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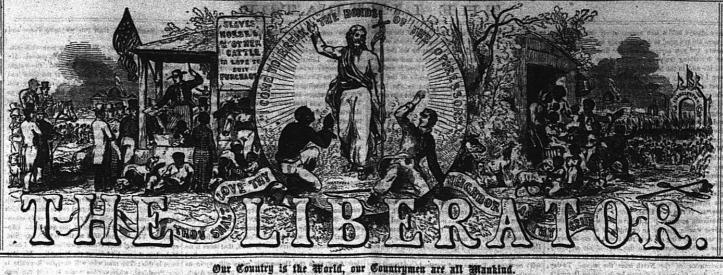
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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial femilies, be are not responsible for any debts of the prict, vi: "Westell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Respire, vi: "Mystell Phillips, Vi: "Mystell P

VL LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



J. B. YERRINTON & BON, Printers

continue to the Laws of wan; and by the laws of wan invaded country has all its laws and municipal institions sweet by the board, and KANTAL POWER PARKY. TALKS OF THE PARKY TALKS OF THE PARKY THE OWNER PARKY THE OWNER PARKY. THE PARKY T

when your country is actually in war, whether

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

"Llay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-hary authority takes, for the time, the place of all munic-ipal institutions, and SLAVERS ARONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where player critic have the scalarity management of the subject, not only the Prescriptor of the United States, but the COMMANDER of the ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMARK-GIFATION OF THE SLAVES. From the instant that the sinveholding States bosons that thesize of a war, cavin, savile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Communication of the communications.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1788.

The Liberator.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Penegraphically reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 22.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 11.

The closing meeting of the Society was held at the Cooper Institute, on Wednesday evening, and was moded by a large and intelligent audience, which anded by a large and shall. Most of those pres mivers, evidently, in full sympathy with the set yes, concern, and the radical utterances of the same speakers called forth the utmost enthusiasm. The meeting was called to order by Mr. Garrison, that the exercises would comm the singing of an appropriate song by James G. Cark, the poet-vocalist of Western New York.

Mr. Clark sang "The People's Advent," which as beartily applauded.

The President—I wish to submit a resolution t wating which I have no doubt will meet you

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Besired, That this meeting would record its gratisation at the evidence that have been furnished, non time to time, of the extensive and deep sympany let by the majority of the people of Great Britain with the people of America in their struggle with the seedies of breedom and free institutions; and amongst those referees, we refer with especial pleasure to the ability of the seedies of seeding conduct of the industrial classes the manufacturing districts, to the numerous addresses and resolutions adopted in public meetings, a the internal letter received in this country with the signatures of nearly four thousand ministers of sign, of various denominations, and to a similar scene tigned by nearly two thousand of the electric Spotiaid. Also the timely and eloquent utmices of such representatives of public sentiment unexp Ethompson, (lood applause.) John Bright, moved Spithuse.) John Stuart Mill, William Edurif Foots. Cairns and Newman, Gen. Persont Thompson, Revs. Bapist Noel and Newman 2d. Peets. Coldwin Smith and Nichol, Washington Thins and Engraphase; it he Daily News, the Leodon Kanis Ster (apphase; the Daily News, the Leodon Manis Ster (apphase; the Daily News, the Leodon Kenis Mercury. Resolved, That this meeting would rec

In paying this tribute of our grantitude to the fiends on the other side of the Atlantic whose hearts are publishing with our own, and mingding with all our spiritions on the side of freedom, I may say, thout tavidiousness, that of all those who have ben the most efficient in calling forth the expression of the people of England in favor of our governmen and against the Southern Confederacy, no man i comparable to George Thompson, who is soon to ad-dress you. (Loud applause.) And that you may ony on this subject better than my ow it me real an extract from a letter of a distinguish he Established Church-one of the delepine with the Rev. Dr. Massie, who brought ove headress signed by more than four thousand of the chip of Great Britain. I refer to the Rev. John H.

Figure, He says:—

Ser, if the American people be disposed to award shifter school-gloment to those efforts than that sight extended on the treedy, to that extent George Thompson that he triedly, to that extent George Thompson that he triedly, to that extent George Thompson that he triedly is the same triedly to the state of the work hamplends of the occasion made the man young the same triedly in the same triedly to the same triedly and and contains the shoot of the great need.

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Set all vish especially to be observed in this contains the shoot of her great need.

Set all vish especially to be observed in this contains the same still vish especially to see very the set of the same triedly as the straight, that human freedom was only a seed the same the same the same that the same tried as the same tried as the same triedly as the same triedly as the same triedly as the same triedly as the same of the war the one great cases for which he had lived and labored would be samed and consecrated by the fierce sacrament of last.

id the second of compliment of the two."

ilere now the pleasure of introducing the tru and our country, of free institutions, of university—George Thomrson, of England.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON.

Mr. Thompson was received with enthusiastic and plengrd applause. When silence was restored, he ollows :-

Sask you, Mr. President, for the resolution you relatited to this meeting, and I thank you, is adjectionen, for the cordial manner in which and gendemen, for the cordial manner in which share received it—may I say, adopted it! (Applement) is all that is therein expressed, I can person the person of the same of except in regard to the application of its one of except in regard to the application of its one of except in regard to the application of its one of except in regard to the application of its one of except in regard to the application of its one of except in the and as it is but a large or yourselves; and as it is but a large months since I left England as a far three years previously I was occupied to the discussion of matters relating to the matter, releiting, the rupture of the States, the house it he war, and the prospects of Union and States, it may not be inappropriate to address the war, and the prospects of Union and States and the prospects of the state of popular three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways are three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways are three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways are three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways are three ways and the prospects of the state of popular three ways are three ways and the prospects of the state of the

ton the other side of the Atlantic.

be, then, to say, that in Great Britain, a a, the community is very distinctly divided from and sympathy, on what is called can Question," or Secession sersus Union. the same family, boys in public and pristing the colleges and universities, easier and frequenters of mechanics' institutions, form,

members of our various West-end clubs, our quarter ly reviews, our monthly magazines, and our weekly and daily journals, are all divided into North and

First among the newspapers that, during your terri-First among the newspapers that, during your terri-ble conflict with the South, have taken part against you, atanda the Times. (Hisses.) It is one of the most widely circulated of our journals—is the best written, and is, perhaps, the most influential. It has a host of imitators, who, when unable to imitate their great original in the talent for which it is distinguish-ed, and in its power of mischief, contrive to excel it in the density of their walliestir and the convenees. in the depth of their malignity and the coarseness of their vitt

Would you like a sample, just to give you an idea of the way in which you are spoken of by the Copperhead journals of England? I will only give you a very slight taste—list flavor will show you of what a very slight taste—its flavor will show you of wha its bulk consists. Here, for instance, is a specimer from the columns of one of our low-priced London papers—the Standard; a newspaper of the good old Tory school, that has sworn that it will not be wiser to-morrow than it is to-day. (Laughter.) The Tory Standard, speaking of your President and the members of his Cabinet, save :-

bers of his Cabinet, says;—
"The weakness of Mr. Lincoln, the dull insolence of Mr. Seward, the puzzle-headed incapacity of Mr. Chase, the boastful helpiessness of Mr. Stanton—all find characteristic expression in the Message of Mr. Lincoln to Congress. The men entrusted with the administration of affairs at Washington are hardly fit to direct the councils of a parisit vestry. The democracy of America is an aristocracy of blackguards. * *
Mr. Welles is conspicuous only for his impudence, but Mr. Jefferson Davis is a gentleman." (Roars of laughter.)

Such is the language.

Such is the language of one of the organs of the Copperhead Conservative party.

Now let me furnish you with a sample from one of

the most widely circulated among the organs of the Liberal party—the London Telegraph:—

"There are many points of resemblance between the Americans of the North and the Chinese. When the yellow dwarf or Pekin scrawls with the vermillion pen an edict procialming Great Britain his vassal, the dirty idiot no doubt believes in his own majesty. That, you will say, is a very high compilment to the Emperor of all the Celestials I] When a Frenchman, spindled like a milliner in effeminate buckram, assures his audience at a coffee shop that he might have married the daughter of an English peer, perhaps the ape in woman's stays is unconscious of his lunacy. When, therefore, a trans-Atlantic long-shanks, a jaunidead, ricketty, lantern-faced and knock-kneed specimen of overgrown squalor, boasts that he can whip all the rest of mankind, it justs possible that the noisome braggard means what he says. (Great merriment.) "There are many points of resemblance between he Americans of the North and the Chinese. When

I need scarcely say that such spiteful and squrrilou effusions excite only the intense loathing and disgust of well-informed persons, and, indeed, of all, whethe well or ill-informed, who are sensible of what is dufrom the public writers of one country to the people The great majority of the people of England have seen with regret and indignation the course pursued by the Times towards this country, during the period

of your deadly conflict with the enemies of freedom in the slave States; its sympathy with the men-steal-ing traitors and despots of the South; the aid and comfort it has given to the rebels, and the yet more despicable Copperheads of the North (loud applause) its systematic misrepresentation of the measures of the government, and its insolent abuse of the people of the free States; the almost diabolical Ingenuity of its correspondents, who have distorted the plainest facts, correspondents, who have distorted the plainest facts, made the most igaining misstatements, often suppressed the most important information, and for years have acted as though they had been appointed and paid to exert their utmost powers to effect the ruin of this country. Yet, no men better than the writers for the Times, whether at home or abroad, have understood the principles and objects of the diaunionists and traitors with whom you have been called to contend. traitors with whom you have been called to contend When South Carolina secoded from the Union and for some time afterwards, that paper took a just and enlightened view of the controversy between the two sections of the country. It represented your enemies as wickedly attempting to rend "the mightlest confederation the world has seen;" that their object was to repress free discussion by the tar barrel and the pine fagot, and to found an empire based upon slavery, the revival of the infernal African slave trade and the degradation of human labor-whether pe formed by the white man or the black man. But, as soon as it saw the possibility of the South accomplishing its object, it became the advocate of the views and interests of that party, which it has from the beginning of its career supported. That party is composed of the aristocracy, the landocracy, and the moneyocracy of the country. The Times is not, and never has been, a representative of the liberal, progressive, and reforming masses of the British people. On the contrary, it has obstructed, resisted, ridiculed, and traduced every reform movement, and every distin-guished reformer. For two years and a half it has acted towards the friends of the Union and the North, in England, as it has acted in respect of every humane and liberal movement in former years. It has ignored the hundreds of Union and Emancipation meeting that have been held; or if it has been forced to notice that have been held; or if it has been forced to notice some great demonstration, it has stigmatized it by abusive epithets, and has poured contempt upon the men who have taken part in it. Until the pressure from without compelled the Government to take measures to prevent the fitting out of any more pirati-cal vessels, it was the champion of the Lairds and Lindsays, and the other shameless violators of the Queen's proclamation (loud applause); but when got its one from headquarters, it turned round, as got its cue from headquarters, it turned round, and with the same carnestness, and equal ingenuity, argued against the building of rams and the equipment of war steamers for the use of the Confederate government. The day is coming when it will repudiate its allies, the traitors and slave-mongers of Richmond, and will affect to exult over the re-integration of "the mightest confederacy the world has seen." (Applause.) Let your cause but be as victorious as it is just, and the paper that has reviled you in the hour of your national agony, will praise you in the hour of your national triumph.

Amongst our public men, there have been some, but their number is not large, who have decreaded to abuse and wituperation, in discussing the affairs of this country. Complexious amought the peers of the

capticious, and garratons old man, I would speak with charity and forbearance; for he is in his dotage, and in the decadence of his once mighty powers is privileged to say what his ever-changing humor dictates—free allke from commendation, criticism, and rebuke.

"He courts the praise that followed him so long, But seeks applause in vain. No triumphs now Replace the laurels withering on his brow. (Applause.)

-you have heard of Mr. Roc As for Mr. Roebnek buck! (Laughter.) He and I were boys together youths together. I well remember that the first de bating society I ever joined, numbered him among its members. We have discussed the gravest and most abstruse questions together. In those days, there was nothing in earth, or in heaven, or under the earth, o beyond them all, that we were not bold enough to di cuss. The Berkleyan system of the actual, external existence of matter—the immortality of the soul—the being of God—all these were questions which we thought ourselves competent to discuss. We grew wiser, of course, as we grew older. And I well re member that Mr. Roebuck was then a flaming Repul lican. I was a sober young man; my sympathies were bounded by the constitution of my country; but Mr. Roebuck was, I know, a very ardent admirer of republican institutions. Well, what is he now? An apostate radical—the Copperhead traducer of America (applause)—the enlogist of Austria—the lick-spittle o Napoleon (renewed applause)—the fawning sycophant, who beslavers the prime minister, that he may with impunity assail his colleague; who has stigmatized the democracy of this country as " the scum of Europe "who has denounced the government at Washington as "base, cowardly, and corrupt"—who has declare your struggle to crush a foul and traitorous insurred tion "a blot upon human nature," and has breathed the flendish wish that the Auglo Confederate priva-teers, which his friends, the Lairds and the Lindsays, have let loose upon the world, might "chase you commerce from the ocean." As for this unhappy commerce from the ocean. As for this unnappy instance of wasted energies and perverted powers, it may be sufficient to say that his malice is impotent, and that his ravings are despised. This accomplice of Vallandigham and Fernando Wood (laughter and ap-plause)—this mouth-piece of the Richmond banditti— this bosom friend of the infamous author of the execrable Fugitive Slave Law-this menial of Jefferson Davis, has been declared in the House of Common to be a man who represents no one but himself, whos usly repudiated by the ass bly he is permitted to disgrace by his presence. (Ap-

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher (great applause)-you do well to cheer him here, my friends; but you have never given him so many cheers in New York as he received in London (applause). When he was there, I was there; and when again he goes, as I hope he will, "may I be there to see !" You should have seen him at Exeter Hall—with four thousand persons with-in the walls, and seven or eight thousand persons outside the walls-you should have seen, as I did, Henry Ward Beecher, when fifty paces from the door by which he was to enter, lifted and carried, amidst the shouts of the people, over their heads, into the meeting-place, where the audience was waiting to re ceive him. He did a good work. I bear my testi-mony to the ability and the value of the services he performed for you in our country (applause). His presence acted like a magnet, wherever he went. He presence acted like a magnet, wherever he went. He did not so much create anti-slavery feeling, as elicit that which already existed. Those who went to hear him, with the exception of a few Copperheads in Liverpool, were Abolitionists before, and they did, by their presence, but afford to him proof of the fact, of which I could have assured him long before, that the masses of the people in England have been true to the cause of the North (loud applause).

When Henry Ward Recycher came back, he said—

When Henry Ward Beecher came back, he said— and I think he was right when he said it—" If you ask me what is the great underlying influence that has ask me want is the great underlying induces that has been at work upon the upper classes of England, (for it is among that class that the persons unfriendly to this country are found.) I answer, commercial inter-est, and rivalry therein; and class power, and the fear of contagion of American ideas. The great middle laboring class of England is on the side of the North r class, as they are called, is on the side

Those who heard or read the long and able speech delivered by Mr. Beecher, on the 19th of November last, in the Academy of Music, in Brooklyn, will rewhat accou the government, and others—and of the newspapers, all favorible to the Federal cause. As a set-off to the Times, he mentioned the Morning Star, and the Daily News, papers with the talent of the Times, without its venom and its wickedness—and other London journments. nals, whose aggregate circulation was at least a m each issue. He also read a long list of provincial pa pers, whose circulation was scarcely inferior, an whose influence was equally great, in their respective whose influence was equally great, in their respective districts. Having gone through a very long catalogue of men, eminent for learning, literature, piety, philan. thropy, and liberal and enlightened patriotism, he said .—"These are only a few of thousands of names of men, who are our friends; but these are better known, and have signalized their friendship by literary services in the cause of the North. I ask you, fellowservices in the cause of the North. I ask you, fellow-citizens, (he continued,) whether, upon the facts that I have stated, there is not reason to believe that, after all, we have all been misinformed, and that there is a great undertone in England of friendliness, and of fidelity to us and to our cause 1"

In the letter which has been read to you, my frien Mr. Rylance is pleased to speak of my rising from a Mr. Rylance is pleased to speak of my rising from a sick bed to go forth again and again to address various meetings of the people, in different parts of the coun-try. I remember that on one occasion, I broke through the injunctions of my physician, and offended against the wishes of my wife, and left London to attend a meeting in the county of Lancashre; and I can never forget that dense, and interested, and magnificent au-dience which I then addressed. With the exception Amongst our public men, there have been some, but their number is not large, who have decreaded to abuse and vituperation, in discussing the affairs of this country. Complication amongst the peers of the realm has appeared Lord Broagham. Of this vain,

and they were what is Lescashire is called cleanmed-they were hungered. I talked to them of this war; I talked to them of the wicked principles on which the South had seceded; I talked to them of the wrongs of South had second; I thinke to the brightening prospects of four million captives in the South; I assured them that this million captives in the bount; I assured them that the war, though it might not wear the complexion of an anti-slaver; war, would become one in the end, and that America, try as she might at the beginning to resletit, would have to make this war, in the hands of sletit, would have to make this war, in the hands of God, an instrument for working out the redemption of her oppressed children! I told them this; and more, and then I publit to them whether they would wait a little longer, continue; as they had done, to observe the law, maintain a blameless deportment in the eyes of the community; cherish the same ferrent loyalty for their advertign, the same respect for property, etc.; and they shouted, lwith one voice; "We will !" we will !" (Prolonged applause.) "I say, woe to the man who, because of the taunts coming over the water from a handful of aristocrats, would sever the bond of friendship between you and such a resolute that! (Applause.) I say, and do not doubt the truth of what I say, that it is the patient, heroic, self-denying, sublime conduct of these starving operatives of our kingdom, that has made our government what it is; that has foiled the machinations of Palmerston that has defeated the plans of the secessionist party in Bagand; that has spiked the guns of the adversity that has controlled the policy of the government, and preserved the harmony between England and Ameri-ca. (Applause.) Thank God, we have got through our cotton crisis, and got well through, and we shall have landed upon our wharves in England, during the from all the world in 1858 (applause); and that with out one bale of the cotton that may be sent us fro Confiderate States, but which, I trust, will come to us no more until it comes free from the tears and unstain ed by the blood of the American slave. (Enthusiasti

O, my friends, words are all too poor to express the joy, the thankfulness, the exultation with which I listen to responses like these, to hopes and aspirations such as I have just breathed—responses, be it remembered, returned to the most radical anti-slavery sentiment by an audience like this in the city of New O, my friends, words are all too poor to express the ment by an audience like this in the city of New York (Renewed plaudits.) They fill one with bright hopes for the future. They indicate the speedy triumph of the cause in which some here have spent thei

and prolonged applause.)

"Muse! take the harp of prophecy. Behold! The glories of a brighter age unfold. Friends of the outcast! view the accomplished plat The negro towering to the height of man. Tyrants and slaves no more these States shall see, Fer Ged created all his shildren free! Soon, Justice, leagued with Mercy from above, Shall reign in all the liberty of love; And from the North to South, from East to West, America shall be the region of the blest." mplished plan,

(Loud applause.) Go on in the good work! You have a President pledged, steeped in pledges, to recognize the cardinal principle of your Declaration of Independence, that all men are free and equal. (Applause.) You have a President who, within the last few days, has said, " If slavery be not wrong, then nothing is wrong." If slavery be wrong, the antithesis is right. Do right! Be just, and fear not. Let all the ends you aim at be your country's, your God's, and truth's," and you must succeed. You have the instruments ready to your hands. You have a Congress (I speak of the two Houses together) containing more men, ex anima in their hearts, feelings, wishes, hopes, efforts, aspira-tions, pledged to the cause of the negro, than ever were in Parliament, even in the palmiest days of our anti-slavery agitation. (Applause.) God has given you all things richly to enjoy. You are accumulating debts, but you have behind you boundless resources. From the bosom of the earth that God has given you From the bosom of the earth that God has given you as your heritage, you can reap enough pay fifty such debts; and fifty such would be well incurred to win so glorious a victory. Applause.) Yes, let Copperheads rail at greenbacks—let them rail till they can rail no longer; the rui-splitter is behind those greenbacks, the loyal people of the nation are behind him, and he and they will yet win the victory. (Great applause.) "There's a good time coming." When this avord, now smoking with the blood of brothers, shall be sheathed, when the graves shall be filled, when the emblems of wee shall be laid aside, when mothers, with chastened grief, shall think of their sons, and bless the day they sacrificed them in their country's cause and in the cause of freedom—then, looking abroad from the Aretic circle to the sunny South, from the bleak shores of the Atlantic to the golden sands of the Pacific, you will see no tyrant and no slave; and the in the cause of freedom—then, looking abroad from the Arctic circle to the sunny South, from the bleak shores of the Atlantic to the golden sands of the Pacific, you will see no tyrant and no slave; and the North, erect, free from the trammels of the South, will be bound by no constitutional obligation to support alsory, tyrannized over by not slave representatives in Congress, and know no execrable Fagitive Slave law, denying to her the right of cherishing the panting slave, loyd Garrison. Congress, and know no execrable Fagitive Slave law, denying to her the right of cherishing the panting slave, flying to Canada for his l'berty. When that time shall Dying to Canada for his Pberty. When that time shall come, you will not regret the sacrifices you have made, even though they were of your own flesh and blood, and you will praise God that even through a Red Sea, He led you into a land of righteousness and liberty. (Loud applause.)

As evidence of the feeling now prevalent in Scotland on the subject of slavery, and in reference to the course taken by the so-called ministers of religion in the reb el States, I would draw attention to a document signed by nearly 2,000 of the clergy of Scotland, and entitled, "A Reply to an Address to Christians throughout the of many 2000 of the Crise to Christians throughout the World by the Ciergy of the Confederate States of America." The elergy of the Confederate States of America." The elergy of the Confederate States I There is a very old book, that tells of the sons of God, and a certain individual coming in amongst them. These clergymen of the South are very near relatives to that Individual. (Laughter.) Ciercal six-holders I Clerical women-whippers I Clerical men-stealers I. In this Reply, the Scotch ministers say, "They feel bound to give, public expression to their views, lest their allence should be misconstrued, as implying either acquiescence in the principles of the document, or indifference to the crime which it seeks to defend—that of slavery."

The Reply then alludes to the deep grief, alarm and way, indignation with which they have permed the cleri-the cal pleadings on behalf of slavery in general, and Amer-ure, i can slavery in particular—pleadings, in the course

of which God is thanked for slavery as for a m ary institution—the best and nost successful in the sweld.

In the name of that holy faith and thuse boly name which the Southern ministers have descerated by invoking irin defence of slavery, they, the Scotch ministers must strongly poses them to the outrage of lust and passion."

They consider apologists for slavery, who attempt to shelter themselves and the system under the authority of God's word and the Gospel of Christ, worthy to be denounced as the real and worst chemics, both of the Bible and the Gospel, and they say, "The obligation rests upon us to record, in the strongest possible trum, but abhorance of the deciries on the state of the deciries. erms, our abhorrence of the doctrine on the subject of terms, our abhorrence of the doctrine on the subject of stavery which the Southern clergy teach, and upon which they act; and to testify before all nations, that any State, Empire or Republic, constituted or reconstructed in these days of Christian light and liberty upon the basis of that doctrine, practically applied, must, in the sight of God, be regarded as founded on wrong and orime, and as deserving, not his blessing, but his right-I have felt it due to the ministers of Scotland to

make this reference to their address.

Mr. President, while pronouncing the few words with which I intend to close this address, I shall take

the liberty of addressing myself directly to the audience here assembled, and shall speak as though you Ladies and gentlemen, amongst the many thousands

in Great Britain who cherish an interest in the anti-sia. very movement in this country, there is one name which is never uttered but with sentiments of the profoundest honor and respect. It is the name of one who, in Europe, is regarded as the pioneer, apostle and legiti-mate leader of the cause of the injured, the abused, he fettered and the outcast millions of the colored race upon this continent. It is the name of him-

oon this continent. At a Who, casting far behind all carthl "Who, casting far behind all earthly care And countryships—all natrow bounds of State And smiles—all narrow bounds of State And smiles—all narrow bounds of State Trod every fear of opposition down—All lear of danger—of repressed, all fear; All lear of danger—of repressed, all fear; All tear of the smiles of the to block the fear of the smiles of the smiles of the To tell the bruted slave his maknod high. His bitchright liberty, and in his hand To put the writ of manumission, signed By Uod's own signature." Uses and gentlemen, we in England, whole dies and gentlemen. Ladies and gentlemen, we in England, wholove the

cause in which you are engaged, give thanks to God for having given to this age and country William LLOYD GARRISON. (Prolonged and hearty applause.) It is our judgment and belief, that to his agacity, as well as to his boundless, philanthropy—to his a orruptible integrity and unfaltering perseverance, the abolition movement in this country is more indebt-ed than to any other man. We believe that when the angry disputations of party politicians shall perial, and be forgotten—when the din of war shall be hushed, and there shall be buried in one grave the sword of and there shall be butter of domestic lalvery—when dvil strile and the fetters of domestic lalvery—when the calm, clear voice of the prophet now in your midst shall be heard no more—when the thousands of hearts, whose holiest emotions have been awakened by his earnest pleadings, are still and cold—that then, even more than while he lived, will his name be ren-erated and blessed.

The tribute which, as an Englishman, and the expe nent, on this occasion, of the sentiments of English Abolitionists, I desire to offer to your President, and Abolitionists, I desire to oner to your rresuent, and to his early conditators, has been rendered by one of your own countrymen in language far more eloquent than any which I can employ, and I will, therefore, make use of his words.

In a sermon on "The Signs of the Times," preach

They bot gilmmered here—there they blaze. A few patriarchs are yet alive. Though I am not on his side, I must lear witness to the fidelity of William Lloyd Garrison.

"It may be hard for some to believe that he was one of the earliest and noblest of those instruments that God employed for the overrithrow of oppression among us—that he has been the scourage of the ministry and Church, whose tongue has walked to and fro in the land, amid persecution scarcely paralleled in modern times. There has risen up no more stalwart or heroic man in any age to labor for freedom, to declare slavery to be inquisiton, and from the first to speak untempered words—but words that were untempered only because, in the might of vickedness, and in the strength of his feeling, there was no time for measuring. The agree are more just than the years in which things take place; and by and by, when see none of us, they will behold standing high as a star such a man as WILLIAM LLOTO GARINOS." (Frelonged applane.)

I see around me some of the patriarchs to whom Mr. Beecher refers; and oh, how I thank God, on their behalf and my own, that we live to see this

their behalf and my own, that we live to see this

schaff and my own, that we live

"Spirit of Freedom, on!

Oh, pame not fit thy flight,
Till every clima be won.

To worship in thy flight,
Till every clima be won.

To worship in thy flight;
Speed on thy ctorious way,
that wake the sleeping hands;
And spread to these their hands.
On, till thy name is known.

Throughout the peopled earth;
On, till then reigns the sloon,
Man's heritage by birth;
On, till from every value, rise,
And where the mountain vise,
The beason lights of illnety.

Built kindle to the skies.

Mr. Thompson took his seat amid universal and en

unsiastic applause.
The Parsiders. I wish to say to the audience, that The President. I wish to say to the aedlence, that our friend, though laboring, when he came to the meeting, under much bodily disability, (which has not been apparent, however, in any part of his address,) very kindly consented to occupy a larger portion of the time than he otherwise would have done, because I, for one, being weary with the long protracted meetings, did not wish to speak this evening, and because our friend, Mr. Phillips, also hoped to be let off with a short speech, which, however, I hope he may not be. (Yolcha-"No; oh, no") First, then, we will have a song, and then Mr. Phillips.

Mr. Clark sang "The Field of Gettyaburg," to great acceptance, as was evidenced by the applicate which followed. Mr. Phillips then came forward, and was very warmly greefed.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS Mr. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am

well aware, I hope, of the very favorable and advanced auspices, if I may use that epithet, under which this Society meets this year. No man can fall to see how much we have gained. No man can fall to see how, in a single year, God has done for us wins it usually requires a quarter of a century to accomplish. The fruits of this great national struggle ripen. so fast, events crowd upon each other so closely, that we ourselves forget sque of the elements of our very gain. To-day, the largest army raised in this half century does battle, in the name of the aution, for that slave who, for thirty years, we have almost in vain begged the nation to remember. Virginia drenched in blood, year after year, in the determina-tion and resolute purpose of the Northern people to carry their civilization down to the Gulf, and lift the o to an equal level of political and civil existence. negro to an equal level of political and civil existence. (Applause.) The President of the United States (Iond applause) owes to-day his world-wide reputation, has his name floating in the blessings of Europe and of Christendom, not because of his office, but because he has done what this Society, for a quarter of a century, has hopelessly entreated of the institution. I am not, of course, claiming for ourselves the mark of having done this I am not a lineatic hard. merit of having done this; I am not a lunatio; but I that the brightest laurel worn to-day on an American brow is worn because the world believes him to be an Abolitionist (applause)—hitherto a name of contempt from the Atlantic fo the Pacific. a Change enough in

Neither let us forget, at such a moment as this, the Retther let os lorger, at uen a moment as this, the terrible cost at which these advantages have been gained. Our friegd from the other side of the ocean has painted to us the English laborer, gannt, half-starred, in his utter hopelessness remembering us in his sympathy and self-devotion. He might have crossed the channel, and found the French artisan manifesting the same sublime devotion to an idea wrought out four thousaed miles off by a p whom he can hardly claim kindred. No sublimer spectacle of intense and disinterested devotion has the world seen for centuries, If ever. On our own soil, each day marks its memory in our minds with the martyridom of some brave soil in the same cause. Yesterday, your honored son—who left the State, restertary, your nonored son—who left-the Sixto, where he was dowered with weath, girdled with every family joy, beckoned onward by every ambitious hope, to go down, almost at first, and place himself by the side of the negro—Wadsworth (prolonged applause,) fell, and has consecrated Virginia to freedom; and to-day, the atout old soldier, Sedgwick, (foud applause,) falls in the van of that battle which is raging over the nortants body of the nears, for the nervenity over the prostrate body of the negro, for the perpetuity of his liberties and of ours.

Why do I remind you of these things? Because

the holier the cause becomes, the more terrible the sacrifices laid upon its altar, the more earnest the de-mand on us, and on every American citizen, to see that all this great effort is not wasted; that no one of these preclous lives, no one of these noble sacrifices, is in vain; that no indifference, that no man-worship, that no party madness, that no over-sanguine credul ("hear, hear,") shall lead us, at least, the watchm on the towers of this anti-slavery crusade, to leave a on the towers of this anti-slavery crusade, to leave any contingency or chance in regard to the securing of those rights for which we are fighting. I could not look at the picture which our friend drew for us of the English artisan, without being moved to double diligence, feeling that the post of American citizen to day bore even a heavier burden than I supposed, with the world watching us and starving for us, in order that we might be free, and one nation, without a stream of the stream of the supposed.

we might be free, and one nation, without a tyrant or a slave.

Now, fellow-Abolitionists, we meet here to-night, and let us take a little account of our position. We have, as our friend told us, a Congress elected and pledged, beyond all precedent, to the side of the negro; we have a President with who has declared, in the words which he fifty quoted, that if slavery is not wrong, there is nothing wrong under the heavens. (Applause.) Had our President said, "I have come to day to, the congiction, that if slavery is not wrong, there is nothing wrong under the heavens." I should have said, ing wrong under the heavens." I should have said, "Onward! He has now planted in his own heart an inward testimony that can never mislead him in desling with the statesmanship of the question which God gives to his hands." But the President of the United States says, as so many American have said before, "I never knew the day when I did not beliave slavery to be wrong; and if it is not wrong, there is nothing wrong under the akies." If, therefore, the whole of that American's public life has grown out of a heart which cheriabed, in its very utmost depth, that conviction; if, nevertheless, he could take office under a Whig dynasty, and seek with volunteer seal to add an appearable to his "execrable Fugilitys Slave lay," how shall I trust that the tooduct hereafter which grows out of auch a pledge will be any more radically consistent with what we should deduce from it, than the twenty years of his past political life, have been I (Applause.) We see to remember, fellow citizens, that the legic of American public life allows that a man may lay down the corner stone that slavery is a sin beyond question, and then serve it from an argument of political necessarily or party expediency. sity or party expe

ity or party expediency.

Now, I have no pleasure—who can have any 5—in arraigning in doubting, in even discriminating between public men. A friend said to may just us I rose to

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from reasserting his claim.

I only point out to you, by way of illustration, one of the questions which lie before us in the future, when the cannon has ceased its sound. As I said yes terday, the statesmanship of the question is the n us and the more confused of the two. It is the settlement of the principles upon which this Union is to come together again. Grant, on a direct line, like a cannon ball, goes down to the Gulf, an unfurls the stars and stripes; that is one thing. But that does not wipe out Southern ideas; that does not convert Southern mind; that does not make the white san of the Carolinas love either your principles of Subjugation is not conversion. Two angry she hag. Sudjegation is not make a marriage. South Casolina, in her present mood, and Massachusetts, in her present mood, are not a Union. Seventy years have ed it. The Union guaranteed to our Preside whose name and fame my friend has so filly de-scribed—the right to reside, if he pleased, in Charles-ton; but if he had attempted to exercise that right, it would have led him; four years ago, as it would towould have led him; four years ago, as it wo day, to the halter. There was no Union. You have not changed that mood of mind to-day. There have been one or two experiments which show that the na tion cannot impose a government on a reluctant per Utah, if nothing else, shows us this; Kane ple. Utah, if nothing cise, shows us this, hannas ahows it, also. It is not possible. Every sensible man, therefore, says of that proclamation—"Fortify it by an amendment of the Constitution (foud apphaue); a document on paper, which leaves the legal record perfect, which avoids all questions of military necessity, which puts out of court all the nice critical discriminations of lawyers, and anchors the popular purpose in the Constitution itself," So much, certainly, it is ot only wise, but it is absolutely necessary that this Society, that the anti-slave party, should gird itself to demand. To-day, in our debates, some of our friends asid, the limit of this Society's function is reached when chattel slavery is abolished. Well, that, as a brief statement, is undoubtedly correct. But suppos peace had reigned, during the last three years, and Mr. Lincoln had said to us, at any time, Gentlemen, I am going to issue a proclamation to free every slave in the United States." This Society would not have adjourned; it would not have dissolved. It would adjourned; it would not have dissolved. It would have said—"Sir, thank you for your intentions; glad you published them; but you have not abolished chat. tel slavery, though you have exhibited a wish to do so ou have not put the act beyond divil; you wn the disposition, but you have not used the I do not deny, to day, the wish of President Lincoln and his Cabinet, that slavery should cease or this continent. If I read them correctly, I think they entertain that wish fully. But, as I said to day, as man wishes to go to Liverpool—it is a very pleasan wish; I should like to go myself; but it is only a wish When I see him pack his trunk, engage his passage on a Cunarder, take his baggage and go down to the wharf and get on board, and start down the harbor, I wharf and get on board, and start down the harbor, I say, he has got more than a seisk to go to Liverpool; he has got a purpose, and he has gone. So in regard to the abolition of slavery, when I look at the govern-ment, grateful as I feel toward Mr. Lincoln, and satis-fied as I am of his entire wish that slavery should be prohibited, I recognize, at the same time, a shrinking which that effectual. It is one thing to wish a thing-I wish I was worth a million of dollars; it is another thing to be willing to use the means. Suppose a man said, "You shall have it, if you will vote for McClellan" - why, I wouldn't take the means! (Loud laughte

What I want to point out to the conviction of Abo litionists is the duty that lies before them, now that the sacrifice has been so great, and the dangers ahead of us still are so momentous. We do not know wheth er we have got Bichmond-we do not know how too the Stars and Stripes will float over that capital, any other south of it—three years of war have har-dened the Confederacy from that fluid and gristle state of 1861 into the muscle and bone of national coheany other south of itsion, and we have not now a rebellion to fight, but nation, strong in the pride of habits and association and the spite of three years desperate battle and experience in defiance of the world. We have not to that, but we have, on the Southern border of our courtry, the nucleus of a foreign dominion, whose nature tendency it is to be a thorn in the side of the nation by cherising its rebellious daughter. That French by cherising its rebellious daughter. That French Emperor does nothing capriciously, nothing thought lessly, but with long-sighted purpose, he plants the nucleus of a French force there, to bide its time. Bevry boar that this context lasts is an opportunity for misfortune. No European power, except Russin, cam be chained on our side. Of the first-rate powers of Europe—Austria, Russia and France—Austria can not help us if she could, and Russia is the only one that has ever given us a kind word. (Applause.) Of the second-rate powers of Europe—Spain, Portugal, Belgiom, England and Fransia, (hisser, followed by load applause)—well, I beg parden of any Englishman who also offence at the classification of his country, but I dency it is to be a thorn in the side of the natio

have always held a free tongue of my own country; I have always tried to describe truly my own govern-ment; and you certainly will not find fault with me for describing truly yours. (Applause.) Grands in the bosoms of her millions of lat she is—and in the bosoms of her millions of laboring men I found my surest hope of the coming century—I yet say, that the government which, within one abort ninety, days, has remodelled her cabinet and dismissed her guest at the bidding of a foreign despot is no longer a first-rate power. ("Bear, bear," applause and hisses, the two parties keeping up their trivalry in the expression of approbation or disapprobation for some time, the former very largely predominating.) Well, friends, my excellent, honored and dear friend behind me (Mr. Thompson) has heard me describe my own country too often not to know that I have earned the right to describe his as I think it. I believe that if we had invited Garibaldi here, (loud applanse.) with half, the nation in rebellion against us, no Bonaparte would have clutched him from our planse,) with half, the nation in rebellion against us, no Bonaparte would have clutched him from our hearts. (Cries of "Heart, lear," "No, no," and entusiastic applause.) I believe, fellow-citizens, there never was in history an example of so swift's rengeance following sin as in this epoch in the history of our mother country. In the day of our adversity, she let pirates skulk out of her harbors to aweep the commerce of the North from the ocean. To-day, the dress to provoke Europe by defending Denmark, she dares to provoke Europe by defending Denmark, whom she loves; she dares not provoke France by covering Garibaldi, whom she has invited to her shores, because she knows that Americans, making use of that very precedent, would sweep her co from the ocean. ("Hear, hear," and loud appliance
Palmerston himself forged the weapon which to-de Palmerston himself forged the weapon which to-day affrights England from the course she would naturally follow. No ill-wisher to England ever could have follow. No ill-water to England were which der worse than that her sin against us should, within a tweftemonth, be visited so marvellously upon her own head. We have but to catch a stray Pressian in any of your streets, put him, with a sham commission, in command of one of our gunboats, and if England were fighting by the side of Denmark, w could make Liverpool grass grow upon her wharves and she knows it. (Applause.)

and she knows it. (Applause.)

I say, therefore, that among the second-rate powers of Europe—Spain, Portugal, Belgium, England and Prussia, [here the hisses and applause were renewed, and kept up with considerable vigor for several minutes.] These friends need not hiss me. John Bright is not England. He has a noble Saxon soul, that knew the right by instinct, and atrecthed his right hand across the Atlantic, and gave us more strength than Palmerston could rob us of, at the head of her Majesty's government. William E. Forster is not England. Cobden is not England. (A Voice—"No more is Palmerston.") I speak of the English government, (A Voice—"You said the nation,") as one of the second-rate governments of Europe; I did not speak of the operatives of Lancashire, nor government, (A VOICE—"You said the nation,") as one of the second-rate governments of Europe; I did not speak of the operatives of Lancashire, nor of saints like Bright, Cobden, Forster, our friend behind me—worthy of the blood of Milton, Hampden, Cromwell, and Washington—struggling to-day for the same cause in the House of Commons for which we struggle on the battle-fields of Virginia. (Applaces)

But do not let us waste time on that; it is a matter of opinion. What I say is, there is our out-side danger; here is our inside danger. Now, what I want is, a country that will be able to bear its burden in the future, and make its edict of emancipation a fact. Mark you! if the North does not suc the Union is broken in two, if Maximilian and Jefferson Davis are able to hold ten of the Southern States, where is the slave? Abraham's will has gone forth from him, and returned void. If the North fails, there is no freedom except the slave win it with his own is no freedom right hand. Well, I believe, as you do, that the war has doubtless taken the rivets out of society, and that there is a far greater probability that, in the tumultuous and revolutionary period of such a new state—
fifty per cent. of probability out of the hundred—the
slave will soon, if not immediately, achieve his liberty, than that he will, for sty long time, be held in bis chains. But the black race will neither be immediately freed nor protected and elevated in their liberty, unless the North succeeds. I want, therefore, a ecution of the war, in the first place, on the slave's prosecution of the war, in the behalf, so active, so energetic, so prompt, so decisive re shall be no time for Europe or for Maxi nilian to interfere, and no time for any other danger to beset us. I want an actual war waged, on Grant, and not McClellan principles. (Applause, and cries to beset us. I want an actual and not McClellan principles. (Applause, and cries of "Good!") I take it, McClellan's principle is, in the contract of the contr "If you see a head, don't hurt it!" I take it, Grant's principle is that of an Irishman's in a mob, "Wherever you see a head, hit it!" (Laughter and applause.) The first thing I want, therefore, is war war principles. No sort of hesitation as to the amount of, evil that you will inflict upon your antag-onist; no treating your enemies as though they were one day to be your friends. I believe—and I rather infer it from the acts of this Administration—that the war has been carried on upon the principle of not hurting the South so much as to exasperate her. Mark me! If you live forty years, and the letter cab-Mark me! If you live forty years, and the letter cab-inets of leading men in Washington are opened, my word for it, you will see it written, in black and white, that that is the principle on which the war has been carried on. McClellan had not vigor enough to force his idea upon the government; it is an absurdity to assert it. You cannot make wa-ter run up hill, and he was at the bottom. (Laugh-ter.) The principle upon which he carried on the war must have been, in the nature of things, satisfactory to the men who held the helm; and you know, as well as I do, that this war, for at least two years, was carried on upon the principle of not hurting the South so much as to exasperate her beyond reconciliation. Why, we saw that bubbling over on every oc-casion. Now, after three years of battle, we have produced this state of things. Whatever Unionism there once existed down South has been annihilated the hitterness that the war has created. If you you will see a remarkable letter from a loyal North-erner in Murfreesboro', in which he says: "I am in East Tennessee. I find no loyalty here; no Union-ism here, that is not born of despair; none that is born of kindness of feeling." The slaveholder sits in Because a commet minority in sarros? always Abolitionists! Hissed him!—yes, but we knew we were doing wrong all the time." What made them do it? Ninety-seven thou-sand men, owning more than ten slaves aplece, five hundred miles off. Why did they rule the nation? his house alone, embittered and idle. He will neither hire his slaves himself, nor consent that others shall hire them. He waits, in the confident expectation ind the system again, and he shall have their labor." Of course, there are excep-tions. There are Owen and Fowler, and half a dozen others, led by Gov. Johnson, who represent a loyal, anti-slavery sentiment; but the great mass are alien and hostille. I said yesterday that when Shepley, down in New Orleans, called on the men who had eaten the bread of the government for eighteen months to come forward and volunteer for thirt days, to save the city from the Confederates, n tenths of them resigned rather than to take up arr on our side. We went to Florida with the idea of making a government. We exported five hundred men there to begin with, and they came back. We have never found any Unionism at the South to build

Now, I say that Utah and other examples show uthat we cannot force a government upon a reluctant people; and if it could be done, it would not be Re-publicanism. Until you can find some way of making States, there is no chance for the slave to come under our banner; and there is the guaranty of his liberty. Make the Confederacy a power, and the slave is beyond us. If you want to find the means of making that proclamation effective, you must find some means of making States. You cannot build on the white element; there is nothing but the black element to build upon. Mr. Brownson—and when I name him, I Douglas cat deeper still; Buchanan went under ham as man than whom there are not a dozen men in the Northern States who have done more to enlighten, intensity, and elevate the purpose of the North—Brownson, in some criticlams which, he did me the honor to make upon a speech that I made a mouth or States, there is no chance for the slave to come unde

antry; two ago, says I am mad upon the rights of the negro well, a am not just now considering the rights of the negro, and I am willing to pase that by for the mo-nent. I am considering your interests and mine, a well as his rights. We need him. There is nothing well as his rights. We need him. There is nothing else to hold up the banner on the banks of the Missispit. I would give him the ballot in one hand, and the musket in the other, because I want him as the baiss of civil institutions. I would give him an acre, if it did not belong to him. If, as an Abollionist, I did not think he could claim all three, I would force all three of them on him, in order that I might secure the rectable hument and perpetuity of the Union. (Appliance.) You tell me of an amendment to the Constitution. That is good, but that is pungs. Governments are made out of two elements—paper and men. There are the white men who hate you; who, however crushed, will still bide their time, and watch their opportunity. Jefferson Davis, with his crowd of masopportunity. Jefferson Davis, with his crowd of nas-cent nobles, is not going down. cent notice, is not going down a steep place, auddenly into the sea, like their ancestors in the Gospel. When they give up hope, they pass into Mexico, and watch. The Highland Chief, when the Englishman drove him from his clan, did not see him. him from his clan, did not cut his throat; he went to Holland, and watched. The Cavaller, when Cromwell ast in a chair better than a throne, did not hang himself; he went to France, and watched; and three consecutive rebellions almost broke the English monarch secutive rebellions almost broke the English monarchy asunder. There had been nations which never had a civil war, but I know of no nation in history that, having had one, ever got through with that; because the poisoned elements remain in the bosom; they are not aliminated by a single struggle. The history of the world shows that the old elements, compressed into a com forced peace for a little while, burst out whenever there seems to be a probability of success; and w must expect the same future. I say this in the interest of the negro, whose liberty

I wish guaranteed beyond a peradventure; and it order to do that, we must construct the Union on ac

order to do that, we must construct the Union os as sure a basis, we must anchor it so deep, that it will bear the inevitable shock and convulsion of storms that cannot be avoided. Turning to the President and his Cabinet, in the light of such considerations as these, I ask—are President Lincoln and his Cabinet ready for the only means which will secure such a re-sult. I do not doubt their wishes. I do not eavy them their laurels. I never uttered a word to bhast them. No man has praised them more willingly than I have. Heaven grant them the highest place they have earned in the history of the world! But we are looking to the future. You and I are American citizens. This war has spent one half the funded property that was reckoned ours in the census of 1860 Sixteen thousand million of dollars was all this race had garnered in 200 years of civilization, the value of town debts, and county debts, and State debts, the national debt, and war damages, we shall have spen close up to half of that, and one half of every man' crose up to nair of that, and one half of every man's income from capital goes to pay the expense of this long conflict. I do not care for dollars. I recognize as my friend (Mr. Thompson) does, that if we were to begin the world anew, with only the soil and our ands, without a dollar, but having acco great national purpose, it would be cheaply bough (applause). But, mark you !—accomplished our pur pose ! If we spend the money, and do not secure result, that is not Yankee (laughter). And I de no look upon the dollar as a piece of silver, merely—so much gained, and so much to be spent. To me, it bears within its charmed circle the means of education; within its compass, the moral, intelle spiritual elevation of the laborer who grasps itspiritual elevation of the above, much of fulcrum and spring-board to enable him to take his place on a level higher than before. It is re ligion and intellect; it is college and Bible; it is nur ture and culture. If the government takes that dollar from the laboring classes of the North, I demand that

they leave no stone unturned to get him the full value of what has been taken (applause, and cries of "good")

Therefore, what I demand of you, fellow-Abolitio

iats, is this, that now, when at such risk, with suc lavish sacrifice of treasure and blood, the nation strug

gles to emerge from these dangers and plant itself or sure ground, you do not allow party leaders to mislea it or baulk its efforts. Stand, faithful watchmen, an utter, without ceasing, your needed warning. the only means that can secure it; do not allow the ures-show it the only path to its desired go friends behind me—some of them—say, "Mr. Lincol is all right; he is only slow." Fast and slow are me matters of proportion. A locomotive is fast—yes. We are living in a steam age. This war moves at the speed of a Birmingham train—fifty miles an hour. If you said to me, "Your President is moving at the rate of the old stage coach, ten miles an hour," I should say, "Well, don't be too much in a hurry. A mile in a minute is a little too fast ; a mile in two hardly safe; ten miles an hour is safe," But we take an ox-team—two miles an hour. is the Administration, and from w proceed? Does it proceed from doubt of the navour-willingness to advance faster? If it does, enlighten them. Stand with me and say, "Why, the loe is six feet thick a mile ahead of you. Go ahead." Then, perhaps, they will believe it, and act. If they are waiting for every man in the nation to become a patent Abolitonist, "A No. I at Lloyd's," then tell them this. No majority ever ruled a nation. Every people proceed ? Does it proceed from doubt of the nat this: No majority ever ruled a nation. Every known to history was always ruled by a mi Who have ruled us since 1801? The slaveholde A hundred thousand men ruled us—you know it! My friend here (Mr. Garrison) and I have been hissed, when on this platform, by two thousand men under these arches. Why? Because you did not like us. nce came your dislike? From Charleston, South Carolina (applause). It was not a self-originated, impulsive whole-hearted dislike. No, the sounded at Sumter, a million of men started up and said," We were always Abolitionists! Hissed nation. There is no other power that ever does The Administration is at Washington; the govern ment never goes to Washington. The government i in Wall street, and Harvard College, and an Anti-Slavery meeting, and a mob; the Administration is at Washington. The magician is behind; the puppet is in sight. I know that as well as you do; but the gov ernment of this country, ever since Jefferson took office, has been 97,000 slaveholders, who knew what they wanted, and were willing to risk everything

rather than miss having it. Now, if Lincoln is waiting until ninety-nine out o very hundred send him a certificate, sworn to be Notary Public, that they prefer abolition to et thing else, he will never move; but if he is willing take the responsibility which his place imposes upon him, if he is willing to let his soul shine out and gather and him that compact minority in earnest, who are it soaks the continent in blood down to its gran stratum, until the negro has his rights, (applause,) th Abraham Lincoln can issue to-more he pleases; then, from Congress on the one hand, and the army on the other, he shall hear an "amen" load er than Niagara, even if he out Garrison Garrison to

degrees more." Buchanan said, "I go so low."
There was nothing lower to offer or do! (Loud laughter and applause.) Now, the whole philosophy is changed. Liberty is is the ascendant; the parsons of the people is to make over this country, on the model of its Declaration of Independence. Groping is changed. Liberty is in the ascendant; the purpose of the people is to make over this country, on the model of its Declaration of Independence. Groping socially intelligent—not wholly conscious—not yet able to articulate—but the intuitive will of the people. The story I told here two or three months ago of my old friend, a Capitali from Concord, who went down to Fortreas Monroe, illustrates it. A man said to him, "Why, you old wretch, do you know you'll never get back to Massachusetts !" "Don't intend to. Came to settle." (Great merriment.) Pleips understood it, that ill-used General up in Vermont—the only Abolitionist in the regular army, except Fremout, since Lyon fell—when he wrote over his banner in New Orleans—"Liberty and working men's rights." He knew what he was after—a re-modelling of the Union on Northern ideas. I say, the Northern breeze has commenced. Lincoln cuts so deep. We are not content. Somebody will cut deeper. Cox, of Ohio, will cut deeper. Why, the Democratic party is in the market. If you will periudade Cox, of Ohio, that she very is certainly and irrevocably deed, that there is no more hope for it than there is for the anov that melted last April, then the Democratic party will say in the heart, "If slavery is killed, and I not in at the death, what is my record !" Henry the Fourth, of France, said to his absent friend, "We have conquered, Crillion; you were not there!" History will say in the humblest human being that God created with an articulate voice; they killed a system which enslaved for million such, and your name is not on the record!"
Why, they would his him in the lower regions as a witless hypocrite! (Applause.) The reason why Franklin Pierce himself does not make a bid is be-cause he lives in the hope—and I believe, with all re-spect, Mr. President, that the model of a State re-constructed on the plan of Louisiana gives him a fair basis of hope—that the spirit of that old Slave Power will yet enter the Capitol, and he will clasp hands with it and govern. But convince Franklin Pierce of Cox that there never will be such a time, that Louisiana must send an Abolitionista good as Ben Wade to the Capitol, even if in order to do so it is obliged to choose black man, and he will join you. I mean exactly what I say. You may think me a fanatic—perhaps am; but in all soberness, and in all respectful memor of what I owe to you and to God, I do not believe the will be any safety for the idea of American Repu institutions until the white race see John Hancock under a black skin (applause); until they feet that, while it is inevitable their institutions shall be recon-structed upon the basis of the black man's franchise, in order to save them, they are fully willing that they

Mr. President, I am not speaking no of the negro. Oh, no! Looking far down our fu-ture and on a broad view of history, he can fold his arms, sit down by the channel's side, and look complacently on while twenty million of white struggle to save the institutions their fathers gave them, sure that whatever pathway we make, a safe harbor for our selves will save him. God has linked him inevitably to our future, so that he must share all our fortunes it cannot be helped. All I say, therefore, as an Abo litionist, is: There are two courses before you. You can take that territory of Louisiana, and hold it, by military force, as territory, hold every white man as as in a vice, and hold him till his son is born in a different spirit; that is one way. You can make the government hold one half this nation as subjects, not as citizens. Will you trust it? I will not. I confess should tremble for republican institutions launched on such a future, with the precedent of such despoti measures as this war is ac measures as this war is accustoming us to. I suan make every effort to avert such a course and prevent such a necessity. I will tell you, Mr. President, how I appreciate the sacredness which even Abraham Lincoln confers on slavery. I will tell you the yard-stick with which I measure it. Sixty days after this war commenced, the government took hobeas corpus, and astoming us to. I shall flung it into the sea. The high-water mark of Eng erty, gained by two centuries of struggle—the lish liberty, gained by two centuries of struggle—the government sacrificed it at the first bidding of military necessity. Yet Abraham Lincoln, in his letter to Hodges, avows that he waited almost two years before to touched slavery. Habeas Corpus—the most sacred civil right of you and me—William Seward able to say in sixty days—"I pull that bell, and a New Yorker cose to sail 1 mull their, and an Ohiona rose, and nooes to jail; I pull that, and an Ohioan goes, and no body saks me why." Louisiana chains half her citi-zens, grinds them in bondage which makes the slave a martyr and the master a brute, getting thus, and thus only, the wish and the power to embroil the Na tion; and the President waits twenty menths before he ventures to touch the system! How much more sacred is slavery than the venerable right of habea

In his recent letter to Hodges, and in his letter, a in his recent letter to Hooges, and in his letter, a year ago, to Mr. Greeley, the President distinctly arows his theory and purpose. He would fain save the Union without hurting slavery. He struggled long to do so. He consented to touch slavery only when every other means was exhausted, and every other method had failed. Now, had the rebellion been a superficial matter of sixty or winsty dave' do. other method had failed. Now, had the rebellion been a superficial matter of sixty or ninety days' duration, that had been possible; and a magistrate, holding office under a Constitution which recognized the system, might have been excused, perhaps, by such a course. A statesman, undoubtedly, looking before and after, seeing that slavery had been our great trouble in times past and was our most serious danger in time to come, and that is had justly forfeited its life, and the state of the field given conventing to would have snatched the God given opportunity to crush it forever, and thus guarantee the nation's future. There might have been an honest difference of opin-ion on such a point, between second-rate politicians, over a transient rebellion of ninety days. But when the war engulied the whole Nation, struck at its very life, lasted year after year, threatened the very Capi ants hung equal, then no man who did not give unthe Nation's life before I will abo present tenure of real estates—the right of the mass-es to vote "—we should have felt that he did well to with the title to real estate, to jury trial, on the same as soldiers under the fl level with the marriage institution! He will spend all the Nation's treasure, load it with debt perhaps for a century, fill every house with moorning, let the Nation reel before its fob for years, before he will cenent to touch slavery! And even after such terrible experience he shows, (witness Banks and Louisiana,) that he will do everything to keep the relations b tween black and white as near the state in which he nd them as possible. This avowal to Hodges, and this struggle to save what can yet be saved of slavery in Louisiana, is the mete-wand and yard-stick with which I measure the President's idea of the saredness of slavery. No wonder the very day that Frank Blair says in the House of Representatives. Frank Blair says in the House of Representatives, "The negro has no rights except to fight for us," the President illegally sends him back to his commission of Major-General! That man who had avowed he new no fit lot for the negro except to fight for us knew no fit lot for the negro except to fight for us, and then be sent from the country! In my opinion, nothing will save this Union now (no matter what might have been the possibility two years ago) but calling the negro up to citizenship, and reconstructing that the man who says that, and means it, deserves to States on that basis. Lawyers laugh at the proclamation. The most sanguine must allow it holds within it many serious and perplexing questions. After the same who says that, and means it, deserves to be kept in the Presidential chair until the work is a complished. (Applause.)

As to any fears that Judge Taney will undertake the same who are the same who says that, and means it, deserves to be kept in the Presidential chair until the work is a complished. as Banks is manufacturing. They are only Military Boards, got up for party purposes, and running aver with hatred to the Union. Give us a clean Constitu-tion as Weshington, and the elements of United States

Market Control of the Control of the

at the South-only then can we have Peace and Union.

at the South—only then can we have Peace and Union.

Now, you say to use, "Why do you make this criticism of Abraham Lincoln?" For this reason. He stands at the dividing point of the road; the weight of his right hand is on the helm. "If the blind lead the blind," where does the good book say thry will tumble? Mr. Lincoln may be the honestest man in the world, but he does not believe in the necessity of guarantees to save the Union; and therefore I say to you this: If you believe that he is capable of being your pilot, make him fit or it. If you want him, as Mr. Seward said at Auburn, and bought his office for four years more by saying It, take him. If it is our duty to make him our President for four years more, I do not complain, though I shall resist. It have nothing to sak from him our from his successor. But, as an Abolitionist, I demand of you that the force you give him those four years of sovereignty, you find out, beyond a peradventure, that he is both resolved and intelligent in regard to the means which your common sense tells you are indispensably necessary for the peaceful solution of this question. (Applance.) You, applaud him to the cello. Lay him on up in lavender, with Washington, for aught I care. Make him the model here of the Republic. My platform is this: The man who will save the Republic is an analysis of the peaceful solution of the guestion. form is this: The man who will save the Republic is my President, whatever his name is; and the man who will not save it is not my President, whatever his who will not save it is not my President, whatever his name is. (Applause, and cries of "good.") I do not care whether his name begins with G, or F, or L, or B—it does not matter; but he must be a man in whose brain and in whose right hand are the means of saving this Barabillo or the hand are the means. of saving this Republic on the basis of the liberty or saving this reported of the cases of the end, but is willing to use the means, the only means adequate to the end. If you can make that out of the present incumbent, in the hame of the slave, elect him. But do not blame me if, to-day, I doubt. There is not a white man on this continent who has a right to bold his good name safe from the censure of the slavenot one! The Negro! Crushed by two hundred not one! The Negro! Crushed by two hundred years of oppression, cheated in every promise up to the present hour, where is the man who tells me that there is, on the continent, a white than whose name is sacred from the just criticism and suspicion of the negro! And it is with his voice that I speak to night. I say, therefore, if you are quite sure, beyond a peradventure, that your President is up to that level, take him. If spite of three years trial and all evidence, you still believe he can be our Joshua, take him. I have no such faith. The day of his election isider the end of the Union in my day, or I shall consider the end of the Union in my its reconstruction on terms worse than Disuni

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Our eloquent friend, Mr. Phillips, commenced his speech by taking a chferful and inspiring view of our position, and then occupied the rest of the time in filling us with doubts, suspicions and apprehensions in regard to the future of the Republic, even with the in regard to the future of the Republic, even with the total abolition of slavery. He began with brightness, and ended with darkness. I shall begin as he did, and, detaining you only for a few moments, will try to end as brightly as I know how. (Loud applause.) I think everything looks auspicious(for our country. (Applause.) It seems to me that the omens are all good, and that we are making progress in the right direction every day, and every hour of the day. I believe, with my honored friend, that, under this Addirection every day, and every noise in the day. The lieve, with my honored friend, that, under this Administration, we have advanced a quarter of a century in a single year; and, therefore, the President — however slow in comparison with our wishes or aspirations — instead of being "an ox 'team," has besten even the "Birmingham train." (Laughter and applause.)

I have no serious apprehensions, so long as partie main as they are—a line dividing North and South, free institutions on the one hand and slave institutions on the other, and the people of the North resolved that they will never give up the conflict until fre riumples. Tell me not of the blood that flows! It cannot be otherwise. Tell me not of the cost of the war! It is inevitable. But that is more than comensated by the magnificent spectacle we have been so long desiring to see—a nation struggling to be free and learning the lesson of impartial justice through divine retribution. The future before us, with liberty, is bright and glorious; and we are to have liberty. It is said that the war must be conducted upon war

principles, with any hope of success. Granted— Grant-ed! (Laughter.) Well, the President has put at the head of the army the very man to do it. 'Can at the head of the army the very man to the Canhe do better! (Voicus—"No, no.") Now, what
does Gen. Grant say in regard to this struggle! Can
we trust him! Has he committed himself on this
question of slavery!—because, as the rebellion is of
slavery, for slavery, and against liberty, whoever fails
to perceive the real nature of this conflict is incompetent to meet the responsibilities of the hour. What, tent to meet the responsibilities of the hour. then, does Gen. Grant say on the question of slavery I will read an extract f n a letter which he address ed to the Hoh. E. B in which he says: Hoh. E. B. Washburne, dated last August

in which he says:

"The people of the North need not quarrel over the institution of slavery. What Vice-President Stephens acknowledges as the corner-stone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. Slavery is already dead, and cannot be resurrected. It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South, if we were to take possession to-day, guaranteeing to the South all their former constitutional privileges. I never was an Abolitionist, not even what would be called anti-slavery; but I try to judge fairly and honestly; and it became patent to my mind, early in the rebellion, that the North and South could never live at peace with each other, except as one nation, and that without slavery. (Applause.)

As anxious as I am to see peace catablished, I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement said this question is forcer settled." (Prolonged applause.)

Now, that is pretty good security for the Administration, and pretty good security for the abolition slavery; for our friend, Mr. Phillips, says he has a doubt that Grant will carry the flag victoriously to the Gulf. (Applause.) I was gratified to hear him say estly true to the proclamation of Emancipation of Jandue sacredness to slavery could use such language or harbor such purpose. If Mr. Lincoln, after long months of even such war, had said, "I will still risk portunity to read an extract from a speech made by my. it seems to me to be as just and pertinent now as when uttered. He says—" I, for one, have no objection to present tenure of real estates that he did well to exhaust all means and run every risk before touching the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln for four years or such sacred rights. But because slavery was tolerated in the Constitution, he puts it on the same level have been a hundred thousand colored men enrolled as soldiers under the flag of the country since that declaration was made—a large proportion of them slaves—all now recognized as entitled to equal protection and compensation by the government. Remen ber that we have ever since been going steadily for ward in the work of universal emancipation. Why, then, should Abraham Lincoln not be kept in his place another term ? My friend adds—"I told the President himself-and I believed it then, and I believe it now; I meant it then, and I mean it now-that the man wi nestly put his right hand to the plough of that would honeally put his right hand to the plougn of time proclamation, and execute it, this people would not allow to quit vehile the experiment was trying. Whoever starts the great experiment of emancipation, and honeatly devotes his energies to making it a fact, descress to hold the helm of the government until that experiment is finished." (Great applause.)

Now, I believe that that is precisely the conviction and proceedings of the process of the leaves practice of these practices of the practices

and determination of a large majority of the loyal peo-ple of the North. Mr. Lincoln is honestly resolved to nestly resolved to that the man who says that, and means it, deserves to be kept in the Presidential chair until the work is ac-

omplished. (Applause.)
As to any fears that Judge Taney will undertake to nullify that proclamation, they seem to me groundless. Why, if Judge Taney, or the whole body of the Supreme Court together, should dare to pronounce it null and void. Maryland herself is so far changed in sentiment that she would strangle them, and throw them

into the Potomac. (Loud applause.) Any apprehasion on that score strikes me as chimerical. Assess we shall take no steps backward. Slaredy, Assurely, we shall take no steps backward. Slared, Assurely, that God has been abeliabed in the District of Colombia, one stoom Longital. Is it to be restored again! We be tional Capital. Is it to be restored again! We be lieves it? The independence of the long despited he publics of Hayti and Liberia has been acknowled. publics of Hayti and Liberia has been acknowled by our country, and they stand on the level of great with all other nations. Do you appose that was ever to recall that recognition 1. The proclamation is clares three million of alaves to be free forers. In Judge Taney, no Supreme Court, will ever day addle with it. The people of this country mean is said by the President and his proclamation to the end. Its thusing the approach.

by the President and his proclamation to the end. The thusiastic appliance.)

The gristle of the South may be hardening into her, but it is the bone of a skeleton. The South 1-1 main not tauntingly—where is she now? In herden an interest strong, spasmodically, yet near to total of lapse. It is impossible that she can much loave as sist this gigantic and omnipotent North—the Beath to the state of the state right, and God with the right, the the ing in the right, and God with the right, as the South being in the wrong, and with the deril. (Applause.)

My friends, if everything has not been done the

we could desire, or that justice demands, let use how much has been done. Is it not far beyond all has we could have rationally expected? The wor's quarter of a century done up in a single year should quarter of a century done up in a single year abase make us hopeful and patient, and encourage up the lifeve that all minor inequalities will be looked the due season. As for Gen. Banks—where is he! The President of the United States has made him was the plank. (Applause.) And as to the objectional measures that are in operation in Louisians—"when the plank. the plane. (Applause.) And as to the objectionable measures that are in operation in Louisians..." with little longer," and see whether rectification be not make to the extent of the power and ability of P

I take, therefore, a hopeful view of our situation and It take, therefore, a hopeful view of our situation and prospects. We have never had such a state of tells as exists now. Only think of it! Three years ap, my beloved friend, Wendell Phillips, in the city of Bostom, on the "holy Sabbath," in broad daylight, had to be excerted from Music Hall to his home by a time body-guard to prevent his assassination. Then see manuter weapenful the darkest aspect and most have country presented the darkest aspect and most depra-ate condition that had ever been revealed to m. 6a what a cloud hung over the land! Almost every ny of light extinguished! A universal disposition to make fresh concessions, and to do everything that the Sie Power should demand, however base and devilab Happily, it was only the darkness which precede the lawn. Thank God, the morning has come, and the day is culminating to its full-tide brightness! (A blause.) And now, instead of being in danger in Bos-States, where he could not have gone before, rengt at the peril of his life; and there he is received by almiring audiences, applauded to the echo, and welcomed by the President of the United States. (Applane) Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave, goes to Washing ton, and is also received by the President in the most oun tenus, and friendly, and honorable manner. (applause.) George Thompson, (applause.) "the British emissary," (laughter,) "with his pockets line with emissary, (taugnter,) with an potted insever British gold," (renewed merriment,) whose objectus and is to "destroy our glorious Union"—Geop Thompson goes to the Capital, and is there welcomed by the President and Vice-President of the Uniol States and by Senators and Representatives, as the friend of liberty, the friend of America, deserring of our national gratitude. (Applause.) Again, look at Maryland! Why, I have seen it suzed

that it is somewhat hazardous in Maryland, nov, for a man to say anything in favor of slavery. The takes are turned. If you want to be popular there, he as radical an Abolitionist as you can. We now have been speech everywhere under the flag, and everywhere specer everywhere that the man and a selective may be denounced, not only with impunity, but with general approbation.

I ask whether these facts are not in the highest de-

gree cheering and stimulating ! and who not reason to believe—while not relaxing our rigilance, not ceasing to demand everything for the black man that we ask for the white man—that, inasmoch as we have gone on, under God, from one stage to another in the right direction, we shall yet reach the goald universal freedom and equality! (Applause.) Yes, we may make almost a literal application of the world one of our own poets, and affirm that, from sea tors, from the borders of our stormy Atlantic to the shore of the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf-

"Where'er a wind is rushing.
Where'er a stream is gushing.
The swelling sounds are heard Where a welling sounds are heard
Of man to freemen calling,
Of broken fetters falling,
And, like the carol of a cageless bird,
The bursting shout of Freedom's rallying werd." Prolonged applause followed the conclusion of Mr.

arrison's speech. The question was then put on the adoption of the resolution presented at the opening of the meeting; it was adopted unanimously, and with gree enhantem and the meeting terminated.

EMANOIPATION LEAGUE

A public meeting was held at Tremon Tremje as Monday, F. W. Bird presiding. Rer. Mr. Quirm of Marbiehead addressed the audience upon the Ex-lish feeling at the present time, in a setuble, strate and satisfactory manner.

we satisfactory manner.

Wendell Phillips, in a speech of some leigh, it viewed the acts of the administration for the particle of the particl recen no state relation to the field. Jungs a minuperience, the government was a minuperience, the government was a minuperience, this of was a minuperience of the final terms of the field of the field was in the heads of Abrahan Line H. Seward and Montgonery Bisis. Their maxim, "Treat your triends as it they might your enemies;" and the counterpart by your enemies as if they might one day bey your enemies as if they might one day bey your enemies as if they might one day bey your enemies as if they might one day bey your enemies as if they might one day bey have enemies a wide of the work of the first of the

administration had evidently actually administration had evidently actually ment, he averred that Mr. Lincoln coasts as the only ascred thing in this coastly suspend the habeas corpus, and in sixty the barriers of liberty set up two hands the barriers of liberty set up two hands the barriers of liberty set up two hands are the set of the coastly actually act the barriers of liberty set up you the last but he could not touch savery runtil the last and any and plunging the savery to multipast of saint and any and plunging the last darry. Under the would raise his hand against size. Under the would raise his hand against size. Under the would raise his hand against size. Under the would raise his hand against size over anything the heart the hisses, and now will prove what hear the hisses, and now will prove what heart he has any he never did any thing for the said by referring to Mr. Lincoln, took his eight until he was forced to, and then be took his eight use him. Now, if you don't like this picture if it was him. Now, if you don't like him picture if it is him to heart he was forced to, and then be continued to the provision of he is relating to the pay of colored troops.

Mr. Phillips continued with similar criticism, refund he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the United States, and if he was a citizen of the united States, and if he was a citizen of the united States, and if he was a citizen of the united States, and if he was a citizen of th

could not support it by voting, done
of its slavery clauses.
The gentleman replied that Mr. Phillips, starting
in this position, could not appreciate the motived
Mr. Lincoln, who had sworn to support the Costilla

Mr. Phillips rejoined, declaring his corriction fits
Mr. Lincoln does not desire the crushing of the redlion; and repeatedly pledging hisself to leave
stone unturned, from that time till Norember, to pr
vent his re-election. A series of resolutions were adopted, and officers were elected as follows:

Were elected as follows:

President, Samuel E. Sewall; Vice President, I. W. Bird, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Hon, Thomas for sell, Edward Atkinson; Tressurer, Major Constitute, Win Endicott, James M. Stone; Executer Sceretary, James M. Stone; Executer Committee, Win Endicott, Jr., Elizar Wright, Jak. R. Manley, John H. Stevenson, Dr. David Tyok, G. W. Slack, S. R. Urbino, Jas. Hall, J. C. Hayas, A. W. McPhail, Jr.

The Ziberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1864.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION. The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Concention

in 3th and 27th.

The meeting on Thursday will be in the MEIONA.

The meeting on Thursday will be in the MEIONA.

S, [basement of the Tremont Temple.] commencing in [100 clock, A. M. On Friday, it will be in the TRE NO TEMPLE. Three sessions will be held each self of A. M., and at a quarter before 8 and a

canter before 8, P. M.

Among the speakers expected are George Thompses, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quiner, Parker Pillsbury, S. S. Foater, Charles C. Barleigh, E. H. Heywood, and Wm. Wells Brown. By order of the Board of Managers of the Mass ets Anti-Slavery Society,
EDMUND QUINCY, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Secretaries.

A REMARKABLE DISCOVERY.

"Warrington "-the Boston correspondent of the "Warrington - the Boston

Springfield Republican—who frequently says a smart
sing, is sometimes a little too smart for the occasion

ling, a tour state of the age. Garrison is one of the motions events of the age. Garrison's editorial sow a days are of that class which he used to make sow a days are of that class which he used to make sow a days are of that class which he used to print un his passes the same that the same tha "The schism between Phillips and Garrison

This unquestionably "is one of the most curious dis difference between P. and G. respecting the principle e dectrines for which they have so long contended we doctrines for which they have so long contended.

Since Is there any difference between them as to the
day to secure liberty, and justice for the colored race sily before the law as for the white race? None Man, then, is the nature of the "schism" which
"Warrington" so confidently pronounces "one of the
most curious events of the age "! It is simply that and G. take different views of the approaching ilential election as it may affect the noble caus Presidential electron as it is safety and welfare of the country in a time of imminent peril and all-abounding selition. P. is strongly opposed to the re-election o per and inworthy of popular confidence or respect We disent from this estimate of the President, and believe his re-election is determined upon by the loyal portion of the Republic as a matter of wisdom, justice, and gratitude for the labors he has performed, the perils incurred, the trials experienced, in an hones ed remonsibilities thrown upon him by the mos highly and colosses rebellion, waged for the most de-getic purposes, that the world has ever known. Will "Warrington" bell us why we are bound to agree Philips, or he with us, in this matter his simply a matter of judgment, involving no prin mica events of the age." is to atter downright non sme. Mr. Phillips is as free to be criticised as he is edicise; and so are we. Abolitionists are the last fividualty in that of any living being. It is inev itable, is the altered state of the times, that the rom different points of vision, concerning the action the government and the tendency of events as affecing the freedom of the negro and the safety of th nestry. But they are none the less united in pur-

ted or a des one inter-ity,

Not less nonsensical is the assertion of "Warring ta," that "Garrison's éditorials, now-a-days, are of that dass which he used to print on his first page un-derthe head of Refuge of Oppression"!! We have maker reply to make to a calumny like this than to ay, that when any of our editorials shall be eagerly affel by Copperhead journals, to subserve their own s, as the effusions of "Warrington" are, from time, (in the present instance by the Bosto Fig.) it will be time enough for us to consider wheth-er we are growing lax in principle, blind in vision, or

balish in utterance.
"Warrington" charitably (!) thinks we have "act ally get tired out in the cause. He is again mistak-a. Is such a cause we can never grow weary. If, though a generation of opprobrium and murderous we never faltered, is it for us to droop po ecause is so near its perfect triumph? Are alting tones, in view of the progress of events, in fations of despondency or exhaustion? Abolition is know, by happy experience, the truth of the scrip ion, "They shall run, and not be wear; shall walk, and not failit; yea, they shall moun assergle's wings."

laming himself to be a radical republican, "War

agos, " very complacently and modestly says, " By National summersualt, he (Garrison) has throw self lackward clear beyond the radical republicant a self to be too slow for him, and has lande set the creations. servatives and hunkers"! So mucl sing the opinion that the people mean to retaken Lincoln to the Presidency,—the di Warrington" to the contrary notwithstandhe! Now, we have always expected that, in the cul-mation of the Anti-Slavery struggle, neophytes and detects hour men, both politically and religiously, Mach Abolitionists than ourselves, and rebuke us surlack of zeal and vigor; and we are not disap Mated. Nevertheless, if it is a gratification to the at a less amusing to us, as characteristic of hu at a less amusing to us, as characteristic of hu au ature at a pinch. "Our withers are unwrung

sa stars at a pinch. "Our with resonant by sach inputations.
Fauly, "Warrington" says he "expects to become temperate the property of the year 1870," and he will prespect to the disappointed. He is certainly competent to the property of t

The ATLANTIC, for June, has the following table of seems. Talk about Guides, by Maria S. Cummins; the Kalif of Baldacca, by Longfellow; Life on the Islands, by Miss Charlotte L. Forten, a young similarly, and an accomplished teacher of the freed part for Royal, A Fast Day at FoxGen; Prosent Wathington Links A Fast Day at FoxGen; Prosents A Fast Day at F "Gest Fort Royal; A Fast Day at Foxden; Pros-sis; Washington Irving, by Donald G. Mitchell; In En., by Miss Preccott; The Neva, by Bayard slar; Robson, by George Augustus Sala; The shak! Rada of Gien Roy in Scotland, by Agassis; but the Cliff, by Rolfert Browning; Seven Weeks has prest yo Semite, by Fitz Hugh Ludlow; House at Buse Papers, by Mrs. Stowe: Shakspeare, by he Home Papers, by Mrs. Stowe; Shakspeare, by he Balants; How to Use Victory, by Edward G. Hale

In LEGISLATURE ADJOURNED. The General Continuous ADJOUENED. The General four dosed is session of 130 days on Saturday events hat having passed 315 bills and 104 resolves. In the passed of the state of the Legislature was vetoed by the Govern, but was afterwards passed by the necessary have been of the two branches. The mean research to the two branches. The mean research to the two branches are sufficient were passed to the two branches. The mean research to the two branches are sufficient when the sufficient was sufficient to the two branches. The mean research to the two branches are sufficient to the two branches are sufficient to the two branches. THE MAN FOR THE HOUR.

This was the side of a discourse delivered last Suday before the 28th Congregational Society of Bosto by Rev. D. A. Wasson.

Premising that the choice of a ruler to preside the destinies of a great nation should be condu not in a partizan spirit, but in the light of reason conscience, the speaker raised the inquiry qualities are needful in the ruler of a nation.

In ordinary times, and for the common necessities government, he thought the following qualificate needful, namely :-

needful, namely:

1. Honesty: an incorruptible character.
2. A sound head, as well as a sound heart.
3. Largeness, both of heart and understanding: a recognition of broad and enduring interests: a minumfettered by temporary or personal considerations.
4. Valor. Good rule is interpid rule.
5. Faith. Faith in reason and right; that is to say faith in God. Moderation. The good ruler must respect the law of gradation. The sanity of society is kept up only by a sense of continuity; of connection with its

past. An old word materially helps the progress of a new thing. Butler's ingenious application of the word "contraband" procured the immediate adoption and acceptance of a new policy, without the opposition which it would otherwise have met. 7. An executive habit of mind. Having decided upon a course, to disregard difficulties; to see and act

upon the predominant need, with a certain disregard or exclusion of other matter; this is the executi-

These are the qualifications ordinarily needful for a ruler; but in great and dangerous crises, the ruler should have, additionally—

should have, additionally—
8. Great speed: promptness and celerity of action which do not imply hurry or headlongness. He need to decide upon a whole matter at one sally of decision

To illustrate this last point by reference to the criais of our own nation—when it was determined, as needful for the public welfare, to employ negroes as soldiers, this necessity included or drew after it many other things, which should have been admitted and settled by one administrative act. If negroes were good enough to be soldiers, they were good enough to be soldiers, they were good enough to enough to be soldiers, they were good enough to be contractors for their own labor, landholders, voters in one word, citizens. To leave each of these points to be demanded on its own merits, and then contested, and debated, and postpood—the debates and delays all the time alienating the feelings of those whose alliance and co-operation were of momentous import ance to us—is an error of immense magnitude

to the application. How does our present ruler answe to these demands?

Abraham Lincoln (he said) is undoubtedly an hone man. He has the popular average honesty. So much is good, after our previous opposite experience. He is good, after our previous o has also shown much candor.

He is a man of intelligence, very clear-headed in his way. He has courage, though not boldness. He is a timid

man of courage. This is the New England form of He has moderation in abundance. I need say no

He has faith. He has superb tenacity of purpose, holding fast to what he has already decided, as a ratchet holds its

wheel from falling back. So much in his favor. What is there now in shate

takes a long time to consider and decide, trying always to eliminate the difficulties. But to do this is hopeles and wasteful of time. This was the prominent characteristics

A great ruler, in a great crisis, must often leave details to the future, and strike while the iron is hot. The great effects must be cared for first; the little ones, in their order, afterwards. The man for a great hour must lay on heavily, regardless of nice and mi nute results.

2. Mr. Lincoln is a conscientious man, but only to certain extent. He has convictions on the subject of certain extent. The has convictions on the subject of slavery, but they are not moral convictions; they may be set aside by circumstances. He accepts the Kentucky interpretation of the Constitution. In fact, the Constitution does give a narrow margin to slavery, but the whole text and body of it go the other way. He holds to the Kentucky reading, which makes slavery predominant and preponderant. He therefor interferes with slavery only when he cannot help it; only, as he himself says, "on military necessity;" not for the sake of military advantage, only on

tary necessity!

3. Mr. Lincoln is not only deliberative rather than executive in mind, he is slow; painfully, calamitously

4. He has no power to treat wholes as wholes. 4. He has no power to treat wholes as wholes. He sticks to details, deliberating upon each part, to the peril of the entire interest to which the parts belong. His whole dealing with the negroes shows this. Deciding to stop their enslavement, he did not establish their freedom. Deciding to make them soldiers, he did not see that they should be soldiers in fall, with his their the sand without one of the seed of the sand without the soldiers. all the rights and privileges of other soldiers. the enemy commit horrible atroctities upon them in violation of the laws of war, he leaves these facts for months unregarded. When the Fort Pillow massacre shocks the whole nation he waits in silence until about dant evidence, official and other, has demonstrated the infernal guilt, both of the rebel officers and soldiers and then he says—he will do something about it when he is assured of the facts. What has he done

Nothing, either for protection or retribution. Nothing! The colored men of New Orleans, having twice saved the city when the white force was inadequate to save it, asked that the right of suffrage might be given them. No.

Others, oppressed under Gen. Banks's administra-tion, ask that the rights of ordinary laboring men may be given them. No. He sticks to the Kentucky estimate of the pegro.

A terrible slowness governs his management of this whole subject. chain of slavery, a chain of slavery, and to make the negroes somers, no should have decided all the subordinate questions included in these great ones. For want of his doing this, half the efficiency naturally belonging to these two movements has been lost. Thus it appears that though intelligent and able, Mr. Lincoln lacks the extra the state of the state of the very loss of the prominence given to that though intelligent and able, Mr. Lincoln lacks the extra the state of the very loss of the ve

In the last three years, our chief work has been mil-itary. In the next three years, the chief work must be administrative. Many new decisions will be needed, much quick and energetic action.

Mr. Lincoln's ability with his slowness will hardly Mr. Lincoln's ability with his slowness will hardly suffice for our necessities. He has many admirable qualities, with some weighty drawbacks. Were his mind decidedly executive in character, and at the same time delivered from Kentucky mystification, he would be the best man for our next Presidents. The Blair influence is eminently dangerous for such a man. It is bad enough for the Executive to be naturally slow, but if he chooses advisers who inculente slowness and keen the breaks availed all the time.

urally slow, but if he chooses advisers who inculcate slowness, and keep the breaks applied all the time, what progress can the engine make?

Mr. Wasson said that other candidates were before us, Rosecrans, Chase, Butler, Freunont, but he expressed no decided preference. He closed by saying that it is our duty to judge in this matter temperately and religiously, but intrepliely; bringing civil boldness and energy to support the brave deeds of our soldlers in the field—c. x. w.

Nearly all the Joyal States (19) have already declared, either through their Legislatures or their State Conventions, CHARLESCHAIN favor of the re-election of Abraham Lifscots to the Presidency (

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. No. VIII.

New York, May 19, 1864.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

The Army of the Potomic has added another battle-week to its bloody record; and that it is able to rest on its victorious arms and maintain its last position, while its spirit and its capacity continue what they were at the outset, must be traced to its having a leader who loses neither head nor heart in a crisis. That American tenacity which has been manifested in Virginia by repeated engagements on the self-same fields, seems incarnate in the person of Lieutenant-General Grant. For the past few days, there has been a necessary lull in military operations—the giants have wrestled, and stopped to breathe; but the grim sentence which commits our hero to the execution of his programme, though it take all sumer, is an assurance that I write now, as a fortnight since, on the eve of renewed and desperate conflict. The issue is not to be foreseen. We only know that Lee has lost his prestige without impairing his antagonist's. In the early success of the late advance we thought we beheld in Richmond the "last ditch" of the rebellion. Later developments do not doom us scene of our final triumph may yet be tran slip by Beauregard on as many Massachusetts regi ments, of the same numbering, should be ignominiously routed and made captive. I have often desired, or even terms, this symbolic collision of the soldiers of two States which embody the Restile ideas contending for mastery; for I had faith that Pine tree muscle wa erior to Palmetto, as the genius of lib is stronger than the demon of slavery. And so it ha proved.

That part of the war against the slave system whose

progress is visible in smoke and fire, and sudible in the rimbombs of artillery, naturally hides and drowns the moral controversy which yet keeps pace with it Banks, for example, on the Red River, is an object o nuch greater solicitude than is the Convention an amendment to the State Constitution by which slavery is at once and forever abolished in Louisiana. I am gratified to add, that the debates of the Conven-tion exhibit more hopeful signs than were to have been expected of a love of freedom which is based upon principle; and though it is not likely to admit the colored man to suffrage, it seems to have steadi-ness enough to insist that he shall be educated by the same provisions as the whites. The removal from the Department of its incompetent head ought to en courage the Flanders-Durant party to new efforts for uine republic.

a genuine republic.

It has always been good Abolition policy to fight with slavery on its latest issue—Annexation of Tex-as—Mexican War—Compromise of 1850—Kansas and Nebraska; and I know no better strategy at the present day. Therefore, at the risk of making these com ous. I have constantly presented the claim of the negro to the right of suffrage, and have kept along, as well as I could, with the progress of that idea as it has forced itself upon the public at tention. I believe Montana yet hangs between the tention. I believe Montana yet hangs between the two Houses of Congress, to the horror of the Times of this city, which yesterday vented itself upon "False Issues and a Fanatical Spirit," pronouncing the attempt to found a State in everlasting justice a waste of time upon an "empty abstraction." "No negroes ever have settled, or ever will settle, in that region," forsooth! Well, then, why insist on unnecessary discrimination of color? why take pains to but out those who—O onniscient Times!—never will come in, and so will never occasion trouble if the door is left open? Has that paper adopted Mr. Webster's defence of his refusal to vote to exclude alarery from New Mexico? and is it nuwilling to "remact the laws of God"? The Times is additionally grieved by the debate in the Senate, on the 12th, or suffrage in the District. The "abstraction not being available in this instance, the Tir to cover its pro-slavery impulses, as did Senator Ten Eyck, by pretending that "intelligence ought to accompany the exercise of every civil franchise." Now I do not think any fault could be justly found with an enactment in this sense, in a republic where every opportunity is offered to acquire that intellige out that this plea is hollow is shown by the fact the the Times has a great deal to say about the ignorance of slavery's black victims, and no reference to the at least uncolightened condition of her white. And least uncalightened condition of her white. And when Senator Morill, of Maine, proposed to lay identical restrictions as to education, residence and property upon all the inhabitants of the District impartially, "this was not," in the opinion of Mr. Ten Eyck, "time to strip the white man of any privileges, though he may not be able to read and write; much less of the inalienable right of suffrage." I should like to be informed what inalienable right belong to any man, or any race of men, except as human be ings, members of one human family or brotherhood Yet Mr. Ten Eyck distinguishes in favor of a particu lar color; while Mr. Willey, of West Virginia, said that the right to vote was purely conventional. The Times accepts the latter position, and declares it to be a matter for the State and not for Congress to decide That was sound doctrine when slavery made it cor venient; but if the Senate means to follow the Hous Congress must not first mark out it pattern of a Re public, and then oblige each State to conform to it else, what virtue in the clause ? I hold it to be th special province and duty of the national legislature to effect a uniform treatment of the citizens of the United States, without regard to origin or con ion; and if this be the "false issue" of a "fanatica

But what can you expect when Bishop McIlvaine, o Ohio, presiding in this city at the late anniversary ss governs his management of the American Tract Society, makes a speech of which When he decided to break the the only report I find is this: "The colored brother the only report I find is the only report who is our brother-soldier should be our brother-cit ecuave faculty.

We have urgent need of swiftness in the present extremity of our nation. Slow work here is sure destruction. When a great artery is severed, it must be tied quickly, if at all. run me risk of being crowded out altogether by your phonographic report of the proceedings. Let me only express the unmitigled pleasure with which I listened to the speech of Mr. Thompson before the Congregational Union in Plymouth Church—a model of fliness and elon-neces having the ss and eloquence, having the merit not only t charm his listeners, but to elevate them, and to leave them strengthened in their moral convictions and pur-poses. To be sure, he raised the "false issue;" but the applicase which he won for it proceeded from other "fanatical spirits." besides. M. DU PAYS.

we have been obliged to occupy so many col-umns of our paper, last week and this, with the speech-ea and proceedings at the annual meeting of the Amer-ican Anti-Slavery Society at New York, as to exclude our usual variety of matter. We have an accumulat-ing pile of communications on hand, to be disposed of as fast as room will permit—annua them is a reply from Mrs. E. C. Stanton to the letter of Mrs. C. H. Dall, concerning the Women's Loyal League, which shall appear next week. shall appear next week.

"RUSSELL'S GUIDE to the Pire Alarm for Bos illustrated with a Map of the City."-This little bool will be interesting to all who wish to become acquainted with the new method of sounding the Fire Alarms.
Published by Benj. B. Russell, Bookseller and Stawill be interesting to all who wish to become acquainted with the new method of sounding the Fire Alarins. Published by Benj. B. Russell, Bookseller and Stationer, 515 Washington St., Boston. It should be in uvery household for easy reference.

DENT'S REPLY.

A deputation of delegates from the General Conference in season at Philadelphia visited the President, and presented to him an address, in which the Conference, representing, nearly a million of members, express to him the assurance of the loyality of the Church, the centred devotion to the interests of the country, and her sympathy with him in the great responsibilities of his high position in this trying hour. They honor him for his preclamation of liberty, and rejoice in all the acts of the Government designed to secure freedom to the enalayed. In conclusion, they say:—

"Actuated by sentiments of the loftest and "pure previous of our country undivided, for the triumph of our cause, and for a permanent peace, gained by the sacrifice of no moral principles, but found in the Work of God, and securing, in righteousness, liberty and equal rights to all."

To which address the President replied as follows:—

To which address the President replied as follows:

GENTLEMEN: In response to your address, allow
me to attest to the accuracy of its historical statements,
endorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in
the nation's name for the sure promise it gives. Nobly
sustained as the Government has been by all the
Churches, I would outer nothing which might it not
least appear invidious against any. Yet, without this,
it may fairly be said that the Methodist Epicopial
Church, not less devoted than the best, it, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is not a
sault in others that the Methodist Church sends, more
soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, more
prayers to heave, than any other. God bless the M.
E. Church; bless all the Churches; and blessed be God,
the, in this our great trial, giveth us the Churches.
Subsequently Rev. Dr. Thornton, delegate from the
finglish Conference to the Methodist General Conference, together with Dr. Scott, from the Irish Conference, was presented to the President
be earnest and facetry sympathy of the Methodist
membership of England and Ireland in the present national struggle, and their desire for our success.

The Convention to choose Delegates to the Nation Convention assembled in the Tremont Temple oston, on Monday. Stephen H. Phillips, of Salem, as chosen President; James H. Ducan of Haverhill. Boston, on Monday. Stephen H. Phillips, of Salem, was chosen President; James H. Ducan of Haverhill, and Gerry W. Cochrane of Methuen, were the Yice-Presidents from Essex Co; and the Secretaries were William S. Robinson of Malden, Stephen N. Stockwell, of Boston, Benjamin H. Smith of Gloucester, F. A. Hobart of Braintree, and D. A. Goddard of Worcester. Rev. Phineas Stowe, of Boston, invoked the Divine blessing, and speeches were made by the President, and several others.

The Delegates chosen were: Alexander H. Bailock of Worcester, (who received every vote,) William Claffin of Newton, John A. Andrew of Boston, and James T. Robinson of Adams.

The Substitutes are: Moses Kimball of Boston, Julius Rockwell of Pitthfield, William Whiting of Roxbury, and Jonathan E. Field of Stockbridge.

The Resolutions, unminously adopted, were as follows:

The Resolutions, unmimously adopted, were as low-lows:
Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts are un-yielding in their attachment and loyally to the Constitution and the Union, and they will regard as their friends all persons of every political hame who are now devoting themselves or their means to the defence of the country and her institutions.
Resolved, That the only way in which the present war can be brought to a close, is by the conquest spid destruction of every armed force arrayed against the Government of the United States; and that we propose to "fight it out upon this line" to final victory. 'Applause.'

tovernment of the United States; and that we prose to "fight it out upon this line" to final victory. (Applause.)

Resolved, That the policy of the present Administration, in relation to the employment of colored troops, and looking to the final extinction of slavery in this whole country, commands the approbation and support to the fullest extent of the people of this Commonwealth; and that neither President nor Congress can go so fast or so far in this direction as to create in any feelings but those of satisfaction and joy.

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts have looked with admiration upon the bravery and devotion of the heroic men, who for the last three years have upheld the flag of the United States on the land and on the sea; that they mourn for the death of those who have fallen on the field, or perished by wasting disease; that they sympathize with the sufferings of those who nare sick or in prison; and that they pledge to the gallant survivors their deepest gratitude.

Resolved, That the integrity and firmness, wisdom and humanity, exhibited by the President of the United States, during the three years of his administration, entitle him to the cordial and continued support of the people of the republic; and that, at the present time, no person is so fully commended, by experience and personal character, to our consideration, as a candidate for the next Presidency, as Morhama Lincoln. (Applause.)

Wendell Phillips was a member of this convention,

plause.)

Wendell Philitips was a member of this convention, being one of the delegates from Boston. It was the first political convention in which he ever took a part, the spoke against the resolution endorsing Mr. Lincoin, and in the course of his remarks was applauded and

At the State Republican Convention, held at Burlington, Vermont, to appoint delegates to the National (Presidential) Convention to be held at Baltinere on the 7th of June next, the following resoutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That we have an abiding confidence in the sterling honesty and common sense, the sagacity the statesmanlike ability and devoted patriotism of our President, Abraham Lincoln; who, if he do not attempt to control events, is yet size enough to be instructed by them, to follow the leadings of Providence, and to obey the impulses of the people; and that we will heartily austain him and his administration in his offerts to creat the rebellion and the cause of the rebellion, and to restore the nation to union and assured neares.

Peace.

Resolved, That the choice of the people of Vermont for President of the United States for the nexterm is that man of the people, ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The following resolutions, adopted by a Radi al meeting at Keyterville, Chariton county, (Missou i)) on the 2d inst., exhibit their attachment to Mr

Resolved, That we have unbounded confidence in he integrity and devotion to principle of unit slavery nen throughout the country; therefore, in our judg nent, the Radical party of this State should send rep-esentatives to the Baltimore Coffvention, and labor or that unity which alone can secure success to our or that unity which alone can secure success to our

principles.

Resolved, That President Lincoln descrives the thanks of the American people for the faithful and patriotic manner in which he has prosecuted the war against the rebellion; and, in the future as it he past, we will sustain him in so doing to the end of his official search.

OLD ARE'S LAST. The latest illustrative story by ld Abe is thus related by our New York correspon-ent. Its moral will be appreciated by patriotic men

"A gentleman just returned from Washington re-lates the following incident that transpired at the "A gentleman just returned from Washington relates the following incident that transpired at the White House the other day. Some gentlemen were present from the West, excited and troubled about the present from the West, excited and troubled about the present from the West, excited and troubled about the present from the West, excited and troubled about the territorial organization of Montana be effected by President heard them patiently, and then replied: Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold, and you had put it in the hands of Blondin to carry across the Nigara River on a rope, would you shake the cable, or keep shouting out to him—Blondin, stand up a little straighter—Blondin, stony a little straighter—Blondin, stony a little straighter—Blondin, stony a little straighter—Blondin, stony a little more to the South! No, you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government is carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the very beat they can. Don't hadger them. Keep silence, and we'll get you safe across.' This simple illustration answered the complaints of half an hour, and not only silenced but charmed the audience."—Boston Journal.

MR. BRECHER ON THE PRESIDENT. The following is an extract from a recent letter of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher:—

Ward Beecher —

"In consideration of the present exigency; in view of Mr. Lincoln's past administration; the wisdom he has shown; the moral purity of the man; the great confidence which the people put in him; the danger there would be, if he were set aside, of having it regarded as a popular rebuke of his policy; and the confidence I feel that, though long in learning, he has learned to govern, I am full and strong in my conviction that he should be our next President."

Political. The New Nation, (Fremont organ,) says it will have nothing to do with the Convention called to meet at Baltimore on the 6th of June, the day preceding the Union Convention, as it believes it to be a Chase movement.

The Ohio Delegates at Large to the Baltimore Convention are expressly instructed to vote for Mr. Lincoln, and to resist the postponement of the nomination.

The Springfield Republican considers is a curious phenomenon, that those who think June too early for a Presidential Convention, are most active for the Convention at Cleveland in May.

ADDRESS OF THE METHODIST CONFERTHE ARREARS DUE COLORED SOLDIERS.
ENCE TO THE PRESIDENT THE PRESIGOY Andrew has addressed the following later to Gov. Andrew has addressed the following letter to

To the President of the United States:

Sir:—I respectfully call to the attention of You Excellency the case of the Reversed Samuel Harriaon, (lately Chaplain of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers.) and the communication, which I had the honor to address to Your Excellency of the twenty-fourth day of March last, and the decision of the Attorney General of the United States on the questions of law involved in the case, which decision was submitted by him to Your Excellency, under date of the twenty-third day of April last, and concluded in the fath.

"Your attention having been specialty called to the wrong done in this case, I am also of opinion that your constitutional obligation to take care that the laws be faithfully executed makes it your duty to direct the Secretary of War to inform the officers of the Pay Department of the Army that such its your view of the law, and I do not doubt that it will be accepted by them as furnishing the correct rate for their action.

(Signed) EDWARD BATES,

Attorney General."

Addressed to the President.

Addressed to the President.

As a proper representative of Chaplain Harrison, and of all the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 5th and 55th Regiments of Massachusetta Infantry Volunteers, the rights and interests of all of whom are involved in the settlement of the legal questions aforesaid—after having waited during a reasonable time for the consideration of the subject by Your Excellency—I do heverby respectfully dains, and so much as in me lies I do, by this appeal to Your Excellency, hereby demand of and from the Excentive Department of the Government of the United States the just; fall and immediate payment to all the aforesaid officers and men, of the sums of money now due to them as Volunteer Soldiers of the United States, serving in the field, according to the 6th Section of the 9th Chapter of the Acts of Congress of the year 1801, placing the officers; non-commissioned officers and privates of the Volunteer forces, in all respects as to pay, on the footing of similar corps of the regular army. Already these soldiers—than whom none have been more distinguished for tollsome work in the trenches, fatigue duty in camp, and conspicuous valor and endurance in battle—have waited during twelve months, and many of them yet longer, for their just and lawful pay.

Many of those who marched in these regiments from this Commonwealth have been worn out in service, or have fallen in battle on James Island, in the assault upon Fort Wagner, or in the affair of Olustee, yielding up their lives for the defence of their native country, in which they had felt, their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share of oppression, but from which they had felt their share

dier, and siek at heart as they contemplate their own humillation.

Of others, yet alive, and remaining in the service, still fighting and wholly unpaid, the families have been driven to beggary and the almshouse.

These regiments, Sir, and others atteated like these—stung by grief, and almost crazed by pangs with which every brave and true man on earth must sympathize—are trembling on the verge of military demoralization. Already one man in a South Carolina regiment—raised under the orders of Major General Hunter, with the same interpretation of the laws of Congress now given them by the Attorney General of the United States—has suffered the penalty of DRATH for the military offence of mutiny, by refusing further-obedience to his officers, and declaring that, by its own breach of faith, the government of the United States had released him from his contract of an enlisted soldier.

had released nim from his contact of any him, exsoldier.

The Government which found no law to pay him, except as a nondescript or a contraband, nevertheless found
law enough to shoot him as a soldier.

In behalf of the sufferings of the poor and needy;
of the rights of brave men in arms for their country;
of the statutes of Congress; and of the honor of the
nation, I pray Your Excellency to interpose the rightful power of the Chief Executive Magistrate of the
United States, who is bound by his oath "to take care
that the laws be faithfully executed;" and by its immediate exercise, to right these wrongs.

I have the honor to remain,

weelth of Massachusetts.

JUSTICE TO FALLEN HEROES. The claims of the children of those colored soldiers who fell bravely fighting, or who were afterward brutally massacred at Fort Fillow, are being forcibly presented by Mrs. Booth, the widow of their commander, Major Booth, who fought and fell with them. The President has received Mrs. Booth with more than his usual kindness, and in a note dated May 19, introducing her to Senator Sumner, he says: "She makes a point which I think very worthy of consideration, which is, that widows and children is fact of colored soldiers who fall in service be placed in law the same as if their marriages were legal, so that they can have the benefit of the provisions made the widows and orphins of white soldiers. Please see and hear Mrs. Booth."

Mrs. Booth, in an interview with Mr. Sumner, made some very interesting statements with regard to the condition of the children of colored soldiers and their mothers. In many instances large families are left

mothers. In many instances large families are left unprovided for, and she urges that they receize the same back pay, pensions, &c., as they would had not slavery prevented legal marriages.

ALBANY, May 23. Gov. Seymour has directed the District Attorney to procure indictments against all who were engaged in the seizure of the offices of the New York World and Journal of Commerce.

DEATH OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Nathaniel Hawthorne, the author, died at Plymouth, New Hampshire, May 19th. He was stopping at Plymouth in the course of a journey for the benefit of his itealth, and was in company with ex-President Franklin Pierce. He had been suffering with general debility, for some time, but retired to bed as well as usual. At 3 o'clock the next morating, however, he was found dead in his bed by ex-President Pierce.

NEORO SUPPRAGE IN MONTANA. The Senate had a Spirited debate on the report of the Committee of

The strange spectacle of a man of color on the floor of the Senate received with distinguished consideration by the most eminent men of that body, was presented on Tuesday last in the Haytian Minister, Col. Romaine.

WASHINGTON, N. C., BURNED BY THE REBELS. Newbern advices state that the rebels burned Washington, and robbed all the women and children.

The Boston Democrat. The Democratic party bad an animated convention in this Congressional district, last week, sitting till late into the night. They gave Col. Greene the resolutions, and chose George Lunt a delegate. A very fair division.

Gen. Wadsworth's funeral at his home, Gene-sec, N. Y., was solemnized on Saturday. It was such a cheen of sincere love and sorrow as few men can hope for. tope for.

By Senator Fessenden's son is on his way he found New Orleans, having suffered amputation

The Pope of Rome has sent \$500 from his private pure to the Sanitary Commission, and expressed great sympathy for our wounded soldiers.

27 Brigadier General Canby has been appointed by the President a Major General, and assigned to the command of the Department of Western Louisi-na and Arkansas. His appointment was immediately confirmed by the Senute. He supersedes Gen. Banka and Gen. Steele.

YRARLY MERTING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The Twelfth Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends will be held at LONGWOOD, (near Hamorton,) Chester County, Pa., beginning at 10 c'olock,

ALPRED H. LOYE, SARAH M. BARNARD,

not foreseen, are Groces Trucyron of England, William Later Garrison, and Trucoros Trucyro.

Later Garrison, and Trucoros Trucyro.

Longwood is about thirty miles west of Philadelphia, from which place it is reached by the care of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railrosd, which runs exhaust way twice a day. The Progressive Friends are hospitable to strangers.

FF PRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRES ly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and inday, 3d, 4th and 5th days of June next

Substance, see and out days of June next.

A cordial invitation is extended to all who have care to
hear—all especially who most prise Truth and the intersets of Humanity—who seek, before all else, the life and
growth of the soul, to join us in this our annual gathering.
Come, that we may mutually impart and receive counsel,
necouragement and quickening. Rev. Banuar J. Mar, A. M. Powell, C. D. B. Mills,

and other able speakers from abroad, will be present to participate in the discussions, and lend interest to the occa-

On.

Communications for the meeting and Communications for the meeting and Person B. Dran, Harrier A. Mulls, Harry Bornel, Lask, Harry Bornel, Tronk,

Waterloo, March, 1864. MARY DOTY,

"AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC." It being a wellknown fact that the brave men composing the 54th and 55th Regiments Mass. Vols. have, since they have been in their county and them have fallen in defence of the American flang, leaving here in our midst their poor, suffering and destitute wives and children, the Colored Ladies of Massa-tha urgent necessity there is, just at destitic wives are clusters, the colored Lance of also chuestis, knowing the urgent necessity there is, just at this time, of doing something for these suffering ones, are preparing to hold a Fair in this city at as early a day as possible, this being, in their judgment, the most practical method of accomplishing their object. Donations, either of goods or money, will be most thankfully received by the President, Madam CARTRAUX BANNISTER, 31 Winter street, Arrance and the Treasurer, Rev. Mrs. GRUERS, 28 Grove street.

As we have just sent into the field another brave regiment,
the 5th Cavalry, and their families are left with its, while
their husbands, brothers and fathers have goes to uphold
the honor of our flag, there will be a demand for all our

TO LET, for the Summer season, one of the most desirable residences in Lynn, situated on Sagamore Hill, free from dust, meequitees and other annoyances, and with-in three minutes walk of the Beach. The house will be let with or without the furniture. Rent reasonable the times. Inquire of J. BAILEY, on the premises.

AARON M. POWELL will address the Free Church congregation (Rev. Mr. Johnson's) at Lynn, (Mass.,) on Sunday, May 29. Subject—The Responsibiliies of Victory.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in North Easton; Mass, and vicinity, Sanday, May 29, and ten days following; and will attend a Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Progress in Middle Granville, N. 7., on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of June; and lecture in Weshington and Saratoga counties, N. Y., Sill July 1st.

Portrait of William Lloyd Garrison.

Portrait of William Lioyu Gallisola.

This subscriber has in preparation a large and elegand ithographic Portrait of Mr. Garrison, from an original crayon drawing by Thomas M. Johnston, which he believes he is safe in asserting will be, in all respects, the most salisfactory portrait of this distinguished advocate of impartial freedom ever offered to the public.

Size of print 21 by 27 inches. Price \$1.60 for India Proof copies, which will be sent by mall, free of postage, on receipt of price.

CHARLES H. BRAINARD.

May 20.

A. J. GROVER.

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, St. PAUL, MINNESOTA. Special attention given to securing and collecting

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., Boston.
A. L. PARNE, Esq., Saffolk Bank, do.
FARWELL, FIELD & Co., Chicago, Illinois.
STEVENS & BARNUM, Washington, D. C.

TWO VALUABLE PAMPHLETS WENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for the year ending May 1861.

1861.
PROCEEDINGS of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Third Decade, held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. and 4th, 1863. With an Appendix; and a catalogue Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1750 to

fashington Street, Boston.

ct. Fifty cents each pamphlet; for which a copy of will be sent by mail, as may be directed.

y 20.

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A LL interested in Phonographic Shorthand should send for the PHONOGRAPHIC VISITOR, No. 1, seven cents; No. 2 and 2, twelve cents. No. 2 explains the Phonographic Alphabet, given above, and all the more general principles of the Art. Address

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T. STARR KING. 15 cents. WALKER, WISE & CO.,

THE RED SEA FREEDMEN,

THE KED SEA FREEDMEN,

A STIRRING Sermon for the Times; unscotarian, untrammeled and progressive, bearing upon the activities of the Church and the prosperities of the Nation.

By Rev. ALEXANER CLARA, Editor of "Clark's School Visitor," and Junior Frantor of the Church of the New Teatment, Philadelphia.

A handsome pamphlet. Price 10 cents. 31 a dosen.

Buy it, read it, and send it to a moldier. Address.

100 Chestant street, Philadelphia.

April 15.

GAS FIXTURES.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that (eving to ill health) he has been obliged to leave his situation at Mesers. H. B. Stauwood & Co*, now Mesers. Shreve, Stauwood & Co*, where he has been employed for the last Gourteen rease, the work being too heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared to de all manner of

to do all manner of

JOBRING ON GAS FIXTURES,
in the most careful manner. New Fixtures furnished and
put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drops cleaned, leaks stopped, Gas Fixtures done over, and Gas Giassus of all kinds
turnished at short notice. Also, Gas Europers of all the
approved Kinds. He are the statement of the statement of the fixture and the statement of the fixture of the statement of t

SECESSION.

At midnight, when his lamp burned dim Jef. Davis sat his room within, ing upon his deadly. sin-

He heard the sentry's measured tread, As on his weary round he sped, The night-wind marmuring overhead,

He saw gaunt Famine's bony hand Outstretched above his fair South-land; Beside his path it seemed to stand, Whispering,

Dark Ruin yawned beneath his feet: That ghastly form how could be meet? Telling of home, disgrace, defeat Unto Secession.

And then from out each grass-grown grave, Where rest our unforgotten bray Where Mississippi's waters lave

From out the caks" and whispering pines,"
Where heroes fell in serried lines,
And May-time with her bloom entwines

From Pillow, where the brand of she Must reet forever on thy name, Nor time efface the darkening stain,

From Gettysburg's proud heights of fame, From Anticiam, stern voices came, "Woe, woe, See

A pale, stern band, they gathered round, Dark-stained with many a ghastly wound And still he heard the same dread sound

"Why stand ye here?" the Traitor said, Raising his bowed and trembling head; "Why come ye from the silent dead, Dooming Secession?" "We come the Traitor's fate to speak,

To tell the doom which you must meet When Justice makes her work complete, thee and thine the gibbet waits,-

Wide ope the prison-fortress gates, Clustering like stern avenging Fates Around Secessi The Northmen are areused at last :

Their long dark night of sleep was past When Sumter, on that April blast,

rms! to arms!" they sternly cried, And in their manhood's strength and pride They went to stem thy bloody tide,

They'll compass thee in tower and town-Thy hostile forts they'll batter down, Till not one battlement shall frown In all Secessia. E'en now proud Charleston waits her doo

The fiery shell, the cannon's boom,
Tells that to her has judgment come
First in Secession And Richmond soon will share her fate,

Where now dark Treason sits in state, With guarded wall and bolted gate. see thy dainty hands must soil,

They'll stand as MEN, erect and free;

What God designs will carely be: No more they'll bow the service knee, y've battled bravely for the Right

They've stood undaunted 'mid the fight, They shall rejoice in Freedom's light, No more upon your Southern plains

They'll groan beneath the scourge and chains; Ne more you'll beast your blood-bought gains, 'Secessia. your chattels, bought and sold. Shall fill your purse with shining gold ; Freedom your bondmen shall enfold,

Ye thought the chain to bind more fast, Which held them in your tyrant grasp; Ye did instead the links unclasp,

They ceased, those voices from the dead ; And on the traitor's low-bowed head Their cold, pale hands in silence laid.

And evermore that touch he'll feel; Nor guarded wall, nor bristling steel, Nor the loud cannon's rolling poal,
Will bar their way!

o "Fair Oaks" and "Seven Pines."

MAY.

Once more the blooming May, with noiseless feet Comes to our presence in her sweetest strain; And nature wakes beneath her influence sweet To new-born life and leveliness again. Close following dreary April showers, She smilling wends her bright and joyons way, And all the hill-tops, crowned with flowers, Join in one welcome to the merry May.

We hear her music in the song-bird's lay; We feel her presence in the balmy breese; he field and woodland her warm smiles betray, Her tresses wave from all the lefty trees. ting in the babbling rill, Unchained from winter's cold and icy sway ; And e'en the cattle, grazing on the hill,
Their silent welcome give to blooming May.

The south wind's fragrant breath among the flower ds their sweet perfume on the sultry air, And tells the coming of bright summer hours.

And golden harvests in the autumn fair. The sparkling dew-drop on the verdant fields
Melts in the morning sun, and disappears;
And smilling May her mellow sunshine yields, When weeping April sheds her balmy tears

We gladly greet thee, maiden month of May, We love thy sunny smile and warm carees, And for the coming of thy festal day Fair nature dons her fairest, richest dress; We love to stroll beneath the May-day sun And rather flowers from the verdant sod or, in their fragrance, there's the smile of On The author of all beauty, Nature's God.

MAN'S HEART PROPHESIETH OF PRACE and confession from the heart of man
It is, that War, dark, hateful War, must be; It is, that War, dark, hateful War, must be;
That ever thus, e'en since the world began,
Has been on earth the dire mecessity!
Behold, he says, the truth on History's page,
Written in blood upon her lengthening scroll;
The warrior's wreaths still green from age to age,
And wastile glory still man's highest goal.
But deeper look, O man, into thy heart,
And Pesco, a mightier need, thou there shall see
And yes thou know'st thy nature but in part.
What then has been, but not what then shalt be;
And read the premise of God's boty Word,
That rad the premise of God's boty Word,
That matters shall no more lift up the sword.
Mouthly Religious Megazine.

Selections.

EVENING SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN IN WASHINGTON AND GEORGETOWN:

The undersigned, Committee of the Association of Volunteer Teachers of Evening Schools for People of Color in Washington and Georgetown, D. C., earnestly, invite public attention to the following

earnestly invite public attention to the following statements:

There are now in successful operation nine of these schools, all taught by volunteer teachers, mostly clerks in Government employ, sided to some extent by colored assistants.

These schools are designed to meet a want not provided for from any other source, being distinct from the day schools for children lately opened under the auspices of the Freedmen's Relief Association, (as yet few in number and limited in capacity,) as also from the one public day school more recently established by the trustees of the fund provided from the taxation of colored property owners by law of Congress. They are intended for that very numerous class now congregated in this locality, of the recent victims of slavery and social oppression, who desire to partake of the hitherto forbidden fruits of knowledge, but whose age and avactions would deprive them of the benefits of day schools, even if these were adequately provided.

The first of these Evening Schools was opened in the latter part of December last; the others followed in rapid succession, as rooms could be obtained and teachers enlisted. The following summary of the last monthly reports will exhibit something of their present condition:

Schools. Teschers. Assistants. Pupils. Av. Attend.

hers. Assistants.	Pupils.	Av. Attend
2000 - Arreliant	80	30
A 3 occa'l	200	74
5	150	150
3 2 "	100	60
1 Several (col'd)	125	125
6 " "	150	100
i	100	- 60
2 " "	200	125
1 " "	25	25
15	1080	749
	2 3 occa'L 5 2 " 1 Several (col'd) 1 " " 2 " " 1 " "	2 30024 200 4 3 00024 200 200 4 150 3 2 100 125 6 1150 3 100 125 6 1150 125 125 125 125 125 125 125 125 125 125

Totals, 25

Totals

form of the whole number had not mastered the phabets on extering the school.

The concurrent testimony of all the taschers is that, with few exceptions, there is an eagernest test which makes teaching a pleasure, and a rapid to the concurrent testimony of all the taschers is that with the exceptions, there is an eagernest testimony of the concurrent testimony of

as they exist at their capital, to not only furnish the means needed to sustain these small beginnings of a great work, but to demand of their representatives in Congress to see to it that adequate provision is made for the education of all classes needing it at this national centre, which is under its special jurisdiction. Ignorant black men may become as dangerous to the public weal as ignorant whites.

It is a matter of common complaint and reproach that the public schools for tekir children in Washington fall far below in character those of our Northern cities; yet were public provision made for the education of colored youth, at the same cost per scholar as is paid for whites, (about \$1250,) the sum of \$150,000 per year would be required. And to provide, in addition, evening instruction for the colored adults, at the rate per scholar now paid in evening schoolsfor whites, (\$872 per year,) would require not less than \$52,000 more, making \$200.000 in all, and this aside from the cost of erecting school-bouses. Contrast this amount with the pitiful sum actually provided by law for colored schools, namely, four hundred and eighty dollars and sixtyon cents, (480 61) with which to educate \$25000 human beings, just emerging into the responsibilities of freedom! This contrast is heightened by the additional consideration that the colored population are far less able to avail themselves, of private schools than are the whites. Will the people of the North—the land of school-houses, of liberty, and of loyalty—consent that this state of things shall continue?

Donations in books, school-apparatus, or money, for the purposes indicated above, are ursently solic.

shall continue?

Donations in books, school-apparatus, or money, for the purposes indicated above, are urgently solicited, and may be sent to the Treasurer of this Association, SAMURI. E. DIKKINSON, in care of Dr. Breed, No. 350 I street north, Washington, D. C. Persons willing to enlist as volunteer Teachers are invited to apply as above.

In behalf of the Association, A. E. Newron, (of Mass.) Secretary,
SAMUER E. DICKINSON, (of Penn.) Treas.
RUTCA LEIGHTON, (of Mass.)
Washington, D. C., April 14, 1864.

The undersigned, Tristees of Free Colore Schools for Washington and Georgetown, appoin ed by act of Congress, cordially approve the forgoing appeal, and commend the Association issuin it to the confidence of the public.

DANIEL BERED, M. D., Chairman, S. J. BOWEN, Treasurer.

S. J. Bowen, Treasurer.

The Association would also refer by permission to Rev. J. M. Alvond, Secretary of American Trac Society; J. J. Marks, D. D., American Tract Society; Hon. W. D. Kelly, M. C., of Philadelphia

"ORUSHING SLAVERY IN REBELLION."

"ORUSHING SLAVERY IN REBELLION."

A correspondent of the Baptist Freeman, edited by Rev. W. H. Landon, Canada West, makes statements which surprise us. He claims that Americans were in high glee over the Sepoy rebellion, and prophesied at that time that the British empire in Indha was at an end; and be-says that the British in the same spirit were delighted when the slave-holders' rebellion broke out.

Now we were in a position to know something of public sentiment in the United States at the time of the Sepoy rebellion, and we never met nor discovered a symptom of the pleasure in that uprising, to which the correspondent refers. On the contrary, the universal feeling was in favor of the most severe ponishment of the murderous traitors. The expressions to this effect were strong and earnest, by all classes of the people. The government affirmed no belligerent rights in favor of the Bepoys, showed no signs of sympathy with the insurgents, and congratulated the English in every success of their arms. The public press expressed about the same pleasure in the triamph of the British arms, as the press of England and the Provinces did; and the people rejoiced with great joy when Havelock achieved his great victory over the barbarous insurgents. The idea of the correspondent in this case is purely imaginary, and in every respect exactly opposite to the truth. How he chanced to fall into such developments as he supposes, in any responsible opposite to the truth. How he counted to such a delusion we cannot divine, as there were n such developments as he supposes, in any responsib

such a delusion we cannot divine, as there were no such developments as he supposes, in any responsible quarter.

Having read the correspondent's story, we felt relieved to find editorial remarks appended, and hastened to peruse them. But we were here disappointed. The editor, instead of correcting the blindness of his correspondent, which affected us so unfavorably, proceeds to argue that the unfriendly criticisms of "Britishers" was justified by the proslavery attitude of the North, and repeats divers statements which are current among Britishers, which indicate that either we do not understand ourselves, or they do not understand our position.

In justification of this unfriendlines, see charges that the people of the North were equally proslavery with the Southerners, at the commencement and during the first two years of the war. We do not so understand it. Mr. Lincoln was elected President, on the basis of the exclusion of slavery from all of the Territories of the Union, the only parts of the nation over which Congress had constitutional power to exclude it. Were the Northern people equally pro-slavery with the South, in that act?

The election of Mr. Lincoln was also an emphatic endorsement of the doctrine that there is an "irre-

tutionally. On the question, "Is slavery wrong? they would have voted "Yea," with an emphasis; and on the question, "Shall whatever is done against slavery bedone constitutionally?" they would also have voted "Yea." Cannot Britishers understand how the people of the North may have been opposed to slavery, and yet opposed to abolishing it by unconstitutional means? Cannot they give us credit also for the general belief which prevailed among us, that the time was sure to come when abolition would become plainly a military necessity, and, therefore, a constitutional right and duty of the President? Will they not do us the justice to admir that the people of the North were glad when the President arrived at the opinion that the time had come, when be could honestly strike the blow, and set the captive free?

We never could see why any Britisher, who was honestly Anti-Slavery, could have any, the least, sympathy for the South, and unkindly criticise the North. How could the triumph of the North fail to injure slavery? If it were not actually abolished during the war, every candid man must see that after being defeated at the polls, and on the battle-field, it could only exist as a proscribed and hated institution. It could never again become a source of power, honor, and social distinction, as before. Such victories would necessarily give to the ideas and swilization of the North a controlling power in the Government, and in all other fields of activity, and must necessarily destroy slavery in the end. Why, then, should Britishers bear themselves so bitterly toward the North, and so charitably towards the North, and so charitably towards the South? We confess ourselves puzzled to find an answer. We can see why the London Times should hate the ideas and institutions of the North, but we cannot understand why so many who are not in league with the aristocracy should deal with us to unfairly. We feel this all the more deeply, because we value their opinions, and desire their friendship. They are bone of our bone, one i

IOA.

The following genial and doquent speech of John Bright, at a meeting of the friends of the Atlantic telegraph enterprise, will still further endear him to the people of this country:

**I could casily not Mr. Field of the originality of the statement of what would happer should I visit the United States. Lhave at times recived a great many letters from gentlemen in that country, and one of them did say, there were syveral penalucis about the top any, and that he thought one of them was that nearly all the children would be called after me. [Laughter.] Well, if this and many other dreadful things which he told me would happen are true; I am. I think, very prudent in staying in this country. I have never been in America, but for the last 30 years, which is a long time to look back to, I have had a very strong wish to go there; but most of our business to much to do that a six months absence is not an easy thing to accomplish. Englishmen find we have in the management of our business to much to do that a six months absence is not an easy thing to accomplish. Englishmen are, I will not say more attached, but much more tied to their homes than Americans are. However, whosewer Mr. Field is able to tell us. that the war is over; that the Union is restored, and that there are none but freemen on his continent—(hear, hear.)—then, if I could be only a few years younger than I am at all likely to be, I might be induced to promise to pay you a virst. (Hear, hear.)

I do not know how many of the fifty volve in the original and the long of the profession of his properties of the profession of account; which are also your successor; but it is a very provoking thing that there should be people who woold make a foreigners and strangers to each other. (Cheera, and elect a number of Americans and Englashmen, equal to the fifty or sixty new in this room, and if you put them together you will find the one-half of them just as well disposed to the other half as we are to each other, and just as able to enjoy the good things prepared for them. There would not be among them the subject of the profession of th

THE RELEASED PRISONERS.

THE RELEASED PRISONERS.

While we have, in common with all who are loyal to our flag, and loyal to the interests and instincts of a common humanity, been pouring the vials of our wrath on the heads of the miscreants and murderers at Port Pillow, we have enough to engage our attention and arrest our sympathy at our own doors. We noticed the arrival of five hundred and sixty five released prisoners from Richmond on Monday, and commented briefly upon their condition.

Such a pitiable set of poor wretches was never seen here. Their emaciation was extreme, their feebleness almost at the last gasp, their dejection was painful to behold, and their squalor was frightful. They were starved to the verge of the grave, and what was left of them was nearly devoured by vermin. Some of them, from hope too long deferred, had fallen into a state of utter listlessness and apathy which bordered upon idiocy. The deepening palor, the dropping jaw, and the glazing eyes told that others had only come to die—that it was too late for outstretched arms to save—too late to dispol the evening shadows that were gathering around them—too late "T" alarm the long night of the lonely grave, "T' alarm the long night of the lonely grave, Or check the headlong haste of Death's o'erwh

"T alarm the long night of the lonely grave, Or check the headlong haste of Death's o'erwhelming wave;" and saddest of all, and moet to be deplored, too late to die in the arms of the weary watchers and the broken-hearted ones at home, or to wake from their lethargy long enough to know that they were once more under the protecting folds of the Stars and Stripes.

Compared with this, the massacre at Fort Fillow was a blessing and a mercy. It is aweet and decorous, says the old adage, to die for one's country; but when the hour comes for the surrender of life, let us rather welcome the speedy ball—let us rather hail the friendly bayonet, as did the lion-hearted defenders of that Fort, that wear the crown of martyrdom as these patient sufferers have done. Look at their hollow checks, listen to their sepulcharl voice, peer under their drooping eyelids, and yon will read plainly a story of gnawing hunger, of pinching cold, of wasting lover, of days of weariness and nights of pain, of buried hope and submission to despair. They are our friends and brothers. They were facing the thickly hurling missiles of death in defence of us when we were sufficing every pang and every privation while we were well and free. Can we do too much for them in requital? Never. Can we be too generous or too grateful? We trow hot.

But while was resistened and shocked by the evidence of such barbarisms and bratality; and while our hearts are wrung by the wrongs inflicted and the sufferings endured, what are we to think of the incarnate fiends who thus brave the scorn of mankind, flaunt their diabolism in the face of civilization, defy the plainest teachings of Christianity, court the exercation of the ages to come, and display a degree of ferocity and malignity that would disgrace a Camanche?

We used to associate our ideas of the refinements of cruelty with the Bastile, the Vehme, or the In-

quisition, but that is all past and gone. Henceforth the Richmond Prisons will take the foremost place in our made, and in the annals of human events, as the sy nonym for all that is maliyn and fisendish and diabolical—for all that is bloodthirsty, inhuman and infernal. Upon that detested spot will be heaped maleductions enough to sink it.

It will be forever remembered as the place where true-hearted men, carriest patriots, and tried soldiers were clowly starved to death for the crime of defounding their country from the absults of traitors. Not that only, but to diaminsh our force in the field and to deter enlistments, as if such conduct would produce fear in place of exasperation. How these wretches and outlaws expect to succeed in their made endeavors is a puzzle to us. Providence has nover yet smiled gretiously on much smaller villainy; we do not think it will begin on such monstrous depravity.

For every one of these feeble and dying men, we

do not think it will begin on such monstrous depravity. For every one of these feeble and dying men, we have returned a healthy rebet, who has been well fed and well cared for. In individual cases, a similar style of returning good for evil would react on the offender; but in this instance ungoanimity is thrown away, and love's labor is lost: Fortunately, for the welfare of the sufferers, they are now in a community where Christian kindness will be liberally dispensed, and under the general supervision of a Medical Director who is esteemed in this Department as a rare model of benevolence, patriotism and gentlemanly character.—Baltimore American.

MR. LINCOLN AND THE PRESIDENCY.

It is the profound conviction of many well-in-ormed and carnest men, that the existence of this Government is involved in the next Presidential election. There can be no doubt that the mass of the people of the loyal States are unalterably re-olved that the Union shall be preserved, and there the people of the loyal States are unalterably re-solved that the Union shall be preserved, and there is an abounding confidence that the inherent power of the Government must prove adequate for the fu-ture, as it has been in the past, to maintain the in-tegrity of the Union. But out of this very conf-dence, well placed as it is, there is danger from divisions and discussions which are not abcolutely profitless, but, in the present time of peril, are

dence, well placed as it is, there is danger from divisions and discussions which are not absolutely profitless, but, in the present time of peril, are worse—are criminal.

We refer to the efforts which have been made at Washington to divide the Union party on the question of the next Presidency. It is scarcely necessary to say that we do not consider any man, however conspicuous for his integrity, or however well-proved his patriotism or fitness for the position of President, as personally, and absolutely essential to the life of this nation; but we do regard as vital, to the welfare of the Republic, if not, indeed, to its continued existence, a patriotic abstinence on the part of all men who love their country from unnecessary division on the mere question of what individual shall be the candidate, and also from the factions attempts of those who seek to confound the personality of the nominee of the Union party with questions which are not in the issue at this time. It seems really to be forgotten by those who have unthinkingly fostered dissensions, that the robellion is not yet subdued, and that those who are really in earnest in the great work of maintaining the Government cannot, in justice to their own principles or with safety to the public welfare, afford any division among themselves. We believe that the popular confidence in Mr. Lincoln is so profound, and that a sense of his integrity, ability and patriotic devotion to the Union is so thorough, that he will surelly be re-elected to the position he so worthly fills, and that the men in public positions who neglect their duties to participate in intrigues against him will receive, as they well deserve, the indignant reprobation of the Poople. But the divisions who the votion to the Union is so thorough, that he will surelly be re-elected to the openion of serious divisions among the loyal supporters of the Government, prolong the resistance to its rightful authority. The calm persistency, inflexible resolution and energetic zero of Mr. Lincoln is weld

Lincoln; for while he as President of the United States, is secure in it, they feel an over-powering sense of the fate that must ultimately await their wicked and insensate rebellion against the Government. We are not the culogist of Mr. Lincoln. The strength we attribute to him is derived from the confidence the people place in him. He is powerful as the honored representative of the popular will, and the trust thus reposed in him is unbounded, because he is unselfish in his purposes, and unswervingly true to the Union—Chester (Pa.) Republican.

Occasionally, the distant hum of politics reaches our ears in camp by the means of papers or letters from within the bounds of civilization, but there is little political excitement in the army, and I venture to predict that politics never will run very high in eamp. The truth is, soldiers generally agree too well such questions to occasion much controversy.

Every indication seems to point to President Lincoln as his own successor, and the almost unanimous expression of the soldiers in this Department is in favor of "Old Abe."

Every indication seems to point to President Lincoln as his own successor, and the almost unanimous expression of the soldiers in this Department is in favor of "Old Abe."

Whether the soldiers vote or not, however, I believe nothing can prevent his nomination and election; and the rebels who went out of the Union under his administration will be forced to come back under the same rule, and submit, with as good grace as possible, to the administration of the government upon pure free-soil principles.

That the soldiers will give "old Abe" a tremendous boost, if the privilege of voting is granted to them, no one who observes the signs of the times can doubt for a moment, and no man can be nominated by the copperhead faction who can possibly draw any large portion of the soldiers' vote. I am aware that even many Union men at the North regard MacGellan as having a wonderful hold on the affections of the soldiers', but they are simply mistaken, and the test will prove that his popularity is confined to a small circle.

I have no doubt that the nomination and election of President Lincoln would have an important influence upon the rebels themselves. Many of them are anxigoaly looking forward, and hoping for a change in public feeling at the North, and some are even so foolish as to imagine that their copperhead brethren will afford aid and comfort by attempting, either by the ballot-box or violent means, to overthrow the administration. A conviction that, no hope is to cheer the results of the restination. so footise as will afford aid and comfort by some and the ballot-box or violent means, to overthrow the aministration. A conviction that no hope is to cheer the rebels in that quarter would convince them that the North is determined to carry the war to the bitter end, and never even change its policy until the stars and stripes float over every State in the Union.

However, we are likely to have something to do,

the North is determined to early the war to the ot-ter end, and never even change its policy until the stars and stripes float-over every State in the Union. However, we are likely to have something to do, during the summer months, besides attending to pol-itics; and although I certainly would like the privi-lege of voting, still I am perfectly willing to trust the result to the choice of those who remain at home.— Army corr. of Syracise Standard.

CONDITION OF THE NORTH.

The Richmond Examiner of the 27th ult discusses the political issues of the North from the robel stand-point. It takes a very original view of things, and regards the Union men of the North as "gobling grim" who are discussing the question how the robels shall be served up after the war. The monstrum horrendum of Virgil cannot be compared with these cannibal ogres at the North, who are hungering for rebels to feed upon.

rebels to feed upon.
In the midst of this fearful spectacle, it catches signs of hope from the great Northwest.
It takes up a remark of the New York Tribune, that the Democrats of Indiana have passed resolutions eminently favorable to secession, and says:

"So this year again there are signs of trouble in the great Northwest—not signs of peace with us, but of disintegration and dislocation at home; gra-cious bads of promise, which, with the approach of their elections, may bloom and blossom into bloody fruits of revolution."

In conclusion, the Examiner states the issue befor them in a very admirable style :

"They at least know that they must conquer or perish; that compromise there can be more; that the Federal power or the Confederate people must be ruined; that we must dictate a peace, or else our

enemies will; we on our terms, or they on their; we on their ground, or they on ours; that the most be bankrupt and divided as ander, or we begared and outlawed. Be it so; and better so. We protent that this position of affairs is allogether to our sind. If any Contederate shrinks from abding his isse, and in this exact form, it is time that such Confederate shrinks from abding his isse, and in this exact form, it is time that such Confederate should gather up and clutch all he can like the hands upon, turn it into gold and less, and meak away across the lines, provided he can exage its robbers that infest those parts."

This is the issue before the American people.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

The May meetings-no longer what they once

The May meetings—no longer what they one were—now

"Overcome us like a summer cloud, Without our special wonder."

We give in another place a carefully digested in port, endeavoring to do equal justice to all the various societies, stating the essential facts and firms of the year's work of each, and giving the named the speakers, and an idea of the speeches.

The Congregational Reunion at Plymouth Cherk Brooklyn, is reported in full, in the present ladependent. It is our habit, every year, to give meh speakers, and an idea of the speeches.

The Congregational Reunion at Plymouth Cherk Brooklyn, is reported in full, in the present ladependent. It is our habit, every year, to give meh speaked in the speakers, and a regularly look for it. If the record of this festival in years past has been interesting, via shall we say of this year's meeting, which we medual the speakers of the present of the present. The man how was persecuted form year, is honored now—not because of any change in his, for he remains the same, but because of a great and marvellous change in the opinions of the popping whose faces have been lately turned as from disheres to light. Addresses were made by Re. Beary Ward Beecher, Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. Theodor L. Cuyler, Rev. Thomas S. Hastings, and Rev. Dr. Kirk—all of which our readers may read for the sealthy and the present.

year Natu Beeener, Kev. Dr. Bacoo, Rev. Theodore I. Cuyler, Rev. Thomas S. Hastings, and Ret. Dr. Kirk—all of which our readers may read for theselves.

The Anti-Slavery Meetings, as usual, drev great multitudes. The spirit of these gatherings was traly noble. We have never seen audiences more may netic, or more inspiring to a speaker. When they she have never seen audiences more may netic, or more inspiring to a speaker when they cheered, their voices wiled my out of hearts overflowing with patriotic enthusus. When they sat listening, their countenances hor as expression of earnestness and sympathy with, is those who looked on from the platform, was string and remarkable. Probably a more intelligent, fined, and noble-minded audience never was assorbled in the city of New York, than the great and beautiful company that crowded Cooper Issuitate to Wednesday evening. The orators were worty of the occasion. When George Thompson, William Lloyd Garrisson and Wendell Phillips speak on the same evening, and to the same audience, have as sensible people help being pleased? Not often than once in ten years do frequenters of public meetings have the good fortune to attend so spiried and memorable a meeting as this—the chief and crowning glory of this year's anniversaries. Mr. Phillips spicture of the present critical situation of the Cause of Liberty appeared to many to be oredrawn. Mr. Garrison-ins greater hopefulness was a more fositive and demonstrative response from the popular heart. But it is a double gain to a good cause to point out both its promises and it penk. He who warms is no less a prophet than ke who gives good cheer. There is one beauful aspect of this divergency of opinion between two such doleworkers as Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison—by differ in as friendly a spirit as that in which not other men agree. God bless them both, and part their lives to see Peace and Freedom in the lastings, even those of the, hithert conservative and drang-wheel societies, were this year emineally plainotte in tone, not bli

DIABOLISM

It is cruelty to them, and berleriss toward the South, to employ them (negroes) as soldiers. As we protested in other days against Van Buren, for employing bloodhounds as soldiers against the Indians, we now protest against Lincoln's employing the segro slaves against the South. • Bloodhounds and negro slaves against their masters are of a like contraband nature.—Portland Advertiser

Wo salt Lincoln.

we ask Union-loving, loyal men to not the pro-ceitions justly inferable from the above.

1. It is "barbarism to the South" to employ against them, in putting down rebellion, the same agencies which they are using to upheld rebellion and to destroy the government.

2. A negro slave, in the eye of justic, right ization and the laws of warfare, is, on its same leng-with and has no more rights than a bloodboard.

3. Negro slaves, against their masters, are coarb-band of war; but in the hands of their master, against the friends and soldiers of the Union, they are not contraband, but perfectly proper and legi-mate.

against the friends and soldiers of the Unea, tay are not contraband, but perfectly proper and lepimate.

4. As a bloodhound may properly be put todarh when captured, so may a negro when captured, in the service of the government.

5. It is perfectly proper for the rebels to under negroes wearing the uniform of American sider, when captured, though universal homanity well brand the act as one of fiendish ferceity shealth Federal soldiers put to death a captured star, being the arms and wearing the uniform of a Conference of the contract of the contract

A CAPITAL ILLUSTRATION. Mr. Myers of Pa-in a late speech in Congress, applied the following anecdote to illustrate the folly of the starcholden is inaugurating the present rebellion:

in a late speech in Congress, spine aneedote to illustrate the folly of the slareholdenia inaugurating the present rebellion.

"I once beard of an incident happening in a Democratic country in Georgia, which may be applied to the control of the c