





and their dead bodies dishonored and outraged in a most revolting manner, the

Whereas, no fact is more undeniable than that the traitors of the South are constantly making use of their entire slave population to dig their rifle, build their fortifications, raise the necessary food to sustain them, and in various instances among a portion of them to shoot down the Northern soldiers, give complete success to the rebellion; and, therefore,

13. Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States, in rejecting a motion to confiscate the slave property of these miserable traitors, are convicted of astounding infatuation, of utter moral cowardice, and of leaving in their hands the very power and the most potent instrumentality by which they are enabled to bid defiance to the government, and thus is practically guilty of "giving aid and comfort" to the very conspirators it brands as traitors.

power and the most potent instrumentally by which they are enabled to bid defiance to the government and thus is practically guilty of "giving aid and comfort" to the very conspirators it brands as criminals and pronounces worthy of an ignominious death.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted by the whole assembly lying in approval of them.

Adjourned to 7 1/2 o'clock.

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**EVENING.** Met according to adjournment, the president in the Chair.

Lieut. THOMAS EARLE, of Worcester, of the Massachusetts 25th Regiment, addressed the Convention. He gave many interesting details concerning the expedition of Gen. Burnside to North Carolina, in which he was a soldier. One of the speakers, he said, credited him with the escape of twenty-eight prisoners from the army total from all the camps and hospitals, though he had done what he could. He listened from his boyhood to anti-slavery lectures, and after his enlistment as a private in the

he realized what it was to be an anti-slavery man had endured a share of all the hardships of the side expedition. The night before landing at Beaufort island, a negro came out to Gen. Burnside in a boat and gave him essential information about the place, the force of the enemy, &c. The experienced Ronoke had abolitionized the young men of Water county in that regiment. For himself, he was, Universal, Immediate Emancipation. The grades had, many of them, been pro-slavery. Worcester to Hatteras, but their eyes were opened to the island. He spoke in the highest terms of Gen. Burnside, and said he had seen him welcome his own hands the fugitives from the mainland, & in his boats. The soldiers under him to day were their caps out of sight, if emancipation were effected. They were especially abolitionized by the intelligent treatment of the rebel officers, and their ac-

Mr. FOSTER.—Shame on the government!

Mrs. FOSTER.—Shame on those who fight for a government!

Lieut. EARLE.—Where would you have been, Mrs. Foster, if we had not gone to fight for you?

As soon as the slaves got confidence in him, he showed us where their masters had buried the bones.

The release of the rebel prisoners on parole has still further converts to abolition.

He had gone into the war for emancipation, alone. He felt proud of Massachusetts, and of the Union. He wished to say that the soldiers in the front line were the best of the country, and in sentiment as the campaign advanced. There were some exceptions to this among the officers; and he said that the government ought to remove, men far more numerous than the soldiers, who would not return a single fugitive than to have a fight with him. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Earle was recalled to relate an incident of his own experience at Annapolis. Gen. Dix had ordered any black men, bond or free, to enter the barracks.

A painting, *Agitive, from from Agitive*, by E. B. East (he was then a private standing guard) was allowed to pass in, and was sent to the house with Mr. E's blanket. Mr. E. told C. next morning, if any officer in the regiment was a fugitive, his gun should go on the ground for years, no matter what the consequences to him. He would drag the ball and chain for years if he would lift a finger to send a poor fugitive to slavery. When the master of the slave came, he refused admission. He went off, and meant to say was sent on North, and is now in W. A. After that midnight alarm, there was a

Mr. FOSTER said Mr. Earle had sustained her exclamation—Shame on those who fight a government! It is in complicity with the for it might put an end to it twenty-four he would. It is playing putting down the rebellion.

W. L. GARRISON spoke of his physical inability to make a speech tonight. He had been unable to attend the morning session at all. He said that if he had leaped of the course of the proceedings.

and In these he had no sympathy, though aware of a complex and paradoxical state of affairs. For

he had no pulse that did not beat for President  
against Jefferson Davis. Is there no difference  
between North and South? No difference be-  
tween Jefferson Davis and President Lincoln? How  
do we have a war? If government *designedly* in-  
cites rebellion, how do we happen to have a rebellion?  
Why is Lincoln outlawed from the South? Why  
is a great matter with slaveholders. The fact  
is a great matter has taken place in the country,

ating in Republicanism—which, though not Abolitionism, has forbidden the South longer to abide by the old compact. The North is at least anti-slavery enough for that. Mr. G. read extracts from Southern papers, showing that the hatred of the South is directed against the North.

North as a body, not against Abolitionists. The South hates freedom in name and every This conflict is the death-grapple between principles.

He, Mr. G., had not been backward in censuring President and Congress when they deserved it, trying to give credit to whosoever it was due, thought, on the whole, the progress of events had as great as could have been expected. Those who hold office by the will of the people cannot hold wholly like private men. He believed the president would move with the people.

It has been said, this administration has seen more fugitives than any other. The cases were parallel. That fugitive slaves were crowding in the District of Columbia, even though some were captured, was a proof of the value of emancipation.

That Dr. A. Then, we have had a new trade treaty with England against the slave-trade. Thousands of slaves, too, have been emancipated by the sanction of the government, and slaves are escaping in every direction. Northern Senators and Representatives, at last, have free speech on the floor of Congress. Indeed, the gains of freedom have been so rapid and magnificent, that we fail to appreciate them.

One thing remains; the ending of the war by rebellion by emancipation, and the unity of the South thereby made possible. The President binds us not so much from pro-slavery feeling as from timidity and excessive caution. He fails to realize the duty of the nation.

19. Resolved, That, now that slavery is placed in the grasp of the government, by its rebellion



Ruth Buffum,	1.00	I. Sargent,	1.00
W. Bassett, Jr.,	1.00	Mary G. Chapman,	1.00
S. Shaw,	1.00	H. Sargent,	1.00
Caroline R. Putnam,	1.00	George Adams,	1.00
M. G. Thomas,	.50	W. L. Garrison,	1.00
John T. Hilton,	.50	"Friends" and cash,	
J. B. Pierce,	1.00	in various sums,	\$9.92
B. Snow, Jr.,	1.00		

**DONATIONS**

*To the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at New England Anti-Slavery Convention, May, 1862.*

James N. Buffum, Lynn,	\$25.00
William Ashby, Newburyport,	10.00
Samuel Barrett, Concord,	10.00

E. H. Maguire,	2.00
N. White, Concord, N. H.,	5.00
Anne Atherton,	3.00
S. S. Heminway, Boston,	3.00
Georgina Otis, "	2.00
David Thayer, "	3.00
C. C. McLaughlin, Watertown,	3.00
Charles Follen, Brookline,	3.00
Richard Plumer, Jr. Newburyport	3.00

Wm. Perry, N. Bridgewater,	3.00
A. A. Bent, South Gardner,	2.00
Samuel L. Hill, Florence,	2.00
"Death to Slavery,"	2.00
Sarah E. Wall, Worcester,	2.00
P. B. Cogswell, Concord, N. H.,	2.00
E. G. Lucas, Boston,	2.00
Stephen Barker, \$2, A. B. Francis, \$2,	4.00
George S. Flint, Rutland,	2.00
Harriet Richardson, \$2, Austin Bearse, \$2	4.00

Mr. and Mrs. J. Hayward, Salem,	2.00
Jonathan Buffum, Lynn,	2.00
Wendell P. Garrison,	2.00
Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, Henry W. Carter,	
S. J. Nowell, John T. Sargent, \$1 each.	4.00

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**PLEDGES**

*To Messrs. Anti-Slavery Societies of N. E. Convention*

Wendell Phillips,	\$100.00
Mary May,	100.00
E. D. and Anna T. Draper,	100.00
George W. Simonds, Boston,	28.00
W. W. Dutcher, Hopedale,	25.00
M. A. Dutcher, "	25.00
Charles B. Dutton, Salem,	10.00

Caroline R. Putnam, Salem,	10.00
Reuben H. Ober, Boston,	10.00
Elijah Hobart, South Hingham,	5.00
I. Adams, Dorchester,	5.00
A. Newhall,	5.00
Lemuel Page,	5.00
E. B. Chase,	5.00
Daniel Mann,	5.00
S. I. Nowell,	5.00

S. J. Rowell,	6.00
Miss E. H. Day, Lewiston, Me.,	5.00
Rev. W. J. Potter,	5.00
Alden Sampson,	5.00
John C. Haynes,	5.00
Joshua T. Everett,	3.00
George W. Flanders,	2.00
A. A. Roberts,	2.00
Jarvis Lewis,	2.00

David Lewis,	2.00
A. Blanchard,	2.00
R. R. Crosby, Mary C. Sawyer, J. T. Hewes, T. Mundrucu, Emily Horn, G. L. Turner, Adams Twitchell, H. E. Lunt, Abby Harris, Mary A. Gardner, \$1 each,	10.00
G. L. Hall,	0.50

**ESSEX COUNTY.**  
The Annual Meeting of the *Essex County Anti-Slavery Society* will be held on Sunday, June 15th, at **ESSEX**, in Century Chapel; commencing at half-past 10 o'clock, A. M.  
**ANDREW T. FOSS, PARKER PILLSBURY**, and other speakers, are expected to attend.  
It is earnestly hoped and desired that the members of

It is earnestly hoped and desired that the members of the Society will take more than usual pains to be present. The times demand the earnest and united voices of all the friends of freedom and of their country.

CHARLES L. REMOND, *President.*

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**GARDNER, MASS.—An Anti-Slavery Meeting** will be held in Gardner and South Gardner, on Sunday, June 8th.

SAUEL MAY, JR., PARKER PILLBURY and other speakers are expected to be present.

**EN** HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in the Town Hall, Gloucester Harbor, on Sunday next, June 8, at 2 and 6 o'clock, P. M. Subjects: Liberty and Slavery, eternal Antagonisms. A War of Bullets and Bayonets as a means of Protection to Life and Liberty.

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**EN** NOTICE.—Members of the American, Pennyslv

nia, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies contributing annually to the funds of either of these Societies, can receive a copy of the last very valuable Report of the American Society, entitled *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year*, by sending a request to that effect to SAMUEL MAY, JR., 221 Washington Street, Boston, an enclosing stamp sufficient to pay the postage, viz., *fourteen*

**THE REJECTED STONE.**—The new edition of this book, by Rev. M. D. CONWAY, is now ready. Copies may be obtained for *gratuitous distribution* as low as twenty cents a copy, in cloth, provided ten or more copies are taken at once. Those who wish the book

The attention of our friends everywhere is earnestly called to this great opportunity of promoting the abolition of United States slavery.

DIED—In this city, May 23, CHARLES F. COOK, aged 40 years and 11 months.

At her residence in Hudson, (N. Y.) on Sunday morning, May 25th, MARIA MARIOTT, aged 76 years.

For two years past, the health of our beloved friend had been gradually failing, and the change which has now taken place she has looked forward to with sweet serenity.

ken place and has looked forward to with great solicitude, spirit, and remarkable cheerfulness. During the last few weeks of her illness she suffered much, both in body and mind, until finally the quiet translation occurred as most welcome release.

Since the early inauguration of the Anti-Slavery movement, when the *Liberator*, with its motto of "Immediate

unconditional emancipation," was first sent forth upon an important mission, our friend has been among the most faithful and devoted of the slaves' trust friends. He has shown great fidelity, and valuable testimonies in the social circle, by constant distribution of Anti-Slavery publications in the sphere of her acquaintance, by generous hospitality, and liberal donations to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

She was the last surviving sister of the late Charles Marriott. Though a member of the Society of Friends she had for many years withheld her active co-operation because of the Society's painful indifference to the Anti-Slavery cause. Deplored the unhalloved influences which were fellow in the wake of the horrible, bloody demon

She was a most thoughtful, benevolent friend of the colored people, the poor and friendless, the orphans of the city, by whom she will be greatly missed.

She accepted with a lively faith the doctrine of continued, individual, conscious immortality of the spirit, as the view that the change called death does not wholly sever the delicate links by which we are all most closely bound together, both in the present and the hereafter.

nearest her in the sphere of loving companionship.

A. M. F.

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## Representative Women.

Imogene Mott. Maria Weston Chapman.

Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child,  
Abby Kelley Foster, Harriet Beecher Stowe,  
Harriet Beecher Stowe, Antoinette L. Brown.

ly mailed, and in perfect condition.  
An early application is necessary, as the edition is re-  
limited. **WILLIAM C. NELL,**  
Anti-Slavery Rooms, 221 W. Washington St., Boston.  
June 6.



## Poetry.

## "THE GLORIOUS FOURTH."

Extracted from a neatly printed and truly graphic Poem, worthy of a wide circulation for its intrinsic merits, entitled "OUR FLAG"—in Four Cantos—by T. H. Underwood—published by Carleton, 415 Broadway, New York.

Ring out, O bells! the Nation's Sabbath-day!  
The glorious Fourth! Ye people, clap your hands!  
Hang up your banners! (hide the chains away!)  
Let "Freedom" sound o'er all these goodly lands!  
What matter if our gallant ensign waves  
Above the fetters of four million slaves!

Drama, beat your rattapans! shrill-screaming fife,  
Shriek "Hail Columbia!" with resolute air!  
Let shouts and bonfires mix in friendly strife!  
With anthems loud and patriotic prayer!  
Hoarse-throated cannon call unto the sea!  
Four million slaves may answer "Jubilee!"

Our nation's ensign bravely cuts the sky—  
Its stars are flashing from their lofty height!  
Down, bayonet—your suggestive lie  
Expediently will cover from the sight:  
Hint not of "slaves," but shout the "Glorious cause!"  
The "Constitution!" "Declaration!" "Laws!"

Ha! here is one who in his fetters stands—  
The truth will out—he standeth here a slave!  
Strong ropes are knotted on his neck and hands!  
'Tis said he dies the death that knows no grave—  
The death of death—the appalling death of fire!  
His feet are planted on his funeral pyre.

The staff that lifts our banner to the sky  
Is now his stake—his arms are pinioned there,  
Above his head, and painfully too high—  
(The scorners say, "an attitude of prayer.")  
Chains round the staff and round his body twine,  
And to the "sacred pole" his limbs confine.

Here are three men, whose manhood is unknown  
In Heaven's court, three men of vulgar speech,  
And faces hard, by evil passions grown  
To vulpine hideousness. They're holding each  
A pine-wood torch; in readiness they stand  
To vindicate the honor of their land!

The ruffian mob in thousands gather round—  
The wolfish pack who dragged him through the street!  
They torture him with many a grievous wound—  
His body fair, and burn his hands and feet.  
Sublimely silent, he awaits his death  
With brow serene and even-tempered breath.

A "man of God," (the blasphemy I write  
To show what brute-depravity has done  
To sacred things!) in ministerial white,  
Is standing here. How glows his tongue doth run  
With lies on his country and his time!  
He calls on God to sanctify this crime!

Repeat the standard falsehoods of his class;  
Is such in Bible laws and legal lore;  
Is such in sophistry of sounding brass,  
In reason's blatant. With a pious roar  
He deals anathemas on seed of Ham,  
And curses Canaan with an ungodly clam.

This priest of Baal by the victim stands,  
Parades his learning, and his lust as well:  
In holy horror, and with lifted hands,  
Consigns all Abolitionists to hell—  
Belators Freedom with the Holy Writ,  
Then goes his way, pedantic of his wit.

The torchmen then apply their ready match,  
And soon the blaze assails the victim's feet:  
Wild laughter rises, as the faggots catch,  
In approbation. From each lane and street  
The human tide rolls onward in its ire  
To swell the horrid carnival of fire.

The plucky pine the native instinct shows  
For negro flesh to feed its appetite;  
In flaming fury now it leaps and glows,  
And glowing round him, while his form from sight:  
A laugh of triumph is the only sound

Right over this baptismal font of fire  
Most haughtily the nation's colors wave!  
The shovelling of the mob reach high—  
The upward-leaping laughter of the slave—  
A laugh of joy! the soul's loud jubilee,  
As it goes up, through flames, to Heaven's realm!

Now upward springing from his human seat  
The unbending, angry blaze assails  
The towering staff, and like a growling beast  
Climbs up the wood, and on the banner vaults;  
It's fiery fangs the shivering ensign catch,  
And clasp and curl it in their voracious grasp!

They clutch it close, and hold it shivering there!  
They fiercely pluck each glittering star away!  
Ah, God! a flag of fire floats on the air,  
Grows red, then black, and parting from its stay,  
As instant waves a pirate rag, and lo!  
It falls to ashes on the sod below!

'Tis emblematic of a nation's thrall,  
And of the doom that his good time will bide;  
In blood and fire shall his red fetters fall,  
And the arise, redeemed and purified:  
The conquering Right will leave to after time  
The giant GINER of a giant CRIME.

## THE SOLDIER'S NURSE.

[The other day, Col. Howe was conducting Prof. Hitchcock, of the Union Theological Seminary, through the Hotel Rooms on Broadway, when they found an accomplished young lady, belonging to a distinguished family in this city, reading the Scriptures to a sick and wounded soldier.]

Our sweet-faced Florence Nightingale,  
Who watches till the stars grow pale,  
Sits like a guardian angel near,  
To bind the wound and dry the tear.  
On pillows where her shadow falls  
Are soft wings from the starry walls,  
And there the wounded soldier dreams  
Near angels that come down in dreams.  
Her voice is low, and soft, and sweet,  
Her step is light with silent feet,  
Her heart with pity overflows,  
Her tears are dew-drops on a rose.  
The noblest man in all the land  
Would kneel to kiss the gentle hand  
With which she smoothes the hero's brow,  
Or wipes the grateful tears that flow.  
Who would not witness and business bear,  
To win a smile from one so fair?

—N. Y. Tribune. G. W. BUNNEY.

## HUNTER'S PROCLAMATION.

God's law of compensation worketh sure,  
So we may know the right shall ever endure!  
"Freeser free!" Get! the pale doth bound  
At the high, glorious, heaven-promised sound.  
That greets our ears from Carolina's shore  
"Freeser free!" and slavery is no more!  
Beneath the banner followed up the slave;  
But now, a Hunter, noble, true and brave,  
Proclaims the right to each who draws a breath,  
To lift himself from out a living death,  
And plant his feet on Freedom's happy soil,  
Content to take her wages for his toil,  
And look to God, the author of his days,  
For food and raiment—standing forth his praise.

## BE TRUE.

Thou must be true to thyself,  
If thou the truth wouldst teach;  
Thy soul must witness, if thou  
Another's soul wouldst reach.  
It needs the overflow of heart  
To give the lips full speech.  
Think truly, and thy thoughts  
Shall tell the world's famine feed:  
Speak truly, and each word of thine  
Shall be a fruitful seed.  
Live truly, and thy life shall be  
A great and noble deed.

## The Liberator.

## THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention commenced its sessions at the Melodeon, in Boston, on Wednesday, May 28th.

At 10 o'clock, the Convention was called to order by EDWARD QUINCY, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The Committee of Arrangements proposed, through Samuel May, Jr., the following as Officers of the Convention:

**For President**—EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.  
**Vice Presidents**—William Ashby, of Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; Andrew T. Foss, Manchester, N. H.; Leonard Chase, Milford, N. H.; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Elmhurst; Albert M. Chase, Canton; John T. Sargent, Boston; William I. Bowditch, Brookline; Elias Richards, Weymouth; Ellis Allen, Medford; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Elizabeth B. Chase, Valley Falls, R. I.

**Secretaries**—Samuel May, Jr., Charles K. Whipple, Wendell P. Garrison.

**Business Committee**—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, William H. Fish, E. H. Heywood, Wm. Wells Brown, Charles Follen, Geo. W. Stacy, Aaron M. Powell, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster.

**Finance Committee**—E. D. Draper, Hopkinton; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Maria S. Page, Boston; Elbridge Sprague, Abington; Reuben H. Ober, Boston; Anna B. Powell, Ghent, N. Y.

The Convention accepted the officers thus nominated.

EDMUND QUINCY, in taking the Chair, addressed the Convention. He thanked the Convention for the honor conferred upon him, in electing him to preside over its deliberations. He explained the grounds upon which the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had decided not to call together the New England Convention last year. He reviewed briefly the political anti-slavery history of the country during the two years past, showing how the will and purpose of the Northern people had triumphed over the conspiracy of the South and the more miserable cabals of their Northern sympathizers, in their purpose to elevate slavery to be the supreme power of the land. He pointed out and enforced the duties of the Abolitionists in this critical and momentous hour. He referred to the general satisfaction felt throughout the North at the Proclamation of Gen. David Hunter, and his remarks were warmly applauded. He expressed the disappointment and pain to generally felt when President Lincoln interposed his veto upon that great act of emancipation; but added his conviction that the President would himself exercise that great power whenever he saw the life of the Nation to be depending upon the proclamation of liberty to all. He thought we were never in so great danger of foreign intervention as at this moment; and that the President's late proclamation had, however differently meant, done more to complicate our foreign relations than any other thing which has happened. When, added to this, we consider the late enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law at Washington, it is easy to see that that large middle class of the British nation, which has hitherto held back their Government from intervention in our national affairs, will be very likely to lose all interest in our war, and all hope that it will prove a war for freedom, and even to call on their Government to interpose their power with an anti-slavery purpose. He again exhorted the anti-slavery people of the North to stand firm, and hoped that their labors might make it unnecessary ever again to hold a New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

MR. GARRISON, from the Committee of Business, reported the following resolutions, the reading of which was frequently interrupted by applause:

1. Resolved, That, first of all, we congratulate the true friends of their country every where, and especially those who have toiled so long and untiringly in the Anti-Slavery field, upon the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia by act of Congress—an act whereby the Seat of Government has, after seventy years of shame and opprobrium, been rescued from the accursed influences and manifold horrors of the presence of that barbarous system, and henceforth consecrated to freedom and free institutions.

2. Resolved, That the glory of this deed is dimmed by the fact, that it was carried through both houses of Congress by a strict party vote—the Republican members, to their lasting historic honor, voting in the affirmative, and the Democratic members, to their enduring infamy, recording their votes against it; nevertheless, a deed sanctioned and demanded alike by the Constitution of the United States, by the popular voice, and by all the claims of humanity and justice, the consequences of which cannot fail to have a vital and overmastering influence in the future in shaping national legislation, to be in all respects blessed and beneficial, and to lead the way to the extinction of slavery in every part of the land.

3. Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be proffered to the Hon. Charles Sumner and the Hon. Henry Wilson in special, and to those other members of Congress in general, through whose persistent efforts and eloquent words this long-deferred deed of mercy and righteousness was at last consummated.

4. Resolved, That, since the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia has occurred, the frightful paradox has been presented of slave-hunters from Maryland and Virginia swarming the Capital in quest of their fugitive slaves, and in various instances recovering them both by military and civil process; so that with the songs of jubilee have been mingled the shrieks and wailings of despair, and scenes the most joyous and the most distressing have been strangely blended in the same hour, within the same limits, and under the same governmental constitution.

5. Resolved, That whatever constitutional obligation may have existed for the rendition of fugitive slaves in any of the States, there is and has been none in relation to the District of Columbia; and Congress, therefore, should lose no time in declaring freedom to every person found within the limits of the Capital, against any and every slaveholding claimant whatever.

6. Resolved, That special credit is to be awarded to the Government, for having at this juncture made a treaty with England, whereby the right of search is equitably provided for in relation to the suppression of the foreign slave trade; so that the ocean slave-traders may no longer find shelter or protection, as they have hitherto done, under the American flag.

7. Resolved, That it will ever redound to the military sagacity, noble patriotism, and considerate humanity of Gen. Fremont, that, in August last, he decreed the liberation of all the slaves owned by the rebels in the State of Missouri, then a portion of his military district; and the enthusiastic manner in which it was universally applauded throughout the North was demonstrative proof of the popular feeling in regard to the most effective method for suppressing the rebellious movement of the South.

8. Resolved, That a still more effective blow, one on a wider scale, was recently struck at the rebellion by Gen. Hunter, in decreeing that "the persons in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves, are forever free" (these States comprising the Military Department of the South over which he is placed in command), on the ground that "slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible."

9. Resolved, That in swiftly revoking these decrees of Gen. Fremont and Gen. Hunter, President Lincoln has twice officially interposed, with whatever "hesitancy" of purpose, in the most direct manner, so as to give free real and encouragement to the traitors who are banded together for the overthrow of the govern-

ment—to disgust and dishearten the uncompromising friends of free institutions—to needlessly prolong a bloody fratricidal war, at an enormous cost of money and sacrifice of human life—and to render more certain the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, at no distant day, by the governments of Europe.

10. Resolved, That the eagerness with which President Lincoln stands ready to guard slavery as a system from essential injury, even in those States where there is no evidence of a spark of loyalty remaining in any bosom, is manifested by his indecent haste to revoke the truly patriotic emancipation decree of Gen. Hunter, on mere newspaper authority, without waiting to hear from Gen. Hunter, whether he had really issued any such decree; and, if so, the reasons for so doing; thus, prejudging the case, and condemning before hearing the man to whom he had entrusted plenary powers as a military commander in his special district.

11. Resolved, That as, in his recent message, the President has withdrawn all right and power from the various commanders in the field to emancipate the slaves even of rebel masters, as a military necessity, or in any emergency however essential to the success of the army, and intimates that he alone is to decide when such act of emancipation may be properly proclaimed,—and as slavery and rebellion are synonymous terms,—the only statement he can make to the country and the world for such disastrous interference is at once to make the decree of Gen. Hunter cover every slave State, instead of Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, and so to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"—thus securing the blessing of God, a glorious and speedy victory, and a permanent Union based upon universal freedom and equal rights, without regard to complexion or race.

12. Resolved, That we recognize SLAVERY, and SLAVERY only, as the real root of the rebellion which now seeks to ruin or to rule our nation, and as the sole cause of the war which has been forced upon us by the leading slaveholders of the South; that every fact in the inception and prosecution of the rebellion shows it to have been a deep-laid scheme, of unparalleled iniquity, to establish slavery forever, and to reduce to a subservient and dependent position all the interests of freedom; that we cannot fail to see, in SLAVERY, an enemy of our government and free institutions, implacable, insidious, and incessant in treason and plot so long as it shall live; and, seeing these things, we, assembled in the name of Freedom, and in behalf of the sacred and inalienable rights of Man, demand that this accursed thing be brought to an end; and we do hereby call upon our government to use the power, put in their hands by the slaveholders themselves,—a power which may now be constitutionally as well as most righteously exercised,—to terminate the War and the Rebellion together by abolishing their cause,—a cause which, if suffered to continue, will never cease to threaten the peace, prosperity, and very existence of the Nation.

13. Resolved, That though, for Freedom's sake, we might justly, as a nation, risk our prosperity and our existence, it will be only a deed of the utmost shame and disgrace, if, for base Slavery's sake, we continue longer to imperil all that our fathers gained, all that we enjoy, and all the vast promise of the future for our children.

14. Resolved, That the President and Congress, by not making the necessary use of their power for the abolition of slavery and the confiscation of the rebel property, neglect in an inexcusable manner the interests of the people of the North and the safety of the republic; that they unnecessarily prolong the war, unnecessarily risk the lives of thousands, unnecessarily impose upon the people a daily sacrifice of millions of dollars, and unnecessarily tax posterity to pay for the crimes of slaveholders, and the faults of those who conduct the war against them.

15. Resolved, That we declare that it is the right and the duty of the people to insist that the war shall be no longer carried on in the interest of slavery, and that the President and Congress be held responsible for all the blood and money which are sacrificed rather for the preservation of slavery and consideration towards the rebels, than for the establishment of freedom and the benefit of the people.

Hon. FRANCIS W. BIRD, of Walpole, was introduced to the meeting. He described the state of bitter and malignant feeling prevailing in Norfolk, Virginia,—which he had lately visited,—towards the people of the North. He described also the condition of the escaped slaves, (or "contrabands,") at Fortress Monroe,—the friendly and successful labors of Mr. Wilder (of Boston) in their behalf,—the honorable course of Gen. Wood towards them,—but the injustice and ill-treatment they have suffered, and are still suffering, at the hands of many of the United States army officers. He spoke of their schools, so-called, and of the great pains they took to learn, under many most discouraging circumstances.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was warmly applauded as he took the floor. He thought the facts which Mr. Bird had given us were the key to the whole subject. They showed the prevalent feeling of the country towards the colored man, and indicated that the country is not ready to settle the question, as alone it can be settled, by doing justice to the enslaved and oppressed portion of the land. Mr. Phillips recounted many other facts which point to the same conclusion. He said that at London, of all the ministers there representing other nations, Mr. Adams, the United States Minister, is the only one who refuses to recognize the Republic of Hayti, and who holds no intercourse with the Haytian Minister. He spoke of the far more pregnant fact that President Lincoln had so hastily annulled Gen. Hunter's act of emancipation, as one which had taken twenty-five per cent. at least from the prospect of restoring any union of the States. He referred to the very many and most important services rendered to our army and the Union cause by black men and slaves. He spoke of the recent votes of five Massachusetts Representatives AGAINST the bill to set free the slaves of rebels, by which votes the bill was defeated,—Dawes, Delano, Rice, Train, Thomas, treading to the ground this great emancipation proposal which had been brought before the House. The Cabinet of the President, by their delays,—McClellan by his delay, and by permitting his enemy again and again to escape him,—the President, by allowing Merced, the representative of a foreign government, to go in his official capacity to the heart of the rebel camp,—are all essentially traitors to the Union, whatever their aim and disposition be. The President is the only man who ever dared to thrust back a million of freed men into slavery again. Now, I rejoice, in this month of May, to say that we want every Governor of every Northern State to take the same position which Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts has taken in his late letter to Secretary Stanton. (Immense cheering.) We want every Senator and every Representative in Congress to take the stand of Senator Grimes of Iowa, who refuses to vote to the Administration another man or another dollar, until he knows what is to be done with them. Our duty now is, if we would maintain the Union and save the country, to call upon Congress to address the President by memorial, to remove the present Commander-in-Chief, and to put Sigel, or Fremont, or some person ready to fight the battles of the Union, in his place. "I move, sir, that this Convention request the President to remove Gen. McClellan, and put Gen. Sigel in his place." (Loud applause.)

Adjourned to 4 before 2.

Afternoon. Met according to adjournment, the President in the chair. On motion, several persons were added to the officers of the Convention.

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, thought that no Society in history had ever been better vindicated in its purposes and principles than this. Only to-day were these beginning to be understood and recognized. The simple axioms of truth and liberty had hitherto been regarded by the community as dangerous and fanatical. It had been the province of this Society to proclaim the moral laws of God's universe,

and that they can no more be violated than the physical laws. As legislation to the contrary, in the latter case, would be senseless and futile, so all legislation against the moral law—the higher law—has met and must ever meet the same fate. Our infidelity consists in denying the superiority of human statutes to the divine. When Mr. Seward broached this doctrine, the whole land rose in derision. To-day, the general belief is on our side. So this Society has ever declared the right way to be the safe way, and conversely, that wrong-doing is always unsafe. Events to-day are sustaining us. This war results from the transgression of our fathers—from their compromise with evil. Nor does it matter with what motives they acted; the mischief has been produced all the same. This Society never asked for emancipation by the sword—by blood. It only appealed to the American people to use God's weapons of reason and argument, but they would not. They tied the power, but they squandered it. The clergy alone might have abolished slavery and saved the country. To their infidelity is due the bloodshed of the hour. What if now they are crying for the Union, and becoming anti-slavery? For thirty years they have been appealed to in vain.

Mr. Phillips's portrayal of the character of the war this morning was just and truthful. There has been no desire to touch the cause of the rebellion. The Government proposes to return, after the war, to the old condition of things, and to the old barbaries of the slaveholders' rule. Hence the lack of energy in prosecuting the war. Gen. Scott was not in earnest—he wanted reconciliation. Amid all the (necessary) violations of the Constitution, the one thing sacred is and has been slavery. Mr. F. believed the President would (only give him time enough) be driven to emancipation. But he feared he would make up his mind just five minutes too late. The action of the Government resembles that of the old man who pelted the boy in his apple-tree with grass to bring him down. It takes stones to do it; but when Fremont or Hunter tries to fling them, the President hinders him.

The history of the Society is all clear—in principles and measures. Now for our duty, in the future. Take Illinois, and consider her black code, her exclusion of the colored race from her soil and privileges. We need agents there and throughout all the North-western States. Prejudice against the blacks is everywhere exhibited. In the army, the slaves that give information are restored to their masters, to be flogged to death. All the meritorious deeds of the blacks in the war have not been rewarded and recognized as if done by white men.

The work of the Society is in a good condition, but unfinished. Our agents should be maintained and multiplied. Mr. F. was hopeful that he should live to see slavery abolished.

Hon. ANASAWALKER, of North Brookfield, was next introduced. He said, he revisited this platform after an absence of fifteen years—caused by the assumption here of the disunion doctrine. He could not see then how slavery could be peacefully abolished by those means. But to-day he felt himself invited by the call of the meeting, and that duty urged him to attend. He came to advocate the right duty and necessity of immediate emancipation under the war power. Though separated so long from his old friends, he had never ceased to respect and admire them. The slaveholders themselves had taken slavery out of the Union, and now he was ready to say that they should not bring it back again. They saw, from the increase in the production of cotton with an astonishing increase in its price, how widely its consumption was spreading. They saw, too, that they had not sufficient slaves to keep pace with the demand. Moreover, white foreign immigrants were engaging in the cotton cultivation. This was one great cause of the rebellion, and of their forcible removal from the Union. Let it never be restored! Separation or emancipation must take place. A restoration of the old Union is an absurdity—an impossibility. We must subjugate the South, but we cannot do it while the slaves are left. To defeat slavery in battles is not to subjugate a people. The British found it so in '76. We have had no war yet, and yet we have lost 50,000 men. We have been striking the South with the one hand, and propping up slavery with the other; therefore, said Mr. W., I am going to cry—Give us Emancipation, or give us peace! There is, too, a lack of public sentiment. We are like England in the Crimean war. We think everything is progressing well. There is no criticism, volunteer, or offered. We complain that the President and Congress do not emancipate; they are but servants; where is the public command for them to obey?

[A Voice.—In the case of Fremont, the public uttered its voice for freedom.]

For a moment possibly, but how quickly the chief presses and the popular enthusiasm succumbed! Hunter's proclamation is that sustained: Is Governor Andrew's letter sustained? No. Between emancipation and separation there must be a choice—and miles (said Mr. W.) is for the former. Now a word as to colonization. This is a delusion that will tickle the conservatives till emancipation; after that, as in Jamaica, they will want all the blacks they have, and more too. The South is a desert without labor. Never fear it will abandon its workers. The current will set Southward, not Northward.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER introduced the following resolutions, saying he thought those from the Business Committee, reported this morning, hardly up to the demands of the hour:

Resolved, That although the rebellion is without the shadow of justification or excuse on the part of its authors, and is characterized by atrocities rarely equalled in modern warfare, it is, nevertheless, but the legitimate fruit of our base and wicked treatment of our colored fellow-countrymen; and we are free to declare that we have no desire to see it suppressed, and peace restored to our distracted country, till the last fetter shall be broken, and the government established upon the broad and comprehensive principles of impartial justice.

Resolved, That as the events of the past year have made no essential change in the spirit or action of our national government—the infamous Fugitive Slave Law being still in full force—and the national arm still uplifted to suppress slave insurrections—our position towards it is unchanged, and we renew the avowal of our purpose to have no lot or part in a Union which tolerates the presence of a single slave.

Resolved, That the dogged perseverance of our national government in holding four millions of our loyal countrymen in slavery, while their masters are engaged in a bloody and atrocious rebellion, challenges the scorn and detestation of the civilized world, and invites, if it does not justify, the interference of foreign nations in the settlement of a controversy to which we as a nation have shown ourselves utterly incompetent.

He did not believe (as other speakers seemed to) that in the past twenty-four months any great and gratifying change had occurred in relation to the colored people. Church and government are alike at fault, with rare exceptions. Who does not see that slavery is the cause and the weak point of the rebellion? Yet who demands abolition? We sacrifice our sons rather than strike off the chains of the slave. This is no hopeful moment. Never was ardent warfare more needed. Slavery remaining the same as for the past eighty years, our course and duty are the same, or should be. He could not see that slavery had lost a particle of its attractiveness among the people of the North. Parson Brownlow is everywhere received, though asking for the execution of ourselves and associates. Where are the clergy this day? Only in Union meetings, not on this platform. Union means slavery,—and the war is for that. Therefore he (Mr. F.) had no desire to see the war end till every slave is free. He would neither enlist in the war nor encourage others to enlist, till the government should adopt the abolition policy. The sons of this Society have been set to the infamous work of capturing fugitive slaves. There are no obstacles to emancipation,

and that they have shown since the beginning of the war their capacity for freedom. One of two things is certain: either the war is no war for freedom, or he who tolerates slavery for any moment is a traitor. We have never heard the war proclaimed to be for freedom, or, on the contrary, it is declared to be for Union and restoration. When emancipation is used as a *desideratum*, there will be no virtue in it. Yet this is all the government hints at. Abraham Lincoln is as truly a slaveholder as Jefferson Davis. He cannot even contemplate emancipation without colonization. Slavery is not abolished in the District. No one is free there without his free papers.

He (Mr. F.) wished to protest against all putting off the harness and alighting from the warfare. That popular heat which effervesced in August, 1861, cooled in forty-eight hours. What was it worth? The people don't want liberty, except for themselves. This Society should warn all young men to withhold their support from this government until it declares itself for emancipation.

J. B. SWASEY said: In all great public questions, we should all have patience. If we see clearly the end or the result, we must wait for a slow arrival there—we must not expect a jump or a leap to it. He (Mr. F.) saw a vast difference between to-day and two years ago, and that difference justified him in sustaining the Government against Jefferson Davis, while still being a disunion abolitionist? Was the late proclamation of the President nothing? Did it not clearly enough portend emancipation? It was a point from which to take a line of demarcation, and the tendency is toward liberty. Is abolition in the District of Columbia no proof of sincerity and progress in our rulers? We have begun to march on the road to universal emancipation. Mr. Foster, while as ready to support Jefferson Davis as the Federal Government, admitted unawares that the South had hoped to subjugate the North. The war, then, is a war of self-defense: who can help siding with the North?

J. N. BURNETT, of Lynn, rose to endorse the speech of Mr. Swasey, and say "ditto to Mr. Burke." He had learned that there were degrees in wrong, and when it came to choosing between Jeff. Davis and Abraham Lincoln, he had no hesitation in supporting the latter. The changes in the President have been real and cheering, if slow. We must be patient. Other changes in other directions are equally gratifying. The wealthy classes are learning the cause and the cure of the rebellion. There is no comparison between the leaders South and North. The former go for unlimited despotism. Mr. Lincoln would emancipate, if the people would sustain him. Mr. Foster had discouraged the young men from going to the war, but he (Mr. B.) would encourage them, and go himself when needed. Nor are the clergy as they used to be. They have ceased to preach pro-slavery. [A Voice: "They preach for a salary, instead of preaching wrong! No more licences to sell human beings in the District of Columbia! Even the London Times is converted. Therefore, let us not fail to recognize and help on the progress of events. Let us send out agents, and act as agents ourselves wherever we go.]

Resolved, That, so long as our National Government neglects to announce a war policy consistent with the high principles of justice and universal liberty asserted by our forefathers, and demanded by every principle of Christianity, honor and wise policy, we hold ourselves, and all true patriots, as bound to stand aloof from the present contest. We accept the reproach of "conditional patriotism," and vindicate it as the only patriotism worthy of rational and responsible beings; and we announce, as the essential condition of our support, that the Government shall show itself worthy the support of the friends of equal justice to all men.

Adjourned to the evening, 7½ o'clock.

Evening. The President in the chair. The following Anti-Slavery Hymn, written for the occasion by George W. Stacy, of Milford, was sung by the Convention:

O Father, from above,  
Send thy good spirit here;  
The spirit of thy love,  
That "casteth out all fear."  
O may we stand,  
By truth set free,  
A noble band  
For Liberty!

Why should we halt and wait?  
Our work is well begun;  
And know we not our fate,  
If work is left undone?  
O give us heart,  
To run the race;  
Nor may we part  
With heavenly grace.

Ab, what an hour is this!  
How pregnant with our fate!  
Say, is it we or they,  
For which the millions wait?  
Who long have borne  
With flesh all torn  
The galling chain,  
"Mid sweat and pain!"

The night is near at hand,  
And what a night will be,  
If God's divine command,  
To set his people free,  
Shall still remain  
Unheard and blank,  
And every chain  
Our death-knell clank!

No! by the help of God,  
We'll set the captive free;  
We must obey the word,  
That word is LIBERTY!  
A word of right  
For every soul  
That sees the light,  
Or feels earth's roll.

Still onward! is the cry—  
The battle must be won!  
Raise, make the standard high,  
Unfold it to the sun!  
Shout, shout and sing,  
Nor cease the voice,  
Till earth shall ring,  
And man rejoice!

A very interesting letter in this day's New York Tribune, from the army near Fredericksburg, Virginia, describing many important services rendered to the Union army by loyal black slaves in that neighborhood, was read to the Convention, which manifested a great interest in its details.

WM. WELLS BROWN was then introduced, and made an able and forcible speech in vindication of the negro race, against the malicious aspersions of those whose object it is to eternize slavery on this continent. [A full report of this speech will be given in the Liberator.]

ANNA E. DICKINSON, of Philadelphia, was then introduced. She said: It is said we can conquer without emancipation. The rebellion is almost crushed—our armies are pressing southward—the most arduous approaches, when all things will be restored as of old. The South, having been deceived in regard to Mr. Lincoln and the aims of the Republican party, went to war to protect slavery. Now, perhaps, they are beginning to see that Mr. Lincoln is not so far from a slave-catcher, after all. The loyalty of the South is a myth. It will of course grow, as our armies advance, because between hanging and loyalty the advocates of a sinking cause can have but one choice. Yet where is the Unionism of New Orleans? Citizens shot down for cheering the American flag; the Mayor submitting as the conquered to conquerors. So in Norfolk: the Mayor dares to call us enemies to our faces, and to refer to his friends the rebels! The same story everywhere. We may beat their armies everywhere, take every city and seaport: what then? Subjugated, are they subdued? They would rise in sixty days again, should the military arm be withdrawn. Success cannot gild our banners while the shadow of the blacks obscures it. Two thousand of our army have died monthly in the border States of disease in the cold weather: figure the number under the heat of summer in the Gulf States! Since these things are so, when Gen. Hunter, considering besides that there are no loyal whites in his department, as his predecessor had found, resolved to increase his forces by the blacks whose loyalty he had put to the

proof, and declared them freemen forever,—he, who in 1858 declared that this Government could not exist half slave and half free, annulled the proclamation from the White House! Kentucky, which furnished the halter for liberty in the person of John Brown, he strangled her again, through her representative in the Presidential chair!

In the field, Gen. Mitchell rejects the bondmen who flee to him for protection. Everywhere those who bring us the most important intelligence are liable to be thrust back into slavery, there to be whipped, tortured, burned to death.

How do the brave young hearts return to us from the war? How many go from us, and never return? And we have nothing to do with slavery! What are our sufferings to those of the slave girl, or the slave mother, lashed from the embrace of her children! Has your purity no feeling for purity outraged?—your parental affections no sympathy for the lacerated love of the slaves? Can you hesitate to speak the word—Be free! God has put slavery into our hands to choke it. He alone should be able to take it out again alive. Let us storm the slave system, in Smith took Fort Donelson. If the President will give us the order, let us go ourselves.

E. H. HEYWOOD then addressed the Convention. The key-note of the hour has been struck in the preceding speeches: recognition of the humanity and manhood of the negro. The present struggle is the old conflict between the conscientious thought of the humble and the might of monarchs. This is not Democracy on trial, but in grapple with the Slave Oligarchy, and the choice of the people is, abolish the slaveholders or be abolished! May it be the fate of Abraham Lincoln to surpass the Father of his country, by tearing out that bloody stripe of the Constitution which Washington fixed there! We have had successes, we have an honest, a humane government, as the world goes; but this is not enough. We yet have the black code in Illinois, the Fugitive Slave Law in the District of Columbia, and four million slaves at the South.