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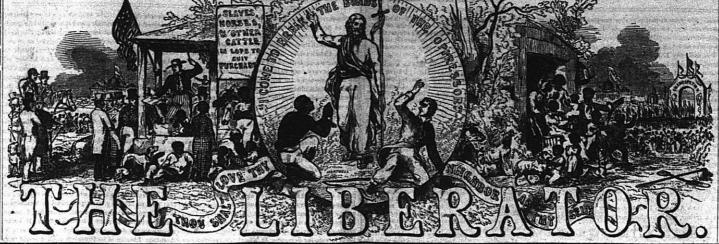
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If The Agents of the American, Massachu he Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are ed to receive subscriptions for The Liberator. scheried to receive susceptions for a fig. Lafernarion.

For The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, bu are not responsible for any debts of the page, this - Westell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Edmund June 1 and Ju

WE LEGYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 24.



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

"I lay tense it in the time, ton property in the particular authority taken, for the time, ten property in the linest tense of things, so far from its being and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where abover grates have the architecture management of the subject, not only the Parameter or THE UTIND SATES, but the COMMANDE OF THE PARAMETER OF THE STATES OF THE UNIVERSAL REARMOTPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instance that the slaveholding States become the sheater of a war that the slaveholding States become the sheater of a war that stroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with alarcry, to a foreign power. . . It is a war power. I say it is a w. power ; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invarion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to comy on the war, and wur canny row, accounting to oran awar or wan; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and maintal. Fowen facts in martial price of war, the commanders of both armics have power to emandipate all the slaves in the invaded territory. "J. Q. Aname.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1740.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1864.

## The Tiberator.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

Phonographically reported by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON. FRIDAY EVENING, May 27, 1864.

ntion was called to order at 8 o'clock, The Convention was caused to order at 8 o'clock.

Mr. OFFICE occupying the chair. The audience was
guite large at that time, and continued to increase, mil the Temple was crowded in every part.

The Chairman stated that the question before the be Chairman stated that the question before the region was on the adoption of the resolutions ented by Mr. Garrison as substitutes for those fred by Mr. Pillsnuny, and both series were rea brone of the Secretaries, Mr. Powell.

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SPERCH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

Mr. Chairman,—I did not propose to occupy another noment of the time of the Convention and and are risen with a great deal of reluctance. I do not anderstand why such a motion as that should have ben made. The truth is, whether we are willing to ben made. The that is Anti-Slavery enterprise is the accept it or not, this Anti-Slavery enterprise is the fifth of this nation, and if it have any salt, it is here. Be of this nation, and if it have any sait, it is here. The politicians and the churches are looking to this city of cors—a city set on a hill. They are not par-fects whether we congratulate the Administration on its scherements; they are not particular whether we congulate certain States on the abolition of slavery, fer as it has been accomplished; but they war b thow what this Society thinks of the great Anti-Entry question which we have considered, and slich we have enforced upon the consideration of the santry now for more than thirty years. I could tetters from Senators in Congress, written whin the last two or three weeks—written; some of them, since am anniversary in New York—complainer that our is an uncertain sound. True and faithful in CongCess say, that, as we do not press the abstien of clayers as in time past, and affirm the ne emity of adherence to the principles of absolute just fix and rightenuspees as in time past, the conserva in Republicans in Congress and taking courage in their conservatism therefrom, and that it is in vain the say of the faithful men in Congress are endeavorng still to be faithful. I wish I had some of thos ten bere; but of this I suppose we are certainme of our principles or measures, as the best instru nerthity that can be employed now by the nation for the accomplishment of our grand purpose. When fort Sunier was cannonaded, we were told that our work was done; we were told by men high in pos for in the Anti-Slavery enterprise, that the American Army was now the American Anti-Slavery Society and that not Mr. May, but General Winfield Scot vu its General Agent, and we were required to stind still and see the salvation of God.' That was on sentiment enjoined. It was a very unhappy quo ation, even of a very ancient Scripture, for the re spense to that sentiment, even then, was, mto the children of Israel, that they go forward. "Stand still, and see the salvation of God!" If there was ever a doctrino of devils, it was that. of God!" If Sand still and you shall see the stagnation of God,

we misled when that sentiment was inculcated upon in Our work was not done; three years have shown that it was not; and now, it seems to me, there is a cessity for a return to our former position.

The country is exultant at the strange and fearful Wirnnes of General Grant—"I shall put this work ferrad, on this line, if it takes all summer"; and we in bow making that almost the watchword of the Aberican army and of the country. But what do here fearful words imply? What but additional suggler, what but additional butchery, what but adfiberal suffering, mourning and woe ! That is not some surcing, mourning and woe: bels plan of saving this country. God has no idea of aring this nation through any such instrumen-

the universal law, in all time; and, consequently, we

We have heard the sentiment inculcated on this Nation, yesterday and to day, that we are to rely on the Administration—to rely on that kind of agency and instrumentality. Now, is that God's plan of sav-ing the parion. be the nation, or saving men? Are you willing that mother long and dreary summer shall bear onward to ity another register of hundreds and thousands thing Jeff. Davis, but the Jehovah of Hosts? For spang Jet. Davis, but the Jehovan of Hosts: 20.
the command of God is clear enough, plain enough; and sail we do justice, until we proclaim liberty, we cannot be saved. We may vanquish the South to the fail of Mexico, but that is not salvation. On the the base of the control of the saved of ther hand, the South may vanquish the North, and by it in ashes from the shores of the lakes to the exwas a sake from the shores of the lastes to the ex-braity of Madawaska; but if, in the very askes of the North, we sit down in penitence and contrition, husebering the sin against our brother, it will be a timph over which all heaven will rejoice. All philosophy is false, it is absolute atheism, which has not seen the same of t

ot contemplate the justice and righteousness of We talk of iron-clads, and Irish conscripts, and we take of iron-clads, and Irish conscripts, and command of command of command of the last High is, "Execute justice and judgment, and cas shall thy light break forth as the morning." Is the sentiment even of this platform? Is it the mainent of the church? Is it the sentiment, at last, of the Government? vernment ?

I did not wish to speak a word this evening; but it hums to me we owe it to the handful of faithful has in Congress, we'owe it even to the President himself, instead of passing congratulatory resolutions, being the hutterance to faithful and persevering beimony. It seems to me that we owe it to them, at to all that is faithful in the country, that we man to our former position; and make our voice spin beard, and our influence felt, that such a man as Carles Summer. aries Summer—for I believe he is about the last dish "aithful among the faithless found,"—that the least as he shall feel that there is a little band there has that have not yet bowed the knee to the image of

I do not understand what the proposition means, to ine these congratulatory resolutions for the ut-act stem and important truths. I do not believe uli do it. I have no idea that we shall. Let

congratulatory resolutions be properly tempered, and no one is more ready to adopt them than I; but if you of faithful testimony, and just and proper criticism, think the demand is altogether too unreasonable, and

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,-I have heard these two sets of resolutions for the first time this evening. I see no reason why one should be substituted for the other. (Applause.) It seems to me that, with some slight alterations, they should both receive the sanction of this Convention, and be passed as the expression of its opinion. The resolutions offered by wy friend Mr. Pillsbury appear to me to express the exact and literal, and needed truth; a truth, not only exact and literal, but seeded at the present hour, and especially fit and important for an Anti-Slavery Convention to utter. It seems to me, as I stated last night, that in a country like this, where the Government does not reside at Washington, but only the Adminitration resides there-the agents of the Government in a reading country, where nine men out of every en daily inform themselves of public affairs, and make up an opinion on them; in a country where one city cannot change the Government before another city can hear of it, as was the case when Montesquie said, "Paris is France,"—meaning that Paris change the Government before Marseilles could of it and intervene .- but, on the contrary, in a coun try like this, where you can concentrate, by telegraph and railway, the opinions of a million of men in twenty-four hours upon a given point,—the people have become the largest portion in the Government, and only their agents reside at Washington, And not only that, but Mr. Lincoln has again and again avowed that he sits there waiting to know what the people want, and what the people will dare—what the public opinion will enable him to do. We are, therefore, a

Allow me to repeat again what I quoted last from Cobden, as his analysis of the nature of Government, in a republican country. That reform and agitation are a part, and a recognized part, of modern affairs, was all expressed, he said, in two words— Principle-Pressure. The people announcing absorlute right-Principle : Government forced to enact in statutes as much as statesmanship can make availa-ble at the time—Pressure. I contend that our part in this partnership is to elaborate and declare the absotheoretical, final right, and then let statesmanship, politics, the Baltimore and Cleveland Conventions, and Republican assemblies, settle how far they can go toward that goal to day. It is not for us to de-scend into the arena of availability, and count up what can be done; but it is for us to announce, as we always have done, fearlessly, what ought to be done,what the necessities of the case, and the future, and the laws of justice, demand should be done. I come here, therefore, as a member of the Massachu setts Anti-Slavery Society and the New-England Anti Slavery Convention, I come as an Abolitionist, as

reformer, as a creator of public opinion.

I am aware, as my friend Mr. Pillsbury has stifted, that the leaders of public action in the Senate House are saying to-day, and have been saying for the last three months, "We are trying to drag the members of the Republican party up to the level of what the times demand; and their answer to us is, the Old Guard don't ask for anything; they express entire satisfaction; why should we voluntarily go beyond what they demand? Wait until they find ou something we have not done, and ask for it!" I am aware that they point to Boston, and say, "We find no urgent demand there for anything more, and we decline to go shead, without being bayonetted forward, as we have been for the last dozen years." I axy that carpets and incorporative layery men, occursay, that earnest and sincere miti-slavery men, occupying that position, should never be able to say this; and therefore I do not think that we have been quite fulfilling our function of late, in elaborating the absolute right, and urging party to the embody ing of it, as much as possible, into law. You will un-derstand me, therefore, as coming here to-night as an Abolitionist and reformer, not a politician.

Now I want to say a word in behalf of the resolu-tions of Mr. Pillsbury, but not in denial of those of my friend Mr. Garrison. I object to the con ment of Mr. Garrison's, because I do not think it the truth. It says this :- " That the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, since the rebellion broke out, in view of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment, of the feeling toward the negro race throughout the North, almost verging upon bloody civil war at our doors, has been wonderful," etc. I am perfectly willing to say that "the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the rebellion broke out has been wonderful." I have no doubt of that; no man can deny it who is acquainted doubt of that; no man can deny it who is acquainted with our country; but, at the same time, I am not willing to say that it has been wonderful "in view of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment, and the feeling toward the negro race throughout the North, almost verging upon bloody civil war, at our doors." There was no such state of things existing in 1861 or 1862. If it exists to-day, or if it has existed within six months, the Government, created it. (Applause.) I therefore object to that part of Mr. Garles in the color, that is, the people and public opinion I aluse. I therefore object to that part of Mr. Garles is the people and public opinion I aluse.)

Government based on brains. Here, likewise, it gravitates in the same direction. The North, full of men skill, education, thrift, purpose, God reigning, must give law to this continent in the end, and make th South (beggarly, in comparison,) over in its own image The only question is—when? Shall it be at the end of this sharp ordeal of war. When peace comes, and you hang your torn but glorious banners up in your halls, shall there be one harmonious people, and on unmixed Government from the Atlantic to the Pacific or shall there be again a seeming Union, covering the seeds and elements of quarrel, as it did before—which Shall we round the Republic into one perfect whole the envy of the nations, able to dictate law to the con tinent; or shall it be an aggregation of particles, not fused together, but merely massed up by accident, per-haps to break asunder again—which? That is the only question which divides opinion on this platform. I look back with the same satisfaction that Mr. Garrison does on all that has been done—all of it. That long and goodly list is as familiar to my lips as it is to his I am willing to go further, and to say that events crowd upon us so fast, shoot by us so quickly, like the landscape from a railway train, that we can hardly stop to discriminate, and ask their full meaning. are borne on so rapidly, that we hardly know what is

"The current sweeps on; we are borne on its track;
Every beacon on shore is but glimpsed at and gone.
The desponding look down, and the timid look back,
While Hope points to Liberty's star, and looks on."

(Applause.) So do I. Nobody has a firmer faith or

Another thing. You would imagine, from some ident Lincoln's personal character is at stake ; were weighing him in the balances in which the Di vine Judge will finally weigh him-motive against temptation, education and opportunity against action —and making up the verdict. We are doing nothing of the kind. The amount of his sin or his virtue is no matter of mine. How much he ought to have and how much he has failed to do. God knows and I leave that judgment where it belongs. I can penetrate into his heart and judge his motives, and it I could, I have no need to do so. I want him only as a tool to work out a certain result. For me, he is only an agent to do a certain kind of business. I want a plane, and you offer me a chisel. Well, I do not insult the chisel by flinging it aside and saying Neither do you remove still. " I want a plane." objections by crying out, "Boards can be planed with a chise!!" True, if you take a week for the job great loss of time. If I can have a plane, I prefer it other things being equal. I am merely discrimina ing. I see before me a devious channel, throug which the ship of state must be piloted. I see every hour momentously important, because every hour los doubles the chance of foreign interference. I want therefore, as my servant, whenever I can get him, man who, I think, understands the problem, is capable by constitutional and acquired bias and education, to pilot the ship of state speedily and safely through at the least cost. Mr. Lincoln comes to me after thre years' service, and says, "There is my record—reap-point me!" I shall look, to decide, where? To that record. He comes, this November, a servant, to us, his sovereigns, and asks us to continue his power Well, what are we to do? Examine. Has he any from his pedestal, and he is but a single man. The country is ours-free institutions are ours-the future is ours—the cost is ours—the peril is ours—as well as his. He does not demand, he has no right to de-mand, indemnity from criticism. He holds up his record as his claim for another four years of power

Now, therefore, as a citizen, as an agitator, as a reformer, looking over the country, hoping and mo anxious to do the best, what voice shall I utter? am going, first, to look at the country. I see a Co federacy one-third subdued after a three years' war Just about one-third; but I will grant you, if yo please, that it is one-half subdued. any proportion. The Government has had ample means, enough time, unlimited power, and they have done just half the work that was to be done. The question is, whose fault is it? My friend Garrison says, "The people's; Mr. Lincoln has done as well as he could; he has always stood ahead of the plause.) I therefore object to that part of Mr. Garrison's resolution, and I would like to add another clause to his concluding resolution, and then I would pass them, in addition to Mr. Pillsbury's.

Understand me. I am not here to night to be thrown, by adverse pressure, into the attitude of a desponding speaker. Some gentlemen on this platform to-day have taken it for granted that my friend Mr. Foster, Mr. Pillsbury, myself, and others who have spoken on the same side, are despondent. Now, I have not an element of despondency from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot—not one. I am as full of conviction that when this epoch, is an as full of conviction that when this epoch is ended—this epoch; not when you call home the cannon and furl the banner, necessarily,—but when this epoch, marked by a strife betwirt Northern and Southern ideas is ended,—when this struggle between Massachusetts and South Carolina, the one to supersed the cother, is ended, I have not the shadow of a doubt that the North will own the continent and give law down to the Galf. (Applause.) In Europe, all Governments tend, by inevitable gravitation, towards democracy—

as conservative. No single paper at the North—and what are papers? Vanes—weathercocks. The editor prints what will sell. He writes what will get him He puts his ear to the ground, and lissubscribers. He puts his ear to the ground, and lis tens with Indian vigilance to hear, one moment be fore other ears can, the coming tread, and interpret it. The press, from the Mississippi to the Bay of Massa-chusetts, from the lakes down to Maryland, with the single exception of the Boston Courier (and the exception makes the unanimity all the more remarks ble.) when Fremont issued his proclamation, said, en-thusiastically, "Amen!" (Loud applause.) There was not a print, from the New York \*Herald\* to the worst print in New York, that did not endorse it You met no man in the streets who did not say "Amen." One unbroken wave of delight rolled from the Bay of Massachusetts to the Rocky Moun tains, sweeping every dissent, if it existed, before it had put himself at the head of that public opin could have flung the seventeen States in one red-hot thunderbolt on the rebellion. (Applause.) You know,—at least every man accustomed at that time to address public assemblies knows,—that you could not posibly utter anywhere, in the most mixed aud ences, a word that went beyond the popular demand Why, the very moment that the report of the Sumter reached Boston, the veriest Hunker State, who had just voted scores of times for Jefferson Davis, locked his office, put the key in his pocket, wrote to Gov. Andrew for a commission, and started on his crusade against slavery—Ben Butler. (Ap-plause.) He did not know exactly where he was going; or what he was doing, but he obeyed the great impulse; and that impulse is tested by what he be-came. He went to Maryland, and the first thing you came. He went to Maryland, and the first thing you when we saw him, he promised so much, we could not heard of him was, that, blinded by the cobwebs of his old ideas, he said he would return a slave; but we would ask, by saying he had already decided to do in ten days, he had coined the word "contraband"; in ten more, he had revolutionized Fortress Munroe; in a month or two, he had became the apostle of an anti-slavery gospel which made ours tame in compari-

has his eye fixed on the Presidency. Grant it all for the moment, still he is just as good a yardstick to

measure the public with! Where did he go for popularity? What means did his unquestioned shrewd-

cian chose that course, shows me what he (and a shrewder judge does not live) considered the strength and unanimity of public opinion. That by so doing he succeeded in making himself the most popular man in the North of all the war has thrown to its surface shows me he judged correctly. Why, he endeavored to plant himself down in the stratum of old-fashioned anti-slavery, deep as he could get. (Applause.) said to himself. "If this is ever to be a nation, it is to question was stirred, have said to him-" Sir, does be a nation on an anti-slavery basis." I take him as a your reflection mean that you come back with the old a good yardstick. He knew what he was about. I Cabinet or a new one?" "It means that I come back maintain at this day, that the name of Ben Butler is with the old Cabinet"—Blair, Seward, Bates, Welles, the most popular one in the Northern States, from Massachusetts back to the Mississippi. (Prolonged applause.) Well, what has male him the most popu-lar man in the loyal States? Not military success he has not had it; not long service in a civil capacity; it has not been wholly that. What made him popular was, that immediately, as if by magic, he accepted the instinctive groping of the people, and went out endeavoring to lead them into the promised land. He went so far that the administration dreaded him, and sent him back into private life. But I am not now testing the Administration, I am testing the people; and I say that wherever you go, no matter to what test you submit, in the years 1851 and '62, this nation was undivided—using that term in the proper sense. Of course, I do not mean every man in a hundred, but I mean ninety out of a hu dred. Every man who thought for himself, and two we need them, they always range themselves on on hirds of those who do not do their own thinking, were looking in that direction. They ad no lack of cour age. They would have trodden down slavery in a

what Grant is doing now? Is there a man here who doubts that if McClellan had wished, he could have the long, dull burden of McClellan! (Laughter and applause.) We refused, all that time, to disbeliere the intentions of the Government. Traitor as we thought McClellan, we refused to interpret Lincoln by him. There was no Democratic party then. I remember lecturing, at that period, in the Northwest, from Wisconsin down to the bottom of Ohio, and men said to me,—"We tremble for the President at the next lection. It he gives me no better scalet and no more election. If he gives us no better results and no mor

behind me (Mr. Thompson) does not know the facts He comes here when the indecision of the Govern-ment, when the chicanery of the Cabinet, when the behind me (Mr. Thompson) does not know the facts. He comes here when the indecision of the Government, when the chicanery of the Cabinet, when the ment, when the chicanery of the Cabinet, when the war, changed from an actual battle into a mere political machine, has produced a relation in public sentiment. For the last six months, the war has been ment. For the last six months, the war has been ment. For the last six months, the war has been mostly with a view to the Presidential election. Louisians is reconstructed with the Baltimore Company of the contributes nothing. It is a bad plan, all through.

What is the other plan 1 It is —Bulld the Sinte at once I Give the black man a vote. (Applause.) Give him land, give him education. Say to the white man who is willing to stand by him, "There is a farm for you; take it for nothing; carry your capital to it." Labor and capital

vention in their eye. Florida stains her soil with blood, in order that the Government may get repre-sentatives at Baltimore. Mr. Banks goes up Red what? To buy the support of cott ulators-nothing else. He creates a Military Board and dalls it a Government-for what? To send fou teen delegates to Baltimore. The Government has descended into the arena, to divide, and confuse, and chill the purpose of the people. At this moment, Mr Thompson lands upon our shores. He sees a people dropped from the height of revolutionary enthusiass down to the vulgar level of political quarrels, and he says—" Why, the President has done marvels, if he never had any better tools than these." Ah! but this cold, dead lump is not the lava 1861 gave into his hands! (Loud applause.)

Then, again, I think our friend makes another mis take; and at this I am more surprised, knowing his long experience in matters of government and agita tion in his own country—yet I am not very much sur prised even at this; which is, that he believes so fully and kindly the pleasant words of political gentlemen at Washington. We know how wisely they can charm the ear with nice words, of which they ons, proclamations and promises have mean in days past; and he knows it, if he will call to mine sperience of his own country, and judge our po men as he does his own, by the stubborn fact their conversation. You know, every one of you that I have stood on this platform, and so have m friends, year after year, and have quoted to you th good words that Mr. Lincoln whispered to Mr. Sun ner, the excellent promises that he made to Mr it,—yet we have never heard of those things since.

As a citizen, therefore, I refuse to commit my future to the pleasant words of Mr. Abraham Lincoln. I rate him at the exact value of his acts-nothing more. son. (Applause.) Now, I will allow, if you please, an willing to give him credit for what has been done, (not that I really think it) that Butler has not an atom of heart; no morale; no principle whatever; that he has nothing but the shrewdness of a politician, and the last moment, bayonetted up to it by public opinion. I give him no credit-none at all. When he has

done anything out of the impulse of his own states manship, of his own purpose, I give him all credit for it. But, credit or not, his credit is not the question hearts of the people of 1861? He out-ran us all in anti-slavery zeal and effort. That such a keen politidoes he mean to do in the future? What does he avow? With what men does he promise to associate himself? What policy has he avowed? Now, I af firm that Mr. Lincoln has frankly chosen his party He has frankly avowed his purpose, and has without disguise placed on record where he means to stand He sends William H. Seward to Auburn, who make a speech there, which is his manifest bid and price fo another four years of the Secretaryship. Those who have approached Mr. Lincoln since this Presidential and Chase. That is the Cabinet; that is the Presi dent. What is the policy? Take Louisiana. have full possession of a certain portion of that State—some sixteen of the thirty or forty parishes—absolute and entire command. We have endeavored to lute and entire command. We have endeavored the defend it—twice in difficult and doubtful moments The white men have always stood aloof, willing to se us beaten. They have not uttered the first loyal wor We have tried them both ways. Butler took them and put them in jail. That did not convert them Banks invited them to his parties-learned new dance with which to please them. That has not converted them, either. His wife has scattered invitations over the rebel city, and they have been flung back unopened into her face. That has not converted them. When the white men know wo need them, they always range themselves against us. When the black men know

(Applause.) or mose who up not do their own thinking, were gir in that direction. They find no lack of courties are two ways of treating Louisiana. They would have trodden down slavery in a not; they would have annihilated States; and digment is—and I believe history will confirm it if such a man as Butler, such a man as Fretch believe history will confirm it if such a man as Butler, such a man as Fretch labeled in the state of the such a man as I believe history will confirm it if such a man as Butler, such a man as Fretch labeled history will confirm it in the such as man as Butler, such a man as I believe history will confirm it in the such a man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will confirm it in the such as man as I believe history will be a b —that if such a man as Butler, such a man as Fremont, had been then at the head of public affairs, this
plause.) Let that generation passaway, and their sons
come up and occupy their places. That will take
plause.) What hindered any man from doing then
twenty years. Meanwhile, Yankee thrift, energy, capital and skill, will crowd in and occupy the State. what Grant is doing now 1. Is there a man here who doubts that if McClellan hall wished, he could have gone to Richmond 1. [Voicas—" No. no;" "Yes, yes."] Nobody, of course ! Only recollect the patience, the silent acquiesence with which the nation, determined to believe in its Government, submitted to the long, dull burden of McClellan ! (Laughter and applause.) We refused, all that time, to disbelieve in States, and you have a republic here, despotism there intentions of the Government. Traitor as we thought despotism; it educates the North to despotism; it de-stroys the flavor, takes off the edge of Democratic principle and vigilance. It is a bad plan. It makes the negro hate the white man; it leaves the white man to crush the negro. The negro says to General Banks—"I can get sixty-five dollars a month as an engineer." "I won't hear anything about it. Go to that plantation; stay a year; let the white man tell election. If he gives us no better results and no more rigid policy, there will start into existence a Democratic party." ("Hear, hear.") The very phrase, showed the state of affairs. Again and again, by judge, lawyer, engineer, merchant, I was told—"Mark me! If the Government does not do something, there will be a Democratic party next fall." There was none then; did not dare to show its head; did not exist; that is, it had no rank and file.

All that while the people panted to be allowed to act. There is no use in my standing here and undertaking to give your the grounds of my conjules, for I not help us pay it. The white laborer, a hundred denone then; did not dare to show its head; did not exist; that is, it had no rank and file.

All that while the people panted to be allowed to set. There is no use in my standing here and undertaking to give you the grounds of my opinion, for I should have to go over the entire record. Mr. Garrison reads the facts contrarywise. I cannot find fault swith him; he reads them just as honestly that way as I do the other. I do not doubt it. My friend who sits behind me (Mr. Thompson) does not know the facts.

married—the result, a harmonious State, paying as much as Massachusetts toward cancelling the debt; a bulwark, enabling us to laugh at the plots of the French Emperor and of Spain. (Loud applause.) On any other plan, it is an open door, with "Quarrel" written over its arches, inviting French Mexico to come in to instigate dissensions. This last is Durant's plan—one of the few white men of Louisians who stand by us; a plan that Banks represents to Lincoln can be carried out and finished in three years. What is Lincoln's answer? "Crush it! Tread it out under your heels!" "What shall I put instead of it?" your heels!" "What shall I put instead on a "Why, get ten thousand men; drag the seamen on shore; marshal the soldiers to the ballot-box; get every man from the jails and let him vote; and get me create a State out of something, get it a sham seat me create a State out of something, get it a sham seat in the Senate, and represented in Baltimore." A State! What sort of a State? All the white men, soured by defeat, plotting aristocratic institutions, ha-ting republicanism, sending a representative to take his place side by side with Charles Sumner, with an equal vote on the future of the country. It is national suicide! That is Mr. Lincoln's plan. I do not very much blame him for it. He was born in Kentucky. He cannot see any higher. Born among slaveholders, he cannot see beyond the sevel of a white akin. Not so very much his fault. But that is his plan. It is a chisel, and I want a plane. It is a curb, and I want a spur. Some horses need a curb, and others a spur. Learn the difference before you get into the saddle, or you will soon come out of it. (Laughter and ap plause.) The question is, whether we shall have, in the future, democratic institutions or an aristocracy. Mr. Lincoln thinks we can get along for a while yet with arisfocratic institutions, as we have done. I am not here to blame him. Let him go home to Spring-field and cherish his theories; but I want a man who believes in democracy-that is all. (Applause.) He has had his three years, and tried it, and has not suc-ceeded. Where is my fanaticism in saying, I want ceeded. Where is my fanaticism in say somebody else to try something better. and send for an allopathic physician; I find I am growing worse, and call in a homosopathiat, to see if he will do any better. Does any body blame me? We have tried one method, and having done little or noth-ing compared with ing, compared with our means, decide to try another. I do not deny that the Government have do I do not deny that the Government have done some-thing; of course they have done something. The dullest Chinese junk cannot help moving before a tornado, but it does not go ahead like a Cunarder. What I say is this; that with steam enough in the boiler to go forty miles an hour, we have only made five. Mr. Garrison thinks the boiler won't bear any more; I differ; I believe in the locomotive more than in the engineer

Again, my friend (Mr. Garrison,) if I judge from his speech this morning, reverses the old anti-slavery maxim—"If you want a thing, ask for it! If a thing is right and necessary, ask for it!" The motto to-day seems to be, "If you want a thing, don't ask for it! If a thing is necessary, don't mention it!" The franchise for the slave—it is needed—it is indispensable it is inevitable-but there is Blondin-don't speak to him! He may go over—take care! Mr. Lincoln stands there balanced, with the pole, on a rope. Keep mum, the nation! Well, Grant stands balanced on a rope; Lee is trying to pull him over. I never heard him compared to Blondin. Nobody ever said that he ought not to be advised. When Hooker stood on the rope, and did not succeed, we changed him. When Burnside stood on the rope, and did not succeed, we changed him. When McClellan got down from the rope, we thanked God and took conrage. (Great applause.) When Meade stood on the rope, and balanced pretty well, we changed him. [A Voice.—Who changed him?] The President. The very man who says, "Don't change me!" (Tremendous applause.) Sigel, in the face of the enemy, meets with a reverse -" Change him! But I am sacred! Blondin, on a hair! Don't change me! (Laughter.) I am'stooping down, with my left hand on the rope, to save with my right a clumsy rebel of New Orleans from sinking to the hell where he belongs. Don't think I shall go over! Oh, no; I am balanced—balanced exactly even!" But the question is whether he is well baleven!" But the question is whether he is well bal-anced, with his eye fixed upward. You know how the sailor walks a rope. You know the maxim. When you are among the shrouds, high up-a hundred feet -what does the seaman tell you! Never look down!
While you keep your eye upward, you are safe!" The "Look up-to justice ist says to L to God, to the rights of every man u him. He will fall, sure as fate, for he is consulting hi chances down at Baltimore, not justice overhead.

That is the very reason I doubt him. I praised him as long as he seemed to carry on the war for the war's sake, for democracy's sake, for justice, to subjugate the rebel. He is carrying on the war new to re-elect himself, to conciliate the disloyal white man. (Applause and hisses.)

I am not at all surprised at those hisses. Ten years ago, when a Republican used to stand on this platform ago, when a keepolucan used to stand on this pleasons and rebuke us for some testimony against Webster, for some testimony against Clay, the outskirts and the gallery always applauded him, and our testimony was always hissed, from the same quarters, exactly. Today, Mr. Lincoln is a popular, balf-way man—holds power, patronage, the press, availability; no wonder that the same tier applauds him and hisses us; but our

that the same uer apparent test is not up there.

Mr. May. That tier applauds your denunciation of Mr. Lincoln. Who are they, I should like to know? They are not Abolitionists; I doubt if they are Republicans. (Applause, and cries of "Good.")

Mr. PHILLIPS. There is Mr. May's mistake. He says I denounce President Lincoln. I do not denounce

Mr. May. Let me explain a moment, for I do not wish to be misrepresented. I say, that when Mr. Phillips says that the President is carrying on this war to elect himself, it is the worst denunciation he can heap upon him. (Great applause and throwing up of

neep upon nim. (creat appeause and throwing up of hats in the extreme seats.)

Mr. PRILLERS. Your applause, Mr. May, comes from the same quarter that hisses me, the outskirts of the audience—the chance speciator; not from the body of the house where our Convention site. Many times at large the seat of the times as I have been hissed, I was never yet hissed by an Abelitionist. But I hope you and your friends are right in trusting Mr. Lincoln. No man will more welcome the non-fulfilment of my prophecy than I shall. I shall be delighted if this war is finished in the year, thoroughly finished, before Mr. Lincoln enters upon his term, if he has one. You do not suppose that a love with paying taxes ! You do not suppose I am in love with possible that I have any peculiar pleasure in hearing that ten thousand men lost their lives yesterday? You do not suppose that I have any peculiar dislike of this nais a unit, when I look upon it as the she and guaranty of the freedom of that race which the labor of my life has been devoted ! All I want is success. All I seek is the right means to get

I say again, look to your President. sk Govern Senators, Representatives, who come close up to 1—I cannot; you cannot; we stand here outside ring—I sak the men who sit down at his side; who the ring—I ask the men who sit down at his side; who have been concerned with him in legislation for three years; who have watched his words, leaped or cowered under his acts. I take a score of them, the tallest, the ablest, and I say to them, "What is your private-sincere, inside opinion on the subject of Mr. Lincoln's renomination?" "Qua-searviction is, that it, would be sentially coloring to this patient." (A and one of the state of the sta renomination 1. "Our conviction is, that it would be a great calamity to this nation." (Applause and hisses.) Then I say to them, "Why don't you say

#### A Voice. The people don't say so.

Mr. PRILLIPS. I know it. They don't let the peo-ple know the facts; they don't let the people know their opinions. A week age yesterday I sat in you der seat, and this platform was crowded with the leading Republicans of Massachusetts; the men who, for twenty years, have held the best offices in the State twenty years, have held the best offices in the State; the men on whose lips thousands have hung delighted for the last quarter of a century; the men, who, united, their opinion is law in the politics of the Commonwealth. I arraigned before them, as I have today, on the same grounds, the expediency of renominating Mr. Lincoln. I waited to hear one single word of answer—the denial of a single statement, the impeachment of a single fact, the taking to pieces of a single arrument, the outling against it any other arsingle argument, the putting against the countervailing one fact by anothergument, the countervailing one fact by another—and they were dumb. Some of the people went up from those seats to these chairs, and said to the men whom you will elect Governors within three years, "Answer him;" and the reply was "We'can't." They went to others—"Speak in defence of the Administration;" "We prefer places." The "We prefer sitence." The Committee retired to count the votes. That clock was to count an hour before they came in. What do Conventions do ordinarlly on such occasions, when the platform is crowde eakers ? They say to Mr. A., or Mr. B., or Mr. C., "Entertain us; say something to us until the bus-iness is over." What do you suppose we did? Took a recess! (Laughter.) Voted to adjourn and remain in our seats; and these gentlemen remained on the plat-form, dumb! They let the record go. They had not one word to answer. They are themselves to be candidates in their own Districts, this week, for delegate didates in their own Districts, tim week, or deregates to Baltimore. They saw no way to walk that would not in these ticklish times jeopard their chances—and so kept silent. They dare not risk the breaking of their party. That may be good policy and excusable in politicians; but you and I have risked breaking the Union, indeed for twenty years have sought to break it, in the service of liberty. Why should I shrink from the chance of breaking a corrupt party sander in the same service? I tell you-a truth n many sources and the best private informa do not believe in your President; and your senseless clamor is what frightens them from avewal. (Hisses.) If Abraham Lincoln rules this naseen another four years, and it is ruled to any disaster, remember, it will not be the fault of the copperheads that he was elected; it will be the fault of the hundred caders of the Republican party, who, in their own heart's look mon his renomination as a public calamity, and avow it to their intimate friends, but do not dare say it to the public. (Applause.)

At this point in Mr. Phillips's speech, (it being quarter past nine o'clock.) Mr. Garrison rose and said—"Mr. President, I do not think that our friend Mr. Phillips wishes to monopolize the hours of this short evening, especially when, for every word that has been said in favor of Mr. Lincoln, or even to modify the severe criticisms that have been made upon him, twenty have been spoken at these meetings to his condemna

Mr. Phillips immediately took his seat, and Mr. Gar rison advanced to the desk, upon which a great uproar arose, some of the audience calling vehic ently for Mr. Phillips, and others as vehemently for Mr. Garrison, while applause and hisses on every side inceased the din. The disturbance continued for some time, when, finally, Mr. Phillips stepped to the front, and said-" Ladies and gentlemen, listen to me a single moment. I was entirely unaware that I had taken up so much of the time of the meeting. My friend Mr. Garrison and my friend Mr. Thompson are both to follow me, and I beg you will remember that the evening belongs to them as much as to me. Lister to the expression of their opinions,—perfectly honest thoroughly considered, and as well entitled to influ ence your judgment, as my own-perhaps more so for I hope they are right, and that I am wrong."

### SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. President, I did not wish my friend to retire so Mr. President, I did not wish my friend to retire so abruptly from the stand. I rose respectfully to remind him of the lateness of the hour; for if I should occu-py your time as long as he has, and my friend, Mr. Thompson, should follow, and speak as long as either of us, it would bring us near to midnight; and I know the last thing my friend Phillips would wish to do would be to monopolize the time, especially to the ex-clusion of any man from whom he differs; he is too

magnanimous for that:

Now in regard to the noble friend who is to follow
me. Mr. Phillips has undertaken to impeach his
ability to judge of the condition of our country at this time, and two years ago, with discrimination and occuracy. I will venture to say, that Wendell Phillips himself does not understand the Anti-Slavery cause any better, nor the state of public sentiment in our country, for the last thirty years, more intelligently and minutely, than George Thompson of England. (Applause.) His judgment, therefore, is not to be impeached in this matter. He has never shown himself at fault; he has always kept pace with us, had his hand on the national pulse and national heart, and marked all the elements of public sentiment in rela

tion to slavery in our country.

Sir, to declare that, in 1861 and '62, there universal sentiment in favor of abolition, radical abo-lition, the abolitionism of Wendell Phillips, and that the people were all ready for it, is preposterous. Can my friend believe it for a moment? (Mr. Phil Lirs-Certainly.) Why, if that be true, there never was such a marvellous conversion since the world b gan ! (Applause.) What converted them? The ll ready, in '61 and '62, to grapple with slave ry for its instant extermination by the government and also to put the ballot into the hand of ever circled slave in the land! who believes it? My friend says he does. Then what has changed them Mark you —an abolitionized North in 1861 and 6 ready to carry out all my friend now desires; and now everything is reversed because Abraham Lincoln has proved recreant to his trust! What sort of abo-litionshm is that? Our cause gone behind? When did it ever go backward from the hour it was launched! Nay, God has been with it from the beginning— "marching on." In went on in 1861, in 1862, in 1863, and is going on in 1864, and will continue to go on,

and is going on in 1804, and will continue to go on, God leading and blessing it, to final victory.

My friend ingeniously dwells upon and makes the most of a single incidental fact, that when Fremont's Proclamation was put forth, it was generally and warmly approved—even the New York Herold affected to regard it with approbation, and also the Boston Post. Now, I do not recollect that any other recognize in the country, of the Democratic stamp, in the country, of the Democratic sta ed it. From that hour, the Copperhead ment began to work, and has been working ever

The difficulty I find is to know how to answer my The difficulty I find is to know how to maswer my friend,—he is so inconsistent, as it seems to me, in his treatment of Mr. Lincoln. Now the President is an unqualifiedly honest man. (Loud applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, you supposed that was my enlogy; I was giving it as Mr. Phillips's. Then he is an honest man, is the Kentucky sense; then he is an very dishonest man. Now he is throughly loyal; and now he is a traitor. Now he is anxious to see the rebelling crushed liberty triumphant and the Hutum relion crushed, liberty triumphant, and the Union re-stored; and now he does not want the rebellion put down, or the rebels hurt. Now he is ahead of the far behind them-acti cure his reclection, is willing to sacrifice

the war! Sir, if what my friend accuses him of is true, then Abraham Lincoln deserves to be impeached as a traitor, and punished accordingly. (Applause, and cries of "This's so.")
Mr. Phillips says that I claimed for Mr. Lincoln that he had exceeded public sentiment on the subject of slavery. So I did; so I believe; and I have very good authority for thinking so—the authority of my eloquent friend himself! (Applause and laughter.) Yes, Mr. President, at the very time when, as he now tells us, the nation was hot with radical Abolitionism, and ready for any governmental measure to destroy and ready for any governmental measure to destroy slavery, root and branch, Abraham, Lincoln transcen

ded its most advanced state!

As my speech is to be largely made up of quotations from the various speeches of Mr. Philips, I will now ask the attention of the audience to them. Here is one from his speech delivered in this Temple, January 24, 1861:

24, 1861:—
"I have not a word even of doubt for the incoming President of Illinois. I believe that, like an finonrable man, he incans to keep, and has told his friends to say that he means to keep in office the promises that were made for him in the canvass; and while Abraham Lincoln lives—and, in spite of the rage of the men South of Mason and Dixon's line, he will live to be buried in the gratitude of the North, twenty or forty years hence—while he lives and dictates law to this country from the White House at Washington, as he will, on the 6th day of March—and if it cannot be done otherwise, Illinois will cover every square foot of the District with a fiving man and a Republican—while he lives, I have faith to believe that not one blade of grass, not one atom of the soil of the Territories, will be poisoned by the footstep of even the compromise of a slace. The votes of eighteen hundred thousand freemen send Abraham Lincoln to Washington to do their bidding, AND IT WILL BE DONE." AND IT WILL BE DONE.

Here is an extract from his speech delivered at

Here is an extract from his speech delivered at Music Hall, April 21, 1861 :—

"I have always believed in the sincerity of Ahraham Lincoln. You have heard me express my confidence in it every time I have spoken from this desk. I only doubted sometimes whether he were really the head of the Government. To-day, he is at any fate commander-in-chief. The delay in the action of the government has; doubtless been a necessity, but policy also. Traitors within and without made it hesitate to move itil it had tried the machine of government just given it. But delay sucs wise, as it matured a public opinion, definite, decisive, and ready to keep step to the music of the government march. The very postponement of another session of Congress till July 4th, plainly invitics discussion—evidently contemplates the ripening of public opinion in the interval. • • The government has waited until its best friends almost suspected its courage or its integrity; but the cannon shot has opened the only door out of this hour. There were but two. One was Compromise, the other was Battle. The integrity of the North closed the first, the geherous forbearance of nineteen States closed the other. The South opened this with cannon shot have shinself at the door. (Applause.)

• • The Administration that preceded this was full of traitors and thieves. It allowed the arms, ships, money, military stores of the North to be stolen with impunity. Mr. Lincion took offices, robbed of all the means to defend the Constitutional rigids of the government. • Abraham Lincoln knows nothing, has a right to know nothing, but the Constitution of the United States. The South is all wrong, and the Administration is all right."

I beg special attention to the following extract from Mr. Phillippi's speced at Feanineham. July 4th, 1861

I beg special attention to the following extract from ips's speech at Framingham, July 4th, 1861

Mr. Phillips's speech at Framingman, Jun.

"What do I ask of the government! I do not ask
it to announce a policy of enancipation now; it is not
strong enough to do it. We can announce it; the people
can discuss it; THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOT STRONG
ENOUGH TO ANNOUNCE IT. Loo not care whether it
means it or not; IT WERE UTTER RUIN TO ANNOUNCE
IT NOW. \* \* An. honest Administration, an
in Description at a single hostiating, distraining distraining of T NOW.

AB Houses

Are distributing the strength of the popular feeling behind him.

Abrahar Lincoln, Salmon P. Chase, Montgomery Blair, he hot the heart nor the wish to thrust back into the held.

Bear with me while I read somewhat copiously from a lecture delivered by Mr. Phillips before the Fraternity Association in Tremont Temple, in April,

"I certainly owe great thanks, to you and the Fra-"I certainly owe great thanks, to you and the Fraternity, who have given me the opportunity to speak to night, marked as the present week is by one of the greatest events in the history of the progressive movement. For the first time in sixty years, the flag of the Republic floats over a Capital untrodden by a slave. For the first time, the south untrodden by a slave. For the first time, the constituted authorities of the nation make one step toward that great motto—"Freedom National"—and give us a Capital without a chain. (Cheers.) Neither you nor I could naturally have expected to live to see that result. Not the most sanguine of us could have hoped that any means he could call into exercise would so far prevail against the seeming interest and the well-anchored institutions of the country as to consecrate seen the District to liberty in our day. We have lived to see so much. In a nation that more so fast as we do, it gives us good hope that those are yet living, in middle life, within these walls, who shall see the whole continent, so far at least as it acknowledges the stars and stripes, clean and free from the fetter of a slave. Applause.)

. . . . I come back to you to night, as I went away six weeks ago, persuaded that slavery on this continent has begun the chapter which records its death. I have no doubt of it. You may see it in the dispositions of the people; you may see it in the policy of the nation; you may see it, I think, in the intentions of its statesmen. But whether you do or not, I care life in the policy was to the property of the property for intentions today. No matter what you mean or what Washington means, or what the people of the great West mean to day. When I see a man half-washington means, or what the people of the great West mean to day. When I see a man half-washington means, or what the people of the great West mean to day. When I see a man half-washing of wow. (Applause.) Events—most encouraging the elements which go to make up national life, the death of the stare system is decreal, and is sealed. I find great encouragement everywhere. I find it in the disposition of the President. I believe he means what he said to the Border State Senators and Representatives when, at the sanouncement of the intention nor capacity—he has enough of both for me function—but will; power to bear up against external influences—temptations that make him timid, protests that make him very cautious, spending four months on one message. But I believe he has all he lacks in his Cabinet, which consists of one man, single and alone, fit to bear up, like Atlas, a nation—Stanton. (Applause.) I recognize in the Cabinet no will but the Secretary of War. I think him the right yoke-fellow of the President—supplying all he lacks. The two make a working pair, competent for all the sation needs. "You will fight, you will tell why not, or you will go out "—that is the key-note of the Secretary of War. "Why can't I have a court marrial to try Premont?" says Col. Blair. "Because I am too busy to wash your dirty linen." (Applause.) That is the locomotive on the rall—socking but one purpose to more forward; and if cannon does not crush the rebellion, abbilito soil. I don't think the Secretary is an Abolitonist to-day, but he is on the shatious sent (laughter); and if, in the Providence of God, South Carolina and President Davis hold out until November, have no doubt we shall have an Abolitonist for Secretary of War. (Applause.) My faith, therefore, in the man is sufficient. I don't think he has gone out as the papers say. If he has, we have loss the corner stone of auccess. A year of sacrifices would be nothing to the sacrifice of "the right man in the right place"—the only mus on the continent who deserve the same of a Napoleon for the exigency. But when

since. We were at that period a pre-slavery nation, and there was no wish that the President of the United States should do what my friend Phillips calls

Mr. Lincoln may abolish slavery, he cannot save it me. Lincoln may abolish slavery, he cannot save it

But still I do not think the actabolishing slavery the District, broad and marked as it is, is so significa as the Message of the President. After all, the Pre-dest is cheef of the sanigestations of the oppsion of people. He holds out its hands to the millions a riment, it has done an according to the for or anti-slayer word. (Applause.) Sufficient for or ar! Enough to have gained in twelve months! I be ver that any man who contemplates institued even as ample reason to be satisfied with what we have alread complished in this single year.

Lincoln is ahead of anything you have said State of Massachusetts is offering him to-day r What he wants is an endorsement and an encour What the Senate want is a policy pronounced people."

Now see what my friend said in that lecture co tion, to strengthen his hands in carrying on th le with the Slave Power in arms :-

"The President said to a leading Republicane ork- Why don't you hold meetings' (it w "The President said to a leading Republican of New York—Why don't you hold meetings' (it was two days before that glorious Convention' in New York which Carl Schurz made immortal by his great speech)—Why don't you hold meetings, and let me feel the mind of the nation?' Sir,' was the reply, 'we are to hold them; we hold one to-morrow.' Hold them of ten, hold many of them; hold as many as possible. You canhot create more anti-slavery feeling than we shall need before we get through this war.' (Apphause.) In other words, the President holds out his hands to the people, and says, 'Am I right? How far may I go Y Answer him. 'Tell him the ice is thick thus far, and will be thicker an arrow's flight a lead. Tell him that

what I claim of you, I claim in behalf Now, what I claim of you, claim in You You own leaders. The President says to his New You friends, 'Support me!' Where is the support from Bo ton! Your merchants ask the removal of, Mr. Sect tary Welles, and all Washington says he is not fault, it is McCleilan. Your merchants can find far fault, it is McClellan. Your merchants can find faul—uchy don't they express opproved of the President's Measure II the Tariff or Bank were at issue, we should have public meetings, and delegations of leading meetings to Measure II why doe no voice go up from Boston, from Faneuil Hall, fron the State House, for LIBERTY as the wish of Massachusetts I How long is the North to wait without leader? My message to you to night is—Speak The President holds out his hand. Take it. Assur mim that he has in Massachusetts more than militar, support.

aupport.

I want a voice from the Legislature; I want a voice from the Exchange; I want a voice from Fancuil Hail.

If you do not give it, you are deserting the place of Massachusetts in this struggle, which is to lead. The West looks to you; the South looks to you. The Massachusetts regiments are the worst treated, Massachusetts regiments are the worst treated, Massachusetts regiments.

Now, observe-these admissions that the Presiden was ahead of public sentiment, even in Massachusette-that there were no anti-slavery manifestations on the part of "leading men, legislative bodies, official cor-porations," &c., &c.—that Faneuil Hall was dumb, and the State House quiescent-were made at the time

was for holding back!

Now, sir, I could read by the hour just such extract as these, but I have read quite enough for my pur pose—to show that my friend stands in a position oughly paradoxical, and, as it seems to me, utterly inconsistent in this matter. (Applause.) For, if thes things could be truly said of Mr. Lincoln at the tim they were uttered, before an emancipation policy was inaugurated, how much more does the the Presiden inaugurated, not make deserve the sympathy, commendation and support of Abolitionists now, after so many grand events have transpired under his administration, all tending in the direction of universal emancipation! (Applause.)

As to his Cabinet, I will tell you an anecdote which I Seward," said the President, "Is Secretary of State Seward," said the President, "is Secretary of State. He conducts the diplomacy of the country. Have you read his diplomatic correspondence?" "Yes, Sir.1" "Have you any fault to find with it?" "No, Sir!" "Well, sir, he is my clerk; I got him for that purpose." "Well, but you should throw Blair overboard." "Sir, Mr. Blair is Postmater General. Do you get your papers and letters regularly?" "Yes, Sir." "Well, sir, he is my clerk for that purpose; and I am President of the United States." (Applanse.)
Now, I say this: that Mr. Lincolo has never mada an

Now, I say this: that Mr. Lincoln has never made an appointment which did not meet the acceptance of all appointment which did not meet the acceptance of the loyal and all the anti-alavery sentiment of the country at the time—never! (Applause.) For instance—they were well eatisfied with the Cabinet, when it was first appointed, almost precisely as it stands to day. If you say, "Well, see what it is to-day;" I answer, either that Cabinet has worked with the President, or

this coming Fourth of July, to proclaim immediate his credit 1 And yet we have been told that he has bought an interest in the Baltimore Clipper, for the purpose (among other things) of preventing emand ion in Maryland! All that is possible have thus deceifully acted; but I am not willing to believe it without stronger evidence. I take his pub-lic, recorded acts, and do not feel willing to allow any private gossip on this occasion to influence my decis-

Again I say-that, in regard to all his protments, the President has acted up to military appointments, the President has acted up to all that loyalty and that abolitionism asked at his hands. Both were satisfied, first with General Scott

-a veteran in the service—as commander in chief of the army, until it became evident that, through his feebleness of body and his great age, it was necessary to make a change. Then Gen. McClellan was appointed; and I ask you if he was not heartily welcomed b all classes as "the coming man?" (Mr. Fostfa-"No; never.") Was there any party feeling shown against him? On the contrary, was there not universal confidence in his military ability and thorough loyalty? And so the people waited three months, six months, nine mouths, a whole year, without indulging in sharp criticism or doubt of his fidelity. Something prevented action here, something there; now the weath was unpropitious, now something else. We were gen forbearing, and the President was equally so—all the while, however, in his private corres-pondence, urging him to lose no time, but to move with all possible celerity—of course modestly deferring to his judgment as the commander of the army at the time. But, when endurance had passed its bounds, so that even the malignity of copperheadism should be silenced, the President made McClellan walk the plank; and all loyal men were thankful when he went overboard. (Loud applause.) My friend Phillips, has made the astounding asser-

tion, that Mr. Lincoln does not want this rebellion put down; and that he expressly employed McClellan as his tool, so that no harm should come to the rebels I O, that is a fearful change! A tool, was he? What did my friend say when McClellan was at the head of the army? "I look upon the Cabinet and the President as absorbed, swallowed up, hidden, by Gen. McClel-What, a tool absorbing, swallowing up thos who use it! (Laughter.) "There is no living man," continued my friend at the time, "in the Government but McClellan." All defunct but him, and that was the reason we did not go ahead! (Renewed laughter.) As to General McClellan, my friend Phillips saidam willing to wait as long as any man for the drill of General McClellan. I am willing to wait until he has made an army as perfect as that of the great Napoleon."
Well, that certainly was a very great indulgence! Let not the President be upbraided because he also was willing to "possess his soul in patience" for so desira ble a result

When, at last, General McClellan was di what patriotic soul did not rejoice that Burnside was placed in command? Did not the President come up to high-water mark in popular feeling, in making this appointment? Well, after an unsuccessful experiment Burnside resigned, and gave place to "Fighting Joe Did not the people have unbounded faith in Joe Hooker, that he would "carry the battle to the gate !" But he, too, failed-though, like Burnside, not for lack o loyalty or bravery. Then, true to the country and to the cause of liberty, the President next tried Gen Meade; and the appointment was bailed with universa satisfaction. Having given him also a fair trial, and seen that he was not competent to manage so large an army, at last he makes, Gen. Grant Commander-in-Chief. (Loud applause.) Could he have done bet-

I say, therefore, that all along, in every importan military and civil appointment, particularly as pertain-ing to the Cabinet and the management of the army, Mr. Lincoln has been up to the highest loyal, the high-ost anti-slavery sentiment of the country. And, surewith great responsibilities without fairly putting ir qualities to the test. When mighty armies are to be disciplined, time is needed; and who shall tell pre-cisely how long? Let us charitably remember that the cisely how long? Let us cnariably rememoer that the President had a very difficult task to perform. Re-member how formidable was and is the copperhead ele-ment of the North; and that General McClellan ulti-mately proved himself to be the idol of everything factious at the North. Now, to have dismissed him without the greatest forbearance and the fullest proof of his incompetency might have imperilled the ve existence of the government. His dismissal alm porturned the government when it did take place Government came as near destruction as it could.

Now I say, we should judge of this matter broadly and considerately, and not by the petty incidents or accidents of the hour. For one, as an Abolitionist, as a toncy—and therein he has doubted my right-lover of liberty, as the friend and advocate of the a just and enlightened opinion respecting the ble, whether I should give my sympathy and best wishes to President Lincoln; and I hesitate not to wisnes to Irectant Ements, and I whole, politically speaking, the people cannot do better, in my judgment, than to re-elect him for four years longer. (Tremendous applause, penewed again and again.) I say it, because the between liberty and slavery was made upon "the rail-splitter." It was against him, as the symbol and sign of liberty, that a haughty and tyrannical slave oligarchy rose in rebellion, and attempted to throttle him out of existence; and, Sir, while those who are for eternal slavery at the South are in bloody revolt against Abraham Lincoln, solely to preserve their accursed institution, and while every thing at the North that is pro-playery or treasonable is full of leadly enmity to him for that reason. I want nothing deadly enmity to him for that reason, I want nothing more to determine my judgment in regard to Abra-ham Lincolo. (Loud applause.) I know that, to com-plete the work of impartial freedom, many things yet remain to be done; but these, I believe, will be duly attended to. The teeberg from the Arctic ocean is nearly melted in the Gulf Stream; and it cannot be long before it will be wholly dissolved. Only last vear my friend Philling said, with express reference year my friend Phillips said, with express reference the re-election of Abraham Lincoln :-

t, or One thing more. The demo-

it has not. If it has, then it collectively deserves its share of praise for what has been done; but if the President has acted independently of his Cabinet, then he has done all these magnificent acts alone, and therefore the Cabinet does not control him. (Applaue), I care not which horn of the dilemma is taken.

Sir, it is very easy to thrust at different members of the Ce-thal—to excite unfounded associations, and to make indefinite charges. The air is full of them; but how little evidence is adduced, after all, to prove Mrsewal to have done anything very culpable! As to Montgomery Bisir, it is true he went to Concord, New Hampshire, a year ago, and there made a foolish and reprehensible speech, placing himself in a most ridication at the country. He did it on his own responsibility, and it fell flat to the ground. But, since that time, he has done two things instancipation Proclamation, that by no set of Congress, by no decision of the Supreme Court, nor by any power under heaven, can that Proclamation ever be legally cancelled; it must stand, and be carried out to the letter. (Applaue.) Then he has been down to Ballmore, with Secretary Classe, making anti-slavery speeches to the people to induce them to vote for delegates to a State Convention, on this coming Foothman and the carried out to the letter. (Applaue.) Then he has been down to Ballmore, with Secretary Classe, making anti-slavery speeches to the people to induce them to vote for delegates to a State Convention, on this coming Foothman and the carried out to the letter. (Applaue.) Then he has been down to Ballmore, with Secretary Classe, making anti-slavery speeches to the people to induce them to vote for delegates to a State Convention, on this coming Foothman to July, to proclaim immediate emancipation in Maryland. Is not that something to Aurana Lincoln to a Treas, twenty years, forty years, if he and I lived so long—vote until I had made him the confessed President of the United States, (Prolonged applause.) And I do not hesitate to say, that if the party which elected him to be President he having been faithful to it in every particular do not see to it that he is again elected from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it will be guilty of perifdy and flagrant ingratitude. (Lond applause.) But the people understand this. Never, since the days of George Washington, has there been such a spontaneous expression in favor of, any candidate as has been given for Abraham Lincoln. Already, nineteen out of the twenty-two States left to us have, that Legislatures or State Conventions, unavivo from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it will be guilty by their Legislatures or State Conventions, UNANI MOUSLY renominated him for the Presidency. (Er Hosiastic applause.) As to Gen. Fremont, whose Convention is to come off at Cleveland in a few days—how is he backed up—by what sort of political influence? If the is going to run Mr. Lincoln off the track, ine ought to have some political strength to show. Ob-serve, I am saying nothing in disparagement of Gen. except in high approbation, beyond anything I have ever bestowed upon Mr. Lincoln. But I am now dealing with facts. He is said to be the man to suc-ceed the President. But, "before you cook your ceed the Fresident. But, "before you cook your fish, you must catch it;" and, I repeat it, before you can hope to overturn Abraham Lincoln, you must show at least some political strength, because the time for effort is short. Abraham Lincoln shows nineteen States. Gen. Fremont, as yet, has not shown a single State, a single county, a single town or hamle in his support. Who represents him from Massachusetts, on the call for the Cleveland Convention? Two men, both non-voters, I believe, and neither of them has a particle of political influence? Now I call that the step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Is that the best Massachusetts can do for Fremont? For, remember, I am speaking now of the "coming man" in the next election, who is to run Abraham Lin-coln off the track. If I were speaking on a moral issue, I should speak in a very different manner of tho whose names appear on that call; for the man who whose names appear on that can; for the ban was stands alone in a moral cause, though all the world be against him, if God be for him, stands in a major-lty, and is conqueror. But when you came to politics, that is another sphere. Then you must have men you must have votes; then you must have something of political influence and respec-tability. But, with one exception, the signers to the call for the Cleveland Convention have not one ounce

or political weight in this country. (Applause.)
Mr. President, we are getting on well. We are thave all our friends contend for, in the end. "There no difference among us in this respect. We all go for equal rights, without regard to race or color. have not relaxed our vigilance or our testimony; and I am sorry to hear any intimation thrown out, that we I am sorry to mean any minest justice. Sir, we de-mand every thing that is just, as of old. Yet we are full of hope; we take courage from the signs of the times; and we rejoice to believe—as evidence of our ultimate, triumph, that, in the rude language of the

"De massa run—ha, ha!
De darkies stay, ho, ho!
It must be now de kingdom's comin',
And de year ob jubelo!" (Loud and prolonged applause.)

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

The President has appointed me to do that which it is not unusual to do at the close of a public meeting—to pronounce the benediction, and I will endearor, in the few remarks I have to make, not to go far eyond the performance of that function.

My friend, Mr. Phillips, in the speech he has deliv-

ered to-night, has refe at the sitting of the Convention in this place this norning. Permit me to say that, in what I then uttered, I was prompted, nay, rather, impelled by sense of justice to one to whom I considered justice had not been done by the gentlemen who had criticized his public acts. In what I then said, I had no intention to influence the minds of those whom I addressed, in reference to their future con duct, touching the pending Presidential election. anct, touching the penning applicable polyage applicable polyage applicable polyage and the polyage applicable polyage applicab of his administration of the national affairs, I had come to a conclusion the opposite of that which had been arrived at by some of my friends. This being the case, I felt that I should be false to my own convictions, and unjust towards the party who had been ssailed, if I did not rise, and as an Englishman and an abolitionist, give my testimony in favor of Presi-dent Lincoln. (Applause.) My eloquent friend who has addressed us this evening has doubted my compeng the merits of he present adn other means of forming a judgment, I have had the benefit of listening to three or four speeches from my friend-from whose former speeches I had learned to trust, admire and love your President-and all that I have learnt from those later speeches is, that Mr. and worse-hearted administration." This is all that I have learnt since I came to America. (Applause.)

Few men are better acquainted with the splefidid ora tions which my friend has delivered during the last tions which my friend has derivered uning old-twenty-five years, than I am. As far as they have been reported, I have seen them, studied them, ex-tracted them from the papers in which they have appeared, classified and indexed them, and I could hav compiled from them many volumes as large as that which has recently been published. I know, therefore, all he has said respecting the man whose re-ele tion to office he now so strenuously opposes. But I will not use those speeches to crush my friend under the weight of the culogiums he has in times past pronunced upon Mr. Lincoln. I would, however, advise him to do what Sir James Graham did in the House of Commons, when he was about to advocate the re-peal of the Corn Laws—laws which he had, down to that time, carnestly defended. Observing that many of that time, earnestly defended. Observing that many of the members of the House had in their hands volthe President himself—and I believed it then, and I believed it then and believed it then and I believed it then and believe it above I believed it then and believe I believed it then, and I believed it then and believe I believed it then and believe I believed it then and the members of the House had in their hands volumes of the House had in their hands volumes of the members of the House had in their hands volumes of the members of the House had in their hands volumes of the members of the House had in their hands volumes of the members of the House had in their hands volumes the members of the House had in their hands volumes of the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the House had in their hands volumes and were the members of the members of the members of the members of the memb

I said those things of him in former years, but I an right now. I once thought him houset, just minded and sagacious, but I now believe him to be inducit, weak-headed and worse-hearted " Yet, deep as it was now to be the deeper still, if the accusations I have listened to can be substantiated—at hearing such rock proceed from the lips of my friend, equally proceed my friend, even is what appears to me his ency, in the cause of that injured race wh he thinks are disregarded by those whose now so sternly attacks. I know the mor actuates my friend, and I honor it, thong ets of others. I must be per is Mr. Lincoln utterly unworthy to be referred, but he deserves to be impeached at the bar of the Scate; for he is a traitor of the worst stamp, and should rid of by saying they are brought for the purpose rid of by saying they are thought for the purpose of damaging Mr. Lincoln, in order that some other and better man may be put in his place. I must have coln is, what I have believed him to be, an house nan; or what he is now represented to be, a perju-du villain. I, like my friend, have lived and labord to demand justice for the slave. I demand justice for Mr. Lincoln, who is as much entitled to it as the Mr. Lincoin, who is as most current of it is the black man. (Prolonged applause.) Justice is one; justice is impartial; justice is universal. The was ment that has led me to vindicate the rights of the slave, leads me to night to vindicate the Mr. Lincoln to a fair and equitable judgment type Mr. Lincoln to a rair and equitable judgment that his conduct as President of the United State. I am conscious of my inferiority to my friend his a public speaker I feel dwarfed in his present. I am destitute of his wonderful faculty of imagination and of that power of memory which enables him a use all he ever read for the purpose of illustrating th subject on which he is speaking; yet, so con am I of the injustice of the ac brought against Mr. Lincoln, and of my ability to reand infirmities, I am willing to join issue with him and, on this or any other platform, to debate the heers.)
My friend despairs of the future of his country

should Mr. Lincoln be elected to serve the se Why, only this afternoon, when looking into a val-ume of my friend's speeches, I read one of them with extreme delight, in which he says,-"Did you ever see in the Broadway—you may in Napio-a black figure grinding chocolate in the wholes! He seems to turn the wheel, but the wheel turn kin. Now such is the President of the United States." I this be so, then why blame the automaton, when the fault is in the machinery? If newspapers are bettle safety valves through which the sentiments of the satety valves through which the sentiments of the people escape; if public men are but like the rates n the church steeples, which show the direction from which the wind is blowing; if the President of "reigns," and the people really "govern," is the people and not the President be blamed, if all #364 ne that ought to be done. (Applause.) During the sittings of the Convention, I have

neard it said by some who have labored long and well, and are still laboring faithfully, in the case of the slave, that certain amongst the old abditional are deserting from the radical principles which they once upheld. Only yesterday morning, on my way to this building, I rushed across the street to gree two esteemed friends with whom I have had the box or to travel and cooperate in years long past. One of them said to me, I fear you are becoming conserts tive. My prayer morning and evening is, that I may preserve my radicalism green and fresh, and not be preserve my radicalism green and fresh, and not be subject with declining years to the infirmity of on-servatism." That I am growing old, I know; left that I am less radical in my anti-slavery ideas I har yet to learn. I like yet to learn, too, that radicalism yet to learn. I mave yet to and just apprecia tion of the difficulties and responsibilities of men in official station. If I have said any thing about the coming Presidential election, it has been because-ut Falstaff said of rebellion—" It came in my way and it found it." I found that some amongst my old and long-tried friends believed that the most effectual means of promoting the anti-slavery cause was to de stroy the present administration; and basing as equally strong, but very different opinion on that salplect, I have taken the liberty to state it. It as friends really doubt my radicalism, let then put me to the test. What is it they would do in the way of to the test. What is it they would do in he ray of giving the black man his rights that I would not do! What great principle do they contend his hat I would not hold? Thefat, those who differ from them do not hold? Thefat, that though we may disagree about mea and nexts, one principles, our object, our aims and our applicans are: the Tenne. While my friends who disk tions are the same. While my friends, who thak me less radical than themselves, are laboring to the equal rights of the black man, they may con s to the utmost extent of my very limited street. (Applause.)

While I do not agree with some of them with m gard to the merits of the present administration, is not the less, on that account, respect the metits which actuate them, which is, that of a desire to see shrift utterly extirpated, and the black man put into full per utterly extirpated, and the black man putint fall presents of his rights. It my dear and hoserable freel Mr. Phillips really thinks—notwithstanding while has said of the chocolate grinder—that, in begins of the reblection of Mr. Lincoln, "Ichabed "my beriten upon the republic, it is his right and his day is any so, and so seek to avert the catstrophe. But it will not, I am sure, blame those of accurricy opinion. If, after he has emptied his quiver—on, that is never exhausted—lif, after he has senent hours in begins xhausted-if, after he has spent hours in the heaviest accusations against the Pesisteriad his Cabinet, they rise for the purpose of placing a fer plain facts over against his many saterlass. I do not think, even were some of the allegations tra, lat the evils forested by All District and seconds. the evils' foretold by Mr. Phillips would all come to pass, were Mr. Lincoln to be placed time in the Presidential Chair. I have faith in time in the Presidential Chair. I have fails now, and in the awakening conscience of tweety million of the people. Even should Mr. Lincole be cled; believe the Republic would survive. (Appliced) believe and slavery principle would survive, sales active and as potent as even. I believe the 6d Gard, instead of I salving down their wangen, would, if see

believe anti slavery principle would survive and as potent as ever. I believe the did fust instead of laying down their wespons, would, from sarry, pollish and sharpen them anew for the confect and pollish and sharpen them anew for the confect and the same sharpen them and the foreign and the layer of t heard his arraignment of the President and his size era, but their lips were scaled, and they had not as well to say in vindication of the parties inculpaid these men knew the charges to be true, but from a fear of lossing office, or from a fear of lossing office, or from a fear of lossing office, they kept their lips scaled, and voted for a parties unworthy of the nation's support, then of all men for were the most recreant to duty, and deserve after the vectives which have been launched against the first belief in the charges brought against Mr. Lines, the conviction that they cannot be supposed and are not deserved. (Applause.) and are not deserved. (Applause.)

For myself, I am perplexed to decide between diviews taken by Mr. Phillips of the character and did diet of the President to-day, and those takes by its

i former periods. If I am asked to follow Mr. at former periods. If I am asked to follow Mr. Smiller, I ask, which Mr. Phillips, the one who praised Mr. Liscola in 1861, and '62, and '63, or the one who of the man in 1864. (Applause and cries of "Good,") I have once said, "I appeal from Philip drank to My freed once said, "I appeal from Philip drank to Philip sober; from Ann Street, exzened by old fogles, y Ann Street, under guidance of her native in-gach." I will imitate his example, and appeal from placts. I will imitate his example, and appeal from his sweeping denuuciations of Mr. Lincoln to-day, to not necessarily follow that a man must be a horse be-came be was born in a stable? (Laughter.) In Eng-led we had a very good king who was born in Hol-lad; but though a Dutchman, he made a good govhad; but though a Dutchman, he made a good gov-ning, and gare us institutions of which we are proud. If it was the misfortone of Mr. Lincola to be born in Kistocky, we know he did not stay long there. We have, ho, he has been the architect of his own forfietecky, we know he did not stay long there. We low, too, he has been the architect of his own former, and that by his industry, probity, high principles and procertial honesty, he has won his way to the emblence of the American people. We know, too, that he was elected president upon a platform the that he was elected president upon a platformagne-se plat size of the anti slavery of which was the ex-plat size of the anti slavery of which was the ex-plated that the size of the size of the size of the class of slaver from the fifteen hundred thousand spars possessed to the time he went into the White thus, he isseed a proclamation giving liberty, to more than three million of claves. (Applause.) He has saited this great Republican nation in the bonds of slighmantic relationship with the hitherto accorned and diplomatic relationship with the hitherto scorned and iplomatic recurrence of Hayti and Liberia; and I red is the papers of yesterday, that the representared is the papers of yesterday, that the representa-tive of one of these States was introduced upon the foot of the Senate, and received the same attentions are usually paid to the Ministers of Foreign Cour is are usually pass of the has purged the National Dis-ries. (Applause.) He has purged the National Dis-tinctions the reproach and pollution of slavery, and his thereby put the national brand upon the sin and amentor parties manonal orand upon the sin and office of holding human beings in bondage. (Appears) By formal Message and Resolution, sent to the House of Representatives, and by passe.) by formal stessage and stessington, sent to the House of Representatives, and by personal inter-ries with the men from the Border States, he has date what he could to promote emancipation in the Birdes which has Proceedingtons
This, he has gone on from step to step, ever advancing
and actor retreating, until a series of measures ha bes accomplished, such as the most sanguine amongs presendreamed to see carried during the present gen ention. They have been measures so grand, s keedent and all important, that, we who have con session than from the opposite side of the ocean heegiren God thanks on your behalf, and have re-jace with you in the triumphs you have won. {Ap-place} Phave listened to the speeches of Mr. Phillips deepest respect, and have endeavored to with the deepest respect, and now endeather with his arguments with candor, and give all due wight to his facts. I have listened, also, to the speches of Mr. Foster and Mr. Pillsbury; but nothing that I have heard has shaken my confidence in the agrightness of Mr. Lincoln, or has convinced me that, all circumstances duly considered, he has not performed his ardnous and complicated duties in a manner t to the continued support of the friends of the owered noc. He may not be a pure and perfect drysolite; he may have, and doubtless has, his infirm-lin-for who amongst us is perfect!—but when I look une difficulties he has had to surmount, the warring ents by which he has been surrounded, the enenction, and to the comparative fewness of the num leng those who have been prepared to sustain him is really radical motivarian. I cannot but regard him as a may routed measures. I cannot out regard into as the man for the situacion. (Applause.) Does Mr. Palips think that, is 3801, Mr. Lincoln might have measured a programme what would have covered his passed as a radical adolitionist."

by the sate of the control of the co

& Foster-(in a loud voice) - Yes.

Mr. Inourrow Mr. Phillips is of age, Set hir speak terhiniself

Mr. PRILLIPS. Yes.

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Mr. THUMPSON. Well, all I can say is, I do not that a radical anti-slavery programme at that time vould have been tolerated, still less supported by the people at large. I believe the attempt to carry set such a programme would have been a failure. But, if the people who govern were ready at that im for radical measures, why did they not exerheir power, and why did they not turn the wheel hat more the figure in the shop window? Why did hey not make the automaton grind! I believe, Why did with Mr. Phillips, that the people govern, and there-ized in that I consider that, for the things which he existent, the people are to blame rather than Mr. mb. There are two things you may do. You ay accure yourselves the political opponents of Mr. becomes, and seek to destroy him. You may do this, and, after all, may fail to achieve your object. The other thing that you may do is, to take Mr. lands so he is—tell him what you, want—demand the inecessary, just and right—give him all the inecessary. the maistance in your power-and compel him to do as assistance in your power—and compa-per Miding. (Applause.) You may, also, take the furty Senators and Representatives, and the halvel leading men of Massachusetts, of whom we make them honest men. (Applause.) A. Philips will then have no secrets to tell, and the eque will know who are for Mr. Lincoln, and who the black man if the President did not stand in the Renewed applause.) In the mean time, let by people have a list of the names of those who think the Licela stands in opposition to radical measures, the stands in any what they think. (Applause and

Case "Good!")

There is one word which, before I sit down, I wish any publicly in the presence of my friend Mr. say publicly in the presence of my friend Mr. heip. He has said some hard things of my county, and I hope he will continue to censure us when or the property of the state of satymen who, equally with the people of New lepted, admire and love Wendell Phillips for his haddinterested championship of the cause of sepressed. It is not true that England as a unit lan Aurica.

Voters. True, true.

Mr. Thourson. No, it is not true, and facts in standare disprove the allegation. (Applause.) Your standard disprove the allegation. (Applause.) Your standard tributes at Washington contain the evidence, a the stape of Resolutions and Addresses, that hundred of these to detection and Addresses, that hundred thousands of Euglishmen are as sincerely desar for the welfare and prosperity of this country as Propie of the Oil Bay State. The most popular busing beld in London are those called to express analy with your government in its efforts to put on the weeked rebellion which is still raging in the bast. As for those in my country who hate your premnent, and your free institutions, I have the premnent, and your free institutions, I have hand, and your free institutions, I have to say in their defence. They are the enemind flierty at home, as they are the haters of library at home, as they are the haters of library at the flierty at home to the same than the free to the America. proms. But that the great body of the English Free America, I take leave to deny: (Applied Line) If my friend were now to go to England, at ms, honest and unsophisticated people of that many forgiving and forgetting what he has said,—vail fire him an ovation second only to that which shall has received. From Cape Clear to the Last English the third of human freedom would resimal English the thirds of human freedom would resim he their homes and their hearts, and would that in do honger to the man who for seven and with the control of t

government of this country in the way he has done to night. If, hereafter, but little respect should be exhibited for the government of America by that of my own country, let it be remembered, that through the lips of New England's most accomplished crater, the Administration at Washington has been pronounced "imbecile, yeak-leaded, and worse-hearted" (Applause.) I am free to confess, I think better of that Administration than my friend. If I do not mistake, Mr. Lincoln is governed by sound instincts and high principles, and if the people will command him to do that which is right, and will sustain him, le will obey. Nearly ten months have yet to elapse before his term of office expires. Much may be done in that time; and looking to what has been done in the year that is past, much may be hoped and expected. Instead of waiting till a new President ascends the chair, let all that is possible be obtained through the present incumbent. Do not take it for the trough the present incumbent. Do not take it for the trough the present incumbent. Do not take it for the trough the present incumbent. Do not take it for the trough the present incumbent. Do not take it for the trough the present incumbent. him to do that which is right, and will austain him, he will obey. Nearly ten months have yet to chapse before, his term of office expires. Much may be done in that time; and looking to what has been done in the year that is past, much may be hoped and expected. Instead of waiting till a new President ascends the chair, let all that is possible be obtained through the present incumbent. Do not take it for granted that Mr. Lincoln will not do the things you can be the present incumbent. desire; but bring the necessary pressure to bear, and see what may be effected now; if he will not, ere he descends from his present elevation to the position of a private citizen, become the instrument in your hands of breaking every yoke, and of making this country from the Gulf to the Mountains all hallowed ground (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. PHILLIPS. At this late hour, I ask only five minutes, ladies and gentlemen; and the President of the Convention requests that the members will remain to vote on the resolutions.

Understand me. I do not blame—far from it—my friend, Mr. Thompson, or my friend, Mr. Garrison, for their opinions, their speeches, or anything they have said of me. I recognize, most cordially, their right, as old and tried leaders, to our respectful deference in all matters relating to this cause.

Secondly, understand this; If that book (Mr. Phillips' speeches) was Phillips drunk, and I am Phillips sober, or the reverse, what of it? Proving me incon-sistent does not begin to prove Mr. Lincoln wise or capable. That cause must be hardly pushed and in desperate need, which has nothing better to urge than the inconsistency of its opponent. (Applause.) Sup-pose all Mr. Garrison urges is true. As Waldo Emer-son said, years ago—" What is inconsistency? Education." It is only passing from error to truth.

A Voice. It is the other way.

Mr. Phillips. Well, it is at least on pass from error to truth.

But, again; with that book before me, or all the speeches that my friend says he has so kindly pasted and indexed, I have no occasion to say, as Sir James Graham did, "I was wrong." Not a whit of ft. If Mr. Garrison had read the whole of each speech, and the dates—mark you, the dates—and then had put with it the other speeches of that very volume, I should have no occasion to shrink from the view. (Applause and cries of "Good.") There may be, here and there an unguarded expression, such as every extempora neous speaker must fall into occasionally; but para graph by paragraph, page by page, speech by speech, I challesige the record. It only proves that I have been hopeful, fair, impartial, as months rolled away; (loud applause); interpreting each day as hopefully, with as "generous sympathy" for the governmentas I could and now I look back on the last three years

and judge them in the full light of a general, deliberate retrospect. Enough of that.

Thirdly: my friend, Mr. Thompson, says that I have disabled his judgment; presuming to think that I, living on the spot, know my own country better than he does, living three thousand miles off. I am sorry to hear that he considers that presumption. sorry to hear that he considers that presumptio When, later in his speech, he asked me, with wondering and incredulous surprise, how it could be that a hundred Massachusetts politicians thought differently from what they spoke, it occurred to me, that if he lived with us a year, he would find I knew the country better than he did. (Applause.) If he lives here twelve months, do you believe, friends, that he will be surprised at the character I attribute to Massachusetts politicians ? (Applause and hisses.) He showed, by the very honesty of his astonishment, that I was in deed correct, when I said that I knew America bette than he did. But, again, he says I erred if I ever said (of which I have no recollection) that England as unit, hated America. If he says it is not true, if that is his judgment, on the spot, I acknowledge that he, an Englishman, living in England, walking up and down its highways, and addressing its audiences, knows England better than I do; with his testimony, on the same principle that I asked it of him, I defer to-his better judgment, and, if I ever made such statement, I take it back. (Loud applause.) Would he not be somewhat surprised, if instead of doing so, I called it presumption in him to consider his knowledge of England better than mine, and claimed tha he should give up his opinion and accept mine on such a matter? I am not aware, however, that I ever did that her aristocracy, and her government, representing that class, hated America. So I still think. I shall welcome his opinion on that point, and shall give it infinitely more weight in deciding the question than my own. Enough of that.

Fourthly : Ladies and gentlemen, you are now to by what, I venture to say, has not of late been heard on the platform of any Anti-Slavery Convention—by praise of Seward, McClellan, and Montgomery Blair. ("Hear, hear."), You who feel that you can say amen to such eulogy, vote for these resolutions; but you who believe as I have for the last three years, that freedom and the Union have no craftier, no more dangerous enemy than Seward, (applause and hisses,) you who remember the long agony with which we grouned under the first ten months of McClellan's ground under the first ten months of schedulars, but the state of the and applause,) and who believe that the Montgomery Blair, whom I honestly praised in 1861, has become the traitor of 1864, vote against these resolutions these resolutions; every man who cannot endorse

that eulogy of Mr. Garrison, vote against them. Mr. Garrison. Mr. President, one word. My devour each other. (Laughter and applause.) It is not that he has been getting undeceived. Assuredly, if he had simply changed his mind, I should not think of presenting the case here as worthy of special notice. We all change, and may change for the better—be wiser to-day than we were 'yesterday. The trouble is, that his speeches pertaining to Mr. Lincoln, since the rebellion broke out, are irreconcilably contra-

rounce is, that his specines pertaining to Mr. Lincoln, since the rebellion broke out, are irreconcilably contradictory. (Applause.)

Now, as to my alleged culogy of Montgomery Blair, William H. Seward, etc., I have given none. All I said was, that Montgomery Blair had given the strongest testimony in favor of the binding nature of the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, and declared that no power tould legally repeal it; and I thought that, in fairners, it ought to be put to his credit. Is that to be eulogistic! I said that he had gone to Baltimoge, to influence the people of Maryland to make a Constitution abolishing slavery throughout that State on the fourth day of July. Is not that a creditable fact! I said of William H. Seward, that, while I had not a very high opinion of him, still there was a great deal of indefinite accusation against him, and very little that you could put your finger upon to condemn. Yet all the visis of denunciation have been poured out upon him, as though he were the vilest of condemn. I ct all the vials of denunciation have been poured out upon him, as though he were the vilest of tricksters, and an enemy of the cause of freedom. But has there been a particle of evidence adduced to show that he is thus guilty † Mr. Seward, however culpable he may be, has a right (a right which the veriest criminal culoys) to say.—" Produce the evi-

anti-slavery position and character of the Administra-tion is all correct, there need be no hesitation about passing the resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury, for they exactly endorse such an Administration as itself one true to the cause of freedom, and that can be relied upon in the warfare against slavery. Hence, then, I hope that every one who is willing to acknowlthen, I hope that every one who is willing to acknow edge by his acts, that the arguments of our friends in favor of the Administration is conclusive, will show his consistency by voting, not to substitute the second resolution for the first, without they shall both be

I have said what I wished to say in regard to the resolutions. I wanted it to be understood that this Convention meets here to defeud the rights of man; and one of those rights I am here asserting in my own person; and when the audience acknowledge it, then I retire, and not until then. (Applause.)

The President called upor ain silence, that Mr. Burleigh might see that his right was acknowledged; and almost perfect quiet having been restored, Mr. B. took his seat.

The question on the motion to substitute Mr. Garriken, and it was declared lost. The resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury were ther

Mr. Burleigh moved that the series offered by Mr

Garrison be adopted.

Mr. Phillirs moved to amend the first resolution so that it should read—" Resolved, That the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the rebellion broke out wonderful." The amendment has been truly

Mr. FOSTER moved to amend by striking out the as sertion that the Government had recognized the righ of citizenship of the negro.

Mr. GARRISON accepted the amendment, and th

Mr. Powert then introduced his resolutions, pub lished last week, in reference to the amendment the Constitution, which were adopted, and the Co the Constitution on, at 11.15 adjourned—most of the large audience, absorbed by the interest and power of the dis-cussion, having remained until the close.

# The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1864.

THE NATION'S NEED.

It is plain enough that President Lincoln is not dis posed to do justice to the colored people, either in the civil or the military department. Many of those who dislike his present policy, and deprecate his reclection on this ground, are accustomed to contrast him uffa-vorably with the people at large, and to say that they desire a policy more liberal towards the blacks, and more radical in regard to the extirpation of slavery; that the people are right upon the negro question, and

that the President only is wrong.

Not only is there no sufficient evidence of this proj sition, but facts in abundance disprove it. The disease of this people is yet unhealed; their sin is neither for saken, nor repented of, nor acknowledged, nor eyer understood by themselves. Having ever in their mouths the phrases of the Declaration of Indepen-dence, they remain utterly ignorant that the distin-tions of caste which they maintain are in flagrant antagonism, alike to the letter and spirit of that instru ment. Having eyes, they do not see that liberty, civil equality, and the pursuit of happiness, are unalienable rights, as well for the negro as the white man. Having ears, they do not hear the indignant scoff which civilization all over the world raises against their at-tempt to combine casts and democracy in one system. Having intelligence keen enough for all the exigencies and all the interests of Number One, they do no see that their boasted self-evident truth, that all juspowers in government flow from the consent of the governed, applies as forcibly to the colored as to the

white element in our community.

The President himself—not his language only, (which is worth as much or as little as that of other diplomatists) but his life—is a sufficient witness upon this point. He says, as an excuse for not doing to the negro the justice which he does not wish to do, that the people are not ready for it. The truth of this statement by no means suffices for his excuse, for his function requires him to see and execute, the things needful for the nation's welfare, even when the nation itself does not see them, as in the surrender of Mason and Slidelt. But the allegation is manifestly true. For, if the nation were determined that the col people throughout the country should have their right as men, soldiers, and citizens, a President who is ac tively intriguing for reëlection would be swift to gratify their wishes in that particular. Nothing is me could accomplish the wishes and secure the support of twenty millions at the North, by giving citizenship to four and a half millions of colored people at the South and just military consideration to their soldiers and the ballot (of course to be used in his favor) to adult males, would be not long since have do with alacrity "! If this policy had really been fa wored by the great mass of the people, would be have interfered as he did with Fremont, with Hunter, with Phelps, with Butler? Would be have changed that policy, established by the last named officer in Louisi-ana, by which the rebels there were effectually held in check, and an enthusiastic and effective support of the Union cause was obtained from the numerous colored population? Would he have allowed General Banks to reverse that policy, to alienate the feelings of that to reverse that poucy, to attend the feelings of that colored population, to establish serfdom over them in place of slavery, to bribe the pro-slavery secessionists to lip-loyalty by restoring a portion of the mestership which they had lost, and to set up (for political purposes) the painted semblance of a civil Governor, whose function has to be executed by a Military Governor, bearing rule at the same time, over the same State ?

Legislators are ready enough to accomplish a decided wish of the population that can redicet them. If the people are thoroughly opposed even to slavery, (to say nothing of the establishment of full and equal liberty for colored people in its stead.) how is it that so erty for colored people in its stead,) how is it that so many as fifty-fire members of the House of Represensatives voted against the bill proposing the abolition of slavery by a Constitutional amendment? Voted against even the second reading of that bill!

Take one more bit of evidence. The Missouri Sanitary Fair had a Freedmen's Department among its extensive arrangements. Here is an account of an incident that took place there, clipped from the Missouri Partition of Mary

souri Republican of May 26:

show that he is thus guilty t Mr. Seward, however culpable he may be, has a right (a right which the veriest criminal euloys) to say,—"Produce the evidence; convict me before you proceed to punish me." But this stabbing in the dark, without any tangible evidence presented to support the charges—I say it is to first out that the bearer had been active in Kew evidence presented that the bearer had been active in Kew evidence presented that the bearer had been active in Kew is a couring contributions to the Freedmen's Denoting the support is the support that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciate that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciate that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciate that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciate that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciate that the bearer had been active in Kew Fax. The letter appreciated that the letter appr

Another negro minister, either from New York or rooklyn, accompanied him, and was recommended, erhaps, in the same letter. They first saw James E. in the same letter. They first saw James E., President of the Sanitary Commission, who them to Mr. Fox. By Mr. F. they were re-some one else, who procured season tickets referred them to Mr. Fox. By Mr. z. they ferred to some one else, who procured acason tickets for their nac. This third party did not like the responsibility and embarrassment of dealing with the visitors, and ril himself of them by turning them over to the Rev. Dr. Nelson, nastor of the First Presbyterian Church of this city, who is in official position at the Fair, as Chairman of the Freedman and Refugee Department. Here their wanderings ended.

The reversed gentleman had no desire to pass them to other hands, and gave them a cortial and hospitable reception—so hospitable, indeed, that he walked them straight way, into the large refreshment saloon, known as the Cafe Luciede, seated himself with them at one of the tables, and proceeded to order a dinner for their mutual comfort.

of the tables, and proceeded to order a unner to unemutate confect.

The Caté Laclede, we may state, is a leading feature of the Fair, in which thirty or forty of our most treepectable unatrons and young isdice lend their services to wait upon all who enter and order refreshments. Many of them manifested their indignant and outraged sense by tears, and others by taking their departure on the instain from the place. Mr. Fogg. Mr. Blackman, and other Fair Committeemen, remonstrated with Dr. Nelson, and the lady in charge of the refreshment department for the day sent him a note requesting him to at once remove himself and commanions. Dr. Nelson at last yielded, and went away.

If this direct result of slavery, a conceit of the nec benevolent action from treating each other with decen-cy, and meeting in public places as men and brethren how can it be said that the nation is right upon the negro question! Alas, so far are we from being right, that it remains yet to be decided whether the nation is worth saving.

But this very delinquency of the people is a reason why we should have a better President than the ex

isting one. We need a man who, seeing that the nation's health and life need a great work of reform will use vigorously the power which the war places in his hands to effect it, "taking the responsibility," as one of old did, and not protracting the war by the de-liberate choice of half-measures instead of whole ones, until the slow process of education shall have brough the people right upon that subject.

Is Fremont that man? His letter accepting the nomination of the Cleveland Convention (which may be seen in another column,) contains no strong indica-tion to that effect. It has neither the vigor, the directness, the soundness nor the thoroughness should characterize the candidate of

The assumption that slavery is practically destroy ed (instead of being on the sure road to destruction) might pass as merely an overstatement, an anticipa-tion of a fact presumably near at hand, although we have serious need to guard against undue confidence in that direction. But the further statment that-With this extinction of slavery the party divisions reated by it have disappeared "—is a ludicrous and created by it have disappeared "-is a ludicrous and complete misrepresentation. It is precisely the strength of the party influences created by slavery that has kept General Fremont so long out of active military service—that has kept the Democrats from becoming Republicans-that has kept the Republi cans from becoming Abolitionists-and that now ren robable the election of Lincoln, reluctantly of senting to assail slavery at the dictate of "military necessity," in place of some better man who would rejoice to use the power which war gives a President to crush that wickedness, and to establish liberty in its place. It is precisely the remaining strength of these party divisions which have allowed Abraham Lincoln to follow his own inclination to treat slavery with tol-erant tenderness, instead of crushing it and the rebellion together a year ago.

Complaining of the present administration, Gen. Fremont tells us—"The ordinary rights secured under the Constitution and the laws of the country have been violated, and extraordinary powers have been usurped by the Executive." These are remarkable naurped by the Executive. These are remarkable complaints from one who is at once a military man and an opposer of slavery. Are not ordinary civil affairs accustomed to give place when war is in progress, and to yield to the necessity it imposes, as a matter of course? In our case there was special need that the routine of civil administration should e interfered with, because that routine protected and perpetuated slavery. The true charge against Mr. Lincoln is, that he has never used half enough the plenary power which the war has put into his hands. His arrests of manifest allies of the enemy, his suppression of treasonable newspapers, and his interference with the numerous movements by which sid and comfort have been given to rebels in arms, have never been half so frequent or half so effective as the exigencies of the country demand. It is absurd to ex-pect war to be carried on otherwise than by violent and arbitrary rule. What we have a right to demand is that this arbitrary rule shall accomplish the thing needful for the party or the cause that uses it. The war has given Abraham Lincoln the opportuning to assail slavery with numerous weapons not admissible before. Slavery being the mother of the rebellion, and having always been our worst danger and disease, should have received a fatal blow from the first moment that the powers of war could be legitionately used against her. The President has chosen to main meroagainst her. r, instead of killing, to stun merely, instead of crush-ng, this monster. This is his fault, and it is a great ing, this monster. This is his fault, and it is a great one. But, in the name of common sense, let us not hear the complaint that the Commander-in-Chief of the American army and mavy, in the midst of a war of assounding magnitude, uses "extraordinary powers." We consent to take the risk of over-action against slavery. If you will extirpate the cancer, we will stand

be peril of the knife. Gen. Fremont, referring to one of the resolutions of the Cleveland Convention, namely, that which recom-mends "the confiscation of the lands of rebels, and their distribution among soldiers and settlers," makes rotest. He thinks confiscation of the property of all ls not practicable nor desirable, and proceeds to object to confiscation altogether except "in the be

and officers, civil and military, of the rebellion, is not only perfectly in accordance with the custom of na-tions and the laws of war, but it is specially and doub-ly needful in our case; first, that the traitors in ques-tion, after the war, may no longer hold the attain and influence which gave them the means of doing so much harm; and next, that those lands may be given and sold to loyal people, to form the nucleus of a loy-al population in the Southern States; given to the freedmen (the true owners of those lands in equity) and to the white and black soldiers who have helped to regain them; and sold, at moderate prices, to white and black emigrants from Northern States. Without this measure of safeguard, the question of the recon-struction of States will be fearfully complicated and

and black emigrants from Northern States. Without this measure of safeguard, the question of the reconstruction of States will be fearfully complicated and hazardous.

There is space to notice but one more of Gen. Fremont's sentences, namely, this:

"In the adjustments which are to follow peace, no consideration of vengeance can consistently be admitted."

This is a very extraordinary statement. Nobody has proposed vengeance, nobody wishes for vengeance, no administration that we are likely to have would think of exercising vengeance of even the worst of the rebels. The danger is all the other way. It is much to be feared that, when the war shall close, no due precaution will be taken against a continuance of machinations dangerous to the liberty and prosperity of the country, by the very men now carrying on the war. It is much to be feared that measures of annesty as ill-judged and dangerous as those already offered to the rebels may be extended to them when the war shall end, giving new opportunities for mischief to the most ambitious and supprincipled of men. This is a real danger which we have yet to meet. But nobody contemplates any further action against these men than

effectually to deprive them of the means of doing fur ther harm. Our nation needs no admonition agains vengeance, as far as the Southern people are concern-ed. It is but foo ready to warm again the benumbed viper in its bosom. What we need is stimulus, not

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. No. IX.

We hear much in these days, of extravagan

New York June 2, 1864.

almost as little release us from our prodigal habits as they could prevent us from embracing them. It is hard to believe that the moral universe is bound by like conditions, and that the most disastrous experi ence is insufficient to turn men from a c shouls are free!-strown with the wrecks of conscience and honor. Cur civil war is without a lesson, except it be the wasteful and criminal folly of consenting with sin; the false economy of postponing obedience to the plainest Divine requirements; the chespness of imme-diate, unhesitating justice—the awful penalty of delay, Rich in material resources, in land, house, machinery, industrial enterprise, fertility of invention, the nation industrial enterprises, lertility of invention, the nation perhaps may laugh at poverty and her gaunt sister famine, and spend two dollars where she late spent one. But what people ever so abounded in virtue as that they could afford to repeat their moral expenditures, be guilty of identical transgressions, twice reap a harvest of tares from the self-same field, and yet hope to thrive in the favor of God, as secure from his pertibution, as they are destitute of remoras 2. Such retribution, as they are destitute of remorse? Such are the thoughts with which I am filled, as I watch the progress of our legislation, from week to week. The votes of the Senate on the Montana bill and suffrage in the District, and of the House on the amendment to the Constitution; coupled with the action of the Constitutional Convention of Louisiana, prohibiting egislation at any time by which the cold admitted to the polls-are instances of subserviency to slavery perfectly astounding in a nation not ye a mortal encounter with its idol. Does any one of the so-called Republican Senators who voted in effect to exclude colored citizens from every new State hereafter to arise in the Union, pretend that he followed his conviction of gight; or does he expect that the ques-tion he has settled for the moment will not one day be opened up and agitated, until his vote is reversed? Recreant New Englanders, Collamer and Foote of Vermont Morrill of Maine, Foster of Connecticut, do you, too partake of the cowardice of '87, which left us rebellion as a heritage, and have you nothing better to bequeath your children than an evil memory and the task of un-doing your base contrivances? Why could you not have stood shoulder to shoulder, with New Hampdoing your base contrivances? Why could you not have stood shoulder to shoulder, with New Hamp-shire, and Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and Iowa, and Kansas—with Chandler of Michigan, Dixon of Qinnecticut, Morgan of New York! Even Senator Wilkinson, who first made stand against caste in the territories, is found voting at last to establish it; a fact difficult of explanation, unless we connect it with a desire to head off the dangerous invasion of Congress, in the re-constructed Union, by the embittered repre-sentatives of a crusiled rebellion, by creeting as many (nominally) free States as possible, with their Senatorial quotas. But this is a politician's shuffle, not

vention will have met, acted, and perhaps adjourned. What I could wish it to do is of no consequence to re cord in suite of its determination. How be affected by the recent Convention at Cleveland cannot be guessed at this hour; nor can any one de-fine the strength of the constituency which this latter body represented or claimed to represent. The plat-form which it adopted is in many respects progressive, in others not different from the sentiments of all loyal men; in others still, accusatory by implication of the present Administration, either without just gro or where praise rather than censure was to be looked for from Radicals. In illustration of this last point, let me quote the following resolutions :-

let me quote the following resolutions:—
"Sixth: That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal. Sceemh: That the right of asylum, except for crime and stdyiect to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; that any violation of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked.

Fourth: That the rights of free speech, free press, and the habeas corpus be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed."

Now it is one thing to subit the texth of Resolution.

Now it is one thing to admit the truth of Resolution Sixth, and another to make out a case against Mr. Lincoln's administration as defective, either in integ-Lincoin a administration as derective, etiaer in integrity or economy—using the latter term in its common acceptation; and again another to prove that Generals Fremont and Coerrane would exhibit more of these qualities in a distribution of the spails of office and their conduct of the affairs of State. If the change of rulers proposed were to be based on this consideration alone, I think the people would do well, and would resolve to prefer the known to the unknown; and I have yet to learn that the President has forfeited hi claim to the appellation of "honest," by corrupt and venal practices emanating from himself, or permitted in his subordinates. The insinuation, being accompanied by no evidence, is reduced to a baseless fling, i the hope to blacken. Resolution Seconth is superflu-ous and meaningless, unless it be intended as a rebuke of the extradition of the pirate Arguelles-a proceed ing which may or may not have been irregular in point of law, but which was so clearly in the interest of liberty, and a recognition of the rights of man as against perfidious oppression and enslavement, that one may well be amazed at its condemnation by radicals, in unison with the whole Copperhead press and party. Liberty offers no complaint of this "violation of the right of asylum." She cries—"If there is no law for this process, then make one; meanwhile, serve object to confiscation altogether except "in the beginning of a revolt."

Now, neither the Cleveland Convention nor any
body else has proposed to seize the property of all
rebels. But a forfeiture of the lands of the leaders

Now ell and the service of the property of all
rebels. But a forfeiture of the lands of the leaders

Administration for measures which have been faulty nly in being infree uent. Had there been less of u only in being infrequent. Had there been less of un-restricted treasonable speaking and printing, victory had been further advanced to-day, and the end of the rebellion nearer. As for the hadeas corpus, it may be well to wish its suspension applicable only to territory under martial law; but wishing the Constitution dif-ferent from what it is now will not make the Presi-dent unlawlibe for acting strictly within the nearest dent culpable for acting strictly within the power con-ferred by that instrument—if faultily, only as before, because too seldom. Exact construction might even go further, and challenge demonstration that the power to suspend the writ is confined to the Exec utive, and does not pertain to every officer in the country, in times when the public safety requires its. country, in times when

Cleveland Convention, which espouse against the righteous and of the Govern inference will be drawn, and if mistakes vention has to thank its resolutions and ses its car The peakers, that the movement inaugurated is an a empt to win s tempt to win success for a factious nomination by sweeping under the banner of Fremont all the hostile elements which are arrayed against the Administra-tion, without regard to principle. Many will join that standard from pure motives, but more from infamous, and it is to be regretted that the Path-finder consents to head an effort which must result either in his own, mortification and miserable defeat at the polls, the fatal division of the Union party and consequent triumph of the absolute or the descriptor. f the rebellion, or his elevation to the office to which ne aspires by men to whom it will neither be safe no omfortable to recall. Of a loyalty by no meaus above suspicion for sometime after the outbreak of the was there is no proof that his devotion to liberty is deeper than that of a shrewd politician and accomplished wireuller. His remarks in the Convention wholly directed to the points embodied in the retions I have quoted—proof to me at least that on tions I have quoted—proof to me at least that one who could reprehend the Administration for some of its most meritorious performances, (without which it most meritorious performance, must have succumbed, as any other Administratio would,) was hollow-hearted and untrustworthy. M. DU PAYS.

GEN. FREMONT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

GENTLEMEN: In answer to the letter which I have had the honor to receive from you on the part of the representatives of the people assembled at Cleveland, on the 31st of May, I deaire to express my thanks for the confidence which led them to offer me the honorable and difficult position of their candidate, in the approaching Presidential contest.

Very honorable, because in offering it to me, you act in the name of a great number of citizens, who seek above all things the good of their country, and who have no sort of selfash interest in view. Very difficult, because in accepting the candidacy you propose to me, I am exposed to the reproach of creating a schism in the party with which I have been identified.

Had Mr. Lincoln remained faithful to the principles he was elected to defend, no achism could have been created, and no contest could have been possible. This is not an ordinary election, it is a contest for the right even to have candidates, and not merely as usual for the choice among them. Now, for the first time since '76, the question of constitutional liberty has been brought directly before the people for their serious consideration and vote. The ordinary rights secured under the Constitution and the laws of the country have been violated, and extraordinary powers have been surped by the Executive. It is directly before the people now to say, whether or not the principles established by the Revolution are worth misintaining. If, as we have been taught to believe, those guarantees of liberty, which made the distinctive value and glory of our country, are in truth invibably sacred, then there must be a protest against the arbitrary violation, which had not even the excuse of necessity. The schism is made by those who force the choice between a shameful silence or a protest against wrong. In such considerations originated the Cleveland Convention. It was among its objects to arouse the attention of the people to such facts, and to bring them to realize that while we are saturating Southern soil with th

tion.

In the adjustments which are to follow peace, no considerations of vengeance can consistently be admitted.

The object of the war is to make permanently secure the peace and happiness of the whole country.

The object of the war is to make permanently secure the peace and happiness of the whole country, and there was but a single element in the way of its attainment. This element of slavery may be considered practically destroyed in the country, and it needs only your proposed amendment of the Constitution to make its extinction complete.

With this extinction of slavery, the party divisions created by it have also disappeared. And if in the country, there has ever been a time when the American people, without regard to one or another of the political divisions, were called upon to give sole-inly their voice in a matter which involved the anfety of the United States, it is assuredly the present time.

If the Convention at Baltimore will nominate any man whose past life justifies a well-grounded confidence in his fidelity to our cardinal principles, there is no glasson why there should be any division among the really patriotic men of the country. To any such I a shall be most happy to give a cordial and active support.

I shall be most happy to give a count and service port.

My own decided preference is to aid in this way, and not to be myself a candidate. But if Mr. Lincoln should be renominated, as I believe it would be fatal to the country to endorse a policy and renew a power which has cost us the lives of thousands of men, and needlessly put the country on the road to bankruptcy, these will remain no alternative but to organize against him every element of conscientious opposition with the view to prevent the misfortune of his reflection.

his reclection.

In this contingency, I accept the nomination at Cleveland, and as a preliminary step I have resigned my commission in the army. This was a sacrifice it gave me pain to make. But I had for a long time fruitlessly endeavored to obtain service. I make this sacrifice only to regain liberty of speech, and to leave nothing in the way of discharging to my utmost ability the task you have set for me.

With my earnest and sincere thanks for your expressions of condidence and regard, and for the many honorable terms in which you acquaint me with the actions of the Committee,

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully and truly yours,

J. C. FIREMONT.

To Messrs. Worthington G. Skethen of Mayland,

J. C. PREMONT.

To Messrs. Worthington G. Snethen of Maryland,
Edward Gilbert of New York, Caspar Butz of
Illinois, Charles E. Moss of Missouri, N. P. Sawter of Pennsylvania.
New York, June 4, 1864.

Telegraphic reports from the Baltimore Con-vention say that Abraham Lincoln has been nomina-ted, by acclamation, for the next Presidency.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will attend a Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Progress in Middle Granville, N. Y. on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of June; and lecture in Wash-ington and Saratoga counties, N. Y., till July 1st.

EF A. T. FOSS will speak in Hyannis, Sunday, the 12th, and in the vicinity during the week. In Harwich, on Sunday, 19th, and in the vicinity during

he week. In North Dennis, on Sunday, 26th.

DIED—In this city, April 29, Mrs. Eliza Jackson Standis, aged 63; for many years a member of the First Independent Baptist Church in Joy Street, and justly regarded by all her acquaintances as a devoted Christian. At Cambridgeport, May 18, Estrata Louras, only daugheter of William T. and Louiss Hilton Raymond, aged 1 year, 8 mes. 16 days.

6 mos., 16 days.

[The above were incorrectly inserted last week.]

THE NEW YORK HERALD.

## Poetry.

OUR WAY.

"We wait beneath the furnace-b The pangs of transformation; Not painlessly God doth recast And mould snew the nation."

e know not in what lone dark paths Our weary aching feet may tread, Ere we ascend the tranquil heights, By Penco's fair white-winged angel led.

We know not yet what priceless gifts On Freedom's siter we must lay, Ere through the lurid clouds of war We see the light of coming day.

We must not shrink nor falter now,
Or think of case, or dream of rest;
We would not stay the battle-tide,
Till Freedom ell our land hath blessed.

This is no selfish party feud, Nor stand we in the van of war To prop a despot's tottering throne

The battle-flag of Liberty
Aloft for all the world we bear,
And bright and free it floateth still,
Never before so pure and fair.

The oppressor's hand shall never fur! Our dear old flag, the "Stars and stripes," And Northern hearts shall never bow Hato the traitor's crimson bars.

Our tears may fall like Summer rain Still for the Right our lives we pledge,
And braver grow for their dear sake.

Above our martyred heroes' names size.
Slavery shall never reach her shrine;
Nor shall her gory fingers stain
The garlands we for them entwine. From out each lonely grass-grown mound,

A solemn voice we seem to hear;
"Oh, brothers! guard this sacred turf,
And Freedom's holy altar rear!

Let not our lives be given in vain ! Brothers, unto the Right be true; Guard well the precious heritage
Which we have sought to win for you." We'll listen to that earnest voice,— Press onward still at Duty's call;

And calmly, bravely, fill our place, Whatever change may us befall! We know that Truth must win at last;

"Though crushed to earth shy'll rise again"
Her grasp shall conquer giant Wrong,
And every fetter rend in twain.

Then let us ne'er despair or doubt, Though clouds shall lower along our way Through them at last the light shall break, The herald of a glorious day!

For the Liberator. VIOLETS.

BY ALMIRA SEYNOUR. Sweet thoughts of blest spirits! How purely they lie

On the forehead of each spring-lit vale ; On the forehead of each springs was,
Glanding grabfully up, like a gentle blue eye,
To seest the warm smile of the dear, distant sky—
Distant measured by space, but in influence nigh;
Levo's life-giving presence, that answers no why,
Yet knows every language but fail.

choughts of the angels! Down deep in that blu Dream-thoughts of the angles: Down down whose graceful suggestions I find!

A brooding affection actender as true;

A memory that keeps all the dear past in view,
And mantles it ever with heaven's cloudless hue,
Till all life stands transfigured, sternally new,
In the holiest halls of the mind.

Life-drops from the breast of our dear mother For the lips of each hungering child Whose soul craves the food of the tender new-birth Heart-weary and faint with the world's want of worth; Or, wounded and left in the Wilderness dearth,
Where he fell bravely fighting for Right, Home and Hearth
And through Violets on death's visage smiled.

O, Father, I thank thee for all thou hast given O, Father, I thank thee for all those has given
To enrich this, our spirits first home;—
For all grandeur and gibry that sunward have striven;
For the gorgoois displays of the morning and even;
For the thunder that rives and the monarch force-riven;
But most for each sweet, loving witness, that Heaven,
As the Kingdom of Earth, shall yet come.

10, Temple Place, May, 1884.

\*An incident of a recent descried battle-field in Virginia.

### JENNIE AND JAMIE.

A POEM FOR THE LOYAL WOMEN.

Jenny in fine array, Jamie so far away Jenny in silken attire, Jamie in muck and mire ? Jenny with full and plenty to eat, Jamie without a morsel of meat.

Jenny must needs have diamonds to wear, Laces and feathers and gems for her hair; Jamie's clothes are tattered and torn, His luckless boots so cut up and worn, That he thinks with dismay

On the fast coming day, "upper" and "sole" will both give way Oh, Jenny! just think
That we're on the brink
Of a struggle most mighty and fearful;
And fhat soon Jamie's head May lie midst the dead,

field so pitifully dreadful. Then gire up your diamonds, your silks and your laces,
Throw by all your follies, and cease all your races
After fashion and dress;
And strive to think less
Of what you will buy;
And more, how you'll try
To bear your own share
In sorrow and care. In sorrow and care, That darkens our nation, once blest

That bright peace soon may Shine on Jamie and all the rest.

ORA ET LABORA. BY MRS. PHEBE ANN BANAPORD.

The cross is heavy which on thee is laid, The path is thorny which thy feet must tr The way is narrow, far off seems its end, And Death oft robs thee of a cherished friend; Yet God the Giver is the Great Restorer ; this thy motto-" Ora et Labora !"

"Ora"—for prayer thy cross may yet remove, Or bring thee strength to bear it from above; Through work, prayer-hallowed, seeds of bliss may Whose fruit shall ripen where the angels sing;— By Faith encouraged to hope for joys before her, Let thy soul answe r-"Ora et Lab

"Labora"—though the clouds above thee lower, "Labora"—though the clouds above thee lower, God will give sunships in the summer hour; Work! and sweet flowers will by the wayside bloom. To cheer thee as thou journeyest to thy home; With God's bright bow of promise bending o'er her, Let the soul shout it—"O'ra et Labora!"

Aye ! " Pray and Labor !" he that goeth forth, Praying, to scatter seed upon the earth, Shall labor not in valu, while angels wait To answer knocks at the Celestial Gate: Thorns shall give place at last to fadeless flow rowns be for crosses given, in Heaven's sweet Reading, Mass., April 27, 1864.

### The Tiberator.

A GENEROUS TESTIMONY.

FRIEND GARRISON :- I desire, with yo ee the article enclos from the Christian Ambassador, published as New York and doubtless from the pen of its editor, Rev. Dr. Sawyer. How Smoble—yea, utterly contemptible, do the New York Observer and Times appear in the light of a candid, discerning and truthful criticism like this. Let it adom the columns of the Laberator at this. Let it adorn the columns of the Liberotor at full length, however complimentary or generous it may be to yourself. As an honest man, disdaining all flattery—of yourself or of anybody else—I affirm it to be only even and exact justice both to you and Mr. Thompson and the Abolitionists on messe. The spirit betrayed by the Times and Observer is ineffably an and mendacious—an insult to true Christian ity and Republicanism. A PRINTER.

EARLY ANTI-SLAVERY.

EARLY ANTI-SLAVERY.

It is a very curious fact in the history of public opinion, that the mass of people who never think or act with early reformers gradually come to persuade themselves, as the reformation goes on and grows popular, that they were always of that party, or at least always sympathized with its spirit. We have no descendants to-day of the Tories of the Revolution. Twenty years hence there will not be a main all the North who flavored secession, or cherished any sympathy with rebels! Even now it is rare to meet one who has ever wished well to slavery, or desired anything but its final abolition! The present aiders and abettors of rebellion in Congress, or out of it, will twenty, aye, ten years hence, prove to you that it was not the rebellion they wished to promote, but they were anxious to prevent the overthrow of the Constitution and the establishment of a milltary despotism!!

While men are thus very lenient towards themselves, they are apt to be quite as unjust towards their neighbors. Our self-concett sometimes makes us a little envisors of those who have done a work which, probably, is likely to honor them, and which we, in our indolence or opposition altogether failed to perform, or even assist in performing.

We have what seems to us a striking illustration of this phase of human weakness in an article which appeared some time ago in the New York Observer. The aim of the article, which is too long to be copied in these columns, was to show, as the Observer expresses it, "that the English abolitionist, George Thompson, and the Garrisoniah school, are not entitled to an abolition." The thought is very neatly turned and is worthly of well trained prolitician.

"that the English abolitionist, George Thompson, and the Garrisonian school, are not entitled to any gratitude for their efforts to promote disunion and abolition." The thought is very neatly turned and is worthy of a well trained politician. "Disunion and abolition!" as if the first object—the great purpose of these men was to effect disunion; and abolition was only a secondary and insignificant matter!

was only a secondary and insignificant matter!

"These men," says the Times," labored exactly for
the same end for which John C. Calhoun labored—the
dissolution of the Union between the non-slaveholding
and the slaveholding States. Their moral purpose differed from his, but their political purpose was exactly
the same. In idea opposed as widely as the poles, in
action they worked shoulder to shoulder. Calboun endeavored to break up the Union to get loose from slavery. Slavery made one a disunion man; anti-slavery the other. Yet they both worked, each in his own
way, with entire devotion to the common object."

The conclusion to which this zealous partizan

way, with entire devotion to which this zealous partizan comes, and which its religious coadjutor warmly ap-proves, is, that Garrison and his school, as it is call-ed, not only did nothing to promote emancipation, but their whole influence tended only to retard it.

We have not a particle of doubt," continues the Times, "that there was not a year in the twenty-five years preceding the rebellion, when the anti-slavery ceuse in this country would not have further advanced, and been in every respect better off, had William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and George Thompson, or disunion abolition speakers and writers like them, never existed."

To all this the Observer adds a hearty Amen, and proceeds to exhibit the imposing fact in another

process of the wave, may task to go back to the early history of the country, and show, as the Observer has again and again, done in times past, that the strong, steady and prevailing current of sentiment among good men in the North and South has been anti-slavery from the beginning. We are well aware that it has been, and will yet be assumed by the ignorant and prejudiced that hearty opposition to the system was confined almost entirely to those who were loud est in invective. We venture to say that their opposition was least of all to be accounted of as contributing to any solid result. They were but the foam on the crest of the wave, more demonstrative, but least weighty. The strong under-current of American sentiment and feeling has, from the first, been one of opposition to durry. The testimony to this is abundantly furnished by historical facts."

ment and feeling has, from the first, been one of opposition to durcy. The testimony to this is abundantly furnished by historical facts."

We fear that we belong to the pretty large party of "ignorant and prejudiced" persons here referred to; and to prove it, we will state what we suppose to be quite incontestible facts, as follows:

1. That "Garrison and his school" stand, among living anti-slavery men, not only foremost in point of time, but also as regards their profound hatred of the accursed institution; their tirelees denunciation of it and its abettors, and their bitter relentless war upon it, regardless of private interests, public reputation, or life itself. Never, since the age of the apostles, have men arrayed themselves—from mere love of principle and their fellow men—from hatred of injustice and oppression—against a giant wrong, hedged round with power, rendered popular by interests, and sanctified by a thousand pious lies, with a more self-sacrificing spirit or with a more carnest devotion than these men have, through the third part of a century, exhibited. We have no words to express our admiration of that moral heroism, which through so many years of conflict and obloquy, has unfalteringly pushed its way.

2. That "Garrison and his school" never for a moment desired disunion for itself, and regarded it only as the lesser evil of two, that seemed to them, at times, presented to their choice. They saw slavery gradually but surely working its way into power; they saw political parties formed and bending about it; they saw the Government preverted to advance the interests of slavery, and the Constitution itself, which was formed to promote liberty and secure justice, made the instrument of bondage and oppression. Under the all-pervading influence of this Upsa they saw the pulpit become the apologist of this hoary wrong, and even the Bible made to utter its sanction to til. Is it wonderful that men, touched and ponertated as they were with a sense of this great villany, should have wished for the di of this great villany, should have wished for the dis-solution of the Union, for anything indeed that solution of the Union, for anything indeed that might restore the people to moral sanity, and lead them back to reverence for Right and God. Garrison and his school were called fanatics; they were thought to be wild, heady men, carried away by extravagance, and more the subjects of a lunatic asytum than objects of respect. But who, think you, now, were the madmen, those who were quietly warming the vipersin their bosom, or they who saw the folly, and cried out against it? We are to day paying the terrible penalty of our national madness and sin.

and sin.

3. Had it not been for Garrison and his school, had the interests and the salvation of the country been confided to the counsels and keeping of the Times and the Observer, and those who sympathized with them, God only knows what our condition would now have been. Say what you will of their extravagance, of their severity, of their irreligion, of their want of patriotism, and hatred of a union of right and wrong, of liberty and slavery, it cannot in justice be denied that they have been, under God, our pioneers out of the slough into which we were sinking. They kent alive a strong anti-slavery sentiment, neers out of the slough into which we were subung. They kept alive a strong anti-slavery sentiment, which elsewhere was dying out, and roused, as with the voice of a trumpet, the sleeping souls of millions to a conflict which is now coming to an end; which, beginning in the thoughts of a single heart, it may be, is now being settled on the great battle-

it may be, is now being settled on the great field of a mighty nation.

God be thanked for Garrison and his school. We tool be tnanked for Garrison and his school. We would gladly share the honor that history will yet award them. We do not assume that they were perfect. They had the passions of other men, but if they possess great faults, they also share great virtues, which posterity will acknowledge, and the spirit of justice and liberty will consecrate.

gg- Most lives, though their strength is loaded with sand and turbid with alluvial waste, drop a few golden grains as they flow along.

THE CASE OF MARGARET GARNER.

A VINDICATION OF GOV. CHASE. of the National Anti

To the Editor of the National Anti-Stonery Standard:
There is a piece of history, which, being lately misreported, it is well to bring again to the public attention. The present seems peculiarly the fitting time to do so, as there is no pending candidacy of the gentleman whose reputation is concerned, to suggest a partisan object in the review.

Wendell Philips, in a speech delivered a few months since, pronounced a severe criticism upon Gov. Chase for the course pursued by him in the case of Margaret Garner. He did not enter upon any complete statement of the case, either of its facts or the law and judicial proceedings relative thereto; something which would seem, essential where one seeks to reverse the general judgment upon the life and character of a man who, for nearly thirty years, had been beloved by friends and assailed by enemies for faithful devotion to the slave. But, in some sharp-pointed periods, which assume facts not existing, Mr. Phillips makes a charge which, if substantiated, ought to deprive that magistrate of the good opinion of every humane man.

The general charge is, that Gov. Chase sacrificed Margaret Garner. One specification of fact only is given, and that is, that after assuring the Sheriff of official support, "he travelled one hundred and twenty miles, and left the Sheriff to take the responsibility—a responsibility the Chevernor dared not take, and she went back to bondage. No South Carollina Governor, with an Abolitionist in prison at Charleston, would have ever gone up to Colombia."

official support, "as trace the content of the content wenty mise, and left the Sheriff to take the responsibility—a responsibility the Obvernor dared not take, and she went back to bondage. No South Carolina Governor, with an Abolitionist in prison at Charleston, would have ever gone up to Colombia." This is untrue. Mr. Chase left Circinnati during the list days of December, 1855, or the first week in January, nearly a month before Margaret escaped, to attend his inauguration, and pressed with the more than usual cares of a new administration, did not visit Cincinnati for a long time. The only specification of fact failing, the charge itself is by that initure discredited, and a case of perfect defence might fairly be rested here. And there is reason to believe that Mr. Phillips has thought better since these hasty and rather intemperate words. In a later speech he is reported to have said, in substance, that with Chase for President, Butler Secretary of War, and Fremont at the head of the Army, the country would be safe. But surely he could not be the man to save the Republic who find sacrificed a heroine and left a city to shirk his duty.

This accuration is made against one whose name.

But surely he could not be the man to save the Republic who had sacrificed a heroine and left a city to shirk his duty.

This accusation is made against one whose name is identified with the anti-slavery movement from its earliest days. In 1837, he made his great plea for the slave Matilda, in the city of Cincinnati, and from that time forward he was known as the "Attorney-General of the Blacks" in a community where such a reputation involved loss of political position, of social caste and professional income. He aided to do organize the Liberty party, and threw himself, in 1811, into its forlorn minority. By newspaper artical cles, by the drafting of resolutions and addresses, by public speeches, by private conversation, by forensic arguments for fugitive slaves, in season, and out of season, without cessation or compromise, he helped to lay the corner-stone of the cause now triumphant. He stood with Gamaliel Bailey, his advocate in the courts and his household friend, when his presses were destroyed by the mob, and they were like David and Jonathan until that good man was translated to his reward. Alone in the Cabinet, he has always been for the boldest and most agreesive measures on slavery. Nor would Mr. Phillips be unwilling to confess that he has not discriminated against anti-slavery men, but has alone in the Cabinet, descriminated in their favor. All things considered, what statesman of this or any age can point to services for freedom so of this or any age can point to services for freedom so

that he has not discriminated against anti-slavery men, but has alone in the Cabinet discriminated in their favor. All things considered, what statesman of this or any age can point to services for freedom so long, so constant and so valuable? But let not these services be his defence. Let us forget them all, and try him by the case in hand.

It is to be borne in mind that Mr. Chase, while opposing slavery with a strong moral fervor, shaped his political action against it in obedience to the Constitution, always interpreting that instrument as intended to secure the rights of the people. In this he and the other leaders of the anti-slavery movement were agreed. They believed that the hour of Revolution had not come, and that the cause could only make its way to triumph by obedience to law, so as to secure the co-operation of all the friends of social order. Well-intentioned pen, in small numbers, may make its way to triumph by obedience to law, so as to secure the co-operation of all the friends of social order. Well-intentioned wen, in small numbers, may have had different views, and preferred a rebellion against the government when it was in proslavery hands. Mr. Phillips once said: "I claim the right to resist any law I choose." The policy of violence and revolution was, however, not that of the Liberty, the Free Soil or the Republican party, and their leaders are not to be judged by it.

Another prefatory caution may not be amiss. It may almost seem trivial to repeat the truism, that a Governor or any civil magistrate is not responsible, even prima facie, for what goes wrong within the territory over which his authority, more or less limited, prevails. Gov. Andrew is not responsible for the

covernor or any civil magistrate is not responsible, even prima fucie, for what goes wrong within the territory over which his authority, more or less limited, prevails. Gov. Andrew is not responsible for the murder of the Malden bank officer, or President Lincoln for the escape of John Morgan from the Ohio prison. Only when some, specific duty imposed by law, and the neglect thereof, can be fastened upon him, is be responsible. The legal duty, the power to perform, and the neglect, are points essential to an accusation. Beyond that, his duty does not exceed that of the private citizen, and often falls below it, as when pre-occupation with official cares of a general scope prevents a personal and persistent attention to individual grievances already in proper hands. All just men recognize these divisions and limitations of responsibility. Truth and justice forbid that they should be overlooked in dealing with so precious a thing as character. A popular orator of fervid nature, master also of the rhetoric of passion, may make an audience already in sympathy with him forget them when he pictures a tragedy, and then, by a transition not very distinct, denouncessomebody who was present, or who held some public position at the time, as responsible for it. He may even himself, in the ardor of his harangue, forget them; but reason and fairness with him, as with his hearers, will recover their sway. Nor do the tragic surroundings of a case generally make the duty of the magistrate different. It is the same in the case of all the nameless slaves who have been restored to bondage as in Marparet Garner's. The duty of protection to rights is the name to the obscure as to the illustrious—to one whose wrong, from its similarity to those of others, is common-place as to be forgotten, as to one whose fate, from a peculiar combination of circumstances appealing to the heart and imagination, is taken up by history.

It is proper here to recall the leading facts of the case. On the night of Sunday, Jan. 27th, 1856, Marriant Garne

It is proper here to recall the leading facts of the case. On the night of Sunday, Jan. 27th, 1856, Margaret Garner, and her husband and four children, with the father and mother of her husband, escaped from Boone County, Kentucky, and crossed the Ohio river, a short distance below Cincinnati. The master followed in quick pursuit, and on the next day procured a warrant for the arrest of the fugitives, under the Fentilies State Act from a United States. tree followed in quick pursuit, and on the next day procured a warrant for the arrest of the fugitives, under the Fugitive Slave Act, from a United States Commissioner by the name of John L. Pendery. The same day they were arrested, the husband of Margaret firing on the arresting parties, and she herself doing the deed which gave distinction to the case. They were thereupon lodged in a Police Station of Cincinnati. It was the custom then, and is probably so still, for United States officers arresting parties under process held by them to confine them in the jails and prisons of the State, with the consent of the sheriffs and jailors. The confined party, under this practice of comity, remains still in the custody of the United States Marshal, though in the corporal power of the Sheriff, who enforces or aids in enforcing the confinement as a sort of deputy of the Marshal. The confinement as a sort of deputy of the Marshal. The confinement as a sort of the writer remembers to have cases of restored fugitive slaves had been ve-quent in Cincinnati. The writer remembers t cases of restored fugitive slaves had been very frequent in Cincinnati. The writer remembers to have seen, in the Spring of 1854, a company of eight or nine who had-escaped together, ranging in age from seventy years to a child of a few months, brought before that same Commissioner. They were remanded to Kentucky after a hurried bearing, with no disturbance or excitement, and with but little interest on the part of the community. And Margaret would have passed away with the nameless train who had for more than fifty years met an equal fate, but for the sublime desperation with which she resisted a second bondage for her children.

socoad bondage for her children.

And here is the distinguishing feature of the case.
While the Marshal and posse were arresting her, she
seized a butcher-knife and killed one of her children
—a girl of three years—and attempted to kill the
most to prevent them from being restored to slavery.
The homicide won sympathy in her behalf, and gave
a possible opportunity of putting her into the custody
of the State, and of relieving her therefrom at some
fitting time, when she could succeed in an escape
from her pursuers. On the day of her arrest, Judge
Burgoyne of the Probate Court, at the instance of
the friends of the fugitives, issued a writ of habesi
secopus, returnable before him, under which the
Sheriff took the fugitives into custody and conveyed

corpus before Judge Leavitt for the body of Margaret, directed to the Sheriff, the latter officer, upon the advice of the counsel referred to, produced her in Court with a copy of the indictment and copias, and submitted to the jurisdiction, making his return that he held the four persons indicted under the process of the State, to await their trial on the charge of murder. The counsel and friends thus handed overthe case to the Federal Judge, misled by his intimation, as the event proved. This was on Feb. 26. The Judge listened to an argument, particularly on the point referred to, and took the case under advisement. As he left the court, the Commissioner took his vacated seat and decided the fugitives to be slaves of faliamats. Judge Burgoyne had had before himself a hearing that same day on another habeas corpus, which he had issued for the children, and had adjourned the hearing to the 30th. On the morning of the 28th, however, to the surprise of connecl and friends, Judge Leavitt gave a decision, declaring the castody of the Sheriff unlawful, and remanding the parties claimed to the possession of the Marshal. The Sheriff and the counsel of Margaret made no further resistance. The fugitives were at once placed in an omnibus and taken to the ferryboat, guarded by some five hundred special deputies. They were in Kentucky an hour after the decision, and while it was as yet unknown to the public and even to one of the counsel.

counsel.

Such are the facts. What now were the duty and responsibility of Gov. Chase upon them? It was not his duty, by force and violence and without rightful process, to rescue the unhappy fugitives. Had he attempted this, under the plea of official authority, he would have been simply a usurper. He would thereby have embarked in a revolutionary proceeding, which would not have saved them, and would have been prejudicial to the cause of constitutional resistance to the Act. Society now throws herself back, like the individual in cases of necessity, somewhat upon natural and revolutionary rights, but the time for that had not then arrived. Having no official power under the law to protect them, his duty became like that of any private citizen—no more, no less. The argumentum ad hominen may be good fencing in debate, but it rarely elucidates truth, and we will not resort to it. But to give point to the illustration, we submit that Gov. Chase, having no power under the law to save them, Mr. Phillips'aduty to rescue Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns, who went back to bondage under his own eye, was equally great. Had he led a charge on the Marshalls posso at some 'opportune moment, as he is brave enough to do, thousands, inspired by his example. Such are the facts. What now were the duty a ly great. Had he led a charge on the Marshal's posse at some opportune moment, as he is brave enough to do, thousands, inspired by his example, might have followed, and the dark deed of restoration would have been prevented. There is no rule of morals, no principle of law, which justifies him for not doing so, not equally available for the entire vindication of Gov. Chase.

vindication of Gov. Chase.

It seems to be implied in the accusation that Gov.

Chase is responsible for the action, or rather inaction, of the Sheriff. No assumption could be more unfair. He had no legal power over that officer, no more than he had over a Judge of a Court, or a me untar. He had over a Judge of a Court, or a member of the Legislature. The Sheriff was an officer elected by the people. The Governor could not remove him or dietate his action in any way—the Sheriff. The Sheriff could have laughed in his face, and would probably have done so, had he attempted to give him the slightest direction. That ministerial officer-held the process, and the Governor could not lay his hand upon him, either to take it away or to compel its execution; and only in aiding the Sheriff to execute the same, if he saw fit to execute it, had the Governor of a State—least of all, the Governor of Ohio, whose functions are fewer and more confined than clsewhere—has no imperial power to protect of Ohio, whose functions are fewer and more confined than clsewhere—has no imperial power to protect rights and redress grievances; and the mere fact of a wrong done in the State makes not even a prima fucic case of responsibility on his part. He certainly had no such war powers as upon military necessity are now accorded to the President of the United States. He had rarely any initial power to redress private wrongs, that function being appropriate to the judicial tribunals and the ministerial officers who go forth to execute their mandates. Whoever wolde a safe critic on the conduct of rulers, must not for a moment overlook such cardinal distinctions. What, then, could Gov. Chase rightfully do to save

for a moment overlook such cardinal distinctions.

What, then, could Gov. Chase rightfully do to save Margaret Garner? He could, though unprovided with a militia force, and compelled to rely on a posse drawn from a community favorable to the execution of the Fuglitive Slave Act, do what he could to enforce such process as the Sheriff was willing to execute, and protect him in the custody of Margaret, if he was willing to keep it; in other words, sustain the process of the State with the power of the State. He could do more than this. He could show a watchful sympathy in the fate of the fuglitive; give ready access for consultation to her legal advisers and friends, and aid, with the moral power of his name and influence, all legithmate measures for her protection. He did all this, and more. He pledged to the counsel his best ability to sustain the Sheriff in exe-

them to the County jail. The Judge at once proceeded to Columbus, to confer with Gov. Chase. The Governor assured him that the process of the State Courts would be enforced in Hamilton County as well as in other parts of the State, and that the process of the State, and that the process of the State, and that the state of the State, and that the state of the State, and that the saked of him, refusing nothing—trusting also their fig. It is not performed by the whole power at the command of the Executive. The friends of Margaret did not, for some reason, see fit to press the habeas corpus, and the Sheriff on the next day, and before the Judge of the two advocates and the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process. The finding the custody, as the surviving one of the two advocates and the process and the surviving one of the two advocates and the process and the process and the surviving one of the two advocates and the process and the surviving one of the two advocates and the process and the surviving one of the two advocates and the process and the surviving one of the two advocate

usurp power, or enter upon a violent or illegal course. He did not command or remove the Sheriff, having no power to do so. He gave assurances of his reading property of the state with the power of the State, and he was faithful to them. He did all that the counsel and friends of Margaret asked of him, and they now, as always, testify to his personal sympathies and official cooperation. They do not accuse him, but the accusation comes from one who was nearly a thousand miles away at the time, neither a participant in the scene or a spectator of it, now making up not a contemporaneous, but a remote record. To do a greatify, and if possible, save the woman, he even strained the law. He did not, indeed, save her, because the law had given him no power to save her. If he is responsible, then is every magistrate, civil or military, responsible for everything that goes wrong, no matter though he has no official right or plysical power to prevent 'it. Fair dealing between ma and man, putting aside all charity and all respect for eminent services to humanity, forbids such a judgment.

### AN HOUR WITH A COPPERHEAD OFFICER.

- the niggers-I wish they were all killed Blast them, they're getting so saucy and independent they'll ride over us afore long."

dent they'll ride over us afore long."

The person who delivered himself of this sage remark, the embellishments of which I have indicated by a dash, was a superbly dressed gentleman with a superbly forbidding face, and whose eyes seemed to have got up a kind of family quarrel; for when the one looked down the ridge of the crooked nose, the other seemed to be looking for an eclipse of the moon.

"I'm a Kentuckian, and sir, I know all about the

"I'm a Kentuckian, and sir, I know all about the pleased nigger."

I replied as blandly as possible, that it was very likely he knew all about the nigger—that Southerners generally were very well acquainted with the nigger, indeed—judging from appearances.

The left eye squinted greenishly down the crooked nose, while the right took an observation upward. I concluded their owner was looking to see whether or one of the strayed any sarcasm.

"I wish every one of them was drafted, and put in the front ranks and kept there, till every one of the strayed any was killed."

in the front ranks and kept there, till every one of them was killed."

"Government promises to draft some of them, and for this reason Kentucky kicks up her heels, and threatens to go into convulsions if negroes are put on an equality with white soldiers, in putting down the rebellion," I replied.

"What are the cusses worth anyhow? They are mean, cowardly dogs, and won't fight."

"Then why do you want them drafted into the army, if they won't fight? And why have official reports praised negro troops for their bravery?"

"It's all abolition lies. We have an abolition government trampling on the rights of the people, and breaking the Constitution every day. Fact is," and here his tone became very confidential, and the green eyes squinted at different angles, and the ugly face puckered up into what was meant for a smile, but it was only a kind of lock-jaw grip..." Fact is, I'm in the army myself: been a good deal about Washington and the Army of the Potomac, and know some things about this confounded Abolition Administration, that's running the country to ruin. I know why our best Generals, such as McCellan, and Buell, and Porter, have been so meanly treated, and they it is that Pope and Butler and others have been petted, and taken the place of better men. It is all because of the cussed Abolitionists, that want to roble people of their property..."

"Tm in the army, too," said I, putting on my

because of the cussed Abolitionists, that want to rebeople of their property—"

"I'm in the army, too," said I, putting on my hat, which was the only article of uniform I then had on; "and know some things that you and others had better learn, too—one of which is that slave-holders and their friends, either in or out of the army, in Kentucky or in Ohio, are all traitors. And the other is, that before this war is over slavery will be as dead as a herring—and its friends, too, per leave the state of the state be as dead as a herring—and its friends, too, perhaps." Saying which, I left him, and entered my state-room. Two years ago, perhaps, it would not have been very safe to have spoken to a Kentucky Colonel in this style, and that, too, in close proximity to "old Kaintuck."—Army Cor. of the Syracuse Wesleyan.

THE NEW YORK HEMALD.

The New York Herald well deserves the life has ago felicitously bestowed upon it, The Satenie Peals whole spirit is diabolic. To promote disease, to aggravate abuses, to encourage public corrupos and private immorality, to stimulate folly and near an advantage of the sate re exchanging congratulations, not only upon the glorious future. On or only upon the glorious future.

formia is next door to Mexico, Maine edges in up a Canada."

This is but a mild type of its habitual sinster in marole; but it happens to be the latest we have a hand. The reader will observe how artisly it fraunched to excite the fears of three nations it one with threats of vengeance from the Union, as we as the rebellion is over.

Every individual purchaser of the Hendi is sponsible in some degree for the enormous power which that journal possesses for evil. Its shallow reckless character makes it a facorite with the thoughtless and unreflecting, while multitude with the control of the state o

rect management of renegade foreigners and one or secret sympathizers with the rebellion. In remedy is in part in every person's own hard-namely, to resolutely refuse, under any circumtaees, to purchase a copy of the paper. York Times and Tribune are fully its equ papers, and incomparably its superiors in error respect; and from either of them a fairer and trustworthy view of public affairs is to be obtain than from the Herald.—Salem Gazette.

#### HOW GARIBALDI LOOKS.

An English paper gives the following descriptor of Gen. Garibaldi's personal appearance, at fax sight, on board the steamship that had convered to England:—

I was one of the first people on board, and also a few moments hesitation as to which way we should turn, in the wilderness of ayays, Anglolodia, lady-passengers, invalids, children and lagga, wherein we find ourselves, we hear that the Gesch wherein we find outserves, we near that the term is in the saloon, and at once proceed thine. On proceeding thither, I heard a full-toned, but met voice, saying, "Better, better, I thank you mak' in reply to inquiries as to his foot, some minute is fore that voice a owner is visible to me, and its impa-sible to avoid envying Mr. Negretty and Mr. James Cowden, as they are severally invited to greet the

sible to avoid envying Mr. Negretty and Mr. Josep Cowden, as they are severally invited to gret the old friend.

The cabin is by this time full, and the annal cagerness of those yet outside is so far mallaring when by a change of position I obtain my far glimpse of the general. He is seated on his cond, with a sling cigar-case and courier's lag lang my overhead, is shaking hands warmly with "freel Joseph Cowden," is asking after the good tors of Newcastle, and gracefully acknowledging to all around the many kindnesses he has received. Lasing on his walking stick, and limping slightly, he proceeds, accompanied by all of ur, to the cubased soat at the end of the saloon.

In truth a kingly looking man, some five feet spit inches in height, he is broadly built, and his presers is pre-eminently commanding; he has a broad and lotty brow, soft and gentle eyes, which spartle with humor and playfulness; a full-sized, well-shaped nose, a massive jaw, indicative of power, and a mis which a woman might envy. He wore light and in trowsers, smartly made, patent teather boots, a live gray gaboratine with a scarlet lining or hood, and uembroidered smoking cap, which looked as if it his been worked by some fair admirer. A black at handskerchief round his neck—of course fo collanated a light crimson bandana thrown loosely over the shoulders, complete a costume which for picturesynness, it would be difficult to equal. The impressa produced on me was that I saw before me one who was

" In strength a man, simplicity a child."

"In strength a man, simplicity a child" and as he gave his cordial and heavy greting to each new and old friend who presed foreard to clasp him by the band, it was impossible to avoid the conclusion that we were in the presence of one semental qualified by nature to sway a satis, and eure its sympathies. In repose his contented in lion-like in its gentle gravity and eccessor streght, when animated, it lights up in a way learwhere to the effect of sunshine upon a larshy beautiful landscape. He understands English pentity has been the strength of the mystic tie."

"Brethren of the mystic tie."

PERSONAL. A. J. Grover, Esq., late of Estrik. PERSONAL. A. J. Grover, Esq., late of Enrich Illinois, has recently located with his family insured Mr. Grover, we understand, has had an excession tice as a lawyer for the last eight years is Enrich Illinois, and intends to pursue his profession her. It is at present in the office of L. Allis, Eq. The following notice of a meeting of the following notice of a meeting of the following notice of a meeting of the following for the following the following the following the following for the following the following the following for the following the following

Zenns, neitd at his late home, is taken from or exer-Tribune:

Resolutions of Respect: The prominent basiness of and leading citizens of Earlville, Lassile costly, innis, met at the office of J. W. Browne, on the 3a of April. A. D., 1864, and unanimously adopted the lowing resolutions:

Whereas, Our catecaned friend and fellowdim A. J. Grugar, E. eq., who has lived among as for marty years, is, on account of the poor health of his marty about to remove to St. Paul, Minnsott, therefore, about the remove to St. Paul, Minnsott, therefore, about the remove to St. Paul, Minnsott, therefore, about the remove to St. Paul, Minnsott, therefore, according to the property of the form of our description of the form of our description of the form of the form

Resolved, J. has ever lad, in an eminent degree, lad, in emine degree, la

JAMES MERRIT, Secretory.

A HARD CASE. Several months ago, a negr me vant was charged in New Orients by Psynning I. K. Lawrence, of Wisconsin, with robbing his RS 30,000, and, after being unmercially whyre a segment of the property York contractor named the old Capitol to await a trial by the the old Capitol to await a trial by the mission. An order has been sent to mission. An order has been sent to mission. Springfield Republication of the capital sent to the capital sent

mission. An order fins in the control of the contro

Super. Davis and Miscennation.

son of Jeff. Davis, undeniably proved to now serving on the gunboat Carouclet brought. North as an illustration of the which miscegenation is made practical.