

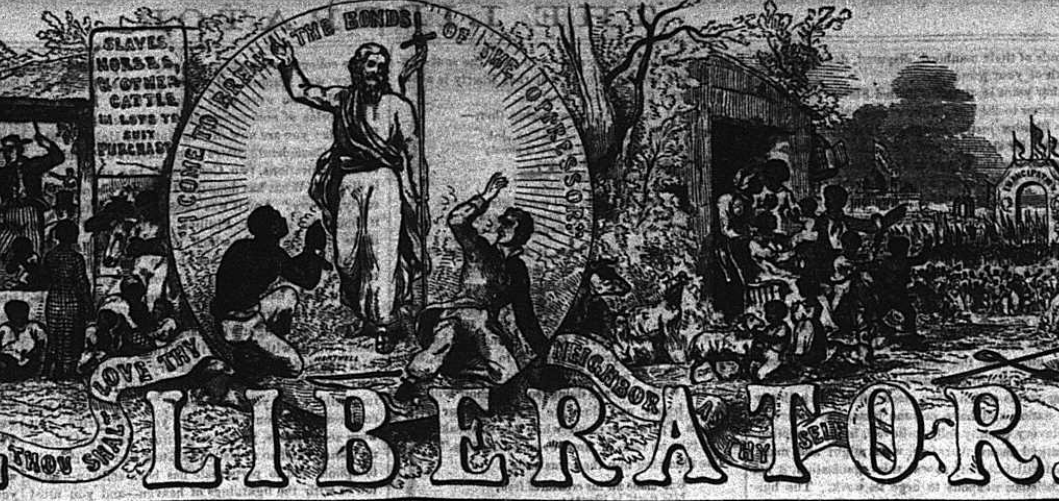
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING... WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 9.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. TERMS - Three dollars per annum...

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies...

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Editor.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 21.



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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 20, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1737.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." "They thim down as the law of nations..."

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

The Liberator.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(Promulgated reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINGTON.)

The Thirty-first Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was celebrated on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week...

The celebration was held at the Church of the Puritans and Cooper Institute, by several meetings...

On Tuesday, the 15th inst., the meeting was held at the Church of the Puritans...

On Wednesday, the 16th inst., the meeting was held at Cooper Institute...

On Thursday, the 17th inst., the meeting was held at the Church of the Puritans...

On Friday, the 18th inst., the meeting was held at Cooper Institute...

On Saturday, the 19th inst., the meeting was held at the Church of the Puritans...

land of given images, and they are mad upon their idols. Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hands...

The President said - We meet this morning under very cheering and hopeful circumstances...

EXECUTIVE MARRIAGE. WASHINGTON, May 9, 1864. To the Friends of Union and Liberty...

And so, from the beginning, the prophecy has been sure of fulfillment in the end...

Out of the dark the dreary spheres / Lending round the light...

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Those who follow me...

Resolved, That while we do not criticize the wishes of the Administration, still, as Abolitionists, we feel bound to declare that we see no evidence of its purpose to put the freedom of the negro on such a basis...

American Union. It is very problematical whether any such war could be borne a second time...

either, "You are," or "You are not my pilot for the coming four years." Any man, therefore, who raises to-day the war-cry...

I should not say this, if I thought this was a common war, to be decided by battle. If America was at this moment engaged in a quarrel with Mexico...

I look out upon our future, therefore, as one vastly momentous in the history of republican government.

Over all this picture looms the cloud of government habituated to the exercise of despotic power.

In looking, therefore, to our question, let us remember that it is on a platform griddled by these dangers that we discuss the abolition of slavery to-day.

I have no charge to make against the Administration for the past - no fault to find with its going to find fault only with its philosophy - its reason of procedure.

These are the two principles, I think, which have guided the Administration. Let me show you why I think so. On the first, I need not adduce evidence...

Again, the negro has been summoned into the army. As a white man, I confess that the most humiliating hour that I ever lived, Abolitionist as I am...

I speak as an American citizen, as one of a people who, having called that victim race to their side, and covered it with the United States uniform...

I have no charge to make against the Administration for the past - no fault to find with its going to find fault only with its philosophy - its reason of procedure.

I intend that in all these cases, the government has shown a willingness to let the white race and the black race, and their relations, remain after this war...

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As possible? - That Lincoln is in civil affairs - Make as little change as possible? You may think it an unjust to the Administration...

But I have a right, as an American citizen, to say whether my interests and my future shall be committed to such a philosophy, announced this very month...

Like military men, on every principle of military etiquette, they gave up their commissions. In August, 1863, Sibley said, (Banks was at Fort Hudson)...

Now, if we could have Louisiana on that basis, I would be the last man to criticize; but we cannot. You never can make that nation one by force.

But that is a different view. Our resolutions say, with great reason, "Thanks to Attorney-General Bates...

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tion in the face, still see it is worth while to change it. But they have not committed themselves to the one term principle—they have not been so foolish as that; they say that every four years they will look and see whether they will change their President or not; but they hold to the principle that they may keep him in office for eight, twenty or fifty years, if he and they live long enough, and they like each other well enough. (Applause.) So they are coming together this season to look at him; and I can only express the conviction of my own mind, that when they shall come together, and shall look the fact in the face, that no man in this nation is now so hated and detested by the rebels of the South, and by all at the North who sympathize with the rebels, as ABRAHAM LINCOLN, they will make up their minds that he will do to "run the machine" four years longer. (Enthusiastic applause and cheers.)

A VOICE—Butler is more hated.

THE PRESIDENT continued—Grant that there are many and things to look in the face; grant that the whole of justice has not yet been done to the negro; grant that here and there grievances exist which are to be deplored and to be redressed; still, looking at the question broadly, comprehensively, and philosophically, I think the people will ask another question—whether they themselves have been one hair's breadth in advance of Abraham Lincoln! (Applause.) Whether they are not conscious that he has not only been full up with him, but, on the whole, a little beyond them? (Applause.) As the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain, so the President of the United States, amenable to public sentiment, could not, if he wished to do it, far transcend public sentiment in any direction. (Applause.) For my own part, when I remember the trials through which he has passed, and the perils which have surrounded him—perils and trials, unknown to any man in any age of the world, in official station—when I remember how fearfully pro-slavery was the public sentiment of the North, to say nothing of the South—when I remember what he has had to deal with—when I remember how nearly a majority, even at this hour, is the scoundrel crew of the North, and then remember that Abraham Lincoln has struck the chains from the limbs of more than three millions of slaves (applause); that he has expressed his earnest desire for the total abolition of slavery; that he has implored the Border States to get rid of it; that he has recognized the manhood and citizenship of the colored population of our country; that he has armed upwards of a hundred thousand of them, and recognized them as soldiers under the flag; when I remember that this Administration has recognized the independence of Liberia and Hayti; when I remember that it has struck a death-blow at the foreign slave trade by granting the right of search; when I remember that we have now nearly reached the culmination of our great struggle for the suppression of the rebellion and its cause, I do not feel disposed, for one, to take this occasion, or any other occasion, to say anything very harshly against Abraham Lincoln. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Now let me say, that we have been in the habit of calling the Attorney-General of the United States a "fossil," an "old fogie"; but it is a Scriptural command to "give credit to whom credit is due, and honor to whom honor is due," even if he be an "old fossil." Whatever Gov. Andrew may have done—all thanks to him!—I think we stand to look at the man who actually did the act, who stands historically as the man who did it. Whatever may have been done by individuals to urge on the government or the Attorney-General to a righteous decision, he has done two things which should make him, and will make him, honorable in the history of the United States. He has dared, in the face of the Supreme Court, with Judge Taney at its head, to declare that every colored man is a citizen of the United States (applause); and he has also declared, that between white soldiers and black soldiers there is, there must be, and there can be, no inequality, but that all must stand on the same level, and receive the same reward. If fossilism can do as well as that, let us be thankful, and let radicalism do better if it can. (Applause.)

I have now the pleasure of introducing one whose citizenship has been recognized by the Attorney-General of the United States, in behalf of the President and the Administration—Prof. WM. H. DAY.

SPEECH OF W. HOWARD DAY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS: The time has so far elapsed; that it becomes me to speak but briefly. There needs hardly any need of me here, judging from the speeches of the noble men who have just addressed you. Their statement of the wrongs to the colored race has been so full, that the blackest man among us could not state it better. I appreciate all which the first speaker (Mr. Phillips) said so well. I enter fully into the criticisms—the severe criticisms—so needed and so just—of the state of things to-day; and for my interest in the people with whom I am identified, I would not lessen the force of those words, for I feel their truth. But I appreciate also the position of your President (Mr. Garrison), who has just addressed you, and feel with him that much of the failure of Mr. Lincoln to do duty is owing to the failure of the people of the land whose agent he is. Do we complain that Mr. Lincoln and the government do not recognize the manhood of the negro? Let us find the cause of that in the people at home. Just so long as citizens of New York exclude respectable colored persons from railway cars on the streets; just so long as the people of the city exclude the colored children from their ward schools, and force the colored children from several wards together, on the ground of color merely; just so long as we in some of the churches of the city there are negro pew-just so long as there is evidence that the people themselves do not recognize the manhood of the black man of this country.

Though the nation has been cast into the crucible of War, with waves of death sweeping, for three years past, through our very hearts, the nation has yet to learn one of the first truths proclaimed by this organization—namely, that everywhere and at any time emancipation in little or large numbers is a safe policy. And I deem it fitting upon the Thirty-first Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society to note the fact that to-day we have a perfect vindication of our principles, if not of all our policy—to point to the realization of the great truth of the safety of emancipation, vindicated, without exception, in every case of thorough emancipation around the world. In 1794, in St. Domingo, Cayenne, Guadeloupe and Martinique; in 1810, in Canada; in 1811, in Java; in 1815, in Ceylon; in 1816, in Buenos Ayres; in 1819, in St. Helena; in 1821, in Colombia and Chili; in 1823, in Cape Colony; in 1825, in Malacca; in 1826, in Bolivia and the Southern Provinces of Burmah; in 1828, in Peru, Guatemala and Monte Video; in 1834, in the British Isles in the Caribbean Sea; and since, in British India and other places too numerous to mention. It may not be known to you, that even in Canada, now so free, African slavery existed, and from 1808 to 1810, the poor slave groaned—groaned there as he since groaned here. They then ran to the United States for protection in freedom, as since, to the number of fifty thousand, the United States slaves have run to Canada. There they toiled and pined—unheeded by even the Governor of the land, until a Governor came from England who understood England's principles. He appealed to the Chief Justice of Montreal to declare the law—and that Chief Justice, going back to 1772, declared slavery to be so incompatible with British law, that immediately every slave in Canada must go free. Those thousands introduced to manhood, united with the fifty thousand escaped slaves of this country, have wrought on, until their claim to manhood has been vindicated. Out of thirty thousand cases examined, we find that twenty-seven thousand of these now-made freemen have had no aid for their physical wants from any source whatever. A vindication, Mr. President, of themselves and of your principles well. The principles of equality for human beings in the church, and before the law of the land, urged by your Society in the early days, were responded to by the cry, "Let the black see themselves exalted"—it is not to them to rise." Here was another vindication from their

own hands of their manhood, disputed, denied, and of the truth of your principles.

Another point is, that the United States have been no exception to the rule. Take even Louisiana, where, as Mr. Phillips justly complains, serfdom has been substituted for slavery; and we find even there the manhood of the black man and his fitness for freedom vindicated. Col. Hanks, Superintendent of Labor at New Orleans, says: "The Free Labor movement brought ten to twelve thousand refugees at public expense. Subsequently, conquest swelled the number to 20,000. Not an able-bodied man is there who does not support himself. Only two hundred (and these include sixty orphans) who are supported." It becomes me to be brief, considering that we are all anxious to hear the gentleman who is to follow me—and I omit other facts Colonel Hanks gives as to schools, etc. For the same reason, I omit special reference to the West Indies.

These points which have risen up in the pathway of the nation and have become facts, the American Anti-Slavery Society fully believed, in its inception. They urged them, therefore, with might and main. Charged with infidelity as was this organization, it yet used Christian weapons to urge its work. The burden of all was the negro's manhood. The first Biblical truths I have remembered—truths burnt more deeply than others into my memory—were words read at these Anniversary Meetings, as read to-day, by the Garrisonian President of this Society, from the Book of Books, the Word of God. He pointed us through them, away back to the thunderings and lightnings of Sinai, where God, with his finger dipped in flame, wrote his anti-slavery saying, "I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage; thou shalt have no other gods before me."—to the fact that the 16th verse of the following chapter makes him who said: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man."—also to say: "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."—thus making the right to life and the right to liberty paramount and inalienable. That Jesus proclaimed it when he said: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." That Peter thundered it forth on the astonished ears of the haughty Jew—"Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons." That Paul attested the love he had for liberty by saying, "I would to God that he had but only thou, but also all that bear this name." And that voice has been going around the world, like a wave of fire licking up the despotisms of the world, but yet, through this Society and by other means, continuing to whisper in the ear of the bleeding world—"Thou thyself art a man!" This manhood thus vindicated by the friends of the black man, and the black man himself, deserves a mention by us to-day. At this Thirty-first anniversary we can point to results as they stand up proudly in the pathway of the nation. Thus the colored people have risen, despite the objection to their color, despite all obstacles, by the help of their friends and by self help, events, by war rolling its red waves through half a million hearts and homes, sweeping out the jewels in their hearts and homes, and burying them out of sight, until they shall be taken up to make up His jewels—but at the same time purging the issues of national life, and preparing them to be issues for national freedom. In accord with the first resolution proposed to-day, I reverently recognize the hand of God, and thank Him for his faithfulness to the poor bound slave. Thanks for war even, if it bring liberty. In the colored people's name, whom, in part, I represent, I thank you, Mr. President, for your earnest and able support in their uplifting. Thanks, that amid obloquy, danger and death, you were unswayed. Thanks, that in the Old World and in the New, you would be heard. May you long live to enjoy the blessings of a country truly free! And when the closing hours of your benevolent, eventful life shall have come, they will be surrounded with a halo of glory all the more brilliant, because you labored to release those whom others had bound, and to lift up to the light the poorest man of America.

What shall I say to your coadjutors upon this platform—one of whom has preceded, and the other of whom will follow me? *Par nobis fratrum.* One in the Old World and the other in the New. Both the polished, unbending defenders of liberty here—both the implacable foes of tyranny everywhere. But for George Thompson, I may add, that India in the West and India in the East—Great Britain in the mists of the North, and this great nation, the child of Great Britain, in the clear sky of the farther South—will, together, weave a chapter for him while living, and will strew roses upon his grave when dead, because in every land he did what he could, in the homes of the rich and the huts of the poor, to give Liberty back to the world as she came from God, fair and pure as an angel, unmarred by sorrow, untouched by crime, unfettered by chains.

To all the members of this Society—to the men and women—from a full heart, and from a people whose hearts are full, thanks, thanks to all!

But, in conclusion, from this tableland of rest this morning, we see all over the vast plains before us, that there is work to be done. It is well to look backward over the work of thirty-one years, but we must look forward as well. There is work to be done. Slavery is not dead yet, for all the songs we hear chanted over its grave—and your work, sir, and mine, and the work of all of us, is to throttle it where it lives, and give it no quarter until we drive it from the land. Your national danger, as has been well intimated, is not rebellion—that can be met and overthrown—but the manner of dealing with the rebellion. Your danger is not slavery merely as against liberty—for slavery would always go under. J. M. Mason, the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill, when visiting, years ago, a house in New Jersey where I slept the other night, admitted that Slavery and Liberty were not equals—but that the thrift of the North was the thrift of Freedom. Slavery must thus always go under. That, therefore, is not your danger, but this—the manner of dealing with slavery.

I have been asked to describe slavery. If I were a painter, I would attempt it. I would erect in the corner there a huge engine, working from daylight to dark, and from dark to daylight, busy, busy, busy with its iron arms crushing the body and the soul. I would place beyond it the remains of the victims who have already passed through the machine—already has it destroyed its millions—and even now there are hundreds of thousands chained for its murderous purposes. And yet the work goes on! Listen, as its ponderous wheels creak over the bones of innocent men, and women, and children! And there I would dip a pool nearly filled with clotting blood, that its stench might come up continually to remind us of the cruelties of slavery. And there I would make the entrance to a tomb and partition, leading on and on to the Mexican Gulf. With the living slave I would place the mangled remains, the heart's best affections, the unrealized desire, the hope for freedom, the aspiration for a higher existence and manhood. I would raise over it a mound, and I would picture some one like Lovejoy and Work and Burr, and Thompson, and Torrey, and John Brown, walking among the graves, rolling away the stone from the door of the prison-sepulchre, and letting in the light of freedom. And there I would show relentless persecution following them: Lovejoy with a rifle, Work and Torrey with a penitentiary sentence, George Thompson and others with mobs, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison with a rope around his neck, and a prison for his home. I would erect in the centre there a heartless, hellish image, with a giant's strength, a scorpion's sting, and a hyena's heart, to clutch each of us as we entered those doors, and in his lap a huge cup to receive our hard earnings, as the daily demand of the demon to sustain his system. I would crown him king. I would then close up every window here but one, that the darkness might go on, with only light enough to make it more dismal. I would then go up and down the land, and bring men and women to see it as it is—until its im-

pression should be staggered upon the soul—until men and women should feel that liberty is above all price, and that slavery must die.

All would unite with us in singing then—
"Down let the drums of Moscow sink;
And leave no trace where they stood;
Nor longer let its idol drink
The daily cup of human blood;
But mark another altar there,
To truth and love, and every given—
And Freedom's gifts and Freedom's prayer
Shall call an answer down from Heaven."

THE PRESIDENT—If there is a white man in this assembly who thinks he can make a more eloquent speech than that, let the prodigy stand up, and show himself to our astonished gaze. (Applause.) How true it is that, whatever his complexion may be, "a man's man for a man" that for our friend who has just taken his seat has proved himself to be a man, from head to foot. We are now about to take up a collection, and while we are doing so, the choir will sing another hymn, and then we shall hear our friend, GEORGE THOMPSON; and while he is speaking, we will "take no note of time, even by its loss."

The following hymn then was sung:

God made all his creatures free;
His life is liberty;
God owned no other bands
Than suited liberty and hands.
Sin the primal charter broke—
Sin, itself, their heaviest yoke;
Tyranny with sin began,
Man's or brute, and man's or man.
But a better day shall be,
Life again be liberty,
And no more shall other bands
Love-knif hearts and love-linked hands.

THE PRESIDENT—Now, friends, a single word; for after the splendid yet just eulogium passed upon the friend at my side by Mr. Day, nothing else is really needed. But, in a word: in 1838, when I was in England, and heard GEORGE THOMPSON advocate the cause of the slaves of the West Indies, and saw that their emancipation was nearly consummated at that time, believing that, if he could come over to our country, he could win a yet more glorious victory in emancipating slaves on a still larger scale, I invited him, on my own responsibility, to come. He had nothing to offer him; no reward, no compensation, no chance of having any fair treatment; but to come and look peril in the face, to come and be scoffed at and hounded down wherever he might travel—nothing else. And for his love of humanity and liberty and our country, he came; and he came to experience more than I ever conceived in regard to the satanic persecution which followed him in every direction. He took his life in his hand, and it was by a miracle he escaped at last; his very friends had to force him out of the country to save his life. He came again, to find public sentiment somewhat altered, but still very bitter and malevolent against him; and now he has come a third time. O, what a change is indicated by his coming! (Applause.) How cheering and how glorious! These are bright days, not dark ones; they are full of hope and of glory; for whereas, in Boston and in Massachusetts he was formerly hunted for his life, on his coming this time, Massachusetts and Boston make the *amende honorable*, in the person of G. Andrew, in Music Hall, welcoming GEORGE THOMPSON as the friend of America and of liberty throughout the world. (Loud applause.) In this city he was received with the strongest demonstrations of regard, Gen. Fremont doing himself great honor in presiding on the occasion. (Applause.) Then Mr. Thompson proceeded to Philadelphia, and then to Washington, where the President of the United States, the Vice-President, and the most distinguished members of both Houses of Congress, united in giving him a cordial, honorable welcome, recognizing his labors in the past, and claiming him to be the friend of America and free institutions. I now introduce GEORGE THOMPSON.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON.

Mr. Thompson, on rising, was greeted with the most cordial and hearty applause, and was evidently laboring under strong emotion when he began to speak. He said:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is extremely embarrassing for me to attempt to speak under circumstances like the present. There have been times in the past when my humble labors, in the midst of contumely and persecution, may have been of some slight service to the great cause; but I come to you now under such different circumstances, and find myself so continually made the subject of eulogistic remark, that I scarcely ever rise to speak when I have not first to overcome the embarrassment which is caused by the necessity laid upon me of listening to commendations of my poor services which I feel that I cannot appropriate.

I well remember the time to which Mr. Garrison alludes. It is about thirty-one years ago since he, an American, and I, an Englishman, shook hands upon the pavement of a street in London. I dare say he has not forgotten that day. I can never forget it; for it decided the current of my future life. Had we not met there, then, we should never have met to-day here. It was that meeting that brought me to your shores; and now that I stand once more upon the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I cannot say that I feel myself a stranger. This Society was talked of with me, and frequently, before it was brought into existence. When it was formed, at that ever memorable gathering in the city of Philadelphia, and when its Declaration of Sentiments was adopted and published, I took that Declaration of Sentiments, and carried it through the length and breadth of my native country, and I made the names of the illustrious men and women who adopted or subscribed that document familiar as household words in the homes of England; and when I came to this country, and before I had been a week in it, in a place very near to this, and in a small back room, where sat the now venerable and honored Arthur Tappan, and the gentleman who sits at my side (Mr. Rankin)—whom I recognize with unmistakable pleasure to-day; for his house was the first into which I was received in this country, (applause)—there in that small room, at the hands of Mr. Arthur Tappan, and subscribed by the officers of the Society—Mr. Rankin at that time being one—I received my credentials as an agent of the Anti-Slavery Society. As its agent, and performing the duties of a devoted and most obedient agent, I remained in this country until that time came which has been referred to by Mr. Garrison, when, not from any shrinking on my part, but too much love on the part of my friends, I left their country for my own. I call the members of this Society to witness, that wherever I have been, I have stood by the Society unwaveringly, upholding its principles and doing justice to its difficulties under all circumstances. (Applause.) The principles of that Society were mine before it came into existence; I had carried those principles through Great Britain, and their triumph was drawing near when that meeting took place between me and my friend to which both he and I have made reference. By those principles you have stood, unchanging and true, to the present hour. For this you are honored. The men and the women of this Society, who were with it in its earliest existence, and have remained with it until this hour, are honored in England as no other men and women are honored among us. (Applause.) And if you want to evoke the shouts and plaudits of an English assembly, utter not the names that stand highest among us in literature, in art, in politics, or in wealth—so, but speak the name of some humble man or humble woman, who, taking his or her life in their hands, has gone forth, and for thirty years proclaimed in the ears of this nation the great principle on which this association stands to-day—slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and ought therefore to be, immediately, utterly, and universally abolished! (Applause.)

I come again, and what do I see? When I left you, slavery appeared so enthroned, so ubiquitous, so omnipotent in your land, that it seemed as though nothing could shake it. In Church and State, in politics and religion, in the exchange, in the school-room and

in the college, everywhere, slavery was predominant, slavery was absolute. I come again, and find all changed. You were one; you are two. You were a congeries of commonwealths, but one confederate Republic; you are now divided into the United States and the Confederate States; you have two Presidents, two Constitutions, two Congresses, two armies. All is divided. What has done this? Slavery—simply and solely, slavery! And it was necessary and natural that it should be so. Mr. Phillips, by the use of one of those striking images which no man knows so well how to use as himself, has shown you that you sit, tempered in their nature wholly irreconcilable, antagonistic, always and ever at war. You were trying to unite good with evil; light with darkness; truth with falsehood; Christ with Balaam; the divine spirit of freedom with the infernal spirit of slavery. You tried to do this. You were shown repeatedly that the thing was impossible; still you tried again. You conceded, you compromised, you consented, you supported, you were accomplices, you were abettors, you would learn no lesson; and so at last the system that you thought to uphold and to perpetuate has been smitten—smitten as with the lightnings of heaven—and you must build again—how, my honored friend, and the most gifted champion of the negro, has shown you this morning. God grant that his advice may be taken! (Applause.) No more compromise; no more acknowledgment of the right of property in man; no more degradation of an immortal, rational creature of God down to the condition of four-footed beasts—a chattel personal. No; be it done sooner or later—be it done by Mr. Lincoln or by his successor—it must be done. You must finish the work you have begun. You must "lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plummet," and you must present the negro of America to the eyes of man and of angels like yourselves—a man; nothing better, and nothing worse. (Loud applause.)

I thank Mr. Phillips for his speech this morning. I am not going to refer to his criticisms, to say how far they are necessary or justified; but I thank him for this, that throughout his speech, it was not that he opposed Mr. Lincoln or his Administration as much as that he loved the negro and the cause of justice above everything, and would save the cause of the negro from peril and disaster. (Applause.) But we in England are wont to deal with public men somewhat—I will not say more justly, for that would be to impugn the justice of the criticisms of Mr. Lincoln—but permit me to say we judge them more leniently. I, through thirty-five years of incessant agitation, have learned this lesson, that men in office cannot always do what they would. (Applause.) Now, do not imagine that I am going to make a Presidential speech, to nominate a candidate, to counsel you as to the course you should pursue, or to act the presumptuous part of an adviser. In respect to your nominations in the pending election campaign. Far from it. Such matters belong to you, and not to me. My prayer is that you may choose the right man; a man as much better than Mr. Lincoln as a man may be; but I pray Heaven he may not be worse. (Applause.) But you will perhaps allow me to say that we have been taught in England to judge somewhat leniently of men after they get into office. Some few friends of mine, during the last three years, have gone into the Cabinet, become part and parcel of the Administration. I do not think them worse men than they were before; I do not think they have abandoned their principles. I think they love the old cause to which they were formerly devoted, but I know they have been much hampered and fettered by going into office. I know that, from the moment they entered office, felt its responsibilities, and found they had to administer the government for the entire country, to consult the wishes, opinions and views of all men, to balance the strength and influence of one party over against the elements that they had, and not with the elements that they had not, that they had conflicting interests to reconcile, and conflicting counsels to listen to, they learned that while it was very easy, upon the opposition bench, to arraign the incumbent Prime Minister, and those in possession of power, and exceedingly pleasant to deliver eloquent denunciations upon abstract principles, and demand great, sweeping and uncompromising reforms, it was another and very different thing to discharge their duties honestly and efficiently, and at the same time advance in some humble degree the cause to which they had been devoted when out of office. (Loud applause.)

I will take, by way of illustration, the case of a man who comes nearer to an American in his idea of the beau ideal of political institutions than any Englishman I know, save one—I mean John Bright. (Loud applause.) John Bright goes for "God and Democracy." John Bright is not afraid of rebellion, as some people are, whom the very name frights from their propriety. He is not afraid of it. He traces most of the good things we enjoy in England from rebellion. He has looked into the history of your rebellion, and I believe that, like myself, he has exulted in the good that has already resulted to this mighty nation from that rebellion. John Bright is the friend of the working classes of England. He desires to see them enfranchised, and he has from time to time prepared bills, with a view to obtaining acts in Parliament that should enfranchise the enfranchised masses of the people; and I will remember that upon one occasion, when he had prepared such a bill and resolved to bring it into Parliament, a consultation was held with the members of the Administration and other friends, and being informed by the Administration that they intended to bring forward such a measure, the leading features of which they stated at the meeting, and that, if he brought his in there would be a collision between the one measure and the other, and probably the loss of both; although the measure of the government did not, by any means, go so far as his own, did not meet the whole justice of the case, nor satisfy the demands which the radical party had made, Mr. Bright consented to sacrifice his popularity with his radical friends outside and go with the government, in the hope that, if he could not obtain all he desired, he might at least obtain a measure of justice, and then make the admission of that measure of justice the vantage ground from which to proceed to obtain the whole. (Applause.)

I merely throw this out as a hint. I may tell you, however, how matters look to us on the other side of the water. We judge of the progress of this country by the great points that come out from time to time. Four years ago, as I have said, slavery was omnipotent. It controlled both your domestic and foreign policy; it appointed your ambassadors; it delegated your judges to the bench; in fact, it ruled the country. We look now, and see an altered state of things. We look over Europe, and see that whereas every one of our employes at foreign courts was formerly a friend and advocate of slavery, every one, be he your respected minister to the Court of St. James, your minister to the Court of Paris, or your minister to Berlin, or your minister to Vienna or Berlin, or St. Petersburg, or your consul at Liverpool or at London, is now the friend and champion of liberty. (Applause.) Seeing this, the people of England say, "Things are mightily changed in the United States," and they look upon the man who made those appointments, or the man and Senate together who made them, as men who, unlike their predecessors, are now administering the affairs of your country in the spirit of equal and impartial liberty.

At the beginning of this war, knowing little of the people of this country, and still less of the structure of your government, the nature of your Constitution, the limited powers of your Executive, and the rights of your individual States, they expected that Mr. Lincoln, who had sent these men abroad—men who appeared to be so good and so true—being in the Presidential chair, and armed not only with the constitutional powers enjoyed and exercised by every President, but possessing all the powers vested in him, in the last resort, as Commander-in-Chief—they expected, I say, that he would at once abolish slavery. He did not do it. They thought him bound to do it; he did not do it. Contrary, they did not like his speech from the steps of

the Capitol. They thought it was ten words for the South to one for the North; that there was too much coaxing, propping, cajoling, too much of the spirit of concession; and above all, they thought it strange that the representative of the Republican party should even come to the Fugitive Slave Law, if necessary, should be made more stringent than it was.

Well, they looked again, and there came a voice from America—the official diplomatic despatches of Mr. Seward, and they said: "You must not talk against slavery; you must not encourage the idea that slavery will be abolished; you must not tolerate the mention of slavery to your conversation with the ministers of foreign powers; you must declare that this war will not change the status of a single negro; that you will not change the status of a single day," and they did it. It will be over in sixty or ninety days, and they did not like that. Then they did not like to see your newspapers—even Republican newspapers—stigmatizing the Abolitionists as marplots, and declaring that they were disturbing the councils of Washington, that they were injuring the influence of Mr. Lincoln, because they were representing that the abolition of slavery was one of the objects of the war. I tell you, even your Republican press did much to repress the sympathy of the English people by their abuse of the Abolitionists. There were constant instances of the rendition of fugitive slaves, by the soldiers and officers of the United States; and then the modification of Gen. Fremont's proclamation in Missouri, the treatment of Gen. Hunter, Gen. Phelps, and others, the "iron-bound" ordinance of Gen. McClellan in Western Virginia—these things started the anti-slavery people of England. Their sympathies were ready to gush forth, but they could not find vent, while as yet it seemed, not only that you were not going to abolish slavery through this war, but that you were ready at any time to fling over the black man if you could secure the restoration of the Union and the re-establishment of the supremacy of the Constitution.

Still I tell you when it was that the reaction in your favor took place? It commenced with the message of your President of the 7th of March, 1862, when he recommended the passage by Congress of a resolution promising indemnity to the planters of the slave States if, in their State Legislatures, they would take measures to abolish slavery. And then you know what a constellation of measures gathered around that first measure. The abolition of slavery in the District; then the salvation of those great North-western territories from the pollution and curse of slavery; and then the recognition of Hayti and Liberia, so that either of these black Republics, their nationality now recognized by the government, might send their ardent representative to Washington, and might enter the presence of the President on the occasion of a levee, and stand on a footing of perfect equality with the palest and the proudest representatives of the oldest monarchies of Europe. (Applause.) Then came other measures, countermanding the order that fugitive slaves should be delivered up; the Confiscation Law; the preliminary proclamation of September, 1862; and when that past, and weeks went by, and the hundred days of grace had nearly passed, without the South availing herself of the proffered amnesty—as every well-informed man in England knew she would not wait for the mail to bring us the news that President Lincoln had confirmed that proclamation. No, we held watch meetings over the length and breadth of England—one great meeting was held in Free Trade Hall, in Manchester, and another in Sheffield—and kept up the discussion on American affairs until 12 o'clock, and then thanked God that there were three million less slaves in the United States than there had been on the 31st of December, 1862. (Loud applause.)

Now the message that I have from England to you, I can deliver in one word. They ask you to carry on this good work to completion. They ask you to do all that Mr. Phillips has said should be done; to give to the negro in the United States the rights that he now possesses in the West Indies, where he is not only free from oppressive chains, but where he can become a freholder and a voter, claim and obtain a seat in the representative assembly, become Secretary of the Governor of Jamaica, Mayor of Kingston, and be knighted by the Queen. And I am not now quoting things that may be, but things that have been, as your President well knows. They ask you to put the negro in this position. It is for you as Americans to judge through what man or Administration it shall be done; but this I say—and I say it with some knowledge of the state of things in my own country—that for what he has already accomplished and made sure, Mr. Lincoln has won for himself universal gratitude and universal praise; and there is not a name to conjure with so powerful in England as the name of Abraham Lincoln. (Enthusiastic applause.) I thank God for me like him, to try his hand of this course and scandal. I thank God for me like Wendell Phillips, (loud applause), who will stand upon this platform, and say what he has said this morning. That Republic will never fail that has a man like Wendell Phillips, and many more to follow his advice, so that the time may come when slavery shall cease, the proscription of the black man shall cease, the debt shall be paid, the tears shall be wiped away, and America, from North to South, from East to West, shall be hallowed ground, with neither a tyrant wielding a cart-whip nor a negro wearing a chain. (Prolonged applause.)

SPEECH OF LUCRETIA MOTT.

I shall attend the meeting but a few moments. I only wish to express the great interest I have taken in the several speeches that have been made, and to say that I wanted one word should be added, before the meeting closed, in behalf of the warfare which has been carried on by this Society from this platform, and which has resulted, as I believe, in the great change of public sentiment which has been alluded to. The evils of this war were very forcibly presented in the early hour of this meeting; but, as was well expressed, they are inevitable, because we know that war, being of evil, must produce evil, and that continually; still, I would say, I had hoped that better things would accompany our salvation, and the salvation of the country, so that another generation, following this might, be born into a Republic far transcending the Republic that grew out of the Revolutionary war; because the war is now carried on by a people differing very much from the people of that time; an intelligent, instructed people, who have had the advantages of a Republic so far; and when peace shall be restored, they will be prepared to come forward and act unflinchingly to remove the many evils and wrongs that remain, and the mighty debt which has accumulated in the nation. And then the war has not been a warfare of brute force merely, and the materials that will be brought with which to build up the Republic will be very different from the materials that were at command after the first war of our country. We shall have a free, liberated people, rather than an agreement that a large portion shall still be held as slaves; there will not be, therefore, that great drawback to our nation's prosperity, let us then, hope that in spite of the evils of this war, there is a day approaching when the Republic will be better understood, and the principles of a truly Christian Democracy better carried out, than ever before. So help us God!

Then, again, in the warfare, as it has been carried on, the Administration has begun not only at Washington. It has been acknowledged here that woman has had something to do with it; that woman has been cooperating in the warfare which has been going on. An ardent desire that our Anti-Slavery Society, in its annual meetings, and in all its meetings, should keep the standard of liberty and truth high as in the beginning; and if in thus holding it up, it shall become the duty of men like Wendell Phillips to present the errors and shortcomings of the Administration, let them do it; and let us rejoice that we, as a Society, are not part and parcel of the Government, the Administration, or the Cabinet, not even as John Bright was; that we are not responsible; that we have not any load upon our shoulders that shall tend in any way to make us compromise. Let us be careful how we commit ourselves, as a body, as a Society, to one candidate or another.

We are in danger of becoming partisans in our feelings, by holding up one man or crying down another, any further than their acts warrant us in doing so. I wish you could hold up Fremont a little more for the man he is (applause.) but I am glad to hear Abraham Lincoln held up; as we have just now, for the many things that he has done; and where he has fallen short, it is our duty to rebuke him. It is our duty to strive to keep the standard high, and to bring the acts of all classes, even of Kings and Governors, to the level of that standard.

I only rose with the desire to express this, and to hold out the hope that we are coming to a great and glorious day, when, I believe, whatever belongs to the great moral warfare of the nation will be commended, not to us, a handful of abolitionists merely, but to the great heart of the people. A proof of this is seen in the willingness, on the part of the people, to sign petitions and send them forth, and to join in the battle armed in the full armor of God; not depending on carnal weapons—knowing, however, that such things must needs be, in a government based on arms, and as all nations are, upon the sword—on the Lord God; and, going forth with these weapons, we know they will be effective. Let our faith be true, then, that they will ever be effective; we can never anticipate fearful, deplorable results from such a warfare, because it has its origin in God, in goodness, in love, in plainness of speech, in justice and mercy and truth.

I never had anything more to confirm my faith in the infinite and the eternal than the success of our weapons of warfare, wielded as they have been, usually, in season and out of season, full of fight as we have been, using the severest language that our stationary could furnish us with, or that our tongue could bring forth, to describe the monster slavery. I remember that Wm. Lloyd Garrison, in his first work, almost—"Thoughts on Colonization"—re-marked that when Wilberforce spoke against the African slave trade, how vituperative his language was considered; "but now," said he, "when the scorn of the whole civilized world is brought against this iniquitous system, how mild and inoffensive his speeches do appear." So with us; we were afraid to use the word "monster-slavery" in the beginning; we had been accustomed to speak soft words; but we found that the necessity was laid upon us, from the fact that we had to speak of slavery as it was; to hold it up to the utter reprobation of mankind, and to enlist the pulpits and the press in behalf of the suffering and the dumb. I say it is this great moral warfare that has been carried on, that has produced this wonderful change which we are so rejoicing in; and I only desire that we may be as true as Wendell Phillips has been to-day, not printing men unduly because they have done something, but demanding that they should do the whole. And do not let us be so distrustful of human nature, of the good heart in man, at to suppose that if men have done wrong, they have done as nearly right as they could. Why, human nature judges what is right. Let us have confidence in the human heart. Even the *Herald* came out in defence of Fremont's proclamation, and the people were ready to say Amen! But we are too much accustomed yet, as our friend said they are in England, to honor the man in deed. We know them—we know how loyal they are; but we, the people here, we are the administration. We men is taking her place—here is Susan B. Anthony calling attention to the Women's National League and the men and women united, the people united, to become the administration of our country, and as we shall look on these petty servants of our sin that in our office, and while we shall give them all the honor they deserve, we shall feel that we must honor most MAN; MAN, wherever he is found; MAN—the black man and the white man; yes, and WOMAN, too. (Applause.)

The choir and audience then united in singing the Doxology, which closed the exercises of the morning.

From all that dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator's praise arise;
Let the Redeemer's name be sung,
Through every land, by every tongue.

Eternal are Thy mercies, Lord;
Eternal truth attends Thy word;
Thy praise shall sound from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more.

BUSINESS MEETINGS.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 13.
The Society assembled for business in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, and was called to order by THOMAS GARRETT of Delaware, one of the Vice-Presidents.

The attendance of members and friends of the Society from different portions of the country was large. On motion of SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Boston, ARON M. POWELL, of New York, was appointed Secretary.

The following committees were also appointed:
Business Committee—Wendell Phillips, A. Miller, M. Kim, Oliver Johnson, Lucretia Mott, Mary Grew.
Finance Committee—E. D. Draper, of Mass., Susan B. Anthony, of N. Y.
Committee on Nominations—Samuel May, Jr., of Mass., Thomas Garrett, of Del., Aaron E. Powell, of N. Y., Rowland Johnson, of N. J., Edward M. Davis, of Pennsylvania.

On motion of OLIVER JOHNSON, a rule was adopted, limiting speakers to ten minutes.

MR. GARRETT then read the series of resolutions [Nos. 1 to 7] offered at the morning meeting.

PARKER PILLSBURY then offered the following resolutions, upon which no action was taken by the Society:

Resolved, That the mode of reconstruction of the government in Louisiana, under the Amnesty Proclamation, proves that the Administration is willing, not determined, to sacrifice the interest and the justice of the North, as well as to pervert the whole cause of justice and freedom, and to secure a sham peace, raising thereby the admission to Congress of a Southern element, able to embarrass if not control the action, and leaving the whole colored population, and the colored elements of the Southern States, in the hands of an unscrupulous, heartless and slavery-loving aristocracy. No do give hear or see any spoken or written protest in the Republican party, or the popular pulpit, of such tone and character as to arrest

impediment that he had not summoned to freedom...

Mr. GARRISON argued that the President and Congress were vested with the necessary power for the entire overthrow of slavery...

It was then voted, on motion of Mr. QUINCY, to recommit the resolution to report again to-morrow morning.

The following persons were added to the Business Committee: EDWARD QUINCY, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLBURY.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 11. The Society re-assembled for business at 10 o'clock, A. M.—the President in the chair.

After a song by JAMES G. CLARK, the meeting adjourned.

By Balance from all accounts \$ 4,154 55 By Receipts from donations, subscriptions...

After brief remarks from SAMUEL MAY, Jr., showing that though the financial condition of the Society is more favorable than a year ago...

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported resolution No. 1, with the amendment proposed by Mr. QUINCY, and instead of the amendment, a supplementary resolution—No. 2 of the series.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER then offered the following resolution: Whereas, by the insurrection of the Confederate States, all constitutional guarantees of slavery were rendered void...

Resolved, That all subsequent support of the institutions by the Federal government be a gratuitous service to the cause of despotism and slavery...

Dr. CROWELL believed the war was God's discipline for a sinful people. Still the nation holds hard to slavery for legal men.

Dr. TOWSE dissented from Mr. FOSTER'S resolution—the last clause. It was unfruitful to affirm that the present Administration was more infamous than any which had preceded it.

Mr. C. WRIGHT thought the terms of government and administration were too often confounded. He held the people primarily responsible as the source of government...

PARKER PILLBURY spoke of the anti-slavery enterprise as a sublime moral struggle. Therein was a mighty power in the land because of its moral position.

WILLIAM A. JACKSON (Jefferson Davis's coachman) addressed the meeting briefly. He rejoiced that so much had been accomplished for the enslaved.

After a song by JAMES G. CLARK, the meeting adjourned.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. Vice Presidents: PETER LIBBY, Maine; ROBERT PURVIS, Penn.; LUTHER MANSLEY, N. H.; EDWARD M. DAVIS, "

After additional brief discussion, participated in by Messrs. McKim, Garrison, Foster, Davis, May, Johnson, Phillips, Powell and others, the following resolution, offered by AARON M. POWELL, was adopted by a close vote:

Resolved, That while this Society, by the term of its organization, has for its object, through public opinion, the moral regeneration of the nation upon the subject of slavery...

Resolved, That the discrimination can be legally made between those who, as officers or soldiers, are enlisted in defence of the country...

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He did not regard it as within the province of this Society to support, as a Society, any political party, or nominee for the Presidency...

STEPHEN S. FOSTER commented upon the remarks of a previous speaker, who thought that men who did not and would not vote ought to say nothing upon public affairs.

MR. GARRISON (EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., in the chair) next addressed the meeting. He criticized Mr. Foster's resolution as absurdly assuming a covenant to be annulled, which he has told us he did not himself believe ever had an existence.

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Corresponding Secretary, CHARLES C. BURLINGAME, Florence, Mass. Recording Secretary, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston. Treasurer, WILLIAM L. BOWEN, Boston.

Executive Committee, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, SAMUEL MAY, JR., EDWARD QUINCY, WILLIAM L. BOWEN, WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLINGAME, ALICE BRUCE WILSON, HENRY C. WRIGHT, SIDNEY HOWARD GAY, RUFUS JACKSON, JOHN T. SARGENT.

LUCREZIA MOTT thought there had not been as much attention given to the consideration of our present and future responsibilities of labor as should have been in the course of the discussions.

EDWARD M. DAVIS spoke of the great responsibility resting upon all in the present crisis. He had hoped much of Mr. Lincoln, but had been disappointed in him.

MARY GREY said the great thing for us to remember was that our peculiar work is not yet done. Slaves still stand waiting for their message of freedom.

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abolition of slavery, with its prohibition by Constitutional amendment, and the equal enfranchisement of the negro.

Resolved, That while we do not criticize the wishes of the Administration, still, as Abolitionists, we feel bound to declare that we see no evidence of its purpose to put the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril.

On motion of OLIVER JOHNSON, the meeting then adjourned, sine die. AARON M. POWELL, Sec. pro tem.

COLLECTIONS. By Finance Committee, for Annual Meeting Expenses, May, 1864. Joseph Carpenter, Sarah H. Marshall, Wm. L. Howard, Mr. Powell, Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Sargent, E. D. Draper, Wm. L. Garrison, Oliver Johnson, J. M. McKim, Samuel May, Jr., J. L. Heywood, Wm. A. Jackson, Wm. Howe, T. Peirce, E. and G. Post, E. D. Hudson, Cash in various sums, \$2 00, 1 00, 1 00, 1 00, 3 00, 5 00, 1 00, 1 00, 2 00, 1 00, 1 00, 2 00, 5 80.

DONATIONS. To American A. S. Society, May 11, 1864. James Mott and Lucretia Mott, \$20 00, A Friend, 10 00, T. A. Burr, 5 00, Edmund Quincy, 10 00, Thomas Garrison, 5 00, C. and A. B. Bramhall, 10 00, E. M. Davis, 6 00.

PLEDGES. To American A. S. Society, May 11, 1864. Samuel May, Jr., \$25 00, Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Hudson, 10 00, Mary Grey, 5 00, Mary H. Temple, 1 00.

RECAPITULATION. Total amount collections and donations at Business meeting, \$ 96 00. Collection at Tuesday A. M. meeting, at Church of the Puritans, 182 00. Admission fees at Wednesday evening meeting at Cooper Institute, 185 00. Pledges payable, 41 00.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, May 26th and 27th.

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YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. The Twelfth Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends will be held at LONGWOOD, (near Hamorton), Chester County, Pa., beginning at 10 o'clock, A. M., on Fifth-day, the 2d of 6th month, and continuing, probably, for three days.

This Society demands assent to no system of doctrine, acknowledges no priesthood, prescribes no form of worship; but, cherishing the utmost liberty of religious opinion, inquiry and speculation, seeks its bond of Union in a common love of God as the Universal Father, a common regard for mankind as one Brotherhood, common aspirations for moral and religious excellence, and common labors to redeem the world from ignorance, superstition and sin.

OLIVER JOHNSON, ALLEN AGNEW, MARY ANN FULTON, JENNIE K. SMITH, THEODORE D. WELD, HANNAH COX, ALICE BRUCE WILSON, ANNIE STEINACH, ALBERT H. LOVE, DYNAM MENDENHALL, SARAH M. BARNARD, SUSANNA P. CHAMBERS, THOMAS HAMILTON, RACHEL WILSON.

LONGWOOD is about thirty miles west of Philadelphia, from which place it is reached by the cars of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railroad, which runs each way twice a day. The Progressive Friends are hospitable to strangers.

AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC. It being a well-known fact that the brave men composing the 54th and 55th Regiments Mass. Vols. have since they have been in their country's service, received no pay, and also that hundreds of them have fallen in defence of the American flag...

TO LET, for the Summer season, one of the most desirable residences in Lynn, situated on Sagamore Hill, free from dust, mosquitoes and other annoyances, and within three minutes' walk of the Beach.

MEDALLION OF JOHN BROWN. The subscriber invites the attention of his friends and the public to a number of Medallions of JOHN BROWN, just completed by him, and which may be seen at Nos. 89, Studio Building, Tremont Street.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN will speak at Concord, N. H., on "Liberty for All" on Saturday evening, May 21, and on Sunday, May 22.

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Portrait of William Lloyd Garrison. The subscriber has in preparation a large and elegant Photographic Portrait of Mr. Garrison, from an original crayon drawing by Thomas M. Johnston...

TWO VALUABLE PAMPHLETS. TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for the year ending May 1, 1861.

BOARDING. MRS. R. A. SMITH would inform her friends and the public generally, that she has taken house No. 42, Grove Street, Boston; where Board, transient and permanent, may be obtained on reasonable terms.

MASON & HAMLIN'S CABINET ORGANS. A very moderate cost—\$85, \$100, \$110, \$135, \$165, \$200, and upward, according to number of Stops and style of case.

EVERY CHURCH, Sunday School and Private Family. A GOOD ORGAN. It is a very moderate cost—\$85, \$100, \$110, \$135, \$165, \$200, and upward, according to number of Stops and style of case.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE. This useful and hitherto influential organization will celebrate its anniversary on Monday afternoon, 23d inst., at 3 o'clock, at the Tremont Temple.

SUNSHINE. A NEW NAME FOR A POPULAR LECTURE ON HEALTH. By Mrs. DALL, Author of "Woman's Labor."

THE RED SEA FREEDMEN. A STIRRING Sermon for the Times; by Unitarians, Unitarianism and progress, bearing upon the activities of the Church and the proprieties of the Nation.

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Poetry.

THE BONDMAN.

Close by the sea, on the desolate strand,
Where the gulf waves beat with his heavy hand,
I saw the fugitive bondman stand.

"O, I am not free!
No, I am not free!
No, I am not free!"

"Waves, waves, you are free! you are free!—you can
flow
Half way round the great world; yet how angry you
grow."

"How you hate the great rocks that keep you at bay!
How quiet, if you could, you would drive them away!

"And, waves, if you always fret and rear,
If you always long and toll for more,
When all is your own but a little of shore,

"Trees, Trees, you can grow everywhere on the land,
Yet how greedy you stretch your long arms from the
strand!

"Brook, Brook, little Brook, happy child of the hill,
You can go your own way, you can do your own will!

"Mankind have no pity; brutes howl on my track,
And ye have no pity—ye bid me go back!

"I have left the great gift that the Father gave,
Men say I've no soul, I am only—a slave!

"Happy and free did God create
Every man in his first estate,
Freedom to all—no more could I wait.

"A stooping wave tolled upward to meet,
And laid the bondman down at my feet,

"As I mutter'd softly by the silent dead,
An echo came floating about my head:

WHAT THE BIRDS SAID.
The bird against the April wind,
The Mockingbird, singing as they flew;

"We heard the starving prisoner's sigh;
And saw, from his and trench, your eyes
Follow our flight with home-sick eyes

"And, struggling up through sounds accented,
A grateful murmur climb the air,

"So to me, in a doubtful day
Of chill and slowly-grazing spring,
Low-stopping from the cloudy grey,

GEN. GILLMORE ON THE PAY AND USE OF
NEGRO TROOPS.
[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

HILTON HEAD, (S. C.) April 23, 1864.
I herewith enclose you an authentic copy of a letter
addressed by General Gillmore to the General-in-Chief

"DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, HEADQUARTERS
IN THE FIELD, FOLLY ISLAND,
S. C., Dec. 14, 1863.

"I desire to urge upon the attention of
Government certain simple measures for bettering
the condition of the colored people in this Department,

"The policy of the Government in organizing
regiments of colored troops upon this coast, and the
value and general efficiency of that class of soldiers,

"I request attention to the following points:—
First. The colored volunteers in this Department
are derived from the States of South Carolina, Georgia

"Second. A Board for the examination of candidates
for commissions in colored regiments should be
appointed in this Department.

"Third. The pay of the white soldier and of the
colored soldier should be the same. All distinctions
calculated to raise in the mind of the colored man a

"Fourth. The families of colored soldiers should be
provided for by allowing them to locate upon and
cultivate land in advance of the regular survey and

"I enclose herewith the duplicate of a letter ad-
dressed this day to the Secretary of War, recom-
mending the consolidation, under Colonel Littlefield,

THEN AND NOW.
It requires no great stretch of memory to refer to
a period when freedom of speech in the State of
Louisiana was practically abrogated on the subject

And we gazed with astonishment at the boldness
of their utterances; and the radical character of their
opinions. We were reading Garrison's Liberator or
the Anti-Slavery Standard, and we refer back to the
title to be certain that we are right. We read on

RICHMOND PRISON EXPERIENCE.
STATEMENT OF ONE OF COLONEL DAGLREN'S MEN.
Editors Baltimore American:

I give you a brief statement of the sufferings of the
raiding prisoners that were under command of Col.
Dagblren, Lieut. Col. Cook. On the raid to Rich-
mond, after riding three days and nights, only stop-
ping long enough to feed our horses, we were ordered

"They then marched us to Stevensville, where they
gave us some water to drink, and then they ordered
us to march on to the next station, where they halted,

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A REMINISCENCE OF HOW OWEN LOVEJOY.
In the summer of 1850, a fugitive slave, on his
way to the land of freedom, came to Princeton, Ill.,
and, finding employment among the farmers, con-
cluded to stop and earn a little money before com-
pleting his journey.

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THE SCHEME TO ASSASSINATE PRES-
IDENT LINCOLN.
WASHINGTON, April 17, 1864.
Two or three, and possibly more, copperhead
journals have seen fit to question the truth of my
statements in regard to rebel schemes to kidnap or

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in the upper counties, says he can go to graves of
ten persons, from boys of twelve and fifteen years
up to old men of sixty, who were compelled to dig
to their own graves and get into them, and then were
left to die—all for the crime of being for the Union.

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EXECUTION OF B. W. WOOSTER.

HAINES BLUFF, (Miss.) April 24, 1864.
The undersigned, officers of the Third regiment
United States cavalry (colored) make the following
statement in relation to the hanging of B. W. Wooster,

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IN MEMORIAM.

SHELBY COUNTY, Ill., April 15, 1864.
I read with tears the incidents of the sickness,
death, and burial of Thomas Starr King. What a
glorious death! But no wonder, because his life was

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ANOTHER INSTANCE OF REBEL BAR-
BARIETY.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial
writing in Decatur, Alabama, gives the following ac-
count of another barbarous act of the rebels:

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ANOTHER STEP FORWARD.

The New England Conference of 1863 M. E.
Church, at its last session, pulled down another of
those bars of prejudice which have been so sol-
emnly erected by church and state for centuries in

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GUERRILLAS PUNISHED—A WHITE MAN
SHOT BY A NEGRO.

A party of guerrillas, about thirty in number, has
just been disposed of by a party of scouts under
Capt. Reynolds. They were heard of in Green
County, roaming over the country, killing men, and

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LETTER OF OWEN LOVEJOY.

The Princeton (Ill.) Republican says:
"The following letter, it is perhaps, the last one
written by Mr. Lovejoy. It was in answer to one
from Mr. J. E. Bryant, requesting his services in

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