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The Agents of and American, Assanguacus, Penn-yais, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are therised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

authorized to receive summary constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, vis.—Wessell Phillips, Rescue Quiser, Reserved Jackson, and William L. Gamerson, Jr.

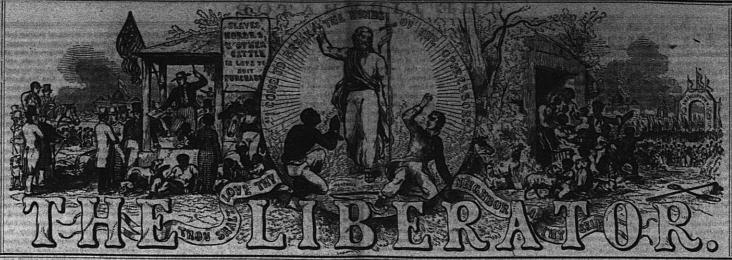
ABOLITION SEDITION AGAIN RAMPANT

We are told that Satan sometimes makes his appearance in the garb of an angel of light. This sexplains why the Abolition orators choose religious anniversaries and boxes of public worship as the times and places for their seditious conversaziones, the storm of popular indignation, the Abolitionists did not dare hold their anniversaries. Since then, however, they have been allowed greater ligense, have been invited to lecture at the national capital, and, generally speaking, have basked in comparative sunshine, disturbed only by occasional showers of rotten ergs from the good people of Cin-

comparative sunshine, disturbed only by occasional showers of rotten eggs from the good people of Gin-cinati and Burlington. Consequently, emboldened by this gleam of fortune, the Jacobin ranters have reappeared in this city, holding high festival in the Church of the Puritans.

A letter was read from Gerrit Smith, who said

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

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

stroyed, to the cention of States, burdened with slavery, a a foreign power, . . . It is a war power. I say it is a way power. I say it is a way power ; and when your country is extensly in way, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and war canner ir on, a conduct or ours have so war; and by the laws of wa an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTAL POWER TAKES IT PLACE OF TRUE. When two hostile armies are set in marrie prace of runs. When two hostile armies have power to omas cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory. . J. Q. Anax cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory. . J. Q. Anax

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Prints

VOL. XXXII. NO. 20.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1862.

WHOLE NO. 1638.

The Liberator. Refuge of Oppression.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Starry Society.

The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Starry Society.

To publication of Stessdard, for Lecturing Agents and office expenses,

To balance to new account,

When York on Tuesday, May 6th, at the Church of the Puritans, and at the Cooper Institute. The first meeting nok place at the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. CHEVER'S), Commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

A very large and highly intelligent audience was in attendance, the church being entirely filled, and among them were many who, years ago, enlisted for the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the war, and have been spared to see the "lecture of the American Anti-Starry Society.

Dr.

Ca. MNUAL ACCOUNT

Of the American Anti-Starry Society.

Dr.

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Ca. By balance from old account, by donations, subscriptions to Standard, and sale of Tracts. by this gleam of fortune, the Jacobin ranters have reappeared in this city, holding high festival in the Church of the Puritans.

Dressed in new spring suits—for the Anti-Slavery. Societies have been taking up large contributions for contrabands recently—the Abolition "spouting wrethes" made their appearance upon the platform. Among them, the Tribune records the presence of Brigadier-General Rufus Saxton, United States Army. What a loyal brigadier could be design such company, unless he had a file of solders with loaded muskets to aid him in dispersing, the ssemblage, we are at a loss to know. Let us charitably suppose that General Saxton attended merely from curiosity, or from a desire to learn from the Abolition orators what he ought not to do in South Carolina. At any rate, he made no speech, and probably left early, disgusted with the whole affair, and wondering why he was_be_be sent South to put down a rebellion, when the Government allowed sedition to disgrace this metropolis.

The church was crowded with a large audience, who went to sleep over the business proceedings of the meeting, and loudly applauded a chance reference to Yorktown, as if a Union victory could be appropriately echebrated in a disunion convention! William Lloyd Garrison, remembering the exampter of the Bible; and the Reverend Post, of Jersey City, followed in a prayer, which is described as "rather long," and which was probably as effectual as the long prayers of the ancient Pharisees. A report, exhibiting A favorable condition of the finances, was next read, and the performances then began in earnest. It is a remarkable feature of these Abolition gatherings that they begin with prayer and a financial statement, and end with hymns and the contribution box.

A letter was read from Gerrit Smith, who said achabits immortant but enclosed fifty dollows. them were many who, years ago, enlisted for the war, and have been spared to see the "beginning of the end" for which they have so long and so faithfully la-bored. On the platform were seated the President of the Society, Wk. LLOYD GARRISON, WESDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, WM. GOODELL, WM. WELLS BROWN, THEODORE TILTON, Rev. Mr. POSTO, of Jersey City, Rev. R. M. HATFIELD, of Brooklyn, and other well-known friends of the Auti-Slavery

OPENING REMARKS OF MR. GARRISON. At the hour above mentioned, the President called

Itongratulate the audience on the day and the oc casion on which we are assembled together. I congratulate you upon the tidings which have come to us from Yorktown; but there is to be something more glorious than any retreat of the enemy either from Yorktown or any other part of our country; and that is, the retreat of slavery from our country and the world. (Applause.) I congratulate the American Anti-Slavery Society on being permitted to enjoy the privilege of holding one of its annual meetings in this consecrated house; and had the same generous and Christian spirit been exhibited toward it from the beginning till now, there had never been any con-troversy of the American Anti-Slavery Society with the churches or the clergy of the land. Our movethe charches or the clergy of the land. Our move-ment is emphatically, radically, thoroughly, a Chris-tian movement, in the primitive meaning of the word. We have endeavored, ever since its organization, to defend the Gospel of Christ as a freedom-loving and freedom-giving Gospel, and to disclaim all asser-tions as false and blasphemous which would attribute either to God or to Christ the responsibility for the ex-istence or continuance of slavery in our land. Without further preliminary remarks, I will read a few selections from the Scriptures, which seem to me

few selections from the Scriptures, which seem to me peculiarly applicable to the present state of the country. Mr. Garrison then read passages of Scripture s

financial statement, and end with hymns and the contribution box.

A letter was read from Gerrit Smith, who said nothing important, but enclosed fifty dollars. The report of the Executive Committee congratulated the Society upon the spread of Abolition, and flung hard names at the Southern rebels, whom the Society lad fantacially deluded into treason. A colored individual named Brown, who had once been a slave, then attempted to tell what the 'slaves thought of emancipation, but failed most disually, having apparently forgotten what he thought as a lave, and being unable to think very clearly as a freeman. One of Brown's arguments, in favor of emancipation and against colonization, was, that if the negroes were idle and worthless, they might just as well remain here at the North, because, of course, they could not enter into competition with industrious white men. Has Brown ever heard of a poor-house or a prison? Does he know that industrious white men have to pay taxes to support such place? Is he aware that idle, worthless niggers would fill them? Theodore Tilton, a second-rate Receher, then passed round the hat, and the Rev. Robert Hatfield, of Brooklyn, followed in an attack apa God or the Constitution, whichever authorized and permitted slavery, though we must do him the state to say that he rather gave the Constitution he credit of the "infamous wrong." The Abolitionats are very fond of assailing the Constitution heaves they think it "a covenant with death and as agreement with hell," and can find in it no sentence which does not make seccessionists and Abolitionats are very fond of assailing the Constitution.

Wendell Phillips, the lion of the occasion, then followed in a speech which savored more of rotten eggs than any of his previous performances. In a couple of inters' time, he managed to utter enough treason to entitle him to half a dozen hangings. He has always deserved one. He ridiculed the President and President and that these and help the savered that "the Devil was an ass." This is very uskind Son of man, say unto her, Thou art the land that is not cleaned, nor rained upon in the day of indignation. There is a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they have devoured souls. Her priests have violated my law, and have profused mine holy things; they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they shewed difference between the clean and the unclean. Her princes in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain.

The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy: year, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. Therefore have I poured out my indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrash; their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord.

Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop hy word toward the south, and prophesy against the orest of the south field; and say to the forest of the bouth, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will kin-

south, Thus saidt the Lord God. Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and eyery dry; the flaming flame shall not be quenched, and all, faces from the south to the morth shall be bursed therein. And all fesh shall see that I the Lord have kindled it; it shall not be quenched.

Wherefore, O harlot, hear the word of 'the Lord'. Thus saith the Lord God': Because thy filthiness was poured out, and thy nakedness discovered through thy whoredoms with thy lovers, and with all the idols of thy abominations, and by the blood of thy children which thou didst give unto them; behold, therefore, I will gather all thy lovers, with whom thou hast taken pleasure, and all them that thou hast taken pleasure, and all them that thou hast laved, with all them that thou hast hated; I will even gather them round about against thee; and will discover thy nakedness unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness, and I will give thee blood in fury and jealousy. And I will also give, thee into their hand, and they shall throw down thine eminent place, and shall break down thy high places: they shall strip thee also of thy clothes, and shall take thy fair jewels, and leave thee naked and bare. They shall also bring up a company against tice, and they shall store thee with stones, and thrust these through with their awords, and they shall, burn thine bouses with fire, and execute judgments upon thee.

THE DUTY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Execute judgments in the morning and deliner him. Plato is perfectly correct. Gerainly, Satan cannot be accused of not taking care of his own; for these Abolitionists still survive. We advise the Government to take counsel against them with Parson Brownlow. The parson is a loyal man, and comes from a Slave State. He has, of course, been abused by Dr. Cheever and his troupe. Now, Brownlow advises that Abolitionists and secessionists shall be laug in pairs. The idea is an excellent one. Let the Government send these ranters to Fort Lafayette a while, to be seasoned, and then string them up with the rebels, like dried haddock, at the end of the war. Thus the country will be saved, and his staine Majesty be enabled to settle his accounts with Phillips very specifity.—N. Y. Herald. with Phillips very specifly—N. Y. Herold.

The Asyl. SLAVERY SOCIETY AGAIN. The Asti. Slavery Society took another pull at the bellow of the species settled, Mr. The Asti. Slavery Society took another pull at the bellow of the species of the spec

udgments upon thee.

THE DUTY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Execute judgment in the

THE DUTY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spolled out of the hand of the oppressor, jest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings.

Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke.

THE MEMSEND CONSEQUENCES OF FEMANCIPATION.

Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily. Then shall thut call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shall cry, and he daily. Here I am. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy boxes; and thou shall be ilke a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fall not. And they that shall be of here shall build the old waste place; it must had some about the four-dations of many generations; and thou shall be called, the repaires of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

opportunity was given to any one who wished to offer vocal prayer, and Rev. Mr. Post, of Jersey City, came forward, and offered a fervent prayer to the God of the oppressed for his blessing and guidance.

In the absence of the Treasurer of the Society, Wat. I. BOWDITCH, Esq., of Boston, his report was read by OLIVER JOHNSON, as follows:—

\$14,534 24 By balance from old account, By donations, subscriptions to Standard, and sale of Tracts, 15,447 26

Wr. I. Bowning I have examined the above account, with the vouchers, and find the additions correctly made, and the balance on hand as stated.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

The Report was laid on the table, to be taken up

the Executive Committee, that our friend Genery SMITH, of Peterboro', should be here to-day, and be one of the speakers on this occasion; but he has written us a letter, stating that it is not convenient for him to be with us, and expressing his sentiments in regard to the state of the country in brief terms; and I will sak Mr. Johnson if he will read the letter to the audience.

Mr. Johnson, in compliance with this reques

read the letter. [It was published in last week's Lib-

ecutive Committee, as published in the Liberator of last week; the reading of which was llatened to with earnest attention, interrupted only by the applause which some of the passages called forth, which was especially marked at the reference to KREMONT.

THE PRESIDENT-There are a great many peop at the North who seem to be exceedingly troubled in regard to the disposal of the slaves when they shall be emancipated. What shall be done with them it they anxiously inquire. I am happy to introduce, as the first speaker, one who is abundantly qualified to the first speaker, one who is abundantly qualified to give a full and complete answer to that question; for I take it that no one is so well qualified to speak question; for that point as one who has himself been a chattel slave; and that we are to ask the slaves themselves what are their ideas of justice, and what they want at our hands, rather than undertake to dispose of them without any regard to their views or feelings whatever. There are two questions—What shall be done with the slaves if emancipated? and, What shall be done with the slavesholders, whether the slaves are emancipated or not? My friend Wa. Wells Brown will now, as one formerly a slave, answer those questions. one formerly a slave, answer those questi

SPEECH OF WM. WELLS BROWN.

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN For the last thirty years, the colored people have taken the greatest interest in the agintion of the abolition question, as carried on by this Society. We have watched with hope and fear as impediment after imwatched with hope and fear as impediment after im-pediment has been thrown in the way of its progress. Among the many obstacles which have been brought to bear against emancipation, one of the most formidable has been the series of objections urged against it upon what has been supposed to be the slave's want of ap-preciation of liberty, and his ability to provide for himself in a state of freedom; and now that slavery seems sube near its end, these objections are multiplyseems to be near its end, these objections are multipl

their heads, saith the Lord.

Thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the aword, to the pestilence, and to the famine.

Thus saith the Lord: A sword, a sword is sharpened, and also furbished. It is sharpened to make acre slaughter; it is intribished that it may glitter; should we then make mirth? Gry and how!, son of man; for it shall be upon my people: it is made bright, it is wrapped up for the slaughter.

THE SPECIAL PUNISHMENT OF THE SOUTH.

THE SPECIAL PUNISHMENT OF THE SOUTH. annum, besides providing themselves with food and clothing; and this class of slaves, by their industry, have taken care of themselves so well, and their sp-States have passed laws, prohibiting masters from let-ting their slaves out to themselves, because, as it was said, it made the slaves dissatisfied to see so many of their fellows well-provided, and accumulating some-thing for themselves in the way of proket-money. The Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, whose antecedents have not been such as to lead to the suspicion that he favors the free colored men, or the idea of giving to the slaves their liberty, in his "Southside View Lun-consciously and unintentionally gives a very valuable statement upon this particular point. Dr. Adams says:—

"A slave woman having had \$300 stolen from her by a white man, her master was questioned in court as to the probability of her having had so much money. The master said that he not unfrequently had bor-rowed fifty and a hundred dollars from her himself, and added that she was always very strict as to his promised time of payment."

overy agreement with her master—paying him over; cent she had promised—but had accumulated \$300 to ward purchasing her liberty, and it was stolen from her, not by a black man, but, as Dr. Adams says, by

her, not by a black man, but, as Dr. Adams says, by a white man.

But one of the clearest demonstrations of the shilliy of the slave to provide for himself in a state of freedom is to be found in the prosperous condition of the large free colored population of the Southern States.

Maryland has 80,000, Virginia 70,000, and the other slave States have at large number. These free people have all been slaves, or they are the descendants of those who were once slaves; what they have gained has been sequired in spite of the public opinion and law of the South, in spite of prejudice, and everything. They have acquired a large amount of property; and it is this industry, this sobriety, this intelligence, and this wealth of the free colored people of the South, that has created so much prejudice on the

part of slaveholders against them. They have felt that the very presence of a colored man, looking so genteelly and in such a presperons condition, made the slaves unhappy and discontented. In the Southern Rights Convention which assembled at Baltimore, June 8th, 1860, a resolution was adopted, calling on the Legislature to pass a law driving the free colored people out of the State. Nearly every speaker, Mr. President, took the ground that the free colored people must be driven out to make the slave's obedience more secure. Judge Mason, in his speech, and, "It is the secure. must be driven out to make the slave's obedience more secure. Judge Mason, in his specch, said, "It is the thrifty and well-to-do free negroes, that are seen by our slaves, that make them dissatisfied." A similar appeal was made to the Legislature of Tennessee. Judge Catron, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a long and able letter to the Nashville Union, opposed the driving out of the colored people. He said they were among the best mechanics, the best arefers and the mast chapter of the States. tisans, and the most industrious laborers in the State, and that to drive them out would be an injury to the State itself. This is certainly good evidence in their

The State of Arkansas passed a law driving the free colored people out of the State, and they were driven out, three years ago. The Democratic press howled upon the heels of the free blacks until they had all been expatriated; but after they had been driven out, the Little Rock 'Gazette-A Democratic paper—made a candid acknowledgment with regard to the character of the free colored people. It said :—

Tet these free colored people were driven out of the State, and those who were mable to go, as many of the women and children were, were reduced to slavery, and there they are tolling in chains and alavery to-day. The New Orleans True Delta opposed the passage of a similar law by the State of Louisiana. Among other those is told. things, it said :-

"There are a large free colored population here, correct in their general deportment, honorable in their intercourse with society, and free from reproach so far as the laws are concerned, not surpassed in the indicanismense of their lives by any equal number of persons, in any place North or South."

That I consider testimony of real value. I produce this, Mr. Chairman, because there is nothing entitled to greater weight on this point than the testimony of the people of the slave States themselves.

Dr. Nehemiah Adams, whom I have already quoted.

also testifies to the good character of the free colored people; but he does it unintentionally; it was not al-past of the programme; how it slipped in I cannot al-lere it is, however, from page 41 of his "Southside

"A prosecuting officer, who had six or eight counties in his district, told me that, during eight years of service, he had made out about two thousand bills of indictment, of which not more than iwelve were against colored persons." (Applause.)

Hatred of the free colored people, and abuse of them, have always been popular with the pro-slavery people of this country; yet, an American Senator, from one of the Western States—man who never lost an opportunity to villify and traduce the colored man, and who, in his last canvass for a seat in the United States Senate, accured that the slaves were better off in slavents. who, in his last canvass for a seat in the United States Senate, argued that the slaves were better off in slavery than they would be if set free, and declared that the blacks were unable to take care of themselves, while enjoying liberty—died, a short time since, \$12,000 in debt to a black man, who was the slacendant of a slave. (Applause.) Thus, those who have fattened upon us, often turn round and traduce us. Reputation is, indeed, dear to every nation and race; but to us, the colored people of this country, who have so many obstacles to surmount, it is doubly dear.

"Who steals my pures, steals trash;

"Who steals my purse, steals trash; "Twas mine, 'the his, and has been slave to thousands; But he who fishes from use my good mame, Robs me of that whiteh set carriers him, And make me poor indeed." (Applance.)

In the District of Columbia, since the abolition of In the District of Columbia, since the abolition of elavery, it is found that, according to their numbers, the larger proportion of the property-holders are among the negroes. Figures, though we are told that they very often lie, are sometimes found to tell the truth. The Tammany Hall Young Men's Democratic Committee of the city of New York, on the 18th of March, 1862, passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That we are opposed to emancipating negro slaves, unless on some plan of colonization,

negro staves, unless on some plan of coolingation, in order that they may not come in contact with the white man's labor."

Now, Mr. President, this resolution is based upon the supposition that the slaves, if freed, will all flock to the North; and that is a very popular cry with the pro-slavery people of the free States, because they know that nothing would be so effective to the accomplishment of their ends as to make the laboring whites of the North believe that they will be overrun by the negroes, if slavery is abolished. Now, I hold to the right of the black man, whether liberated or not, to go where he pleases, to make himself a home in any part of the country he chooses; but I do not believe that, if slavery is abolished, the slaves will flock into the free States. I do not believe it, because I have a reason for not believing it. Look at the large free colored population in the slave States! See how collines are the laws they live under! See how cruelly they have been oppressed! Why, the State of Virginia long had a law on her statute-books, and has now, unless it has been very recently repealed, taxing the free colored people one dollar per head, over and above any other class in the community, by which the State of Virginia put into her treasury; in one year, \$50,000, taken from the colored people. Maryiand had a similar law. The Gulf States have been atill more savere on this class of their population; and yet the free colored people have remained in the Southern States. Why did they not come North! Recause they, were unwilling to leave the coogenial climate of the sunny South for the anony hills of the rugged North; and, where you have found ten colored persons coming from the South to the North, nine out of the ten have been fugitive slaves, flying from the South because they could not enjoy liberty there; not the free colored geople, who had the right to got if if they chose. Now, it is

But we are told that the contrabands are flocking, ceen now, into Fennsylvania, and the Fennsylvania Legislature has been petitioned, by the working people of Philadelphis and other cities, to pass a law prohibiting their settling in that State. Illinois has already passed such a law. Ohlo cither has, or is trying to do so. But you must expect that the slave, running away now, will seek to get beyond the Border Slave States. His liberty is in doubt; we have had Generals who have sent slaves back; and, after getting out of his master's hands, his first thought is to get farther North, where his liberty is secure. If you were there, and in his position, you would take the same course the contraband takes now. He feels precisely as he did before the commencement of the rebellion; he wants to get out of the way. But if you want to stop the contraband from coming into the free States, if you want to stop the slave's running off from the South, give him his freedom upon the soil. (Loud applause.) The Tammany Hall Committee is opposed to abolition, unless expatriation shall follow it. The first Napoleon was waited upon by a Committee of the old planters of St. Domingo, urging him to send an army to Hayti to reduce the emancipated slaves again to chains. After the Committee had withdrawn, Napoleon turned to Gregoire, and asked him what he thought of the advice. The latter replied: "If those planters should change their color to night, they would come back to morrow, and give your Majesty different advice." So it would be, Mr. President, with the Young Mee's Democratic Committee of New York. (Applause.)

Now, everything has shown that the slave can be trusted in slavery, except when he can get a chance to use his heela; for the slaveholders, just before the breaking out of the rebellion, that if we got into any difficulty with the South, their slaves would take up arms, and fight

of the rebellion, that if we got into any difficulty will the South, their slaves would take up arms, and figh to a man for them. Mr. Toombs, I believe, threatenee that be would arm his slaves, and other men in Con that he would arm his slaves, and other men in Congress from the slave States made the same threat. They were going to arm the slaves, and turn them against the North. They said they could be trusted; and many people here at the North really believed that the slave did not want his liberty, would not have it if he could, and that the slave population was a very dangerous element against the North; but at once, Mr. President, on the approach of our soldiers, the slaves are seen, with their bundles and baskets, and hats and coats, and without bundles or baskets, and without hats or coats, rushing to our lines; demonstrating what we have so often said, that all the slave was waiting for was the opportunity to get his liberty. was waiting for was the opportunity to get his liberty Why should you not have believed this? Why should inclination, no wish, to escape from the thraldom that holds him so tight? What is it that does not wish to

"Go, let a cage with grates of gold,
And pearly roof, the eagle hold,
Let denity visuade be life fare,
And give the captive tenderest care;
But asy, in lexary's limite pent,
Find you the king of birds content?
No, of the life sound the dataffing shrick
And dash the cage with angry beak
Predarious freedom; far more dear
Than all the prison's pampering cheer.

As with the eagle, so with man. He loves to look upon the bright day and the stormy night; to gaze upon the broad free ocean, its eternal surging tides, it mountain billows and its foam-created waves; to tread the steep mountain side; to sail upon the placid river to wander along the gurgling stream; to trace the sun-ny slope, the beautiful landscape, the majestic forest, the flowery meadow; to listen to the howling of the winds and the music of the birds. These are the as-pirations of man, without regard to country, clime, or

pirations of man, without regard to country, chune, or color. (Loud applause.) What shall we do with the slave of the South t "Expatriate him," say the haters of the negro. Ex-patriate him for what? He has cleared up the same of the South, and has put the soil under cultivation; he has built up her towns and cities and villages; he has had be Newl and Evrope with his cotton. has enriched the North and Europe with his cotto has enriched the North and Europe with his cottor
and sugar and rice; and for this, you would drive his
out of the country! "What shall be done with the
siares, if they are freed?" You had better as
itte
of
are freed?" (Applause.) The slave has shown his
self better fitted to take care of himself than it
slaveholder. (Renewed applause.) He is the bor
only
and sinew of the South; he is the producer, while the master Is nothing but a consumer, and a very poor con-sumer at that. (Laughter.) The slave is the pro-ducer, and he alone can be relied upon. He has the sinew, the determination, and the will; and if you will take the free colored people of the South as the cri-terion, take their past history as a sample of what the colored people are capable are doing, every one must be satisfied that the slaves can take care of themselves.

colored people are capable are doing, every one must be satisfied that the alaves can take care of themselves. But it is said, "The two races cannot live together in a state of freedom." Why, that is the cry that rung all over England twenty years ago—"If you liberate the slaves of the West Indies, they can't live with the whites in a state of freedom." Twenty years have shown the contrary. The blacks and the whites live together in Jamaica; they are all prosperous, and the island in a better condition than it ever was before the act of emancipation was passed.

But they tell m, "If the slaves are emancipated, we won't receive them upon an equality." Why, every man must make equality for himself. No society, no government, can make this equality. I do not expect the slave of the South to jump into equality; all I claim for him is, that he may be allowed to jump into liberty, and let him make equality for himself. (Load applause.) I have got some white neighbors around me; they are not very intellectual; they don't associate with my family (laughter and applause); but whenever they shall improve themselves, and bring themselves up by their own intellectual and moral worth. I shall not object to their coming into my society. (Renewed merriment.)

Now, Mr. Chairman, this talk about not letting a man course this.

shall take their hocls off his neck, and let him have a chance to rise by his own efforts. (Applause.) One of the first things that I heard when I arrived in the free States—and it was the strangest thing to me that I heard—was, that the slaves cannot take care of themselves. I came off without any education. Society did not take me up; I took myself up. (Laughter.) I did not ask society to take me up. All I asked of the white people was, to get out of the way, and give me a chance to come from the South to the Neel. one when people was, to get out or the way, and give me a chance to come from the South to the North. That was all I asked, and I went to work with my own hands. And that is all I demand for my brethren of the South to-day—that they shall have an oppor-tunity to exercise their own physical and mental abili-ties. Give them that, and I will leave the slaves to take care of themselves, and be satisfied with the re-sult.

sult.

Now, Mr. President, I think that the present contest has shown clearly that the fidelity of the black people of this country to the cause of freedom is enough to put to shame every white man in the land who would think of driving us out of the country provided freedom should be proclaimed. I remember well, when Mr. Lincoln's proclamation went forth, calling for the first 76,000 men, that among the first to respond to that call were the colored men. A meeting was held in Boaton, crowded as I never saw a meeting before; meetings were held in Rhode Island and Connecticut, in New York and Philadelphia, and throughout the West, responding to the Presiden's call. Although the colored men in many of the free States were disfranchised, abused, taxed without representation, their children turned out of the schools; nevertheless, they went on, determined to try to discharge their duty to the country, and to save it from the tyrannical power of the slaveholders of the South. But the cry went forth—"We won't have the niggers; we won't have anything to do with them; we won't fight with them; we won't have them in the army, nor about us." Yet scarcely had you got into conflict with the South, when you were glad to receive the news that contrabands brought (Applause). The first telegram in to-day's paper, announces that a contraband tell us so much about Jefferson Davis and Mrs. Davis and the little Davises. (Laughter.) The nation is glad to receive the news from the contraband. We Now, Mr. President, I think that the present con and the little Davises. (Laughter.) The nation is glad to receive the news from the contraband. We have an old law with regard to the mails, that a negro have an old law with regard to the mails, that a negro shall not touch the mails at all; and for fifty years the black man has not had the privilege of touching the mails of the United States with his little finger; but we are glad enough now to have the negro bring the mail in his pocket! The first thing asked of a contraband is—" Have you got a newspaper!—what's the news?" And the news is greedily taken in, from the lowest officer or soldier in the army, up to the Secretary of War. They have tried to keep the negro out of the war, but they could not keep him out, and now they drag him in, with his news, and are glad to do so. Gen. Wool says the contrabands have brought the most reliable news. Other Generals say their information can be relied upon. The negro is taken as the most relative news. Other Generals say their in-formation can be relied upon. The negro is taken as a pilot to guide the fleet of Gen. Burnside through the inlets of the South. (Applause.) The black man welcomes, your armies and your fleets, takes care of your sick, is ready to do anything, from cooking up to shouldering a musket; and yet these would-be pa-triots and professed lovers of the land talk about dri-ving the negro out!

ving the negro out!

Now, what shall you do with the slaveholders ! Tha Now, what shall you do with the slaveholders ? That is the other question. The only recommendation I have to make in regard to that is, that you shall take the slave from the slaveholder, and let the slaveholder go to work and labor for himself, and let him keep out of mischief. (Applause.) If the slaveholders had had the opportunity of laboring for themselves, for the last forty years, we should never have had this rebellion. It is because they have had nothing to do but to drink and walk about and concort mischief, while the black man was toiling for their support, that this rebellion has taken place.

man was tolling for the last taken place.

Mr. President, I must bring my remarks to a close. This nation owes the colored people a great debt. You, the people of New York, owe us a great debt. You have kept us down, helped to degrade us by your odious laws—the fugitive slave enactments and other dependent of the laws—the fugitive slave enactments and other laws—the fugitive slave enactments and other laws—the laws—laws the laws—the laws—th odious laws—the fugitive slave enactments and others—you have loved to keep us in chains, while the slaveholders have deprived us of our liberty and everything; and now the time has come for you to do your duty in this matter. You see that this has do your duty in this matter. You see that this has affected you, as well as it has affected the black man, North and South; and now the world is looking on, expecting that your duty to the negro, to the cause of freedom, will be performed; and the moral sentiment of the world will hold the American people accountable, if this rebellion shall close, and the negro be still left weltering in his blood and chains. There is no mistake about it: the time has come for the nation to discharge its duty to the black man. Now is the time, and I hope the nation will have the moral courage to perform its duty. That he slave will have his liberty, I have not the alightest doubt. These black men in the slave States, whom Jefferson Davis and Leauregard have been teaching the science of arms on the one hand, and the contrabands at Port Reyal and Fortress Monroe, to whom your men and women have been teaching the science of arms on the other hand, have implanted in the black men's bosom in the Southern States that which willfullimately give him his liberty, if you do not give it to him. (Applause.) I am confident that the tree of Liberty has been planted. If it was not planted by the rebellion of the South, and it is growing—it is growing, and its branches are overshadowing the land; and, in the language of the poet, we may say:

"Our plant is of the selar," That knowth not decay;
Its growth shall bless the mountain, Till monntains pass away;
Its top shall greet the sunshine, its leaves shall drink the rain, While on its lower branches.

REMARKS OF THEODORE TILTON.

Good friends, we have just this moment come to

he palm of my hand, that you may drop something into it. This Society is no begar, and I make no appeal; only many a good cause roes on better with the wheel of a silver dollar under it. I remember that it was said that once Leigh Richmond looked into the faces of working men, and, disdaining to make an appeal to their liberality, they returned him a collection of pennies that filled a peach basket. Now, if you belong to the working-class of the anti-alsvery movement, I hope that when the plates go round, you will send them back so filled; and if you have not a copper, to fill up with, you may put in silver and gold (laughter). I will tell you what I propose to do. There is a hat. It is the hat of a good Christian—you can tell it by its broad brim (laughter). This hat covers the head of an old man who has helped over two thousand fugitive slaves from bondage to freedom. (MANY VOTCES—"Give us his name!") Priends, your children and grandchildren will have no need to ask his name—PATHER GARENT, of Wilmington, Delaware (loud applause). Now, all the speech I am going to make is just this—I propose to pass round among the audience Father Garrett's hat; and do you see that you fill it as full as Leigh Richmond's basket.

While the hat was passed round, the speaking was

While the hat was passed round, the speaking was continued, the President introducing Rev. ROBERT M. HATFIELD, of Brooklyn, who spoke as follows: SPEECH OF REV. ROBERT M. HATFIELD

SPEECH OF REV. ROBERT M. HATFIELD.

I am always sorry when a public speaker begins with an apology, and I have none to make; I have one or two words of explanation, only. I came here with no speech, with no preparation, with no expectation of saying anything at this time. I was asked, a year ago, to attend the Anniversary of this Society; no matter whether I should have accepted the invitation if it had come five or seven years ago; I did accept it last year, but after the appointment was made, I had last year, but after the appointment was made, I had no opportunity of filling it. The same friends sent no opportunity of filling it. In same interesting me an invitation, several weeks ago, to be here to-day and make a speech, and I very positively, and, as I thought, reasonably declined to do it; and I will tell you though, reasonably became why, sir. I had been for the last year—for full twelve months—so out of tune with many of my anti-slaver friends, that I really feared that, coming here, I should chill your ardor rather than inspire you. I was afraid chill your ardor rather than inspire you. I was airraid that I should be a kind of croaker among you, dispiriting those men who ought to march on side by side, fill of hope for the victory that, as you tell us, you are about to win. I have not been able to take that hope ful view of affairs, nor do I this morning. Thought Yorkfown is evacuated; though the General leading our armies declares that he is about to "drive the rebel to the, wall," I have not been able to sympathiz: to the wall," I have not been able to sympathize heartily with those hopeful views that so many of our good anti-slavery friends take of the present position of affairs. I am willing, however, to stand up here, and I am glad of the opportunity, to express my honest and thorough conviction that this trouble that is upon us now is God's direct judgment on this nation for the sin of slavery (applause); and I am here to affirm, sir, that whatever differences we may here to affirm, sir, that whatever differences we may have on other subjects, or with regard to the treat ment of this subject, no reasonable man who has faitin God has any right to be surprised that we are in volved in the present disasters and calamities, that threaten to swallow us up. There has been great dan ger that, in Church and State, among all classes o people, we should forget that divinely-chunciated trath—"W hatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." For three-quarters of a century, we have been ng seed of a certain kind; it has taken root; it

sowing seed of a certain kind; it has taken root; it has sprung up; the harvest waves before us to-day; and there is no release, there is no escape—the sickle must be thrust in, the grain must be gathered. It is that terrible harvest—a harvest of carnage and blood and desolation—that waves before us to-day. Now, sir, I have hoped, and do hope, that God, out of this confusion and disorder, out of these scenes of strife and bloodshed, will evolve peace, harmony, justice, beauty, and order. I do not despair of the Republic; but yet my hopes are mingled with many fears. I have had sad and terrible apprehensions lest there should not be enough of virtue, enough of rethere should not be enough of virtue, enough of re-gard for God and love of humanity, to save the nation. We are on God's threshing floor to day; we are un-der the fiall. We are in the mortar, and are being pounded; whether it shall be for our purification ar pounded; whether it shall be for our purification and salvation, God alone knows; at least, I have no power to lift the veil, and look in upon the things that are to be in the future. What right have we to be surprised, any of us, at the trouble, at the calamities, that have overtaken us? Have we not been taught, does it not lie at the very foundation of our belief in the existence of God, that He is a God that doeth justice?—that, of God, that He is a God that doeth justice:—that, atting upon the throne of His glory. He looks down upon the earth, to raise up the down-trodden, to help the poor and the friendless, to save the outcast, and to punish and destroy the oppressor and wrong-doer? And, we have been in great danger, as a nation, of lapsing into Athelsm; of coming to doubt whether God really lives and rules—whether he sways the sceptre really lives and rules—whether he sways the sceptre of power over His creatures. Men have come to question whether it is not possible for a nation to sow to injustice and dishonor and corruption, and yet reap prosperity and permanent well-being; and, sir, though I believe that God's hand has been in_the history of our nation—though I believe our ancestors were guided by that hand—though it seems to me that a special Frovidence watched over them, and guided them to the land where they first planted themselves—though I believe that that Providence has been manifested over year of our history. I do believe that it is of so every year of our history, I do believe that it is of so much consequence to the nations of the earth that all men should believe that God is a God of unchanging justice, that "from everlasting to everlasting He is bisticed out of existence than that we should be the cause of skepticism among the nations in regard to

chattels, and declares that they shall be taken, held and adjudged to be personal property, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. We have heard apologies for this system and, vindications of it, and pleas drawn from perversions of God's Word, with the view of reconciling the nation to its continued existence, and to its general, to its universal diffusion; and there was imminent danger, as it seemed to some of us, that the nation would accept this state of things, and come to believe that God really connived at iniquity, that He consented that human slavery should be perpetual; and so I say, that, though the nation suffer to the last extremity, even though it must periah with the system, there must come an end to this monster abomination.

I do not know much about the questions that are discussed here and elsewhere pertaining to the character of the Constitution—whether it is pro-slavery or anti-slavery. I am not very clear in my convictions, and I have not very great confidence in thy judgment, with regard to questions of that sort; and to tell the acter of the Constitution—whether it is pro-slavery or anti-slavery. I am not very clear in my convictions, and I have not very great confidence in thy judgment, with regard to questions of that sort; and to tell the honest truth, I do not care much about it, one way or the other. If injustice is in the Constitution, God is against it, and every one of his attributes. (Applause.) Men cannot build any sanctuary for wrong; cannot make any holy of holies for injustice. Call it law, call it the Church, call it the Constitution, call it what you will, where injustice is to be safe, God's hand will search it out, God's hand will bring it down. So, I say, I have not felt any great interest in the discussion of these questions, I have not had great confidence in my conclusions with regard to them; but, sir, I should despise and boathe myself, I should hate my secondrel heart to its very centre, if I ever had a single moment of questioning or hesitancy in regard to the infernal wickedness of slavery. (Loud applause.) The man who has a man's heart, the man who has learned to love his own mother, the man who has a wife and children of his own, and who can look in their faces,

and then require thirty seconds to determine whether it is right for somebody else to own and possess them, does not deserve the name of a man, much less of a Christian. (Loud applause.) I do not know, sir, what our government is going-to do with this question. I have givat confidence in Uncle Abe-I think he is an honeat man. (Applause.) I think he means to go just as fast and far as he can consistently with his riews of his obligations—obligations that be has recognized by his oath. I wish he was in the way of going faster. (Applause.) I wish the way might be opened before him to take a little longer strides and be a little quicker in his motions; yet, God bless Uncle Abe!—I believe he is sound in the heart. (Loud applause.) He has done a good many things for which I thank him; and, as far as I can see, there has been but one sad, almost irreparable mistake in this war. There has been just one fact, sir, that has given me trouble, and has inclined me to sit down slone, and lined me to sit down alo shut my mouth, and keep my tongue still, until I see what God is going to do in this affair, and how it is coming out. I refer to that strange and unfortunate interference with Fremont's proclamation in Missouri. (Applause.)

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

Which, taken at the food, leads on to fortune."

Very much in the history of every individual and of every nation depends upon the right improvement of those salient points in their history; and it has seemed to me, almost as distinctly as if God's voice had spoken to us from heaven, that that proclamation of the "Pathfinder" was the right thing, and at the right time. (Prolonged applause.) And, sir, if anything were wanting to condirm me in this opinion, it would be found in the fact, that, strangely, unaccountably, the people of this country, of almost all classes, responded to that proclamation. I refer to the papers, as the exponents of the popular sentiment. I do not read them all, but some of them I do read. Some of them I can hardly stand. I do not read the New York Observer, and I don't know what The Observer may have said of Fremont's proclamation. The Herald, may have said of Fremont's proclamation. The Herold, too, is rather hard meat for me, but The Herold, I believe, did endorse Fremont's proclamation. There were no party lines, no party distinctions, in the commendation of that proclamation. The Democratic and Republican, the anti-slavery and pro-slavery presses, with strange and almost unaccountable unanninity aid of that proclamation—"It is timely; it is the voice of God to the nation "; and, sir, if it could have been allowed to work its way and bring forth its legiti-mate results, I cannot resist the conviction that, to-day, the whole aspect of our national affairs would have been changed. The bud was nipped as it was about unfolding. The stream that was gushing out of the fountain was dammed up, turned back, and turned aside. God forgive the men who made that mistake! I believe the President was conscientions

we are approaching the end of American slavery. I not here to discuss to-day, specifically, the abolition of we are approaching the end of American slavery. I believe that the time hastens, that it draws on space, when liberty shall be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of this land; and I know that, if we have the wisdom to accept it, to accept it thankfully, and to be workers together with God, beneficent results alone can come to the nation. But, sir, there are things which make a man sad when he hears or reads them. The discussion of the question with the done with the god which such a system inevitably leaves. My reason to the problem which god to the nation. But, sir, there are things which make a man sad when he hears or reads them. The discussion of the question with the done with the feet in the control of the problem which god to the problem which god the problem which god to the pro aman sad when he hears or reads them. The discussion of the question, "What shall be done with the emancipated slaves?" and the declaration made again and again by men in high position at Washington and elsewhere, that they will have nothing to do with any scheme for emancipation that does not provide for the expatriation of the liberated slaves, is enough to sadden any man. I ask, not in the name of the black man but in the name of the yellow the expatriation in the name of the provided for the expatriation of the liberated slaves, is enough to sadden any man. I ask, not in the name of the black man but in the name of the yellow the expatriation in the heart that governs the content of the provided for the pro scheme for emancipation that does not provide for the expatriation of the liberated slaves, is enough to sadden any man. I ask, not in the name of the black man, but in the name of the white man, I ask in the name of a God of justice, what business have you to banish four millions of people from this country? (Applause.) What, I sak, have the slaves of the South or the free colored men of the North ever done, that we free colored men of the North ever done, that we should sit down even to the consideration of this question? Where shall we send them, or what shall we do with them? We might as well sit down and con-sider this question—What shall we do with all the Methodists or Congregationalists in this country? Or, what shall we do with all the men who dye their whiskers in this country? Or, what shall we do with all the men who have sandy hair in this country, or

uncertainties and fluctuations of this world, there are a few things that are sure. I am not so certain about a good many things as I was twenty years ago. I could speak with a great deal more emphasis upon some subjects twenty years ago than I can now. I could preach then with great satisfaction to myself upon some matters that, upon the whole, I do not care about discussing now. But there are a few things that come to be more and more verities to a man the longer he lives, and one of these convictions, to my mind, is, that it is always safe to do right. (Applause.) Sir, it is the right of every colored finter, of every colored mother, to own their own children; it is the right of every colored finter, of every colored mother, to own their own children; it is the right of every man, without regard to his color, to have a fair chance in this world, to use the hands, and tougue, and head that God has given him, and make have a fair chance in this world, to use the hands, and tongue, and head that God has given him, and make the most of them. It is right that these people who have been trodden under foot and ground under the iron heel of oppression should have that heel taken off, and that we should give to them a brother's hand and a brother's welcome—that we should do what we can toward removing the burden that has been heaped upon them—that they be permitted to go out with us into the same broad field, to labor under the eye of the Great Master, and receive a reward from Him, even as we do, if we are faithful. And, sir, if the nation would come to that conclusion, and would do right, and a brother's welcome—that we should do what we has truth.

Now, sir, is there any truth more self-evident than this—that the system of American slavery is in all time and through all changes, "the sum of all vilicosies"? Has the heart of man conceived of anything more dishonoring to God, more essentially unjust and nijurious to man, than the system that transmutes the bodies and souls of millions of human beings into chattels, and declares that they shall be taken, held and adjudged to be personal property, to all intents and purposes whatsoevers. We have heard apologies for this system and vindications of it, and pleas drawn from perversions of God's Word, with the view of reconciling the nation to its general, to its universal diffusion; and there was imminent danger, as it seemed to some of us, that the nation would accept this state of things, and come to believe that God really connived at iniquity, that He nation would accept this state of things, and come to believe that God really connived at iniquity, that He nation would accept this state of things, and come to believe that God really connived at iniquity, that He nation would accept this state of things, and come to believe that God really connived at iniquity, that He nation would accept this state of things, and come to be consented that human leavery should be perpetual; and a brother's welcome—that they be permitted to go out with us upon them—that they be permitted to go out with us upon them—that they be permitted to go the with use of the same broad field, to above under the should now in the same broad field, to above under the with the subject—most important to the whole nation, every quarter and corner of it! Why, sir, if we seriously and reigns, if, in addition to all our other sins, this nation shall deliberately proclaim this hard alternative to be level and a brother's welcome—that they be permitted to go out with us upon them—that they be permitted to go out with us the same broad field, to lead with the same broad field, to lead wi

the bondman, to clank his chains and lie down and smart and bleed under the lash of the task-master, or tear himself away from the land of his birth and consent to be carried to a strange land—if, I say, we shall proclaim this alternative, God will adjust this matter between us and our colored friends; and I say again, the fact that such a question can be debated, that it can be considered in the high counsels of the nation, gives me serious apprehension.

But I am keeping you from a treat from which you ought not to be detained, and I am going to stop. I have one thought to which I cling—it is an anchor to me—whether we get news of success or defeat, whether things go prosperously or adversely with us. It is this. Frederick Douglass was once making a speech—and such a speech as few men in this country could make—in which he said, "Friends, there is no thing left for us, there is no hope for us, but in our own good right arma, and we must grasp the sword and wield it, and be free, because we determine that we will be. We must show that we deserve liberty by achieving it. There is no other power in heaven or on earth to give it to us." There was an old colored woman Sejourner Truth, I have no doubt many of you know her—and when he mald that, she lifted up her thin, squeaking voice, and said, "Frederick! I God dead!" (Applatuse.) God is not dead; and because He is not, because His wisdom is higher to the first time, there is no here power in heaven in this country of the first time, there we shall be cause He is not, because His wisdom is higher to the life of the caption of him the proclamation of the manifested public opinion would have crystalized round it, Mr. Lincoln would have condition, the government would not be a conclusion, the government would have advanced, in ninety days, directly to universal to god dead!" (Applatuse.) God is not dead; and because He is not, because His wisdom is higher.

than ours, I have faith and hope in Him. (Loud ap

THE PRESIDENT—I wish to express the gratification with which I have listened to the speech of our friend who has just sat down—a gratification that has been shared, I am sure, by the entire sudience. It is true as he said, that he was invited to address this meet as he said, that he was invited to address this meeting, and wrote us a respectful letter declining to do so,
on the ground that he did not feel exactly in the right
mood, in view of the present state of things in the
country. But, being here, he has given us a enontaneous speech, and having done so edmirably well
without premeditation, I shall bargain for his coming
again, thoroughly prepared; and I know you will particularly desire to hear him on that occasion; for "if
such things are done in the green tree, what will he

such things are Jone in the green tree, what will be done in the dry ° 1 (Applause.) Mr. Claumion then gave notice of the other meet-ings of the Society, for the afternoon and evening, af-

ter which he said:LADIES AND GENTLEMIN: Our friend, Mr. PHIL Ladies and Gentlemans: Our friend, Mr. Prin-Lirs, has recently been to Washington, as you gener-ally know. He there met with a very honorable and flattering reception; but I hold that the reception he net afterwards, at Cincinnai, was still more honorable and more flattering as a testimony to his fidelity to the cause of human liberty (applause); for he may sus-pect some slight error of judgment, some degree of partiality, on the part of those who are his friends; but when cut-throats, and ruffans, and all the myrmi-dons of slavery consuirs as one man, and come out in done of slavery conspire as one man, and come out in mobocratic array, with brickbats and rotten eggs, to put him down and prevent free speech, they give him a crown of glory—no man can desire a brighter one (Applause.) Wendell Phillips will now address you SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

Mr. Phillips was received with loud and prolonged pplause. When quiet was restored, he spoke as folapplause. lows :—

ows :-LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I was delighted to l ILIDIES AND GENTLEMEN: I was deligated to hear the remarks of our friend from Brooklyn. I sympa thize, to a great extent, with some of his views. But at the same time, I have not sympathized for the last twelve months, and I cannot now, with his anxiety as to the fate of alavery itself. My faith is firm—no lack on the part of men, no seeming change in the nature of events, can alter it—that the events of the last twelve months have, in the essential sense of the word abeliahed the extent of alavery in this country. abolished the system of slavery in this country, do not believe that it can survive many years. I do not believe that it is dead to day, or that it will die to morrow. I do not mean that it may not give us greatrouble yet. What I mean is, that, in a national poin of view five years or ten are nothing. When you stand at the source of the Mississippi, you can anticipate the Gulf. What I believe is this: we have open ed in our national history the chapter which is to re mistake and be corrected.

I say, I do not know about the result of this war.

I say, I do not know about the result of this war.

I say, I do not know about the result of this war.

I say, I do not know about the result of this war.

I say, I do not know about the result of this war. mistake can be corrected.

I say, I do not know about the result of this war. It seems to me that there is a Higher Power who has it under control and under direction. I believe that of our own selection. I believe, therefore, that we are

care for the state of mind of Mr. Lincoln or the Cabi-net specifically; I view them as mile-stones, showing how far the great nation's opinion has travelled. For instance, ever since 1791, we have had a Fugitive Slave bill; we have had the civil arm of the govern-ment pledged to the restoration of fugitives. Danlel Webster said, "It is the cement of the Union; it is the test of the loyalty of the North." To-day the gov-ernment at Washington, by an article of war, forbids the army to execute the Fugitive Slave bill. The ar-my, for the present, is the government of the United the army to execute the Fugitive Slave bill. The army, for the present, is the government of the United States. Civil law is suspended. The government acts militarily, soldier-wise, no other, for the present; and the government, so acting, exclusively in that function, suspends the Fugitive Slave bill. Is not that a who wear false teeth? At the very commencement who wear false teeth? At the very commencement of this matter, at its very inception, we are stopped by the fact, that it is an abominable, a God-insulting and Heaven-defying question of injustice which we are proposing to consider. (Applause.)

Boosident, there are a great many things about the could that have been achieved before? Then again, Mr. Lincoln turns to the Border States, and the state of the public mind? When could that have been achieved before? Then again, Mr. Lincoln turns to the Border States, and the state of the country; if you want to sell your slaves of the country; if you want to sell your slaves. proposing to consider. (Applause.)

Mr. President, there are a great many things about which I am in doubt, but I thank God that among the uncertainties and fluctuations of this world, there are cient means." In other worus.
to sell, I am ready to bay; but if you won't sell,
have the right to take." (Applause.) When, since
189, has patriot or statesman ventured such a position
In both Houses of Congress, the Republican party
Ladine the majority, profess the creed that govern In both Houses of Congress, the Republican purely, holding the majority, profess the creed that government has the right to abolish slavery by confiscation, and they have spent many weeks in deciding—what? Not whether they have the right, but whether they will exercise the right—whether they will use the

power. If, ten years ago, if, one year ago, the American people, or the Abolitionists, could have promised this, that in twelve months the majority, or its leading men, should be converted to the doctrine of John Quincy Adams on the war power, would you not have called that progress enough?

Again, look into the Border States. In Missouri, and Maryland, the question is opened—sides are beginning to be taken—great parties to be marshalled—whether the State shall abolish the institution or not.

What is the signification of that act? You have located the Massachusett Anti-Slavery Society in the what is the signification or that act? You have located the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in the street through which passed the Fifth Regiment of Massachusetts, and consecrated with its blood on the 19th day of April. (Applause.) You have projected New England, with its anti-slavery discussion, fully into Missouri and Maryland. Is not that progress? Does it not show that the "beginning of the end" is come?

s come ! But you go a little further, and, for the first time

rs of marque, I will speak in a m endeavored to cover the ocean with privateers, and dent had said, "If you touch our property, we dent had said," If you touch our property, we mation would have said "Amen!" and the country would have followed. The government might then have isangurated emancipation. But notwithstanding these mistakes, there is very little loss. This question is so much deeper and higher than men, that our mistakes are but scratches on the surface. My friend mistakes only thus much. Abraham Lincoln simply rules; John C. Fremont governs. (Loud applausa,) Judged by the pulses and opinions of the people, the real President of the American mind does not live in the White House; he leads the Mountain Department of Virginia, and history will regard the realities, and not appearances, of the present day. The reality is, that although the votes of '56 omitted Fremont, and although the causance of '60 omitted him, the people buried him in their hearts, and reproduced him, when the emergencies of the nation required it, on the prairies of Missouri, and elected him President of the crisis. (Loud applause.) That proclamation was not lost. Oh, no; that is the wrong word. The beautiful rivalet which disappeared in Greece, according to the classic legend, reappeared in Sicily. The proclamation that went down in Missouri, comes up again in the Carolinas, with Hunter's name at the end. (Prolonged applause.) Over the President or through him, the great normal purpose, the blind instinct of the American Samoon gropes its way to the upholdings of the foul temple of slavery, and, in the end, it will drag it down to ruin, no matter who says any. (Applause.)

I believe that the heart of the American people is set on the abolition of slavery; and I believe the heart of the American people will accomplish its purpose—if not through the Administration, then over it, and in due time. I wish it could be hastened; I wish it could be more intelligently led; but we must take the nation as we find it. It is wonderful that we find it so well prepared as it is. Why, only look! What has produced this effect! What gave us that arbiling and well prepared as it is. Why only look! What me preduced this effect! What gave us that sublime uprising of the year 1861? Certainly not the Church. As THEODORE PARKER said, six years ago, to-day, at the Anniversary of his very Society: "If the American Church had dropped through the continent to the other side, forty years ago, the anti-slavery enterprise would have been further ahead than it is now." He could have been further ahead than it is now." He spoke the truth. And what was true of the Church was true of the State. The same indifference, the same hostility, the same contempt, informed the mine of the State as of the Church. I can remember, six teen years ago, when Francis Jackson, representing the anti-slavery of Massachusetts, asked Abbott Law-rence, the representative of the Eastern section of the State (he was then a candidate for Representative to Congress from that section), "Sir, are you in favor of abolition in the District!" and the haughty millionaire abolition in the District?" and the haughty millionaire would not even condescend to answer the question—so thoroughly contemptible was the anti-slavery enterprise. There is where the State stood towards us; there is where the Church put us. Prejudice against race had locked every heart and mind against the argument of the Abolitionists. They had no appeal but to the simple conscience, the instinctive sense of right to the simple conscience, the instinctive sense of right of the masses of the people. We have been blamed, again and again, as agitators, because we did no reverence to the established institutions of the country—its wealth, learning, parties, churches—but laid the reins of this momentous enterprise on the necks of the uneducated masses. We had nowhere else to lay them; and God gave us the instrument by which the heart of the masses could be reached. There is an old play called "The Devil is an Ass." It is a good motto. He always is. When he framed the United States Censtitution, he put the Fugitive Slave clause into it; and that Fugitive Slave clause, in my apprehension, He always is. When he framed the United States Constitution, he put the Fugitive Slave clause into it; and that Fugitive Slave clause, in my apprehension, has been the weightlest and strongest weapon which the Abolitionist has had to produce this uprising of 1861, on the part of the people. Let me tell you a story: A girl of seventeen, flying from her own father, who also, by American law, was her master, reached a village in Wisconsin. Standing in its broad street, she said to the first comers, "I appeal to all Christian men—save me!" They were two young men. They listened to her story, dared not keep her ing the village, and hurried her to Milwakkee. The father, in pursuit, was so near that they hid the chilld beneath one of those hogsheads in which we move china. The pursuers passed by her covering half a dozen times, upon the public highway. In an interval, unobserved, the young men conveyed her to the next town; from thence she went to Detroit, and soon sat foot on English soil, and received the protection of Queen Victoria, She sent back a letter to the young men, telling her story. They read it, and went with it to a clergyman, and got him to draw up a pledge that they would not voice again, except an abolition ticket. That year, there were two anti-slavery less. The next year there were two on the said leaver keep. The next year there were two on the said leaver keep. The next year there were two the said they would have cursed their vigilance, for they would not voice again, except an abolition ticket. That year, there were two anti-slavery less. The next year there were two produced the produc cast in that town—the first two ever cast in the State on the anti-slavery issue. The next year, there were fifteen. To-day, Republicanism holds that State in both its hands, and gives its weight in the Republican

fover months, it possible, and will keep them in artisas long as there is any hope of dictating terms to the
Cabinet. While the war goes on, we must keep the
whole army we now have, in order to preserve the position of the government; and when the contest is
over, when the question is osiensibly settled (of which
deal more to

irty years. No Northern man could village of the South, and repeat the adependence, without being lynched slavery gospel, that he was not shown the steamer on Monday morning, bound for the North. When Brooks struck Sumner upon the floor of the Senate, the foul-est blow known to Christendom for a century, the whole North, the shole world, except the Sonth, cried "Shame!" The whole South said "Amen!" Now, that is the country which has marshalled itself in war against us, and we have whipped it. We have beaten it in pitched battle; we have barred it from communi-cation with the world; we have made it so infamous in the manifestation of its purpose, that Europe, more cation with the word; we mare made it is manuscular in the manifestation of its purpose, that Europe, more than half willing, could not stretch out its right of recognition to it; and the hate of thirty years is emittered by the double-distilled hate of the conquered victim. What are we to do with six million of such victim. What are we to do with six million of such people! There are certain lunatics in the city of New York, and certain other lunatics in Congress, at Washington, who are proposing to the American people to cut their own throats, only they express them selves thus: They say that we should export four million of Unionists from these very States; that the only race which loves us, the only race which we can hind to ne with hooks of steel, by only doing them would be for the white race to put on sackcloth and ashes, and sit down at his feet, and beg pardon for the sins of six generations. Justice I it is that every white man abould yield up every printed page, every college, every mansion, every convenience of civiliza-tion, bought by the blood and toil of the negro, and give them to the four million of slaves, using only what they leave. Justice! We do not begin to give the negro justice when we only give him his own right hand. My explanation of compensation is—I compensate the master, because he is helpless, and cannot take care of himself; I let the slave go free, because he can. But the insane proposition is, that we should export the very fulcrum of the lever by because he can. But the insane proposition is, that we should export the very fulcrum of the lever by which the nation is to be restored—the four million of people who are the only hope that this country ever can be one and indivisible again. My friend, Mr. Brown, said that the negro had come to us, bringing important information. Yes; he has shown in every way that he recognizes the Union as indefensibly on his side. He has countervalled the blunders and ignohe could not be drawn to liberty with cart-ropes, that he would shoot any man who offered it to him; and he bolted his doors with ten locks against the black man, and cried out to the whites :- "Dear, beloved breth ren!" (Laughter.) Not a white man came near, and twelve thousand negroes burst in his doors. (Ap-plause.) The negro race has shown, from the very commencement of this quarrel, that they saw, with the instinctive segacity of self-interest—their all at stake—that this quarrel on our part could mean noth-ing but liberty to them, and that the stars and stripes, although we might not know it, were written all over, by God's own hand, with emancipation, and that the

4th of March, 1801, and the Chairman of those Com-mittees threatened them with arrest as traitors; if they had executed their threats and hung them, the glave would have cursed their vigilance, for they would have put off this rebellion fifty years. The blood of Toucey could have saved us this rebellion. Thank God, it was not shed! For South Carolina flung down the gauntlet, and when she did it, she swept fifty years from the life of the slave system. That very cannon, and as Sumero God! awn hand forced into a thunderon the anti-slavery search of the flags of t been the same. Unheeded, unnoticed, this sympathy with man has made its way down into the obscure places of the nation; and when statesmen doubted, when Seward wrote to Dayton, and told him to tell Europe, that this was a political quarrel and not a war, and the tit would be over in ninety days, and no man find his position changed by it, the nation felt its way with its right hand to the neck of the slave aystem, and has not unclasped its fingers yet, and never will, until it strangles the monster. (Loud applause.)

That is my faith as to slavery. Fellow-citizens, I do not think that the lesson of this hour is what to do with the aggio. It is a different question—one that holds the slave question is, with this slave question in it, but is broader. The question is, with this slave question in it, but is broader. The question is, with this slave question in it, but is broader. The question is, with this slave question in other decide, in the part fifteen years, is there virtue, intelligence, purpose the state of the American people to stand up against fifteen the anterion people to stand up against fifteen to stand up against fifteen the anterion people to stand up against fifteen the states and the states and the states and the states and the states of the meselves of shoults disposed that it was the time and the state and the states of the meselves of the meselves of the meselves of the meselves of the three were virtue and intelligence enough in the American people to stand up against fifteen the statement disposed the statement and the statement like was to faith in the masses, keeps them from prove th with the aggre. It is a different question—one that holds the slaye question in it, but is broader. The question is, with this slave question to decide, in the next afteen years, is there virtue, intelligence, purpose eaough in the North to absorb the barbarism of fifteen States, neutralizo it, and survive a united, free, Christian Republic? To-day, those affects States are barbarous. I have a letter at home—I mean to read it to-night or to-morrow—from a Bell-Everett were and its correspondent in Boston, in which he arry, "Your armies have driven out the armies of secession from Missouri. You think you have done the work. You have not begun it. Twoof my friends were about a fortnight ago, outside of this town; three of my acquaintances badly wounded. A man entered my store last week, and shot my own clerk, at my deek. I my self, a Union man, dare not leave the streets of the city, for fear of assassination. That is the law of the county." And he says, "The question is, Can you save the unity of these States?" He means, Can you, Northerners, supply so much virtue, purpose, in elligence, as will absorb this element of barbarism, neutralize it, and leave us a nation? That is the question. The dregs of slavery, the state of society which it will leave, can we deal with it, and save the nation? If the news of this morning is all correct—if we have got New Orleans, and McClellan has really scattered the secession army—I think the South has ceased to fight for conquest, the pow fights for terms. She will keep her army of 200,000 men—she has got so many men in arms, and I do not believe she ever has land over 300,000—she will keep them in arms until the fever months, if possible, and will keep them in arms until the fever months, if possible, and will keep them in arms until the fever months, if possible, and will keep them in arms until the fever months, if possible, and will keep them in arms until the fever months, if possible, and will keep them in arms, and I do not believe she ever has land over 300,000—dhe will

Then, there comes the question: Where are they to go? If we cannot bear them, where is the nation that can? If you choose to send them beyond its mountains, somewhere, in a State between the same they to have the right to travel? Will Mr. Great Davis build as wall round their State, and here let them look over into Kentucky! I do not believe in that method. My friend Brown menlioned that in that method, any freed close every Democratic neutrinos that Stephen A. Douglas died twelve thousand follars in debt to a negro of the District; but he significant not mention the best feature of the fact—that that colored man knew so well how to take care of himsel, that he did not lend it to Douglas until he got a not-gage. (Laughter and applause.) The very white men who edit the papers of the District of Columbia, the very white men who are discussing the quento whether the colored people can take care of themselves as not yet so far able to take care of themselves as the colored people can take care of themselves as the colored people can take care of themselves as the colored people can take care of themselves as the colored people can take care of themselves as the colored people can take care of themselves as the colored people can take care of themselves as the care of themselves as the care of the care o

The devision of the second incomparation ought to. The Democratic Young Men's Commission of this city say they are opposed to emancipsion unless the blacks are expatriated, because, otheris, they will kill out Northern labor! I low comes to, if they will not work? Garrett Davis says, that you emancipate the slaves of the District, you will have to build a poor-house as large as the Capital to hold the paupers. Well, if they are all to be kept in a District poor-house, as big as the Capitol, how as they going to compete with Northern laber! (Applause.)— Liars should have good memorics. I do not ceneve that nineteen millions of Northram, their brains kindled to a white heat on a great fauscial problem, can be misled, by such chaff as the Why, it is nine hundred years behind the times. Od onize the blacks! The man that should propose is give up railroads because a man was killed on them last year, would be a colonizationist. We have drifted infinitely byen that problem. We are now engaged in a momentus atruggle, whether this nation can save its own intuitions. God is demanding an atomic cratical and the same of t tutions. God is demanding an atonement of this ga-eration. We have had two systems in the midst of us. One is the North—taking every child in the ca-dle, and giving him intellectual education; puting a the side of baby footsteps virtue and knowledge; a cognizing the fact that every man's life is more seen. and every man's house more valuable, the more is telligent and industrions his neighbor is. That is its North; its right hand is industry, its left hand is known ledge. Now, the South has some four millions of poor whites. They must not be allowed to labor, for if they did, as our friend Brown explained to u, it would make the slave proud; they must not be taught for if they were, it would make the

cure. A friend from Alabama once said to me—"Ta men of our Northern Counties are on your side, if ra could get at them. They labor themselves; if they hold slaves, it is but a single one. They have but os room in their houses; the slave sits at the table wit them, sleeps with them, works with them. They as Free Soil Counties. If you could only get at the, they would be on your side. We don't mean your shall. They never hear a speech but what we mis, they would not know a newspaper from a necromatic trick; their wives cannot read; their childres as growing up in in ignorance. The poor white insal The right hand of the aristocracy of slaveholden is four millions of slaves; the left hand is ignorant. These institutions have attempted to coher; they have had seventy years of trial, and the attempt is failed. Now, the question comes to us in the slape. failed. Now, the question comes to us in the slape of God's own demand for atonement. This gene tion which thought it had laid up so much moneywas but to emancipate that race, to educate the obs.

The railroad had been going sixty miles an hour; we thought all was safe; but the axles are hot, and 6st stops us in this generation.

As an Abolitionist, I know that events are gist-

As an Abolitionist, I know that events are gisting out the freedom of the negro; but the questin that troubles me is—into that grave into which as very is entering, are freedom and free institutions is drop with it? That question is answered when jutell me how you are to get rid of it. That holds is its circumference the fate of you and me, of our settion, and free institutions. I want you, therefor, by wake up this people to two questions: First, the right that rebellion has given us to crush out slaver, and II am not going to stop with the question when the negro will work or not) what we shall do with the negro. What shall we do without him I is a grate. negro. What shall we do without him I is a grad question. What shall we do with him I is a graduate of Harvard; my friend here (Mr. Turox) is a graduate of some other college, I suppose; carref platform, the graduates of colleges will be main; speeches this week. Shall any one of us prove he those colleges graduate men able to take care of themselves one whit better than the speech of his "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty of perty without due process of law." That is, I case be, hung without a grand jury, a petit jury, salt aheriff. That is peace. But, to-day, Congress square to Ereak Sigel, "Hang McCalloch!" There is the period of the peri grand jury, petit jury, and sheriff, all in one (Laughter.) To-day, Congress says to Gen. Gran. "Take ten thousand lives at Pittsburg!" Takis "Take ten thousand lives at Pittsburg!" That due process of war; that is the war power; the obst was the peace power. It is equally constitutional, is cause it is necessary. Congress says to the goreoment, "You shall put your hand into every man pocket by making certain pieces of paper legal teolor, and if this war continues ten years, you shall take one dollar out of every ten, from every man's pecker. It is constitutional, because it is necessary. The government says, "Go down to Charleston, and fill that harbor with attones, and make gathe city a desertment says, "Go down to Charleston, and fill that harbor with attones, and make gathe city a desertment says, "Go down to Charleston, and fill that harbor with salt if you please"—and I sometimes with they would—(applause)—and that is constitutional because it is the war power. But the New York Herald says, If Congress, having about McCullech, due process of war, executed by a Minnie riffe—har due process of war, executed by a Minnie riffe-haing suspended the habes corpus—having taken every tenth dollar out of every man's pocket—having file that Charleston harbor with stones, goe on shore, sinch the constant of the constant of

that Charleston harbor with stones, goes on shore, lewith the aword cuts the supposed cobweb—it is only supposed cobweb—that binds the negro to his mante, that is unconstitutional I. In other words, there is right now, except the right of a man to his negro (Laughter and applause.)

But there is another principle—thank South Carolina for it! I have had a great many occasion is my life to thank South Carolina. She initiated the policy of fighting, and that kills always, and we are following her lead; I thank her for that. But ahe had done a better thing than that. She has established

ciple—she and Virginia—that what the nation the principle—she and Virginia—that what the nation seels and does is law, no matter whether it is in the nathern than the prehiment or not. Fellow-citizens, in 1801, Jefferson wanted Louisiana—the mouth of the Mississpipi. White Traity said. "You cannot have it—it is unconstitutional." "I know it," said Jefferson, "but I want trional." "I know that, but I want it is unconstitutional." "I know that, but I want it is unconstitutional." "I know that, but I want it is unconstitutional." constitutional." "I know that, but I want it"—and he got it; and Illinois and Wisconsin are going down by the way of Pittaburg, and Boston joins them by the way of Ship Island, to see whether we shall keep it or not. (Appleause.) Some years after, we wanted Florida, and we bought it; Hunter is seeing shot that. (Renewed applause.) Some years later, the South said she wanted Texas, and stole it, by joint the South and are wanted legans, and store is, by Join resolution, and we mean to keep it. (Applause, That principle of law which the South established That principle of law which the South established, may we not use it for freedom, as she used it for slavery! Again, do you remember the Embargo times, when Congress declared, in time of peace, that no ship should leave New York or Boston—when bankship should leave New York or Boston—when bank-rapter covered your city—when grass grew in Wall street—when we turned our cows into State street— when New England was beggared, and nobody when New England was beggared, and nobody said a word about paying her a dollar of compensa-tion—when she sent her first lawyer up to Washing-ton, to ask the Supreme Court, "Is this constitution-al!" and the Supreme Court said, "Yes; anything to save the Union"; and New England sat down and streed! She commends a drop of the same comferto saye the Union"; and New England sat down and starved! She commends a drop of the same comfort to Carolina to-day. (Applause.) She says, "This despotion, which, in 1807, in order to save the Union, begared me, and never talked of compensation, can it not take your slaves, and pay you for them, in 1862!" Why, somebody asked Gen. Cass, the other day, in Detoil—"General, what may we do to save the Union!" "Anything." "May we abolish slavery?"
"Abolish anything on the surface of the earth to save the nation." (Applause.) It think, when Cass and Adams agree, we have got the "happy medium." and Adams agree, we have got the "happy medium," and Adams agree, we have got the "happy medium," (laughter,) and may sail fearlessly on in that constitu-tional line. I want the American people to recognize the right they have to sholish slavery. I do not care for phrases. I would like to go directly up to the issue, but if you do not like that issue, it does not matter to me. I do not care about words. "Confis-cation," if you like it better. I poserve that the caucation," If you are to be certain and good-natured recident, and good-natured President, in his message to the Border States, did not speak of the "abolition" of slavery—that is Garnot speak of the "abolition" of slavery—that is Gar-rison's phrase; he talked of "abolishment." Well, it is no matter, if he likes that way of spelling it bet-ter. (Laughter.) So, if you like a Confiscation bill, let it be so. But my programme is this: We have got fifteen States under the heel of the North; they got fineen States under the need of the Archi; takey are subjugated—that is, if the news of to-day proves true—if the summer- answers the winter—if McClellan really meltins to hurt somebody—if we have got a lan really means to hurt someoody—it we have got a war, and not a quarrel—then we have subjugated the South. Now, what are we going to do with six milion of people, hating us terribly ? We have got to keep an army of occupation there. We must confiscate—how much? People talk of making the South psyche expenses of the war. You might as well call upon the poor-house to pay the expenses of the town. (Laughter.) Take away their slaves, and they have not enough left to pay the expenses of the war. The question of confiscation, as a mere question of contribution toward paying the expenses of the war, is no worth talking about. One month's expense of this was is more than you could get from the whole South, until the blacks, the guardians of civilization, make the land worth something. (Applause.) But I want confiscation, for all that. We have a right to it, on connections, on an analysis treason; we have a right to it, on all historical and national grounds. We want it, in order to tempt the army to remain in the South as colonies. I want them there to aid the blacks, as the guard and I want them there to aid the obserts, as the guard and and ancleus of free institutions. I do not believe in the whites of the South for the next ten years. I believe that the blacks of the South do not need an apprenticethip half as much as the whites do. (Laughter and applause.) Honestly—I am not saying an epigrammatic thing—the slave is much more fit to be a free laborer than Jefferson Pavis is to be the master of free laborers. The four million of blacks are in less need of apprenticeship to fit them for liberty, than the six million of whites are of an apprentice-ship to fit them to live where liberty is granted. That Jamaica has proved, in the history of twenty years If you are to have a law of apprenticeship, apprentice the whites, not the blacks. Now, I go a shade beyond any friend, Mr. Brown; I shirk no difficulty; I sak nothing more for the negro than I ask for the Irishman of the German who comes to our shores. I thank the benevolent men who are laboring at Port Royal—all right!—but the blacks at the South do not need them. They are not objects of charity. They only them. They are not objects of charity. They only ask this nation—"Take your yoke off our necks."
They do not ask mercy; they do not ask justice—or only a homeopathic dose—the mere flavor of justice; they ask their hands—nothing more; they will actually ask they have soon in the West Indice. The white planters of Jamaica set all the wits they had (it was not much) with work to outwit the black men. "They offered them shilling a day. The blacks said, "We are worth one and sixpence." Then the whites passed three has; one was, that they should have liberty to turn laws; one was, that they should have liberty to turn my man out of a shanty built on their land ond was, that any man without a house was a vaga-bond; and the third was, that any legal vagabone might be apprenticed by any magistrate to his next neighbor, at any price he-pleased. Then they thought they had got them. They turned them out of their houses, made them vagabonds, under the law, and had them apprenticed as such. But the blacks sent the laws over to the Privy Council, and in ten months they came back with the Queen's disallowance. Then the black saws said, "Gentlemen, you tried to cheat us," and they seent into the mountains; fifty thousand of them bought an acre spiece, supported themselv and left the oblite man to go to his own ruin. When

not be treated so again; and there's years have not improved the white man's behavior sufficiently to win negro's confidence; and until he does win it, he will be left to his fate In Barbadoes, the planters acted on a different policy. They said to the blacks—"Here are your wages." The result is, Barbadoes exports twice as much as she did-before. The soil of Barbadoes will sell to-day in the market for one-third more than the sell to-day in the market for one-third more than the soil and the negrois together would sell for before enancipation. The white man said to the negro: "Here is my right hand; help me save the island. Help me-incompetent—never did a stroke of work in my life—don't know how to do anything—help he!" and the negro pledged him his right hand; and Barbadoes is a paradise to-day, her harbors are full of hims, and her oranarios dul of wheat. Look at the Her is my right hand, help me save the bisted.
Help no protection of the Chupter of the Chupter

the New York Herald records the bankruptcy of Jamaics, and attempts to prove from it that the blacks are not copable of taking care of themselves, it only tarns the fact inside out. It proves that the negro heer so well how to take care of timeself, that, hav-

log been first on

and note that; come home, and write to the Herold:
"Illinois is bankrupt—relapsing into barbarism!"
Would not an Illinois man, like Lovejoy, say to me,
"Did you see the millions of bushels of wheat at
Chicago? Do you know that we export twice as
much bread-stuffs as any other State in the Union?
If you don't, go home!" So I am going to judge,
the West Indies. We have got twenty million of
thrifty, industrious, educated Yankees—more brains in
our hands than other men have in their heads. Connecticut vexes every drop of water four times over
before she lets it fall into the ocean; and when all is
done, how much do we export—we thrifty, pains-taking, industrious Yankees? Just seven dollars a head.
Now Jamaica, with 80,000 whites and 300,000 blacks,
exports thirteen dollars a head; and if you take all
the British West Indies—800,000 blacks and 150,000
whites—the blacks "lying on their backs, banking in
the sun,"—they export twice as much now as they
did before emunicipation. I think, if the New York
Observer calls that failure—if the negro, lying on his
back and basking in the sun, exports twice as much as
the Yankee, standing on his feet, and that is failure,
what will it say of us? I shall be glad to know by
next week's Observer, what New England is, if the
West Indies are a failure.

Then, again, how much do they buy? That is
another test of the success or failure of a nation.
You go to one of your Fifth Avenue houses, watch it
for twenty years, and if the owner brings to it pletures and plate, velvet and damask, year after year,
you say, "He is rich." How much do the West

for twenty years, and if the owner brings to it pic-tures and plate, velvet and damask, year after year, you say, "He is rich." How much do the West Indies buy! The negro, "basking on his back in the sun," according to the Herald, pays for twice as many manufactured goods from England and three times as many manufactured goods from America, as he did when he was a slave, driven to unpaid toll by the white man's hand, led by the white man's brain. That is in favor of "basking." (Laughter and applause.)

Is there any man left dull enough to doubt whether the negro, with the great motive power of civilization acting upon him, will work! Pardon me if I quote William Cobbett—somewhat coarse, but eminently Saxon, and terribly earnest, and remarkably full of common sense. In analyzing the civilization of Engcommon sense. In analyzing the civilization of Eng-land, Cobbett said, "The basis of all civilization is the stomach." God gave to man the necessity of eating; out of that come clothes, out of that come books, out of that come colleges. Now, the negro has the same necessity to eat that all other races have; and to-day he holds out his hands to the North, and says, "Use me to save your liberty." Those six million of infuriated foce to the Union and to free institutions, we want to hold them long enough to convert them. I want those four million of blacks to help me. I want a compensation—one hundred or three hundred millions-which shall go to the loyal slaveholders, to establish manufactures, the mechanic arts, and mines in the Southern States. I want the loyal slaveholder if such a man can be found, to look into his hand, and see United States bond, and say to himself, "That represents forty slaves. If I am a good citizen, it is above par. If McClellan is allowed to take Yorktown, and Butler to take New Orleans, it is above par. If I fight, or am factious, it is eighty." He will be a good citizen. (Applause.) What is the bond of Union? Suppose McClellan

succeeds, and chains Massachusetts to South Carolina —two angry dogs—that is not a Union. I want a General who loads his cannon with something besides balls. McClellan uses nothing else: Fremont rams them down with ideas. (Applause.) That is the difference between the two Generals: one conquers, the other converts. One puts South Carolina under the heel of Massachusetts; the other puts her in her arms. The one makes one half the nation conquered terri tory; the other makes it sister States; and all we tory; the other makes it sister States; and all we have got to do is to wait until God takes to himself, or lets down, some fifty thousand infuriated slave-holders (Laughter.) Moses left a generation in the desert, and we shall leave one generation in our desert. We shall never get over this difficulty in less than fifteen or twenty years. The war may be over next fall; the first of January, we may celebrate peace; but the difficulty of making fifteen States sister States will last your day and mine. In order to do!t, we have got to keep the negro race as the basl of civilization in that half of the nation. We have got to put, side by side with it, the poor whites, edu-cated by the millions that compensation will pour into the South. We have got to proclaim that this Union means nothing but liberty from end to end; that every means nothing but liberty from end to end; that every race under it is to be protected, and every man free. (Applause.) Whether we proclaim it to-day or a dosen years hence does not matter. We are in for the war, and this Society's present object is, so to manage the settlement of the slave question, that when the negro rises into liberty, the nation may sur-vive to receive him; otherwise, the remark of your Secretary of the Treasury, when he entered offic was the wisest advice ever given to a nation. He i was the wiscest survice ever given to a nation. The said to have remarked, "Better far let them go, keep the homogeneous North by itself, and leave them to work out their problem of civilization before we receive them again." That is statesmanship. The only thing that supersedes it is, nineteen million of people proclaiming that they can easter work out that problem, and that, laying the foundation in the liberty problem, and that, laying the foundation in the inerty of all races, they guarantee to South Carolina a Re-publican form of government to-day. Until that time, never let there be a government in South Carolina at all! (Applause.) This is the message which Congress owes to the people—"There is never to be a government south of the Border States, unless dic-tated by the Union, until that government is the re-sult and the expression of free institutions." Until then Mr Som ner's and Mr. Conway's theory is th only safe one—Territory, until Freedom government in the Carolinas! (Applause.)

Now, let me say one word as a citizen, before I sit down as an Abolitionist. That is the only method. It is a terrible method; it is a momentously perilous method; whether you or I are to live to see that method tried, and free institutions survive it, is a doubtful question. I am by no means certain, as our friend (Rev. Mr. HATTIELD) expressed himself, that freedom and the Union will outlive this struggle. The habeas corpus suspended; a despotic government raged and then cheated, he would for the next fifteen years; an army of seven he thousand men disbanded; ten thousand officers enter-ing the political arcin—the professions, law, medicine and the counting-house, filled—where are they to go but into politics? If Hamilton and Aaron Burr had but into politics? If Hamilton and Arron Burr had come back, after the Revolution, and found no space for them in the courts of Albany, where would they have gone? Could this Government have borne the ambition, and popularity, and ability of those men, and survived it? I doubt it. We just survived. If Burr had been landless, and without business, with the army behind him, the Constitution of *89 might never have seen our day. Ten thousand officers are come from this army in just that state.

in the occan of difficulty. Slavery is not the question to-day; but the question is, how to get rid of alavery, in such a way that we can save the nation. Go out, it therefore, every one of you, into your circles! Hold up the arms of the Government! Say to Lincola, "Amen to your Message to the Border States! Go an arrow's flight beyond it, and we shall have a more devout Amen!" Say to the Secretary of War, "God bless you, that you have armed the black at last! Now add to it this proclamation—that to every negro who takes up arms on the side of the Republic, we spledge liberty!" (Applause,) Hasten the Government, in order to save it. There is no doubt of events. The fate of the man half-way flown Nisgara is certain, —he must go down. We shall annihilate slavery; I am not questioning that. What I want is that the Government shall so act, and act so speedily, as to rid as, as soon as possible, of the dangers that threaten the triumph and unity of the nation. For that purpose, send up delegations to Washington to urge the Government forward. Why, I found delegations in every committee room at Washington; Willard's was crowded with delegations; the atreets swarmed with delegations, anxious to know whether patent medicine, scented soaps, ellver spoons, were to be taxed (laughter); anxious to know whether printing paper was to be taxed; but there was not a man—not one—who had gone up to Washington to burry the Cabinet, we one had any attention of the reset question of the opportunity the Cabinet, we one had any attention to the reset question of the opportunities. who had gone up to Washington to hurry the Cabinet, to uphold and strengthen it, on the great question of the liberty of a race, which holds within its circumference the perpetuation of the nation. Montgomery Blair says, the Fost-Office follows the flag. Secretary, Chase says, Trade follows the flag. The nation lis-tens to hear Lincoln add, Luberty follows the flag (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Doxology was then sung, "From all that dwell below the skies," and the meeting adjourned.

BUSINESS MEETINGS

The American Anti-Slavery Society met for the transaction of business at the Lecture-Room of the Church of the Puritans, Fifteenth street, at 3 o'clock, P. M., the President of the Society, Ww. LLOYD GAS-

RISON, in the chair.

AARON M. POWELL, of Columbia Co., N. Y., ad-ARRON M. POWELL, Of COMMON CO., N. Y., So-dressed some introductory remarks, arguing the ne-cessity of still adhering to all our old methods of moving and directing the public mind and conscience and of continuing their use until slavery is at an end. The PRESIDENT alluded to the recent resignation of

The PRESIDENT alluded to the recent resignation of his office, as Corresponding Secretary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, by J. MULLER MCKIN. He spoke of his deep regret at the thought of losing Mr. McKim from the important post which he has held for upwards of twenty years, and the duties of which he has ever discharged with such faithfulness, wisdom and success. He (the President) which he has ever discharged with such faithfulness wisdom and success. He (the President) must con-fess he did not understand why Mr. McKim was now resigning his place; and he called upon Mr. McKim whom he was glad to see with us, to explain more

Mr. McKim, in reply, referred to the changed a pects and prospects of the Anti-Slavery Cause, occa-sioned by the rebellion of the Slave Power against the Government, and by the war for the maintenance of the Union. These changes, he thought, m visable and even needful a corresponding change in our operations. These and other considerations had led him to think it his duty to change the particular direction of his labors, and hence the resigning of hi

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., referred to one or two of the

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Communities, ducine the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, by the treasonable revolt of the South against the National Government, for the purpose of establishing a hostile Confederacy, the corner-stone of which is avowedly and truly the eternization of chattel slavery, all the recognised pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution are abrogated, and the whole slave system is placed within the grasp and may be abolished by the governments, at any moment is chooses to exercise the power; therefore,

1. Resolved, That the dread responsibility for the further prolongation of this treacherous and bloody system, resting as it now does with absolute completeness on the people and government, the present one great, paramount anti-slavery duty is to hold them to the immediate discharge of that responsibility, by proclaiming liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; and any other device or proposition, as a substitute for this, should be strongly reproduced as fraught equally with guilt and danger.

2. Resolved, That this Society would extressly recommend to the friends of impartial liberty, in every part of the North, the holding of public meetings for the purpose of enforcing this duty upon the government, and by this expression of the public sentiment inspire the government with courage to perform this duty without delay. Mr. McKin said that, by a recent understanding on

Mr. McKin said that, by a recent understanding on the matter, no immediate change would be made.

Mr. Garnison spoke of the relation of the Society to the Port Royal and other Missions for the education of the freedmen. He regarded these movements with deep interest and respect, but the work is not the Abolition of Slavery. It is a popular work, as compared with ours, and we may safely leave it to the expected of the community at large, giving it all the support of the community at large, giving it all the incidental help in our power, but not making it our special work. He spoke of the need of our holding public meetings, frequent meetings, for the discussi of the very questions now occupying and agitating the public mind—questions of Emancipation, Colonization, Confiscation, etc., etc.—upon the right settlement of which so much is depending for the future

ment of which so much is depending for the future peace and welfare of this country.

OLIVER JOHNSON spoke of one failure of this So-ciety and its friends, viz., to take the necessary means to extend the circulation of the Standard, and other anti-slavery journals.

Mrs. ERRESTINE L. ROSE, of New York, urged the duty of the Abolitionists to stand firm to their principles and methods of action.

Mr. Lasar, of New York, related some encouraging

facts, showing the progress (and in some cases the su premacy) of anti-slavery principles in the city of New York.

EDWARD GILBERT, of New York, spoke of the

EDWARD GILBERT, of New York, spoke of the distinction between the Anti-Slavery Cause proper, and the various local and occasional operations for the relief and education of the so-called "contrabands." THEODORE TILTON, of New York, replied to some remarks of Mr. Gilbert in regard to the Independent newspaper, and proceeded to point out what he deemed necessary for the extension of the circulation of the Standard.

AARON M. POWELL explained, in reply to Mr. Tilton, some of the reasons which led him to di from Mr. T's conclusions in regard to the incr circulation of the Standard.

On motion, SAMURE MAY, Jr. and ANNA R. Po

On motion, SAMURL MAY, Jr. and ANNA R. Powerll were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

The following Committees were nominated by the Chair, and unamimously confirmed by the Society:—
Business Committee Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Garrett, Wendell Phillips, J. Miller McKim, Parker Pillebury, Oliver Johnson, Aaron M. Powell, Robert Purvis, Sarah J. Nowell, Lucy Stone.

Committee to Nominate Officers—Edmund Quincy,

drich, Fall River, Mass.; Ebenezer D. Draper, Hope-dale, Mass.; Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y.; Mahlon B. Linton, Bucks Co., Pa.; Micah Pool, Abington, Mass.; Lauren We William Wells Brown, ington, Mass.; Lauren Wetmore, Wolcottsville, Conn.; William Wells Brown, Cambridge, Mass.; Reuben Tomlinson, Philadelphia. Finance Committee—Susan B. Anthony, E. D. Drs-

per.
Adjourned to following day, at 10, A. M.

WEDNESDAY MORNING. The Society reass for business at the Lecture-Room of the Church of

ghts are here, and whose labor is mea-E. S. Tylna, Esq. of New York, Pre-iew York and Nicaragna Colonization

nestion of finances, and a generous pecuniary support fithe Anti-Slavery Society.

PARKER PILLSBURY, of N. H., spoke of the fact of

PARKE PILLSBURY, of N. H., spoke of the fact of the smallness of our numbers as in truth our highest honor. And, though thus small, our number to-day being only the Apostolic company of old as related in the Book of Acts, "about one hundred and twenty," yet shall we be mighty in power, if the true spirit of justice and freedom be in us. He expressed the hope that we should never see slavery sholished "by the War Power," as it "would be no benefit to the slave,"

War Power," as it: "would be no benefit to the stave," and "a curse to the coward who should do it." Mr. Powers thought there was another practical matter which should be considered—the continuance of lecturing agents. The expression of the Society should be given to increase every effort we could pos-

W. L. Garageon replied, generally, to Mr. McKim's inquiry. He spoke of the probable, almost certain, fact that, for some time to come, our usual contributions from friends in Great Britain would be greatly

tions from friends in Great Britain would be greatly diminished, if not cut off entirely. Mr. Garrison referred to the fact that so many of our English friends are in doubt as to our present position and course, and cannot see how, having been once disunionists, we are not so now; but who yet, notwithstanding this perplexity of mind, have not withdrawn their kind sympathics, and still manifest their confidence that we, their American associates will never intelligently con-

pathies, and still manifest their confidence that we their American associates, will never intelligently con

sent to any compromise with slavery. He wished, for one, to express his earnest thanks to them for all they had done in the past to aid us in our work.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, offi

onty without delay.

Samuer May, Jr., said he thought that Dr. Cheever, last evening, had not quite correctly stated the demand which we, as Abolitionists, make of the government in regard to the abolition of slavery under the West Process of the same of the

nd Navy as their subordinates, as the servants of th government and people, to do their work; but never exalt the military power above the civil.

Mr. Garrison said he would not ask any man resident downward, to do a single act in violat

slavery. But now, in the change of circ the President has the power and the right to abolish slavery; and, therefore, we do demand the exercise

conscience and duty, even to promote so good a work as to abolish slavery. Two years ago he could not sac would not have asked the President officially to abolish

Mr. TREADWELL inquired if anything in this Socie

quirement.

Mr. Fosran, seconded the resolution read by Mr. Garrison; and addressed the meeting in support of his own views of the general subject. He also offered the

Resolved, That, after a careful and impartial sur of the whole action of the Federal Government, at our last Annual Meeting, we can see no just gros for any change in our position towards it, for, although the control of the same of t

ds it; for, although s done many acts ves, it has in no in-their rights as citi-

the following preamble and resolutions :

ibly employ.

J. M. McKix inquired as to the amo

Whipple, Henry C. Wright, Charles Follen, Edmund the Report was adopted, and the On m

Resolved, That this Society renews its off-repeated estimony against every scheme or proposition for the xpatriation or colonization of the free colored or slave opplation of this country, on the ground of their com-texion or race.

Adopted unanimously.

The resolution offered by S. S. Foster, for want of time to discuss it, was laid on the table.

The Treasurer's Report, as audited by Oliver folinson, was accepted.

The Society then unanimously agreed to the following resolution, in memory of their deceased friend associate. Process J. Joyney. he culture of cotton and the sugar-cane. Mr. T. hat he himself had been a personal friend and inte of Capt. John Brown in Kansas, and had he here than a hundred slaves into freedom through

solution, in memory of the inte, Francis Jackson: State.

The hour assigned having arrived, the question of the support of The STANDARD, and of the financial condition of the Society, was taken up.

Mr. McKin of Philadelphia spoke generally of the STANDARD's value as a paper, and of its indispensable necessity to the Society and the Anti-Slavery cause.

S. S. FORTER said he had come to this meeting as the most important meeting of the Society, in his estimation, that had been held for many years. He had thought there were signs of dissolution in the Society, but believed that the Society's work was not anywhere near being done, nor likely to be done at present. He urged the support of The STANDARD as essential: but the maintenance of the Lecturing Agencies is, he said, indispensable to The STANDARD as essential: but the maintenance of the Lecturing Agencies is, he said, indispensable to The STANDARD as Casaurat Mar, Jr. and E. D. DRAPHER spoke to the question of finances, and a generous pecuniary support of the Anti-Slavers Society.

and associate, Francis Jackson.

Resolved, That the death of our honored loved associate, Francis Jackson, of Boston ber of this Society for a full quarter of a cent its Treasurer for many years, has left a viour ranks not to be soon filled. But, while our ranks not to be soon filled. But, while sensible of our great loss, we rejoice to remember that he was as long with us, and to know that, faithful among the first, he was faithful also to the last. We cherish his memory as a most valued treasure, a mighty encouragement, and an assurance of, certain triumph. His sincere devotion to the Anti-Shavery Cause, his fearless support of it in dark and perilous times, his kindly sympathy and help for so many of alavery 'a victims, must ever renain an example and motive to all who knew him; and, being dead, he yet speaketh to us, and for our good cause.

The Society then adjourned, sine die.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Press WM. LLUYD GAS SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Assist. Secretaries. ARNA R. POWELL,

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVEN-TION.

The New England Anti-Slaveny Convention for 1862 will be held in the city of Boston, on WEDNES-DAY and TRUESDAY, May 28th and 29th, in the MEL-ODEON, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., of Yednesday.
The New England Convention, annually held for the

The New England Convention, annually held for the past thirty years, (with but a single exception,) has been one of the most effective instrumentalities for arousing the people of this land to a just sense of the great Abomination of Slavery. Its yearly sessions have always been largely attended,—not only all the New England States being represented therein, but usually several of the Western and Middle States also, Never before was it called to meet under such cheering circumstances. The work of the Convention is far from being done, not can any opponent of slavery safely slacken hand or zeal at this critical hour. But God is now youchsafing such signs to this nation, sately succeed name or zeas at this erincia nour. But God is now vouchsafing such signs to this nation, such tokens of his power and presence, as should serve mightily to encourage every friend of Freedom, and bring us all to the great crowning labors of the Anti-Slavery cause with redoubled energy and in redoubled numbers. redoubled numbers.

Let the anti-slavery men and wom

Let the anti-slavery men and women of New England, then, gather once more in their Annual Convention. Once more let them indicate to the long-slumbering but now awakening land, to a guilty but hapily a repenting people, the only Way of Peace, of Safety, and of National Honor. Once more let the words of Justice, and Freedom for all, be echoed from the hills and valleys of New England, until they join the awelling voices of the Centre and the Great West; and the trembling, hoping slave shall hear the glad tidings, proclaiming his deliverance, his redemption, and his acknowledged manhood.

All friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, in every part of the country, are invited to attend.

of the country, are invited to attend.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massa

In penalt of the husetts Anti-Slavery Society,

EDMUND QUINCY, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec'y.

ANTI-SLAVERY ANNIVERSARY AT NEW YORK. To ANTI-SLAVENT ANNIVERSARY AT New YORK. To the numerous friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in various parts of the land, who, unable to give their personal attendance, are all the more desirous to know in what manner the Anti-Slavery anniversary passed off at New York, it gives us peculiar gratification to announce that this anniversary, for the first time since 1834, was unaccompanied by any sign of disapprobation or dissent on the part of any of the numerous throng of hearers. On the contrary, the strongest and most vital utternaces were the loudest applauded, and though it is not to be assumed that no dissentients were present, nevertheless, there was manifestly a were present, nevertheless, there was manifestly universally diffused sympathetic feeling, and a thor ernment in regard to the abolition of savery under the War Power. Dr. Cheever was understood to say that the proposal was to exalt the military power above the civil, above the constitutional authorities of the land. Not so. We call upon the President and Con-gress to use the power, the constitutional power now in their hands, to abolish slavery; and to use the Army

universally diffused sympathetic feeling, and a thor-oughly cooperative and catholic spirit.

The opening session, at the Church of the Puritans, was a crowded one, remarkable for its solid moral worth and general intelligence; and the speeches made on the occasion by William Wells Brown, Rev. made on the occasion by William Wells Brown, Rev.

R. M. Hatfield, and Wendell Phillips, were admirably adapted to the present state of the times. Our readers can judge of this by peruaing these speeches, as reported by Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton, (who has no peer for accuracy and skill in his phonographic profession,) and printed in preceding columns; and they will also be able to perceive how mendacious and villanous is the report of the proceedings by that preeminently satanic sheet, the New York Herald, as published in the "Refuge of Oppression."

The closing public meeting of the Society was held in the evening, at the Cooper Institute, to a large and highly intelligent audience. The speakers were Rev. Dr. Chevers, and Miss Anna E. Dickinson of Philadelphia. The former strongly urged upon the Government the duty of proclaming the abolition of slavery, not merely because it might be done under

the Government the duty of precauting the of slavery, not merely because it might be done the war power, but as an act of righteousness req by the God of heaven and earth. The speech of it might be done unde Dickinson, on the state of the country and the duty of the hour, was listened to with marked attention of the hour, was instence to with marked attenuand elicited frequent appliance. The proceedings of cluded with singing by the Hutchinson family, (J. and his two sons.) the andience calling for the "J. Brown Song," which was also using in stirring mer, nearly all present uniting in the chorus.

from pure;

EF PENNSYLVANIA TRANS. MEETING OF

PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.—The tenth Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends will convesse its Longwood, Cheester Country, Pennyivania, on HIFFIL DAY, (Thirrday,) the fifth of Sixth month, (June,) 1862.

This annual assemblage is held for religious communion for mutual interchange of thoughts and opinion, for the perpetuation of old friendships and the formation of new in brief, for a festival of two or three days of social, intellectual, and spirituan fellowship and profit. The members of this Religious Society do not held their membership by virtue of any secolesiastical vews or bonds, or of any resor supposed unity of theological belief. Their common faith, if it were written, would be simply and only the esential principle of love to God—a love to be exhibited not through devotion to creeds and forms, but in lives of parity and beneficence, in the recognition and defence o the equal rights of mankind, in afforts to break the chain of the oppressed, and in a firm resistance to every form of

the equal rights of mankind, in efforts to break the chains of the oppressed, and in a firm resistance to every form o iniquity and wrong.

Such being the spirit and aims of the Progressive Friends, the Slaveholder' Robellion, its causas and consequences, and the means by which alone it can be effectually put down, will naturally engage no small share of the attention of the Yearly Meeting; and it cannot be doubted that, with an earnestness and solemnity worthy of the crists, it will such to persuade the people and the government to awar the calmities of civil rar, and open up the only path to permanent peace and prosperity, by "problaming liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."
To all persons who cherish the spirit and principles above.

To all persons who cherish the spirit and principles above et forth, we extend a cordial invitation to meet and co-perate with the Society.

Oliver John Oliver Johnson, Joseph A. Dugdale, Elizabeth Jackson, Summer Stebbins. sh Cox, Wendenhall, Josiah Wilson,

Isaac Mendenhall, Sarah Marah Barna Lydia Irish, Jennie K. Smith, Ellen Angier, Aaron Mendenhall, Sallie Howell, Samuel B. Underhill, Ruth Dugdale, Philena Heald,
Annie M. Stambeach, Ellie H. Mendenhall.

EF AN ADDRESS will be delivered at the Twelfth Baptist Church, Southas Street, on Tuesday evening. May 20th, by CRARLES H. BRAINARD, Eq. "Subject..." The City of Washington before the Rebellion, and since Emanipation." The public are invited. Exercises to commence at 1-4 to 8 o'clock.

After the address, a Social Entertainment will be held in the Vestig.

Tickets 25 cents, to be obtained at the door. The pro

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

A meeting of the Middless: County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at FELTONVILLE, on Sunday, May 18, as the amal hours of meeting, through the day and evening A preliminary meeting will probably be held on Saturday ing, May 17. ed that the members and friends of the Society, It is ho

n the neighboring towns, will, so far as possible, be present. The meetings will be held in Lawrence Church.
PARKER PILLEBURY, SARVEL MAY, Jr., GRORGE W.

STACY, and other speakers are engaged to attend.

SAMUEL BARRETT, President.

MISS ANNA E. DICKINSON, of Philadelphia, will give an Address upon Slavery and the War, in SA-LEM, on Sunday next, May 18. For particulars, see local papers.

THE MISS ANNA E. DICKINSON will speak in PORTSMOUTH, (N. H.) on Sunday, May 25, afternoon and evening, spon topics connected with the War, and its influence on Slavery.

MISS DICKINSON will (it is expected) lecture His Junior William Competent and Competent and Competent Competent

THE REJECTED STONE.—The new edition of

THE REJECTED STONE.—The new edition of this book, by Rev. M. D. Coxwar, is now ready. Copies may be obtained for gratuious distribution as low as trenty cents a copy, in cloth, provided ten or more copies are taken at once. These who wish the book, for this purpose, should apply, in person or by letter, to HENRY G. DENNY, Eq., 42 Court Street, Boston. The attention of our friends everywhere is carasetty called to this great opportunity of promoting the abolition of United States slavery.

NOTICE—All communications relating to the business of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and with regard to the Publications and Lecturing Agencies of the American Anti-Slavery Society, should be addressed for the present to Saxvuz Max, Jr., 21l Washington St., Doston.

Many of the best and most recent publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society are for gratuitous distribution. Application for them to be made as above, which should be accompanied with directions how to send hem.

NOTICE.—Members of the Am a, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies atributing annually to the funds of either of these Soci ontributing annually to the sums of entage of these scot-tiles, can receive a copy of the last very valuable Report f the American Society, entitled The Assi-Slavey History f the John Brown Your, by sending a request to that effect o Saurun Mary Jr., 221 Washington Street, Boston, and melosing stamps sufficient to pay the postage, vis., Jourteen

CHILDREN. — MARGARES DE WOMEN AND STRINGTON BROWN, M. D., have removed to No. 23, Chauney Street, Boston, where they may be consulted on the above diseases. Office hours, from 10, A. M., to 4 o'clock, P. M. FF REMOVAL - DISEASES OF WOMEN AND

HERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has 95 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

A GOOD CHANCE

TO LEASE A SMALL FARM FOR ONE, OR A TERM OF YEARS.

OR A TERM OF YEARS.

A MIDDLE aged or young man, with a small faminate, Iry, with no other capital than a pair of willing hands, frugal and industring habits, intelligent mind, a good moral characterial habits, intelligent mind, a good moral characterial habits, intelligent mind, a good moral characterial find a rare chance to lease—on the most favorable them as a small farm, with all the work and tools, and baided farmitare, attended in Pepperally-3-4 mile from the control of the

Oak Hall, Pepperell, Mass., May 12.

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM.

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM.

Three different men—Wil Leoyd Garrison, of Massachusetts, Garrist Davis, of Kentacky, Alexander B. Garrist, Googla—are represented in the Pulpit and Rostrum, Nos. 25 and 27, (double number, two in one, price 20 cents, 1s stollows—The Abolitomist, and their Relations to the Werr A Lecture by William Lloyd Garrison, delivered at the Cooper Institute, New York, January 14, 1802.

The Wort not for Conficention or Emancipution: A Speech by Hon. Garrett Davis, delivered in the U. S. Senate, January 23, 1802.

African Slavery, the Corner-Stone of the Southern Confedency: A Speech by Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confedency, in which the speaker holds that "African always, as it exists among us, is the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization;" and "our new Government (he Southern Confedency) is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth."

E. D. BARKER, Publisher.

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SPRING-TIME.

SPRING-TIME.

ST THORAS MACREMAE.

TO THORAS MACREMAE.

The Spring with all her train come in;

insidy the bashful maiden waits,

Sees aftrighted from the stormy din

elemental strife. While she doth stand

heatitance, the soft, warm southers brease

sale from the lafes of lime and orange trees,

bitthely Spring tripe o'er the smilling land.

Hurrah! the buds grow big;

They barrst their swaddling-bands;

The spiral sprout.

Is shooting out,

at graw is eresping o'er the meadow-lands.

Hurrah! ten thousand rills

Are hurrying down the hills;

And, sparhling as they run,

They symbolise the boy

So over-full of joy

His very eyes are scintillating fun.

Hurrah! a fly, a real fly!

With logs so alim and will so strong.

Eo impudent and sly,

So busily idle all day long;

Where dids thou hids, the freezing winter

Hadet thou a cory cell

When the more's fell

And the north winds blew?

Ah! have a care, gay chap!

For many a mare,

In earth and air,

"""

In earth and air,

"""

"""

In a silken trap.

Is hidden in a silken trap.

How genial is the ray
Of this luxurious day,
That rivifies the boson like a thought
Of other days with happy memorios fra
The young-life days that seem
But a delicious dream
ant filited o'er a brain whose vision
limpsed upon a scone clyrian,
Too unreal for a world
By manhoed into chaos hur'd,
tear | why, sure, there's still
A living rill
eath the rubbish piled upon the heart,
That bubbles up,
And yields a cup
saling for a besom-smart.

Torth, my friend and

et's forth, my friend, and wander slow Over the fields of tender green,

Over the fields of tender green,
Where, as we ge,
The earlier flowers are seen,
With blatch syes,
Up-pering to the skies,
Like childhood looking up to Ged
From bended knees.
How fragrant if the zod,
Where no derabading trees
Provent the blessing of the sun
Executive coming down From coming down,
With odorous plants to crown
The lea that erst was desolate and dun

Companion mine !
Thou of the musing race !
east thou the beams that round us shine Seest thou the beams that round us shine
Of Haryre's premeditated grace?
Oh! speak; for thur 'ta master in the speech
That to the soul's remotest depths can reach;
A place there is within thy poet heart
Where heavenly thoughts like holy angels bide;
Thou drawrest at times the hiding veil saide,
And from its home thou cousest to depart
A living verse to go around, and be
A missioner of goed to our humanity:
So speak thou now in this love-moring hour,
When new-born Nature wakes in mystic power.
Ah! cilent still! I see! I see!

Ah! silent still! I see! I see! I find a key
That opes to me
The mystery
Of thy deep allence now: I see
The cloud that hangs above thy joy;
Thy memory rests on thine angelle boy
Who held thy hand when on thy ovening walk,
And by his fittle talk
Begulled thee so
That life without him seemed an utter we.
Thy lamb is safely gather'd in the fold,
The fold eternal, in the better land;
His hand is in the gentle SERPHERD'S hand,
And by His side he walks; as once of old
He walk'd with the a long this beauteous earth.

And by His side he walks, as once of old
He walk'd with thee along this beauteous earth.
His yee, that glister'd with a sinies mirth,
Is brighter now: his voice,
Excelling in its sweetness any bell,
Is sweeter now in its harmonious swell,
In that grand hymn wherewith the blest rejoice
He cannot come to thee; but thou,
When God shalt change thy brow,
And make thy vision dim,
Shalt go to him.
What though we turn to clay—
A spring-time resurrection day,

spring-time resurrection day, Remember, shall be his and thine And mine, very sonl's that loves our Lord In this brief time :

Immortal prime irs who trust the Masten's word

Let's homeward now: thy face again is bright; The spring-time shadows soon resolve in light.

WASTED TIME.

WASTED TIME.

Alose in the dark and silent night,
With the heavy thought of a vanished year
When evil deeds come back to sight,
And good docts rise with a welcome cheer;
Alone with the spectres of the past,
That come with the old year's dying chime,
There gleans one shadow dark and yast,
The shadow of Wasted Time.

chance of happiness cast away, The opportunities never sought, fine good resolves that every day Have died in the impotence of thought; The slow advance and the backward step In the rugged path on have striven to eli How they farrow the know and pale the lip, When we talk with Wasted Time !

What are we now?--what had we been,
Had we hearded time as the miser's gold,
Striving our coveted need to win,
Through the summer's heat and the winter's cold;
Shrinking from nought that the world could do;
Fasting nought but the touch of crime;
Laboring, struggling, all seasons through,
And knowing no Wasted Time?

And knowing no Wasted Time?
Who shall recall the vanished years?
Who shall hold back this obbling tide
That learne us remorse, and shame, and tears,
And washes away all things beside?
Who shall give us the strength o'en now
To leave forever this holdsy rhyme,
To shake off this sloth from heart and brow,
And battle with Wasted Time!

The years that pass come not again,
The things that die no life renew;
But 'en from the rust of his cankering thain
A golden furth is glimmering through;
That to him who harms from errors past,
And turns away with strength sublime,
And makes such year outdo the last, 5
There is no Wasted Time.

JOY AND SORROW.

Joy is but a sunny level,

Bliss a flowery plain;
Sorrow is a rugged summit,
Foaled with tears and pain To the flowery meads and raileys, Balm and peacs are given; Yet the rugged mountain summit Lieth nearer Heaven. Selections. WASHINGTON IS FREE.

For the first time in the history of this Government, the Capital stands upon free soil!

After a long and gloomy storm has chilled and dispirited men, how full of gladness and hope is the lirst faint blue spot that shines in the heaven! That hand's breadth of blue is mightier upon our pririts than all the waste and wilderness of black clouds that fill the whole heavens! It tells us what is behind the storm. It shows that clouds are growing thin, and moving off. That spot of prophetic blue has at last shone through at Washington! The District of Columbia holds no slaves! Emancipation has been effected. The slaves to be set free were few. If there had been but ten, the joy would have been as great. It is the nation that is freed.

you thankerving. Men should offer one prayer yout thankerving. Men should meet each with gratulations. Those long separated well make this event an altar of recomment is a far higher reason for national sgiving than any event in the campaign. Will e President aak this Christian nation to join lay of thankerving? But we ought not to or that. Public meetings should be called in not village, and citizens, without respect to or religion, should unite in expressions of para and congratulation over this memorable

event!

That terrible code of slave laws lies dead in the District of Columbia! Those dreadful offices which it created are sunk to eternal infamy! Human flesh is not merchantable in the Capital of a Free People! Mothers own their daughters! Men own their wives! Love binds together households inseprably, that yeaterday could be put asunder for gold. New songs will rock hundreds of cradles. God is glad for his own poor Let us be glad!

To every just and honorable soul that loves right and hates wrong, we send greeting—Washington is free!

and hates wrong, we send greeting—Washington is free!

To all who have long silently prayed, and waited the sure hand of God, with unfaltering trust, we send greeting—Washington is free!

*To those long-tried men who have given their lives to the great work of national renovation, and who happily live to see the beginning of national emancipation, we send joyful greetings—Washing-ton is free!

Could our voice go forth out of this sohere to that

ton is free!

Could our voice go forth out of this sphere to that land of the blessed, where are the beautiful spirits of those who early labored for liberty but died without the sight, we would cry to them, "Give nobler thanks to God and higher praise! The Capital of the Nation is free!"—New York Independent.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DIS-

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRIOT OF COLUMBIA.

The movement of public affairs is so rapid, and such momentous events are constantly transpiring, that it is hardly possible to pause in our thought long enough to realize fully the moral and political triumph involved in the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Yet it is an event of the greatest beneficence and of the highest significance. It has apparently attracted but little attention. The gratifying vote by which both houses of Congress consummated this just and honorable measure has been duly recorded in the newspapers, and duly real by the people. But it has caused no deep sensation in the public mind. Yet no intelligent and generous American, we take it, can have failed to experience an emotion of patriotic joy that our national adones on solve a thing, and that our national acquital is no longer to be a den of slaveholders. We are no longer to be abamed at home and disgraced abroad by the prosecution of the man traffic under sanction of the national authority. Henceforth, thank God, the capital of the "home of the free" is to be free soil!

A year age, merely to propose the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was political heresy. To petition Congress for such an act would have been the height of absurdity. But to-day all parties acquiesce and glory in a deed so honorable to our people. But little is said about it; the nation is too earnestly engaged in the great struggle with slavery in its own interior fastnesses to stop to moralize or rejoice over incidental triumphs. The destruction of slavery in the national capital is observed as a matter of course, and it is because the people are prepared for much more decisive blows the ready institution that they wangiest as little. - TRIOT OF COLUMBIA.

EMANGIPATION.

stion of Emancipation with party questions and creeds in the magnitude of its importance and bearing upon the interests of the country at large.

The question of slavery has, more or less, entered into almost every campaign—national and localfor many years past, but in a somewhat limited or partisan sense. Then these—the country are large.

The question of slavery has, more or less, entered into almost every campaign—national and localfor many years past, but in a somewhat limited or partisan sonse. Then, those who dared to advocate emancipation—no matter how honest or conscientious may have been their convictions—were called "Abolitionists," "Union-Spitters," Fanatics," and other vite names-hunted out from the prolific vecabulary of Loco-Feccious; and all manner of svii intentions against the Constitution and peace of the Union were charged upon them; but now a change is visible in this respect. Abolition has ceased to be the scar-crow of politicians. The people have learned from the rebellion to examine a little closer for themselves, and not trust so much to demagogues for themselves, and trust while and trust while and trust while and trust while the search of the trust while and trust while an

On the 27th of April, 1862, the people of Frank-lin County, Misseuri, gave their response to the Emancipation Message of the President, in the fol-

lia County, Missouri, gave their response to the Emancipation Message of the President, in the following resolutions:—

"The people of Franklin County, Missouri, in mass meeting assembled, appreciating the blessings of Liberty, as we have enjoyed and received them under the Constitution and Government of the United States, do resolve:

I. That we will neither vote nor give our influence for any man, for any office, who we know or believe is now, or ever has been, in favor of a dissolution, nor who has not been at all times of unshaken and outspoken lovally, nor who has ever besitated to acknowledge the supremacy of the authority of, and the duty of allegiance to the Federal Government, as paramount to all other authority or allegiance; nor will we submit, until we have exhausted our constitutional and legal means of resistance, to the exercise of civil authority over us by any man who has ever counseled, aided, or abetted the crime of treason against the Constitution and Government of the United States, or resistance to the exercise of lawful authority by the President, or other officers legally invested with authority, under the Constitution and Laws of the United States.

II. That the people of Missouri are the sole judges of what local and domestic institutions they require for their peace, happiness, and prosperity as a people; and in the exercise of that right, we declare our solemn conviction that negro slavery is destructive of all these blessings. We therefore pledge ourseless to a hearty support of any practical measure for the gradual emancipation and colonization of the slaves now in Missouri, which may be just and fair toward the present loyal owners, and which the law-makers of our State may be able to devise in harmony, with the policy of President Lincoln, as announced in his annual and revent Messages to Congress.

III. That the intimute alliance of treason suith sla-

äpproval."

Frankin County, Mo., is situated about twenty miles from the Mississippi and the western boundary of St. Louis and Jefferson Counties. It is one of the largest and most flourishing Counties in the State, and has a population of 18,000 (being an iscrease of 7,000 since 1850), of whom about one-tenth

"II, fifty years ago, we had taken one hundred Southern fire-caters and one hundred Abolitionists and hanged them up, and buried them in a common litch, and sent their souls to hell, we should have had once of this war."

We sympathize with Mr. Brownlow in his sufferings, and we admire the courage with which he hielefended himself, and his firm endurance under h

Secession lives now on just such speeches ers as those. The Knights of the Golden ould not desire more efficient helpers than meetings and speakers.—Free Nation.

A RAMBLE ABOUT ALEXANDRIA.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 16, 1862.

Washington, D. C., April 16, 1862.

Yesterday I went down into Virginia. Taking the road at King street, we passed through the dirty town—which seems to be as lavish of fifth as it is of treason—out into the country, now beginning to fook green. Some peach trees were in blosom. But soldiers were everywhere; and as they pay little respect to Virginia vegetation, nature will have little to do here this season except to check itself. It is all secession ground, the soldiers say,—and they don't intend it shall be fruitful. The fences and forests serve for firewood, and the grass for forage.

Returning, I turned aside to take a look at the infamous old slave pen and jail that for many years has filled a square in the dirty, shaby city of Alexandria. It is now only used as a guard-bouse. The pen to-day only contained one drunken soldier, who was silently -luxuriating upon the unswept brick floor. One wing is being covered in and filled up with small dungeon cells, for refractory persons—a horrid place. It has many marks of violence upon its walls and windows—as though the memory of the outrages committed within them had recoiled upon them. Doors, walls and blinds are broken and defaced, and filth and vermin breed there. It is a horrid place; one wishes to walk on tip-toe through its dingy portuis. This morning the Provost guard had captured a large number of nymphs and cyprians, and confined them in the chamber. They appeared at the windows, in great wrath, and addressed the soldier slying about, as only a depraved woman can—sung secession songs, and did other things not uppleasang to the "boys" neither politic nor patriotic. What an unfathomable depth there is to low vice! Who is accountable for all the fraility there is in the world?

This old slave pen, whose walls are symbolic of most arrocious oppression, now bears upon its ruinous front, in defaced letters, the monolith of "Price, Bunche & Cap Deales in Slavae" Run Bira Brosh

ost atrocious oppression, now bears upon its ruin-is front, in defaced letters, the monolith of "Price, urch & Co., Dealers in Slaves." But Price, Burch

FREE EVENING SCHOOL

The following report, touching the rise and progress of the free evening school in this city, will, we are sure, be read with interest. That this beneficent public charity has met with so large a measure of

When, last antumn, the Fraternity Association resolved upon the establishment of a free evening
school, the committee to whom the enterprise was
intrusted were instructed to render an account of
their success to the Fraternity, at the first regular
meeting which should be holden after the close of
the school. On Monday, the 31st of March, after a
presperous session of six months, the school terminated; and in accordance with our instructions, the
accompanying is respectfully submitted. Much
herein contained will be familiar to you, having

has lost mothing of its previous reputation by being transmuted into a guard house for Union prisoners and secession prostitutes.

Leaving my newly found friend, I turned down a loyal drity lager beer saloon, and listened a moment to the explosions of one of the natives. He had applied to the Provest Marshal flone, now a loyal drity lager beer saloon, and listened a moment to the explosions of one of the natives. He had applied to the Provest Marshal for liceuse to sell goods; and was informed that it was necessary for him to swear allegiance to Federalism before he could trade legally. This he declined most emphatically. He do do not seem that the limit to swear allegiance to Federalism before he could trade legally. This he declined most emphatically. He do do —d if he'd ever swear allegiance to a foreign government. He was a free Virginian, and he'd tot and burn before he would be attacted to the d—d. Lincolnites. He knew the streets were full of Union soldiers, but he wished to the declined most account which is the blind fanaticism of these dupes of buse men. One almost depairs of restoring a Union sentiment, when so near the Ceptital, and where a surface took, such bitter, implacable hostilities are kept alive.

The passage home, through that fleet of crowded transports, filled my mind with many sad thoughts of the future—Correspondent of the Independent of the Continued and the second was a stream of the second was care before the severest for miles—sometimes a dozen in a space of as many feet. No seek secone was ever before witnessed in the Amstrach, and here are the continued to the future—Correspondent of the Independent of of the Independent

Another pleasing fact was the absence of any manifestation of prejudice against color. See our colored as pils might be hurt by thoughtless actions or remain of their fellow learners. These fears, we rejose as any over committee were a say, were groundless; and your committee were a say, were groundless; and your committee were a sale, to distinguish any shade of difference made in their treatment on account of complexion. We not their treatment on account of complexion. We note that adverse circumstances, or flagging scales prived us of both these pupils, two fire mostly before the school ended, and we hope that ten year a larger proportion of their race will feel a mabition to educate and improve the

prived us of both these pupils, two or three most before the school ended, and we hope that an year a larger proportion of their race will feel a mabition to educate and improve the school ended, and we hope that an year a larger proportion of their race will feel a mabition to educate and improve the committee was bear witness to the faithful efforts of the texture who so disinterestedly contributed their time at services to the good work. Patient, self-acrifing and can be given. So we will never be the labors as those of love and friendship. Self-acrifing and can be given." Be certain that the recipent of the little learning we have been fortunate enoughtst, stow will ever remember the gift with gradied; it it is something permanent and abding.

Though undertaken by the Frateriny the kind has been sustained by the aid of kind friends in a rious parts of the town, and regardless of religious associations. Our sincere thanks are due to he has been sustained by the aid of kind friends in a rious parts of the town, and regardless of religious associations. Our sincere thanks are due to he has been sustained by the aid of kind friends in the town, without charge, his excellent hall; to Partial MRAL, Esq., for his valuable assistance in the town, without charge, his excellent hall; to Partial or MRAL, Esq., for his valuable assistance in the town, for his generous and timely donation of most and to all who have in any way contributed to the success of the enterprise.

WM. L. Garnison, Jan., Committee, James Edward Olavern,

James Edward Olavern,

Lynn, Saturday, April 12, 1862.

NORTHERN CITIES OF REFUGE. PHILADELHIIIA, April 23, 1862

NORTHERN CITIES OF REFUGE.

PRILADELHHIA, April 23, 1821

The great cities of the North are fast becoming ea eas of refuge, into which fugitives from all the make plied forms which oppression takes in the Souts as plied forms which oppression takes in the Souts are nonling for safety and repose. Recent events has sent them thronging over the railreads in greater makes the rebellion in its remote strongholds, where United the religion of the same them thronging over the railreads in greater makes the rebellion in its remote strongholds, where United the reign of terror, to attempt eaching the law riers which shut them in have been broken down, it are the same of the reign of terror, to attempt eaching the law avenues for escape have been opened, and to the peasure, but even in their desolation prinsing God at king thus liberated by Uniton bayomets from the sost of their intolerable bondage. Pagitives of this description are daily reaching this city, some in so destinate condition as to make one's heart ache to winnes Manny of them bring families of childred, this at gaunt from famine, and clothed in mean and ragst garments. A year ago, they were in confortable commissions—now they are dependent on charge. They bring nothing but the clothes on their backgram and houses have been all abandoned—rebarrams and

ats and relatives were present on the

dinary occasion.

DIED—In Duxbury, Ist ult, Mrs. Susannah Het, widow of the late Mr. Thomas Hunt, aged one had dred years and ten months. Sie was, says the 6th Colony Memorial, the mother of nine children. Only three strivie her. Her oldest, agreed eighty, and the youngest, agreed sixty, followed her to the grant. She had thirty-seven grand-children, seventy-sar great grand-children, and twelve of the fifth generation.

Nor Bad. The Boston Advertiser prints the fellering suggestion furnished by a gentleman abroad, respecting the disposition of the Fort Donelson prine-training suggestion for the proper street of the first principle of Southern representation, fire sees tionists for three slaves, reversing the order of value.

The Senate Committee on the inquiry into the charges of disloyalty against Mr. Stark, of Oresa, have made a report, finding those charges proven.

. SELECT SCHOOL.

THE subscriber will be pleased to receive a few Yest Ladies into her charge for purposes of Instruction is English Branches, Masic and French. A Term of Its Works will commence Wednesday, May 7, 1862.

For particulars, address ABBIR B. HEI WOOL Hopedale, Milford, Mass., April 15, 1862.

THE PROGRESSIVE AGE.

Devoted to all Reforms.

THIS is a monthly Journal, of eight pages, edited by Bryan J. Butts and Harries N. Gresce, his wife, Bordales, Masse. It commences its fourth relaums in May, 1861 and, the friends of an unqualifiedly free pages are laried duly to consider in classes on their patronner. Specime opies sent to any address.

TERMS.—Single copies, 50 cents a year | cinbs of trusty names, 25.00.

Address B. J. BUTTS & H. N. GREENE. Hopedale, April 16.