration, he would condemn the Govern this country, which is the people of the country. Was it the fault of Abraham Lincoln that there were four ons of slaves in their chains to-day, that the traffic in human flesh was still going on in the city Washington? No, the fault lay back of the Presi-dent, or the Administration. Where was Congress? (Applause.) If the people wanted freedom, why did (Applause.) It the propose they not say so, through their representatives, and take the responsibility on their own shoulders, not ask Abraham Lincoln to do it? (Applause.) Many a man had stepped in advance of his party in this c of freedom, during the last thirty years, and wha had been his fate? Crucified, almost without excep-Why blame Abraham Lincoln for not going to the abolition of slavery, when Charles Sumner could not have the support of the Republican party of

Mr. Foster thought it was a mistake to suppose that were all right on this question; that they ing, with an almost united voice, the overthrow of this accursed institution. so. He had no doubt that if the question were put to the masses, whether slavery should be abolished, that they would vote for it; but if they were asked to cast off the hunker leaders, and avow a purpose to suppor the Administration in spite of their leaders, the would not do it. The Government was between two would not do it. The contending influences,—the hunkerism of the country, which holds the purse, without which the Administration can do nothing, and the sympathizing feelings of the inert masses, who can do nothing but talk and fight—who cannot pay the bills; and Mr. Lincoln dare not trust himself in the arms of the inert passes. Their duty, as a Society, was, to summ asses into active life, to breathe upon the dry bones, that they may live. If this work could be done, our country could be saved, not otherwise policy had been tried, and it did not work. They must speak out, speak as the thunder speaks, in tones against which the people could not close their ears. The moment was full of hope, but full of peril also to both races. Of course, the Abolitionists should exercise the utmost vigilance. This was no time to sleep; and the most hopeful sign of these meetings was the last speech of their noble friend, Wendell Phillips, in which he summoned them to the battle. This question was to be decided by the American Anti-Slavery Society, as the representative of the friends of freedom throughout the land. If they could keep themselves right, all would go well. There was but one door of escape from the evils the untry was now suffering, and that was, by repent nce, by eradicating from our hearts the spirit of despotism. The negro, ignorant, degraded as he was, must stand by our side, and we must say to him,

Stand there, brother!"

A great and mighty work was entrusted to the sts. The eyes of the friends of freedom throughout the world were turned toward hem, and their hope (if they understood this question) was in the Abolitionists, in this struggle to vin dicate the capacity of the race for self-government While they were criticising others so freely, the all important thing was self-examination and self-criti-cism; for any fault in them was like poison cast into a fountain. They must keep right themselves, or

w could they set others right? Mr. F. then referred to the principles on which the anti-slavery movement was founded, and said that there had been no change in circumstances that could sossibly affect any principles that were true in them-elves. At the outset, they had demanded the im-nediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, with out expatriation, and without compensation clared that slavery was a crime, and that the master deserved, not a bonus for emancipating his slaves, but a halter for not emancipating them. (Ap-

seem, even, to recognize it by compensation was to do a mighty wrong to the great principles of justice. f the slaveholder. His attend (Mr. F.'s) opinion remained unchanged in regard to this matter. Not for his right hand would he put it and more particularly of Boston, as it were, the of truth by the peculiar circumstances that no man

they could not support the Constitution, because of its guarantees to slavery. The Constitution was the same to-day as it was yesterday; not a letter had been changed, and there never had been an Administration so thoroughly devoted to slavery as the present; no

In conclusion, Mr. Foster spoke strongly in favor of increased activity and zeal by the members of the rther for Abolitionism.

All that was needed was some in to go forth to rally and lead the hosts of the conflict—some man who could rally place.

Place freedom to the conflict—some man who could raily all the friends of freedom into one mighty host. Place Dr. Cheever, Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Orestee A. Brownson and Daniel S. Dickinson side by side and they would sweep all before them. He cared not who was in the Presidential chair; he could tell who would make the laws of the country, and that was all he wished. (Applause.)

Rev. THOMAS H. JONES, formerly of North Caroli na, spoke briefly, vindicating the capacity of the col-ored man for education, and his title to freedom. In reference to the change which has taken place in the popular feeling, he said that it was indicated by the fact that whereas men like himself were formerly called "fugitives," they were now called "contra-bands," and their masters "fugitives." He thank ed God for the change. His reliance was not up Congress, nor the army, but upon the God of the oppressed, who would stretch forth his arm to asve. He expected to go to Wilmington, North Carolina, again, as a freeman, and no one need to have any feat that the supply of cotton or rice would be less, after the slaves were emancipated, than it is now. "Take the slaves were emancipated, than it is now. "Take away your masters!" said he. And, thank God they are going very fast.

Mr. John C. Clura said he wanted to say a few words in regard to the views of the people on the other side of the water touching our quarrel. The London Times did not represent the bone and muscle of Eng-Times did not represent the bone and muscle of Eng-land, by any means. It had always been opposed to the masses. He thought England, Ireland and Scotland were very well represented in the army that is now battling with secession. (Applause.) The aristocracy of Europe were on the side of the South, the people sympathized with the North. The "Com-paint of the Nerro" was a common sens of the factoplaint of the Negro" was a common song of the fact ry operatives in the old country, because their own oppression gave them sympathy for the slave. If Lincoln should proclaim emancipation, the people would rebel against their Government sooner than have a war with this country.

He was pleased to see the great change that had

taken place in the community, and especially among the religious sects. They did not feel obliged any onger to go back to antediluvian times, to Sodom and longer to go back to antenutrian times, to Scotom and Gomorrah, but could pray for the success of our ar-my, and for the liberation of the slaves. He congrat-ulated the Society on the manifest progress that had been made, and the auspicious signs of the times; and in this connection paid a warm tribute to Mr. Phillips as a genuine Democrat, referring to the fact that when Mr. P. was in England, instead of seeking in troductions to the aristocracy, he perilled his populari-ty by finding his way into a loft among the Chartists and spoke with them and sympathic He (Mr. C.) was one of those despised, hunted and banished Chartists, and he knew that every one of them sympathized with the North, especially when it up to the mark of adopting, as its motto, "Liberty for all men, regardless of birth or complexion ! He was an anti-slavery man, not because of the black man or woman in slavery, but because the liberty of his own wife and children depended, in some degree, on his laboring, and thinking, and speaking for others.
God speed the day, said Mr. C., when the stars and
stripes shall be emblematic of freedom, and when shout of jubilee shall be heard throughout our cour try, proclaiming that all beneath that flag are free and equal, enjoying all the blessings of liberty!

Mr. May, from the Business Committee, read the

Resolved, That to our already lengthened Resolved, that to our aiready negutients containly registry, we have now to add the name of Francis Jacksov.

Lent to humanity in a period of its stornest need, but eminently endowed to meet its demands; as a man and a citizen, possessed in a high degree of those generous qualities which dignify and adorn as well as perpetuate a State; ties which dignify and aborn is well as per jecture a Scater,
a lover of justice above everything else; as a reformer,
among the earliest in our times, as well as truest, bravest
and most serene; seeing always with anointed vision, with
duty ever his guiding star; none were too high for his
kind but firm rebuke when sinning, none too low for his
sympathy and succor when suffering; his reof sheltered
freedom of speech when driven by mayors, mobs, and the whole multitude from every other refuge; -there, too, wa relcomed the fugitive slave, and there he was ever see welcomed the upperance and of Peace found in him a con-stant and consistent advocate and supporter; the Woman Rights enterprise shared largely in his ever-aboundin beneficence; religious bigotry and intolerance stood abash and rebuked in the sunshine of his noble and manly lif which illustrated the highest love of God in never-ceasis which illustrated the highest love of God in never-ceasing regard for man; and, exalting as he did, in every relation of life, the possibilities of human mature in its reach towards perfection, his departure is a private, a public and general loss, mourned most deeply by this Society, whose presiding officer and ornament he was for so many

year, in the translation to a higher sphere of those venerable men, RICHARD CLAY, of Dorchester, (for many years an honored officer of this Society,) NATHAN WINSLOW, of an aconcer concer of the second property of Groton, has parted with those who were among its earliest, most interpid and earnest friends, advocates, and benefactors, whose memories deserve to be held in grateful and lasting

THE PRESIDENT. I feel, ladies and gentleme embers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society that it would hardly be proper in me to allow the first of these resolutions to pass without a word, in view of the fact, that you have done me the great honor of placing me in the seat made vacant by that He declared that the claim of property in man was a false, fraudulent and guilty claim, and hence that to seem, even, to recognize it by compensation was to do years ago, Mr. Jackson occupied the chair of its pre-siding officer. He presided at the first meeting I ever attended and addressed, and has stood before the (Mr. F.'s) opinion remained unchanged in regard to world, especially before the world of Massachusetts, this matter. Not for his right hand would he put it and more particularly of Boston, as it were, the into a petition saking Congress to compensate loyal masters for the emancipation of their slaves. He questioned not the honesty of the man who did it, but he thought he must have been swerved from his perceptions of truth by the peculiar circumstances that many howent down "where merchants most do urrounded him. congregate," among the bank officers and insurance
Mr. Foster then proceeded to speak of the position officers and the men of business,—there was no mat of the Abolitionists in regard to the Government.

The outside world thought they had changed their position. For fifteen years, they had declared that they could not suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he would not suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the Constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the constitution because of the world now are—which he had a suppose the constitution because of the world now are—which he would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are—which he would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are—which he would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are—which he would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are which he would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are which he would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are which he was a suppose the constitution because of the world now are which he was a suppose the constitution because of the world now are which he was a suppose the constitution because of the world now are which he was a suppose the constitution because of the world now are which he was a suppose the constitution because of the world now are which we would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are which we would not suppose the constitution because of the world now are which we would not suppose the world now are which we would not suppose the world now are which we would not suppose the world now ar had acquired by his own industry, there was no man in this city, which boasts so much of its charities and manifleence, who exceeded him in liberality in pro-portion to his means. I have no hesitation in saying, that not Amos Lawrence, nor Samuel Appleto so thoroughly devoted to slavery as the present; no other ever returned so many fugitive slaves, nor did so much to propitiate the Slave Power. Under these circumstances, was there any sufficient reason for their going out before the world, and giving their sanction and support to the Government! He thought not, and had seted all slong in accordance with this conviction. not, and had acted all along in accordance with this conviction.

For himself, he had no trouble with the Constitution. He defied any man to write a better instrument. There was no more slavery in it than polygamy. It was nothing but a series of great principles, impartial in their application. He claimed that Congress had the right, even in time of peace, to strike down an institution which not only threatened the interests of the country, but was itself a base and criminal institution, just as they had, by the embargo, (as Mr. Phillips had said,) brought ruin to the commercial interests of the North, for the reason that the public good required it.

could not be held in his house without its being de stroyed, he was ready to have it fall, and would rather have it fall. He had entered the anti-slavery cause before that, but that was the month of his haption into it, and from that time to this, there is no man into it, and from that time to this, there is no man whose name has been more thoroughly identified with it than his. I acknowledge the honor you have done me by putting me in his place. I wish I could believe I could fill it in any way properly; but I will dothe best I can to justify the confidence you have placed in me. And I can say, that I hope my term of office will be very short. I wish I could feel that this is the last meeting which the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will ever hold, excepting when they come together to rejoice with the slave at the jubilee. (Applause.)

plause.)
As to these other honored names, less kno slavery meetings for the last thirty years know them well. We well remember their reverend heads, their and munificence. We remember the countenance, en-couragement and advice which they have given to the cause, and which have greatly tended to its advance-

HENRY WILLIS, of Battle Creek, Michigan, said-The name of Francis Jackson has for twenty-five years been held in the highest esteem and he years occurred in the inguest careers and innor by the anti-slavery portion of the Northwest; and I know that I speak the universal feeling among them, when. I say, that the death of no man in the nation, perhaps, could have been more deeply regretted than that of FRANCIS JACKSON.

question was then put, and the resoluti

Adjourned to meet at Music Hall, at 7 o'clock. EVENING SESSION. The evening meeting at the Music Hall was largely attended, and addresses were nade by Rev. A. A. MINER, Rev. J. M. MANNING, and WENDELL PHILLIPS. We shall print them in

The receipts at the meetings (which will be ac (nowledged in detail next week) were as follows :-Contributions, 471.15; Pledges, \$350.50.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

This Anniversary was held as usual at the Mu Hall, on the 22d of January, and was successful beand the anticipation of the ladies who gave out the invitations. The travelling was very bad, and the state of the atmosphere such as to take all elasticity from the spirits of men; yet the large Hall was very full. Considering the hard pressure of the times, and the numerous imperious demands now made on indi-vidual benevolence, the donations were liberal. Most of our old friends remembered us, and in letters of warmest sympathy bade us God speed, regretting that the circumstances of the country rendered cessary to diminish their customary contribu-All these letters expressed, more or less earnestly, a leep conviction that the Abolitionists of the old school ought not to discontinue or abate their exertions.

This conviction is founded on the fact that the com munity in general are sadly deficient in sentiments of justice and humanity toward the slaves; and therefore whenever the time of emancipation comes, or in what-ever form it comes, there is great danger that little or no attention will be paid to their welfare and improve-ment. The habit of believing only the masters' state-ments, and of regarding only the masters' interests, has become so inveterate, that a constant and energet ic exertion of moral influence is needed to counteract it, or at least to modify it. We cordially thank our friends, one and all, for the pecuniary aid they have given us to carry on this righteous work, and also for

One of the most interesting features of the meeting was the presence of Mr. Davis, a highly intelligent dark brown man from Fortress Munroe; one of those of whom we have heard so much under the name of ontrabands." It is touching in the extreme to hear this man tell how earnest was his desire to learn to read the Bible, and how diligently he applied himself to the task, with the help of his master's little son. God be praised that the secret prayers and smothered aspirations of struggling millions at last find their way to the ears of all the people! Thanks to the Father of All that the old abolitionists have been permitted to

be His humble agents in this great work! May HE enable us to endure unto the end! A more full and detailed report of the meeting, with cknowledgments of the Contributions made on the ccasion in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause, may be expected in a future paper. Our friends will be glad to hear that, after deducting all expenses, which were ghter this year than usual, the sum of not less than THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS will be realized to the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is proper to state, that in that amount are included all the payments which have been made during the last four or five months, in response to the call for contributions in ad-cance of the 28th Anuiversary,—which payments amounted to about eight hundred dollars, exclusive of pecial donations in aid of the National Anti-Slavery

FOUND! At the Anti-Slavery meeting at Allston Hall, on Thursday evening,—alluding to the mobo-cratic interruption of last year's anniversary,—we in-quired, "Where is Mr. James Murray Howe?" The next day we received a printed card, as follows:—
"James Murray Howe & Co., Note, Stock and Exchange Brokers, No. 92, State Street (up stairs, Boston!" "Our inquiry is answered. "All's well that

DEFINITE NEWS FROM THE BURNSIDE EXPEDIrion. Definite news from the Burnside Expedition is received, from which we learn that the squadron has d terrible weather off Hatterss, with the wreck of several vessels, and the destruction of much valuable property, but fortunately with the loss of only a few lives. At last accounts, General Burnside had succeeded in getting his entire force into Pamlico Sound, and all the indications were favorable for the ultimate success of the expedition

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. The Sixth Annual Anti-Slavery Convention for the

The Sixth Annnal Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of New York will be held in ALBANY, at Association Anton Hall, on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, February 7th and 8th, commencing at 10 1-2 colook, A. M. Three sessions will be held each day.

Among the speakers who will address the Convention will be Wm. Lleyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Farker Pillsbury, Rev. Samuel J. May, Sasun B. Anthony, Wm. Wells Brown, Aaron M. Powell, and sthers.

MIDDLESEX CO. A. S. SOCIETY .- A quar meeting of this Society will be held in Jackson Hall, at Lowell, on Sunday next, Feb. 2d, at the usual hours of public assemb, y, morning, afternoon and evening.

Rev. Samuel May of Boston and Parker Pillsbury will attend the several sessions.

Let the county be well represe

WENDELL PHILLIPS will speak before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, at Music Hall, on

JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., will deliver his lecture on "The Colored Man and the War," where he may be invited, for a triffe over his expenses. His address is No. 6 Tremont Street, Boston.

MILFORD, N. H.—C. L. REKOND will deliver two lectures in Milford, N. H., on Sanday afternoon and evening next, Feb. 2d, at 2 and 7 o'clock.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has ren 695 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Par-ticular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. References.—Luther Clark, M.
Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

From the Atlantic Magazine for February. AT PORT ROYAL 1861. The tent-lights gilmmer on the land, The ship-lights on the zen; The night-wind smooths with drifting sand Our track on lone Tybes.

For dear the bondman holds his gifts Of music and of song:
The gold that kindly Nature sifts
Among his sands of wrong;

The power to make his tolling days
And poor home comforts please;
The quaint relief of mirth that plays

Another glow than sumset's fire Has filled the West with light, Where field and garner, barn and byre, Are blazing through the night. The land is wild with fear and hate,

The rout runs mad and fast;
From hand to hand, from gate to gate,
The Saming brand is passed. The larid glow falls strong across Dark faces broad with smiles :

lot theirs the terror, hate, and less, That fire you blazing piles. With car-strokes timing to their song, They weave in simple lays The pathos of remembered wrong, The hope of better days,—

The triumph note that Miriam sung, The joy of uncaged birds : Softening with Afric's mellow tengue Their broken Saxon words.

SONG OF THE NEGRO BOATMEN. Oh, praise an' tanks! De Lord he come To set de people free ; An' massa tink it day ob doom, An' massa tink it day ob doom,
An' we ob jubilee.
De Lord dat heap de Red Sea waves,
He jus' as 'trong as den ;
He my de word: we las' night slaves;
To-day, de Lord's freemen.

day, de Lord's freemen.

De yam will grow, de cetten blow,

We'll hab de rice an' corn: era on he trabbels gone ;

He leab de land behind : De Eord's breff blow him furder on, Like corn-shuck in the wind. We sell de pig, we sell de cow,

us meoter came on soid.

De yam will grow, de cotton blow,
We'll hab de rice an' corn:
Oh, nebber you fear, if nebber you hear
De driver blow his horn! We pray de Lord ; he gib us signs ? Dat some day we be free; De Norf-wind tell it to de pines,

De Norf-wind, tell it to de pines,
De wild-duck to de sea;
We tink it when de church-bell ring,
We dream it in de dream;
De rice-bird mean it when he sing,
De eagle when he scream.
De yam will grow, de cotton blow,
We'll hab de rice an 'corn : Oh, nebber you fear, if nebber you hear De driver blow his horn!

We know de promise nebber fall, An' nebber lie de word; So like de 'postles in de jall, We waited for de Lord : We lub him better free. De yam will grow, de cotton blow, He'll gib de rice an' corn : So nebber you fear, if nebber you hear De driver blow his horn!

So sing our dusky gendeliers; And with a secret, pain, And smiles that seem akin to tears,

We hear the wild refrain. We dare not share the negro's trust, Nor yet his hope deny; We only know that God is just,

And every wrong shall di Bude seems the song; each swarthy face, Flame-lighted, rader still: We start to think that hapless race Must shape our good or ill;

That laws of changeless justice bind Oppresser with oppressed; And, close as sin and suffering joined,

We march to Fate abreast Sing on, poor hearts! your chant shall be Our signlof blight or bloom,— The Vala-song of Liberty, Or death-rune of our doom! Wi

From "Punch." THE TWO MESSENGERS.

COLVARIA.

I have a message must cross the sea,
But I doubt what message it shall be
And be it Peace, or be it War,
A fitting post I would choose therefor. So say, you bonny birds of mine, Around which neck shall I tie the twine?

Round mine, round mine, my mistress sweet My wings are broad, and my flight is fleet And I have a beak to rend she prey, And talons for all my course would stay: And I can swoop over land and sea—Then "War," and your message send by me. THE MAGLE.

Nor talous sharp, nor beak hare I, But a soft sweet voice, and a pleading eye; And none will harm me on land or sea— Then "Peace," and your message end by me

The Lion stands in act to spring,
Her glore Britannia lifts to filing:
A haughty claim saks haught reply,
He half has conquered who darse defy;
With the Lion the Eagle should parley hold,—
Then give me the message brief and hold.

The dags of the Lioness suckled thee,
When first thou camest over sea;
Better, I ween, than Britannia's glore,
Is the hand of Britannia's clarped in love.
Twist Dove and Lion calm speech may be—
Then the message of Peace send thou by me.

Thou hast beasted and blustered and talkes.
Hast set a bold face in lieu of right; If breath thou bate, or back thou draw, Or instead of battle offer law,
Ob, securify the Lion's laugh will be—
Then the message of War send thou by me.

If then has beated, beast no more;
If war then hast challenged, repent it fore;
The davil's wickedest whisper to man
Is, "Let wrong end, since wrong began."

Oh, glad the Lion's great heart will be, If a message of Peace thou send by me. And still in doubt doth Columbia stand, A bird and an answer on either hand; And still in doubt doth Columbia stand, A bird and an answer on either hand | For War—the Engle with eyes a-glow : For Peace—the Dove with her plames of m But Peace or War should the message be, 'Zwill find them ready seroes the sea.

The Tiberator.

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN WORCESTER.

WORCESTER, January 19, 1862.
Mr. Garrison,—I fear you will think from an editorial article in the Daily Spp of this city, upon the lecture of Wendell Phillips delivered here upon the war, that we are receding into the dark ages. It shows either unpardonable bigotry or inexcusable ignorance. Claiming to speak in behalf of the audience, the editor says that it "fell below his reputation for eloquence. There was a lack of heartiness and generous enthusissm. We have never heard him when his words had so little power to control the sympathy of his audience."

Perhaps he has not attended the two courses of lectures sufficiently to judge, or that he has not lived here long enough to know that the enthusiasm of a Worces-ter audience never rises to white heat; else he would Lyceum lecture, the applause was as cordially given as in any of the preceding ones. Such is my impression as near as I can recollect, never having charged my mind with a comparison. So far as Mr. Phillips is concerned, it is needless for me, or any one else, to is concerned, it is needless for me, or any one else, to come forward to defend him; but truth, and the interest I feel in the reputation of our city, both for liberality of sentiment and the ability to look beyond the superficialities of the present into the horoscope of the future, compel me to give utterance to my conviction, that his views met with a response from a majority of that audience. There has been a time when such a descriptional prelimite against his Alientic and a deep-rooted prejudice against his disunion sentiments existed here as to prevent him from calling out the large number that his high position as an orator meri-ted; and it is as unjust to us as a community, as it is to him, to assail him now at the expense of our com-

What did he expect of such a man—one who had laid honors, such as few men could win, at the foot of the bleeding slave, who has sacrificed social position and worldly fame in his devotion to the immortal prin-ciple that all men have inalienable rights anteceden cipie that air me have inautenable rights antecedent to and independent of all written parchments, which lie at the basis of all law, and upon which alone any government can be safely founded? Did he ex-pect such a man to tread the same path with Edward Everett and Mr. Dickinson?

Certainly, if it is the business of the nation to edu cate Abraham Lincoln, it would seem that it is on business to educate the editor of our leading anti-slave

ry journal.
No man with his eyes open can deny the superio ability, statesmanship and efficiency, as manifested by the rebel government, in contrast with our own, and oceal it is, perhaps unco anything gained by wilful ignorance or blindness. To admit such a fact does not necessarily disparage the North. The South has been plotting and prepared North has been engaged in peaceful pursuits, and the and now that the two extremes of barbarism and civil ization are met in a death-grapple, a final victory to ization are met in a death-grapple, a final victory to civilization, through the tactics of barbarism alone, is impossible, for it is not skilled in it. The battle-field is a trial of strength alone, and unless there is a principle behind to inspirit the masses,—a systematic plan of ac-tion that shall secure every advantage, ever wary of the chances of defeat,—an acute generalship that shall look with a prophet's eye into future contingencies, as look with a prophet's eye into future contingencies, as well as into every possible present relation both at home and abroad, sparing no opportunity the exigencies of the occasion may call up to weaken the foe,—it does not even rise to the dignity of war; it is the mere trial of brute force, a laughing-stock in the eyes of the civilized world. Such is the position of the North, whether we acknowledge it or not. Our victories are

whether we acknowledge it or not. Our victories are more shameful than our defeats. Without a purpose, a point is yielded as soon as gained.

Said a Republican, not long since, in reply to the satisfaction I expressed at Mr. Seward's order to Gen. McClellan, "I have not a particle of faith in Seward. The Cabinet is good for nothing, so afraid they shall touch slavery. Once in a while, the government will be a state of the satisfaction of the push ahead a little way; then it gets frightened, and takes it all back." When I said that Lincoln was not a man of great intellect, that he had not the gift of foresight which is the essential quality of a statesman. he replied, "Any man of common sense might know that such a course will rain the country," to which of course readily assented, mentally bemoaning that, of all sense, common sense should be the rarest.

Yes, and the editor of the Spy has made some good sound criticisms on the apparent lack of purpose and efficiency on the part of the administration, and I am afraid he will have to make them again. But now he as well as the rest of us, is hoping and waiting to see what will "turn up" when this Burnside expedition reaches its destination. If it shall "flash in the pan," as the other did, well may we sound the knell of

last earthly hopes.

I have no doubt of the ultimate result of this con flict in favor of freedom, but whether it will come through the government, or successes on the battle-field, is quite another thing. First, the North is too far advanced in civilization to prosecute a war successfully. I should have no fault to find with the leniency with which she treats rebels and traitors, provided she would extend it to slaves also; but, then, I know that a war cannot be carried on successfully without adopt ing the sanguinary code of war. No one goes me heartily for wars that don't hurt anybody; for who good and evil exist, there must be collision until the evil is eradicated. Civilization prescribes a removal sense of the people recognizes the principle, and will ultimately enforce it. That it has not done so before shows the strong hold a republican government has or the feelings of the people. If, in the course of the nt shall be overturned, (which struggle, the government shall be overturned, (which is not improbable, for war sweeps every thing before it, regardless of the slow quibbles with which it is try-ing to adjust every thing to the exactness of a con-stitutional hair,) we need have no fear of anarchy. Other dangers may excite our fears, if the people ar driven to such an extremity, but not that. Respec

for law is grafted in our nature.

Let the name of Fremont be mentioned, and how Let the name of Fremont be mentioned, and how the smothered indignation of the people bursts forth into irrepressible enthusiasm, showing how deeply his name is engraven on every heart? I tel it is never allowed to weaken their loyalty to the official authorities that dared to remove him. If we could have Charles Summer, who is the leading representative of the moral, conservative element, which is the vital, animating spirit of all just legislation, as the presiding genies of the Republic.—Wendell Phillips, representing the radical element, as the civilian and statesman to guide the impulses of the people to their godlike mission,—and John C. Fremont as commander-in-chief of the army,—we would have a quick solution of the question on an enduring basis. If we had the control of the world, however, it is to be feared it would be in a much worse fix than now. God who sits on his throne in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission to perform, and placed him in the heavens is guiding the storm. To each he has given his mission.—If the mission is the heart is a way."—If the first is never the mission of peace and good will, for the wor

to our quickness to learn it will our woes be averted. The impulses of the people are only kept down by the confidence they repose in the government, not smothered; and, if disappointed in that, with poverty staring them in the face, bankruptcy threatening the faction, it is very essential that somebody should be looking them in the face, bankruptcy threatening the tion, it is very essential that somebody should be ic ing forward to such an emergency, and prepar for it.

ing forward to such an emergency, and preparing for it.

The bour for Abraham Lincoln's greatness has gone by. Whatever he does now, in the way of justice, will be through compulsion. He was never the man for the place, and never was there a more difficult place to fill, or a position more trying to sustain; but when the nation is in danger, it will not do to spare the man because he has not the ability to grasp the issues which must be met.

After all; common sense does more than legal technicalities as the arbiter of a nation's destiny, as well as in the settlement of a new principle. The application of law to a particular question summons common sense to it said to ensure its success, quite as much as it does a knowledge of legal science. Look at the subject of international law, and there are shout as many opinions as lawyers. One thing is certain, that a principle so hurriedly settled in war time will have no lasting duration. If England is bent on a war, she will have it quite as soon now as before, though on another pretext. We have shown our weakness quite as much as a desire to establish a principle, by the lastic with which a question of such momentous importance has been summarily disposed of, when the most trifling questions of law must go through with endless discussions and legal forms.

has been summarily disposed of, when the most trifling questions of law must go through with endless discussions and legal forms.

Governments are always selfish, and it is not strange that a monarchy should look with jealous eyes on a republic. It is the people from whom we are to expect sympathy, and we cannot expect them to wait forever to know our purpose, when, the longer the struggle is protracted, the more their own interest will suffer.

struggle is protracted, the more their own interest will suffer.

The tax question in relation to woman will never be settled by law, until common sense makes the decision. The statute requires all property to be taxed not expressly exempted by law, while the Constitution expressly forbids any tax to be levied without the consent of the people. Between the two, there is room for all manner of disputes and cavillings, because a new principle is to be recognized not hitherto acted upon, whether women are to be considered a part of the people; and there is no law to decide that point. It will be evaded as long as woman will permit it by paying be evaded as long as woman will permit it by paying her taxes; for governments will never relinquish power until compelled to. But every lawyer knows that, when the question does come up, the shortest cur will be to end the whole by allowing us the right to

I hope the Abolitionists are about through with the compensation matter. At the outset of the war, it would have been far better to secure emancipation by compensation than to go to fighting; but now that the country is burdened with debt, and Northern mer chants have been swindled of their just dues by the South, certainly they should not be burdened for that exceedingly rare specimen of the genus homo, the loyal slaveholder. Abolitionists have nothing to do with it. S. E. W.

MISSIONARY POLICY VS. ANTI-SLAVERY PRINCIPLE.

The British Standard contains extracts from a letter written by Rev. Dr. Rufus Anderson, Senior Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to the Secretary of the English "Turkish Missions Aid Society," in relation to the existing war In the course of this letter he says-

In the course of this letter he says—

"I am sorry to see the excellent Earl of Shaftesbury reported to say at Dr. Cheever's farewell meeting, that, if this war was to be prosecuted on the basis of our Constitution, the work could not have the sympathy of Christian England, or to that effect.

But our only hope in this terrible conflict with also the same of the public sentiment, east and west. I have entire confidence in our President, and all the more for his regard for the Constitution he has sworn to uphold. Let England, France, the whole world, stand aside and leave us alone; only let praying people remember us at the throne of race, and I cannot doubt the Lord in his goodness will so bring us out as to awaken the admiration of the world at his goodness."

The Reverend Secretary has long been accustomed

The Reverend Secretary has long been accusto

to concede, in agreement with the pro-slavery mission-aries whom he sent among the Cherokees and Choc-taws, that the preaching of Christianity "must not go in advance of the public sentiment," as far as opposi-tion to slavery is concerned. Of course, he naturally applies the same limitation to the function of the President of the United States, when he is called to act in regard to slavery.

Admitting that our conflict is with slavery, he ye

wishes the President to spare that enemy to the full extent that the Constitution requires, and to the full extent that the public sentiment requires. And in regard to England, France, and whatever people of

regard to England, France, and whatever people of other European nations hate slavery, he wishes them to stand aside and leave us alone; praying, if they will, that God will do whatever is needful, (that is, that he will repent of our sin for us, and perform our duty for us, but abstaining carefully from any word or act reminding us of that sin and that duty.

The wish of Abolitionists, in direct opposition to that of the Reverend Secretary, is this: that the President, when thinking of his oath to maintain the Constitution, should remember its provisions in favor of liberty at least as much as its provisions in favor of slavery; that he should not be afraid to go forward, leading public sentiment in the direction of justice and liberty; and that the friends of freedom, all over the world, would speak and act promptly in all over the world, would speak and act promptly in the interest of American freedom; urging upon our hesitating Government (a Government hesitating as much from want of principle as want of courage) the duty and the advantage of using the legitimate opportunity which war has given, to make an immediate and final overthrow of slavery.—c. n. w.

ENGLAND'S POLICY.

BOSTON, Jan. 20, 1862. Bosrox, Jan. 20, 1862.

Mr. Epiron,—Though there is comparative tranquillity in the public mind, just now, to what there was several weeks ago, respecting our difficulties with England, we are confident that, on her part, this feeling is still as strong, bitter and determined as ever, if not increasing in bitterness and intensity every week,—though on the surface it may not appear so palpably resulted.

manifest.

We cannot banish the thought, nor disguise the feeling, that John Ball is seeking by every secret artifice, by every unfair, unjust and unrighteous means, to make trouble with the United States Government, to

onnection with Ireland, America, India, China question whether this has not been her only her in connection with Ireland, America, India, China, &c., we question whether this has not been her only and her highest policy. At least, to this kind of policy alone has she been consistent and true. Proud, arrogant and selfish, she always seeks to call her own that which is most valuable to others. With a large and rapidly increasing navy, heretofore supporting itself by conquests, but just now with nothing particular to engage its service, to pay its way—by thinking to take advantage of our present weakness, by apparently everything to gain and nothing to lose, in a contest with the United States—these are the motives which prempt her to deliberately manufacture protexts or causes, that she may justify her present offensieve and menacing attitude towards us, that she may widen the breach more and more, and finally embroil the two nations in terrible war.

If it does come to this, as present igdications por-

If it does come to this, as present indications por-tend, may our Government so manage affairs as not only to expose England's heartlessness throughout the earth, but to have the sympathics of the civilized

world enlisted in our behalf.

I trust our nation's rulers realize the patent fact, that the best preventive of a war with England is a

thorough and complete preparation on our part. This is better than cure. May it prove effectual! G. A. B.

MEETING OF OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

A meeting was convened at the Town Hall, in Abington, on Sunday, 19th inst., under the call of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of considering the present war, and its relations to ala-Owing to the storm, the attendance was not Measrs. Pillsbury, Remond and B. Loud ad-

dressed the meeting.

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. Pillsbury, and adopted. It was voted that they be published in the Liberator and Anti-Slavery Standard:—

1. Resolved, That the sudden uprising of the North-A. Accouved, A mat the sudden uprising of the North-ern people, at the fall of Fort Sumter; the flashing in-dignation felt at the mob massacre of the troops in Baltimere, on the 19th of April last; the almost unanmous approval of General Butler's doctrine of the laves being not merely "contraband of war," but numan beings, entitled to all the rights of humanity; the prodigal liberality with which the wealth of the country has been brought to support the Government in the conflict; and, more especially, the sublime and enthusiastic joy at the Proclamation of General Fre mont in Missouri—all these are more than assurances that, but for the nightmare of governmental hindrance and hesitation, the present rebellion would long since have been suppressed, and slavery, its only cause blotted from our country forever.

2. Resolved, That, in the language of Daniel Web

2. resolved, I and, in the anguage of Janes very ster, "This Government can be broken up; every government can be; and I admit, there may be such a degree of oppression as will warrant resistance and a forcible severance. . . I know that the law of ne-cessity always exists." And whether the people cessity always exists." And whether the people should submit to support an army of 700,000 men, in almost a "masterly inactivity," month after month, with all the nameless and numberless attendant ills and woes, to protect the existence of a system of crimes and cruelties that has produced all the calamity, somer than hard such a Government, such a President and Cabinet as ours, suddenly from their place and power, is a question that needs not the wisdom of a Webster to decide, so much as a Cromwell to carry

QUILT OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

GUILT OF THE AMERIOAN OHUROH.

The American Church, meaning by this term those of the day, has been both the pliant tool and the great bulwark of American slavery. So far from influencing it, it has controlled her. So far has the Church been from Christianizing this barbarism, that it has paganized the Church. I but ask any sine who doubts his 50 read the masterly demonstration of Dr. Taylor Lewis, of the fact that the Church. North and South, has been controlled by the political principles of John C. Calhoun. These bodies have been partially united in great religious and beneficent societies, such as the American Tract and the American Bible Societies, in which the same policy, has been pursued, and the subject of slavery refused all admittance to the platform of their great Anniversaries, or into any of their publications. I should speak more correctly were I to use the term Anti-Slavery, for Slavery has been admitted to full communion in both. This is all fortunately terminated. The Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist and Prespyterian churches have been disrupted by the present political convulsion, and are about to assume, or have already assumed, separate organizations, so that we may safely conclude that this barrier has been removed out of the way. We have not, it is true, become thoroughly divorced from the baneful influence of this unholy alliance between the Church and Slavery. I find that in some quarters there are still declarations of ardent desire for reunion with the "Southern brethren." Yet, it is, I think, hardly conceivable that the masses of Northern Christians feel very strongly bound to those who advocate, pray for and strenuously support this crusade of robbery, rapine and blood which the South has inaugurated, or are very desirous of any further intercourse with them—nor, at all events, Slavery continuing. We were also bound to the South Her late Mayor, no longer are very desirous of any further intercourse with the Southern States, and even did propose himself as the peace candidate. New York The American Church, meaning by this term thos have been compelled to see this. We have lost more by the South than we have ever gained. This Southern trade is a losing business, and this commercial intercourse with the South is no longer desirable, except under greatly altered conditions. The South has held us by the still stronger bond of political and constitutional ties. The Constitution does contained constitutional ties. The Constitution does contained conversant with the bistory of that document can for a moment successfully deny it. No man ever has denied it, who was thus informed, except under the special small number of Abolitionists, who appear to have assumed this position as a salve to their consciences when called upon to take the oath of allegiance. They have satisfied themselves, doubtlees, but convinced nobody else. It would be amaning, were into painful, to hear some of the most faithful, able, and earnest Anti-Slavery men laboring, as in the fire, wearying themselves in the vain attempt to each of the whole current of testimony upon the subject, that the Constitution is an Anti-Slavery instruction of Slavery, simply because the Constitution guarantees the pretended rights of Slavery in many particulars. But now that Slavery in surface that the Constitution and Diotion of Slavery, simply because the Constitution guarantees the pretended rights of Slavery in many particulars. But now that Slavery in many particulars. But now that Slaver in the part of the Government tiself, is simply non-sense. The Government tiself, is simply non-sense the Government isself, is simply non-sense the Government tiself, is simply non-sense the Government tiself, is simply non-sense the House of the Government tiself, is simply non-sense. The Government task about the rights of South the sense of the Government to the Government tiself, is simply non-sense. The Government task of the Government tiself, is simply non-sense. The Government has already done, and we uphold them in doing it: and regione to the Government tiself, is simply non-sense. The Government

tempted in time of peace, would have brought the heads of every member of it to the block. Why should we not, then, cease to talk about the constitutional rights of robels and traitors? The path is clear—never was there a nobler opportunity presented to a great nation—never was there greater need that we should apply the wise saying of the ancients: "Gnoth ton Kauron,"—know an opportunity. We have also got clear of compromise; we have found the open sea; we are through that which has been both Scylla and Charybdis to the Ship of State; we cannot split upon this rock if we would. Jeff. Pavis has settled this for us by the flat declaration that no terms will be accepted or for a moment entertained; that independence, that is, the disurption of the Confederacy, is that for which they are lighting, and that independence they will have at whatever cost. The man who shall rise with a series of compromise resolutions in our next Congress, would be greeted by roars of derisive laughter—he would not be considered worthy even of contempt. This is plain, we must fight it out, and that in the shortest way and most summary manner. This too must be observed, that if now when the opportunity is afforded, the occasion furnished by the South itself, we refuse to accept, we increase our guilt tenfold. If we continue to foster this iniquity now that every plausible pretext is taken away, and all obstacles removed, we prove that our disease is incurable—we shall deserve to be plunged into that abyes of national ruin upon whose brink we are now standing. [Extract from Thankspieng Sermon by Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, of New York. "THE MOB" IN AMERICA.

The Mob" IN AMERICA.

The whole course of the dominant portion of the English press, since the Southern outbreak, shows that there has been a settled purpose, by unparalleled misrepresentation and falsehood, to stir up the people of England to hatred of America. It is very seldom that we have quoted in our columns the abuse which has met us in the English prints, as we have felt unwilling to lend them any help in the work of scattering abroad firebrands, arrows and death. The time has come, however, when these efforts of an aristocracy that hates democracy with a bitter hatred, and that is determined to use the press and every other available instrumentality to array the English people against their brethren here, should be exposed. The London Times and its kindred incendiaries are in the constant habit of designating the people of this country—the masses, who vote for our rulers, and who are in reality the governing power—as "the mob." Their art is to keep down the democracy of England, by vituperation of "the mob" in America. This mob, meaning the free, hard-working, intelligent electors of our President and Congress, are perpetually represented as a rude, ignorant, ungovernable mass, who render life, liberty and property insecure, trample down the laws, and control the officers of government by violence and threats. Special prins have been taken to show that in the affair of the Trent, our Government was sure to act unreasonably, because it must obey "the mob." President Lincoln our Government was sure to act unreasonably, because it must obey "the mob." President Lincoln is exhorted to tear himself from "the mob." and to throw himself upon the army to sustain him in doing right. The correspondent of the Times, Wm. If. Russell, Lt. D., the paid calumniator of republican institutions, writes home that if Mason and Slidell should be surrendered, our Government would be Russell, LL. D., the paid calumniator of republican institutions, writes home that if Mason and Slidell should be surrendered, our Government would be broken up; so violent and ignorant are "the lower orders of the people," and so "saturated with pride and vanity, that any honorable concession, even in this hour of extremity, would prove fatal to its authors"! How long are the people of England to be made the dupes of such disgraceful slanders? Says the N. Y. Evening Post:—

be made the dupes of such disgraceful slanders? Says the N. X. Evening Post:—

"The men who, for their own reckless ends, thus defame a kindred people, do so when they might know, if they took pains to investigate, that there is not a solitary fact, or even semblance of fact, upon which to ground their wicked assertions.

If the misrepresentation to which we allude had no other result than to estrange two nations who ought to be friends, it would be bad enough. But they have, and are intended to have, another and more missoblewous carect. These callumnes are used by those who put them forth as arguments against free governments; and when the London Times asserts in one column that the free States are now ruled by mob law, it eagerly deduces from this, in another column, the fullers of democracy, and solemnly warms the people of England against the dangers to which John Bright and other British liberals would expose them by popularizing their government. This is the real object of the abuse which the press of Great Britan has so pertinaciously heaped upon us and our cause for the last year. We have been an inconvenient argument in the mouths of the British liberals, and every Tory rejoices at our troubles, and will sleep easier for our destruction."

[American Baptist.

THE MOB POWER.

THE MOB POWER.

One of the persistent lies with which the English papers are filled, regarding America, is the charge that the governing power in the United States is the mob power; that the President and Cabinct are forced on at the command of an unprincipled, unreasoning mob. This charge is make day after day, with the sole design of still farther prejudicing the English mind against the loyal portion of the Union. The papers know better. They have not the slightest cause for their charges, except the wild stories told by English travellers in this country, of Arkansas back-woods life, and yet they repeat it as one of the self-evident facts which needs no argument to sustain it. The London Chronicle of Dec. 14th, now before us, is full of these charges and insunations. It speaks of "the American Executive, and its tyrant—the mob," the influence of "the New York rabble," and says that "Englishmen, no matter of what class, are totally unlike the rowdies who compose electioneering mobs in America."

If there is one particle of honesty or fairness left in the Chronicle and its associates, the unanimous acquiescence of the American people in the decision of the Administration to deliver up Mason and Slidell must force them to retract this miscrable and lying slander. Through all the country, grating as that surrender has been to every American, there has not been heard a protest from the loyal press or people. "The mob" has not been found or heard, on this side the water; but there is every symptom of a mobbing and riotous spiric controlling the tone of the English papers toward America. We look at the matter calmly, they fiercely. They rave like a wild bull, and vastly unlike the dignified demeanor of the royal beast they affect for their mational representative.—Cleecland Leader.

SLAVERY AND THE WAR.

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SLAVERY AND THE WAR.

The war upon the South, which was begun with high-sounding pretext of devotion to the Stars and Stripes and attachment to the Union, has degenerated into a blind, atractions and fanatical crusade spains the institution of slavery. The vulgar and bloombrowty Abolitionism of old John Brown, in all its ulmining ated brutality and villany, is now rampant at Westington. Eschewing all statesmanship, all the obligations of the Constitution, and all justice and humansty, the Northern politicians have given themselves up to the prosecution of the crude schemes of the very canaille of Abolitionism, and in their blind rage leving in indiscriminate ruin the institutions and civilization of half a continent. Forfeiting all claim to the character of statesmen, they have converted themselves into a horde of vulgar incendiaries, as despicable as they are atrocious and immeasurably wicked. Free henceforth, all who sympathize with them, who eshiest in their armies, or in any way lend them aid and comfort, become partners in their inexpiable guil, and sink themselves to the same depth of brutal depravity.

The contrast between the enlightened, humans

comfort, become partners in their inexpiable goil, and sink themselves to the same depth of bratal depravity.

The contrast between the enlightened, humans and honorable policy of the South and that of the North, affords the most striking proof of the bumanizing and beneficent influences of slavery. The civilized nations of the earth are beginning to open their eyes to the elevating and salurary effects upon society of this ennobling institution. They see a people reared under its influences, displaying in faconduct of a war waged against them with unexampled atrocity and an atter disregard of the roles of civilized warfare, all that justice, humanity, magnanimity, moderation, and stainless chivalry, which enter into the highest type of human civilization, in damaging contrast with the low, vulgar and brutal atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part atrocity of their adversaries, which only finds a part of Europe to revise their notions of the subject of Europe to revise their notions of the subject of advery.

The history of the world may be challenged to show a nation which has reached or long maintained a high civilization without slavery, either absolut, as in the South and other countries; or in a monified form, as in the present European systems of labor. A monotonous social level, without the exceptions and the statement of the subject of above.

as in the South and other countries; or in a moje field form, as in the present European systems of labor. A monotonous social level, without the sa-ordination of a menial class to one dominant and sa-perior, is uniformly attended with social degener-cy and corruption, and national weakness and deg-radation; as witness the effeminate populations of India, and the degenerate North, which has not been able to preserve its vitue or its freedom against the deteriorating influence of its false and defective social existence.

The hostility of the North against the South The hostility of the North against the Sea and Southern institutions is prompted by malignar, envy of the superior advantages which the Sea enjoys as the results of slavery. This atrocious write the offspring of a malignant jealousy in the Northern mind of the superior prowess, prosperity adhappiness of the Southern people—jealousy which hates the excellence it cannot reach. Phelps, the Yankee Abolitionist in command at Ship Island, in his recent proclamation discloses clearly the religious which is inciting the Northern Yandah is such desperate efforts for the destruction of slaver. He says:

He says:

"It is our conviction that monopolies are as destructive as competition is conservative of the principles and vitalities of republican government; that slave bor is a monopoly which excludes free labor and expetition; that slaves are kept in comparative idleast and ease in a fertile half of our arable national tentor; while free laborers, constantly augmenting in numbers from Europe, are confined to the other half, and are often distressed by want; that the free labor of the North has more need of expansion into its Southern States, from which it is virtually excluded, than slavery had into Texas in 1848."

The strict model state has present of his neighbor.

than slavery had into Texas in 1848."

The thief would steal the property of his neighbor, which he at once envies and covets. He utters the sentiment of a burglar or a footpad, who thinks himself entitled to appropriate the property of other, simply because he traves it. The South fully appreciates the motives and designs of her harauding invaders, and will continue to repulse them with a broism and determination only increased by the progressive development of their unparalleled villang.—Memphis (Tenn.) Avalanche.

In the above article are concentrated all that superciliousness, mendacity, flendish malignity, co-tempt of the people of the North, and hatred of fre-institutions, which characterise the degraded South.]

TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE -- NO RECON-STRUCTION OF THE UNION.

The following resolutions were introduced in the Senate on the 10th ult., by Mr. Cardwell, and were referred to the Committee on Confederate Relations: A Resolution expressive of the Opinion of the Legister ture of Tennessee in regard to our future point and determination to maintain our Declaration of Independence of the old Government of the United States:

States:

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, as its unanimous sense, that any asl all propositions of the Congress of the (so-called) United States of America to reconstruct a United States, thus driving them to the assettion of their independence and the formation of a new confederacy, for the maintenance of their independence and the formation of a new confederacy, for the maintenance of their individual to the second of their independence and the formation of a new confederacy, for the maintenance of their individual to the formation of their sovereity, is but another form under which our enems would subjugate the South and reduce us to the depotism of their degrading doctrines, and that we estate the second of the second in the contraction in any other light than as a crowning insult to our intelligence and manhood to thus approach us after the industrial invasion of our territory; and that any such proposition should be met promptional unhesitatingly with our indignant rejection.

Resolved, That the secret sympathizers of Lincelism in the South, if any there be, who may favor any such insulting approach of our remmy, deserve the branded as traitors to the South and enemies of the country.

Resolved, That any, commissioners appointed by Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State

branded as trainers to the Country.

Resolved, That any commissioners appointed by the Lincoln Congress, at Washington, to the Government of the Confederate States, having for the obligation of their mission a reconstruction of the Country of their mission a reconstruction of the Country of

tional representative.—Cleveland Leader.

WITHHOLDING THE EFFECTIVE BLOW.

After ages will read with astonishment that in 1861, there was in the United States a most formidable rebellion against the Government of the Confederate States and their seconds with the Northern States, and that the state of the Confederate States and their seconds with the Northern States, and that no confederate States are second as the results of the Confederate States.

After ages will read with astonishment that in 1861, there was in the United States a most formidation of the Confederate States, having for the confederate States, and their seconds of the confederate States.

After ages will read with astonishment that in 1861, there was in the United States a most formidation of the Confederate States, having for the confederate States, having for the confederate States and their seconds of the confederate States and their seco difficulties with the Northern States, and that as honorable peace, guaranteeing our independent, would be hailed by our people with joy and satisfaction; but that, having taken up arms to achieve independence of a government which has crudy persecuted and oppressed us, and which has should be a determination to overturn every guaranty of or constitutional rights, by a long train of abuses as usurpations, the people of Tennessee cannot with honor and safety to themselves, and with security their posterity, consent to any treaty which shall recognize their entire independence of any political connection with the Government of the (excalled) United States.

United States.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to for Rep. Mesoved, 1 that the Governor be requested to by ward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Representatives in Congress, and also a copy to each of the Governors of the Confederate States, with a request that they be laid before their respective State Legislatures.

LITERARY SOLDIERS.—A correspondent of the Congregationalist writes.—In Never before was the postmaster of Annapolis so overrun with business. These Massachusetts regiments especially are a puzle to him, they are such writers of episites. Some Maryland ladies, though of New England birth, age recently in my tent, and they expressed their uttersourishment at the number of letters that were poured in at my box beside the tent door. They examined them, and admired the neatness and beauty of their chirography. They said they wished that Maryland people understood such things, and would initiate them. They really looked upon our soldiers as a superior order of people, and if it was an illusion of their fancy. I said nothing to disturb. They were reminded that we came from a laid where the schoolmaster is abroad, and always has been, from the time of its earliest settlement, consequently we have raised up a class of men who can write their names, and make their mark, also. We send away from two to seven hundred letters daily, and receive mails twice a day, varying from half a peck to three bushels.