

great object? Am I not justified in saying in 1865 what my friend Mr. Phillips said in 1861? Exclusively as an Abolitionist, I have little more interest in this war than the frontiersman's wife had in his struggle with the bear, when she didn't care which side she whipped." (Laughter.) It was in 1861, also, that he said:

"To-day the question is, by the voice of the South, 'Shall Washington or Montgomery own the continent? And the North says, 'From the Gulf to the Pole, the stars and stripes shall stand for four millions of negroes whom we have forgotten for seventy years; and, before you break the Union, we will see that justice is done to the slave.' All of you may not mean it now. Our fathers did not think in 1776 of the Declaration of Independence. The Long Revolution never entered upon the struggle; but, having begun, they made through work. It is an attribute of the Yankee blood—slow to fight, and fight only. It was a holy war, that for independence: this is a holy war, and the stars and stripes shall stand for four millions of negroes whom we have forgotten for seventy years; and, before you break the Union, we will see that justice is done to the slave." "There is only one thing those cannon balls can't do in the harbor of Charleston—scuttle—that there never can be a compromise."

I could read a great many more such passages, all affirming that this war would effect universal emancipation, and that from the Atlantic to the Pacific no human being would be left to pine in bondage. Hence I rejoice to believe that the American Anti-Slavery Society is no longer needed to agitate for the abolition of slavery, and that whereas it was once vitally important that our testimony should be heard, because all others were dumb; now, all over the land, voices are heard as loud, as strong, as yehehau, as eloquent, in favor of universal freedom, as have ever been heard on this anti-slavery platform.

My friends, let us not any longer affect superiority when we are not superior (hear, hear)—let us not assume to be better than other people, when we are not any better. (Applause, and cries of hear, hear.) When they are reiterating all that we say, and disposed to do all that we wish to have done, what more can we ask? And yet I know the desire to keep together, because of past memories and labors, is a very natural one. But let us challenge and command the respect of the nation, and of the friends of freedom throughout the world, by a wise and sensible omission. Of course, we are not to cease laboring in regard to whatever remains to be done; but let us work with the millions, and not exclusively as the American Anti-Slavery Society. As co-workers are everywhere found, as our voices are everywhere listened to with approbation and our sentiments cordially endorsed, let us not continue to be isolated. My friend, Mr. Phillips, says he has been used to isolation, and he thinks he can endure it some time longer. My answer is, that when one stands alone with God for truth, for liberty, for righteousness, he may glory in his isolation; but when the principle which kept him isolated has at last conquered, then to glory in isolation seems to me no evidence of courage or fidelity. (Applause.)

Friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, this is no "death-bed scene" to me! There are some in our ranks who seem to grow discouraged and morbid in proportion as light abounds and victory crowns our efforts (applause); and it seems as if the hour of the triumph of universal justice is before us to-day. We have had something said about a funeral here to-day. A funeral because Abolitionism sweeps the nation! A funeral! Nay, thanks be to God who giveth us the victory, it is a day of jubilee, and not a day to talk about funerals or death-beds! It is a resurrection from the dead, rather; it is an ascension and beatification! Slavery is in its grave, and there is no power in this nation that can ever bring it back. But if the heathens should disappear, and the earth be removed out of its place—if slavery should, by a miracle, come back—what then? We shall then have millions of supporters to rally with us for a fresh onset!

I thank you, beloved friends, who have for so many years done me the honor to make me the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I never should have accepted that post if it had been a popular one. I took it because it was unpopular; because we, as a body, were everywhere denounced, proscribed, outlawed. To-day, it is popular to be President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Hence, my connection with it terminates here and now, both as a member and as its presiding officer. I bid you an affectionate adieu.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER.—Mr. Chairman: A very grave charge has been brought against me by the President of this Society, to which I feel I have a right to reply. It is known to you all that I have stood before the country as the professed friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society; that I have been present at its operations; and yet the President tells you that, through all these years, I have been the deadly enemy of the Society, seeking its destruction. I have the right to demand the retraction of this charge, or the proof to sustain it, and I do.

A great deal of importance is attached to the Constitutional Amendment. Do you know how that came to be brought about? One year ago last autumn, our earnest and devoted friend, Susan B. Anthony, who, with our other friend, Elizabeth C. Stanton, had been laboring for some time in this city in order to secure the passage of such an amendment by Congress, finding her funds fail, went to the city of Boston, and met the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. After staying in Boston two or three days, I think, she came to me, with her hands hanging down, and her heart utterly discouraged. She said she could get no word of sympathy or cooperation in Boston, and was going back to New York to close her office and give up in despair. I felt very sad, revolved the matter over in my mind, and finally said to her, the next day, "Susan, I see one ray of light: By the sacrifice of my own personal feelings, I think I can render you some assistance to go on with your work, and have resolved to make the sacrifice." Immediately I left my business—which was then pressing—started for Boston, went to the house of our President, William Lloyd Garrison, and in the most earnest manner in my power sought him to lend his influence to this movement. I then went to other members of the Executive Committee, and asked their cooperation, and pledged myself to use my utmost influence with the Hovey Trust Committee, of which I was a member, to secure the appropriation of \$3,000 to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be expended by a Committee of that Society in cooperation with a Committee of the Hovey Trust Committee, for the purpose of securing this great Amendment to the Constitution. And I was happily successful in that undertaking. Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips accepted the proposition, and the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society at last accepted it; although, Mr. Chairman, one member of that Committee, who had always been a trusted friend of this Society, said in that Committee, in my hearing, that she would throw that money into the sea, before she would use it to send out agents to secure this Amendment to the Constitution; and another member said he would sooner use the money to procure colored recruits. There is a specimen of my hostility to this Society.

Mr. Garrison says I have refused contributions to the funds of the Society. The contributions I have refused were not of my own money, but money entrusted to me by my beloved friend, Charles F. Hovey, to be expended in my best judgment; and my judgment was, that it should be expended in this great work of securing the Constitutional Amendment. Mr. Garrison says I have not contributed of my own funds; and he says you the reason. He tells you the Society has been doing for the last four years, and I have chosen to give my money to a living movement, and not to the administrators of a dead Society.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.—My friend, Mr. Garrison, observed that this is no question of principle, it is merely a question of means. Certainly that is true. But, in 1861, the question of establishing the American Anti-Slavery Society was not a question of principle,

it was only a question of means. A man might be an Abolitionist, and work efficiently, without the principle of association. When he and his double score of coadjutors, in the city of Philadelphia, formed this Society, any man had a right to say to them, then, as he says to us to-day, "This is no question of principle, gentlemen, it is only a question of means." That fact, therefore, does not place us on any different level from that which we have always occupied. A Society is merely a means.

In the remarks I made yesterday, I said the first department of this question was, "Is there anything society to do?" and the second department is, "Is this Society an efficient aid in doing that work?" I answered both these questions in the affirmative. There is something to do, and this organization gives us an additional means of doing it. Of course, I agree most cordially with all my friends about the amount that has been done. No man doubts that. He cannot paint the sky so bright that I will not rejoice at every line of his pencil. I agree to all that. It was cruel in him to inflict my speeches on you again; (laughter); and yet, I have not a word of those speeches to take back. (Applause.) I said the best thing I could at the moment. I tried to lift the public sentiment higher and higher whenever I met my fellow-citizens. Now, my complaint against the Standard is, that for two years it has not done this work. My friend says all the loyal papers talk as well as the Standard. They have done so for two years, and that is my complaint. As the organ of the Executive Committee, I originally instructed that paper to announce such truth and illustrate such principle as would lift the community; I never instructed it to stand on the level of the Republican party. Now, my charge against the Standard, which is no tinge of personal bitterness whatever, is, that when the community were ready for the general idea of emancipation by the War Power, the Standard was but it indicated nothing more. I went about and tried to bayonet the President into the Proclamation of Emancipation. After a while, the Standard advocated it. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base, and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. The Standard stood where it was. It was some time before it took ground in favor of the Amendment of the Constitution. Well, when the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it—suffrage, and the crippling of State Rights. (Applause.) Now, I claim that the duty of the Standard was, all this while, to have kept in the van of the nation, and not to advocate only what four men out of five or seven men out of ten were ready for. This is the duty which I think devolved, and now devolves, on the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Now, one word in regard to the matter of efficiency, to which Mr. Garrison alluded. He says that since 1861, we have had "a name to live, without any life." My respected friend has been here year after year to attend meetings in this church—they did not seem very dead! For the last three years, we have held meetings in Massachusetts and meetings here, under the auspices of this Society, and they never seemed dead! I appeal to any man of this audience, accustomed to go to this outside world to which my friend refers, and ask for money, if this Society is worth nothing. Suppose he should go to a merchant converted within these two years, and say—"Sir, here is this plan for the freedmen, this for the refugees, that for agitation, that for a journal"—and suppose that merchant that look up in his face and say, "Sir, what do you want my thousand dollars for? The Anti-Slavery Society has dissolved and gone home, announcing that the work is done. If that is the fact, I have no money to give. If that flag were flying, if Mr. Garrison and the other gentlemen who have studied this question for thirty years, and have given their lives to it, said there was something more to be done, you should have my money; but if this work is done, if there is no more negro and white man, why need I go out of my counting-room? I can use my money better than that. Does not such a supposition show that this Society ought not to disband while anything remains to be done? Every practical man knows that when this Society announces to the public that the work is done, it will make a difference in the pecuniary contributions of the newly-converted of 83 or 60 percent. If this Society never had an agent again, if it never made a speech or held a meeting, it has a value beyond statement in the very fact that the just converted man sees the pressure and personal influence standing behind it, recognizes by the fact of its very existence that it calls upon the nation to complete the work. These men are willing, anxious to put their contributions into a channel where disinterested and prudent men allow that there is something still to be done. I will allow Mr. Garrison all that he claims, that he has no reports, no agents, no money, and I will place on your platform disinterested witnesses to testify, that in the cities of Philadelphia, Boston and New York, their hands would be held up in filling the treasuries of auxiliary associations by the fact of our existence, and that they would be materially crippled by the announcement through the New York press that this Society considered the cause of the Negro race on this continent finished. I say, brothers in this Anti-Slavery work, that this is the practical use of this organization, even were it what Mr. Garrison represents.

Mr. Garrison tells you Kentucky is all right—practically free—laughs at any troubles. I will read you a letter:

LOUISVILLE, KY., April 28, 1865.

"If slavery could only get—mark you not—slavery has got—its death-blow in this State, it seems to me that the end of it might be taken for granted. But just let Wm. Lloyd Garrison step out here, if he wants to see slavery in full blast."

Mr. GARRISON.—But in 1861, the death blow was given to slavery everywhere, as our friend testified to Mr. PHILLIPS.—Can I not grow wiser? [Applause.] Mr. GARRISON.—The growing wiser consists in this: that in 1861, when not a fetter had been touched anywhere, it was declared that the death-blow to slavery had been given; but when, everywhere, chains are rent asunder, my friend regards the future as full of peril! [Applause.] Mr. PHILLIPS.—Let me read on—"I am glad to see that Wendell Phillips still insists on keeping up the Society." [This letter was not addressed to me, but has been handed to me by friend.] "Numerous instances have come to my knowledge of rebels beating their slaves in this city for expressing sentiments of grief at the death of the President, and the military authorities, so far as I know, have taken no means for their punishment."

I solemnly declare that these statements of Mr. Phillips are untrue. The Standard did not want for the great community to get ready, but, from the instant that the war broke out, with earnest and constant iteration, urged Emancipation by the War Power. I defy Mr. Phillips to prove that he was one day, one hour, or one second in advance of the Standard in urging the President to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation, or in advocating the Constitutional Amendment. If I had heard these charges when they were uttered in the meeting, I should have denied them on the spot. I met the Standard, and I have been here since. I met the Standard, and I declare them to be without a shadow of foundation.

I am amazed and confounded that Mr. Phillips has brought these charges against the Standard, not less so than I should have been if he had accused it of supporting the rebellion. If they are true, why have they been kept back to this date? If the Standard was thus false to the cause in 1861, '62 and '63, why was it that Mr. Phillips, neither privately nor publicly, ever called it to account? If they are true, why have they been made known to the Editors, and, so far as I am concerned, I aver that he never gave the slightest hint of disaffection. He was a member of the Executive Committee, which had full control of the Standard, and he called its Editors to account at any time; and yet never, to my knowledge, did he utter one word of accusation or rebuke. He was present at the Annual Meetings of 1862, '63, and '64; why did he not present his evidence in a formal manner at all these dates?—Edw. Standard.

It was only a question of means. A man might be an Abolitionist, and work efficiently, without the principle of association. When he and his double score of coadjutors, in the city of Philadelphia, formed this Society, any man had a right to say to them, then, as he says to us to-day, "This is no question of principle, gentlemen, it is only a question of means." That fact, therefore, does not place us on any different level from that which we have always occupied. A Society is merely a means.

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ed out to shield them—and yet this society asks leave to dissolve! So much for Louisville.

My friend says Delaware is a handkerchief State. Well, I have no scales to weigh this. This Society did not organize itself to free four millions of slaves; it organized itself to free the slaves, to abolish the system. So long as any number of slaves remain, there is work; so long as the system of slavery remains, there is work. But what does Delaware say? This letter is written to me, and dated May 4, 1865. It is from one of the most earnest workers, a man high in office, tireless, indefatigable, disinterested, self-sacrificing.

"Pardon me, my dear sir, if I express the pleasure that the announcement of your action concerning the American Anti-Slavery Society has given me. (Who Delaware and Kentucky (and you might add New Jersey) remain as slave States, it is no time to disband. If your Society has no other work, let them be kind enough to lend us a helping hand. In this State, the spirit of slavery is more determined, and we desire to see this opportunity to testify our deep and grateful sense of the year and immeasurable services which his thirty-five years of tireless devotion to the cause have rendered to the slave and the country—that we have no words adequate to express our sense of the debt we owe, and that our feeling will recognize him as the real Liberator of the American Slave, and will do justice to the wide and beneficial influence he has had on his age here and throughout the world; and history will keep a prouder record for Democratic Institutions, in that they have shown themselves capable of producing so independent, magnificent, heroic and thoroughly Christian patriot and man."

Mr. FOSTER moved the adoption of the resolution, and that the question be taken by a rising vote. The question was put, and the resolution carried unanimously, the entire assembly rising.

Mr. GARRISON—I desire to express the grateful feelings of my heart in view of this fresh testimony from this Society. I can only say, that though I shall not be with you as a member of the Society any longer, I shall be with you in the spirit which seeks to remove every fetter, and to give full and complete justice to all who are oppressed in our country. You have chosen, by a decided majority, to continue the Society. I beg of you not to make it a mere formality, as it has been of late. I hope, if you are earnest, that you will endeavor to see that it is made useful—and I trust that you may be able to do a great deal of good, beyond anything that I can now see or anticipate. I shall work with you, I shall work with the nation, with the people, with the millions, with the government (applause) in the effort to secure full justice to every man who has a colored complexion in our country, whether he is now in bonds, or whether he is free. God's blessing rest upon you! (Loud applause.)

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.—I wish now to offer a resolution in connection with the one just passed in relation to our retiring President:

Resolved, That this Society regards it as a duty, as it is its pleasure, to acknowledge the eminent ability and moral fidelity of which this organ, the National Anti-Slavery Standard, has been conducted from the first, and at every period of its existence for the term of twenty-five full years; especially does the Society at this time contemplate with satisfaction and approval the wise foresight, the just discrimination, the faithful criticism, the generous appreciation of every cause in favor of freedom made by the American paper and people, which have characterized the paper during the eventful and perilous four years of the war; and, in taking leave of its retiring Editors, the Society tenders to them the assurance of its sincerest respect and hearty gratitude.

Mr. FOSTER moved the reference of the resolution to the Executive Committee.

Mr. MAY—I object to that reference. I do not see why I should refer this resolution to the Executive Committee any more than the one in regard to Mr. Garrison. It is essentially a question for the Society, as a Society, to pronounce upon. The members of the Society, who may be supposed to be, all of them, readers of the Standard, and its supporters to the extent of their ability, (they ought to be, certainly,) know what its character has been for twenty-five years past, and during the period of the war. The strong support afforded to the Standard by its subscribers, and all the knowledge I have of their sentiments, and of the sentiments of the members of this Society, lead me to believe that the most cordial endorsement and approbation will be given to the Standard and to its management in regard to the interests of the anti-slavery cause, during the very trying time of the past four years. Of course, there are none at this late day who will differ in regard to the conduct of the Standard under the administration of Nathaniel P. Rogers, of Mr. and Mrs. Child, of Mr. Gay, and others, who have been in its editorial chair. I do, for one, solemnly believe that it is the duty of this Society, and that it is their pleasure, to acknowledge the fidelity of the services of the retiring editors of the Standard, as much as it was to acknowledge the fidelity of the services of our late President. They have faithfully represented the views of Abolitionists, according to their best light, and according to their own understanding of the purposes and instructions of this Society. I believe they have not swerved a hair's-breadth from the instructions given them by this Society; that they have endeavored to understand them, and have endeavored to carry them out to the best of their ability. Are there any here who say "No" to that? If so, here is the opportunity. I wish to record my vote as thanking these gentlemen and their colleague for the faithful and generous and able services they have rendered to this Society, and the cause it represents. I hope, therefore, the resolutions will not be referred to the Executive Committee. It is emphatically a question for the Society to decide.

Mr. FOSTER.—It will be apparent to the audience that there is no analogy between this case and that of the President of the Society. The President was elected by the Society, responsible to it, and to no one else. The editors of the Standard were appointed by the Executive Committee, and within the last six months, I think, they have appealed to the Executive Committee as the body to whom they are responsible. They have not resigned their offices to this Society; we do not know but they have decided to go on, in view of the unanimity with which the Society has voted to continue. I prefer to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Executive Committee, who, when they resign, will pay them such a tribute of respect and gratitude, in behalf of the Abolitionists of the country, as in their judgment they are entitled to. If this resolution were a mere vote of thanks to these gentlemen, I could most heartily give it my support, but, with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Pillsbury, I dissent from the course of the Standard. I was in favor of the Cleveland Convention, which declared a year ago that there was not a slave on the American soil; and I gave it my hearty support. The Standard opposed it, and fought the only man who stood before the country as a Radical Abolitionist, and took President Lincoln, who lived and died the President of a slaveholding nation. Now, while I differ from the editors of the Standard entirely in regard to the propriety of their course, I have the utmost confidence in the fidelity of those gentlemen to their convictions. The case is one for argument, not for censure.

MARTIN ROBINSON—I wish, with Mr. May, to give expression to a feeling in regard to the editors of the Standard, that shall be in harmony with that expressed for the retiring President. I hope that, in some shape, we shall have such a resolution, and one that will come spontaneously from this meeting, as the preceding one did.

The question was then taken on the motion to refer the resolution to the Executive Committee, and it was carried by a vote of 24 to 23.

Mr. PILLSBURY offered the following series of resolutions:

1. Resolved, That the thanks of the Society, and of the whole country, are eminently due to Hon. Charles Sumner for his untiring energy and perseverance in preventing the re-division of Louisiana into the Union, under a Constitution which excludes from suffrage and citizenship all her colored population, whose loyalty is above all suspicion, and whose peerless valor

President.—William Lloyd Garrison.
Vice Presidents.—Gerrit Smith, New York; George B. Cheever, D.D., New York; James Mott, Pennsylvania; Mary Grew, Pennsylvania; John G. Whitler, Massachusetts; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Massachusetts; Peter Libbey, Maine; Nathaniel White, New Hampshire; Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island; Abby Smith, Connecticut; Lucy Stone, New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Marius R. Robinson, Ohio; Wm. Hopkins, Indiana; Thomas Chandler, Michigan; Caroline L. Morgan, Wisconsin; Alonzo J. Grover, Illinois; Rev. Caleb Green, Minnesota; Lot Holmes, Iowa; George W. Benson, Kansas; Dr. J. N. Hawks, South Carolina; N. C. Dennet, Florida.

Treasurer.—William I. Bowditch.
Corresponding Secretary.—Charles K. Whipple.
Recording Secretary.—Aaron M. Powell.
Executive Committee.—Wendell Phillips, Bourne Spooner, John T. Sargent, Richard P. Hallowell, Sarah J. Nowell, Caroline R. Putnam, George L. Stearns, Abby K. Foster, E. D. Hudson, Edward M. Davis, Robert Purvis, C. L. Reason.

The announcement of Mr. Garrison's name as President was received with tumultuous applause, and Mr. Foster stated that the nomination was unanimous on the part of the Committee.

The report of the Committee was accepted.

Mr. GARRISON—I really do not understand this. I accept it in the spirit of kindness in which it has manifestly been tendered, but I do not understand why it should have been done, when I have given the reasons, which are all-conclusive in my own mind, why I cannot any longer act with the Society. I do not deem it a matter that requires any consideration. I must, of course, decline to serve as President of the Society, after having taken the ground that I do, that it would be better for the Society to dissolve. But I am very much obliged to you for this expression of your confidence and regard.

The declaration of Mr. Garrison was accepted, and on motion of Stephen S. Foster, Wendell Phillips was elected President, and took the Chair amid great applause.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I can only say, ladies and gentlemen, that grateful as I am for this mark of your kind regard, I have never passed from one moment to

another with greater grief than in listening to the announcement of the honorable purpose of Mr. Garrison to decline the honor which was so lovingly and unanimously accorded to him by the vote of this Society. I would have added my own urgent wish to the unanimous wish of the Committee, of which I was a member, if I had thought it respectful to do so. I do it deeply regretting that he should have thought it necessary, after so unanimous an expression of opinion as we have just seen, to decline to allow us further the bulwark of his name. Will you allow me to turn aside, for a moment, from the duty of a Chairman, and to offer a resolution on this occasion, expressive of our feelings, for the adoption of the Society?

Resolved, That we have heard with the most profound address the decision of our revered and beloved leader and late President to decline a reelection to that office—that we submit to his decision, having in vain tried to change it, with the greatest regard, and we desire to see this opportunity to testify our deep and grateful sense of the year and immeasurable services which his thirty-five years of tireless devotion to the cause have rendered to the slave and the country—that we have no words adequate to express our sense of the debt we owe, and that our feeling will recognize him as the real Liberator of the American Slave, and will do justice to the wide and beneficial influence he has had on his age here and throughout the world; and history will keep a prouder record for Democratic Institutions, in that they have shown themselves capable of producing so independent, magnificent, heroic and thoroughly Christian patriot and man."

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The question was then taken on the motion to refer the resolution to the Executive Committee, and it was carried by a vote of 24 to 23.

Mr. PILLSBURY offered the following series of resolutions:

1. Resolved, That the thanks of the Society, and of the whole country, are eminently due to Hon. Charles Sumner for his untiring energy and perseverance in preventing the re-division of Louisiana into the Union, under a Constitution which excludes from suffrage and citizenship all her colored population, whose loyalty is above all suspicion, and whose peerless valor

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Treasurer.—William I. Bowditch.
Corresponding Secretary.—Charles K. Whipple.
Recording Secretary.—Aaron M. Powell.
Executive Committee.—Wendell Phillips, Bourne Spooner, John T. Sargent, Richard P. Hallowell, Sarah J. Nowell, Caroline R. Putnam, George L. Stearns, Abby K. Foster, E. D. Hudson, Edward M. Davis, Robert Purvis, C. L. Reason.

The announcement of Mr. Garrison's name as President was received with tumultuous applause, and Mr. Foster stated that the nomination was unanimous on the part of the Committee.

The report of the Committee was accepted.

Mr. GARRISON—I really do not understand this. I accept it in the spirit of kindness in which it has manifestly been tendered, but I do not understand why it should have been done, when I have given the reasons, which are all-conclusive in my own mind, why I cannot any longer act with the Society. I do not deem it a matter that requires any consideration. I must, of course, decline to serve as President of the Society, after having taken the ground that I do, that it would be better for the Society to dissolve. But I am very much obliged to you for this expression of your confidence and regard.

The declaration of Mr. Garrison was accepted, and on motion of Stephen S. Foster, Wendell Phillips was elected President, and took the Chair amid great applause.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I can only say, ladies and gentlemen, that grateful as I am for this mark of your kind regard, I have never passed from one moment to

another with greater grief than in listening to the announcement of the honorable purpose of Mr. Garrison to decline the honor which was so lovingly and unanimously accorded to him by the vote of this Society. I would have added my own urgent wish to the unanimous wish of the Committee, of which I was a member, if I had thought it respectful to do so. I do it deeply regretting that he should have thought it necessary, after so unanimous an expression of opinion as we have just seen, to decline to allow us further the bulwark of his name. Will you allow me to turn aside, for a moment, from the duty of a Chairman, and to offer a resolution on this occasion, expressive of our feelings, for the adoption of the Society?

Resolved, That we have heard with the most profound address the decision of our revered and beloved leader and late President to decline a reelection to that office—that we submit to his decision, having in vain tried to change it, with the greatest regard, and we desire to see this opportunity to testify our deep and grateful sense of the year and immeasurable services which his thirty-five years of tireless devotion to the cause have rendered to the slave and the country—that we have no words adequate to express our sense of the debt we owe, and that our feeling will recognize him as the real Liberator of the American Slave, and will do justice to the wide and beneficial influence he has had on his age here and throughout the world; and history will keep a prouder record for Democratic Institutions, in that they have shown themselves capable of producing so independent, magnificent, heroic and thoroughly Christian patriot and man."

Mr. FOSTER moved the adoption of the resolution, and that the question be taken by a rising vote. The question was put, and the resolution carried unanimously, the entire assembly rising.

Mr. GARRISON—I desire to express the grateful feelings of my heart in view of this fresh testimony from this Society. I can only say, that though I shall not be with you as a member of the Society any longer, I shall be with you in the spirit which seeks to remove every fetter, and to give full and complete justice to all who are oppressed in our country. You have chosen, by a decided majority, to continue the Society. I beg of you not to make it a mere formality, as it has been of late. I hope, if you are earnest, that you will endeavor to see that it is made useful—and I trust that you may be able to do a great deal of good, beyond anything that I can now see or anticipate. I shall work with you, I shall work with the nation, with the people, with the millions, with the government (applause) in the effort to secure full justice to every man who has a colored complexion in our country, whether he is now in bonds, or whether he is free. God's blessing rest upon you! (Loud applause.)

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.—I wish now to offer a resolution in connection with the one just passed in relation to our retiring President:

Resolved, That this Society regards it as a duty, as it is its pleasure, to acknowledge the eminent ability and moral fidelity of which this organ, the National Anti-Slavery Standard, has been conducted from the first, and at every period of its existence for the term of twenty-five full years; especially does the Society at this time contemplate with satisfaction and approval the wise foresight, the just discrimination, the faithful criticism, the generous appreciation of every cause in favor of freedom made by the American paper and people, which have characterized the paper during the eventful and perilous four years of the war; and, in taking leave of its retiring Editors, the Society tenders to them the assurance of its sincerest respect and hearty gratitude.

Mr. FOSTER moved the reference of the resolution to the Executive Committee.

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been lifted from their lips, so that they are willing to expose an effort in that direction, is solely because men more favorably placed than themselves have kept up the agitation, outside of Maryland, which has at last opened their lips.

Mr. May—I think as much of the past history of the American Anti-Slavery Society as any one can; but on any man coming upon this platform, and say that anything that this Society has done within the last six months has influenced the minds of those who are not members of it, I should be glad to hear of it. I cannot, no sir; it is due to the perseverance of such men as Charles Sumner; of such men as Wendell Phillips, who, for a few years past, has acted quite as much with other societies as with his own; and to the efforts of newspapers all over the country, who see the moral, political, and social necessity of doing justice to the negro. It is not these men who are the advance that has been made; it is the moral, political, and social necessity of doing justice to the negro. It is not these men who are the advance that has been made; it is the moral, political, and social necessity of doing justice to the negro.

Mr. Pillsbury—I have not intruded myself upon this meeting with any remarks, and it is altogether unnecessary for me to do so now. But it seems to me that something should be said that has not yet been said, and that I fear I shall not be able to say under such unfavorable circumstances. I agreed with my friend Mr. Garrison, that this Society had done more for the last four years; but it seemed to me a most humiliating confession to make, and I thought that the Society had done more for the last four years, it is true, but it is not, in my judgment, for this Society to either up to itself the credit of the advance that has been made.

shall all know it, for it will be as if Death and Hell gave up the ghost. When we comprehend the malignity of the monster, and the power and tenacity of existence which he has acquired, we shall realize that our work is no pastime, no child's play; and that however Freedmen's Associations and Christian Associations may operate in their fields, they will every one of them need the old polar star to guide them in their dangerous navigation. (Applause.)

The question was then taken on motion of Dr. Snodgrass to amend Mr. Pillsbury's resolution, and the amendment carried; in which form the resolution passed. The third resolution of the series was also passed. Rev. Mr. Trevellin, Agent of the Western Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association—I was at your meeting yesterday, and I thank God that I have had the opportunity of attending these meetings. I only want to say, in regard to the matter under discussion, that your work is not done. When I heard, at my home, that you were going to disband the Society, I was amazed. I heard it said that for some reason or other you were going to disband, in order to organize something better. I did not understand it. I have only to say, that you have great reason to be thankful that the people have come up to your standpoint. If they will only give the negro the ballot, I do not care what becomes of the Freedmen's Associations. Give the blacks the ballot, and let the nation take its heel off their necks, and they will take care of themselves. That, I think, is the true doctrine.

On motion, it was voted that the communication be entered upon the records of the meeting.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1865.

THE NEW YORK ANNIVERSARY.

In the Liberator of this week we complete the publication of the very faithful report of the proceedings of the recent anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York, as made by that skillful photographic reporter, J. M. W. YERRINGTON, Esq. Having occupied so large a portion of the last three numbers with those proceedings, we have been obliged to omit much other matter of an interesting character; but we felt sure our readers cherished a paramount desire to know all that was said and done at New York concerning the proposition to dissolve the Parent Society, even to the exclusion of every thing else.

It will be seen that those who were so strenuous for continuing the Society not only occupied a very large portion of the time, but magnified the importance of the Society at the present time in the most extravagant manner. Mr. Phillips took his rhetorical powers to make it appear that the dissolution of the Society would be a most perilous act to the cause of impartial freedom, if not utter recency to it! Yet he knows that, as a member of its Executive Committee, it is a long time since he has taken a special interest in its welfare or efficiency; that its means have been growing more and more curtailed, without exciting any uneasiness or remark on his part; that it has not presented to the public since the war broke out any report of its doings; and that he has neither proposed nor even suggested any thing to be done by it. Indeed, what need is there of its further existence so long as Mr. Phillips is in the field, able to command, to "bayonet," and to conquer? This is his humble claim for himself.

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

The Annual Meeting of the Emancipation League was held on Monday afternoon, (20th ult.) at the Tremont Temple. In the absence of the President, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, the chair was taken by Major Geo. L. Stearns.

After the appointment of Committees on the Nomination of Officers and on Resolutions, the meeting was addressed by Hon. William D. Kelley of Philadelphia.

After referring to the fact that his State, Pennsylvania, was the first to abolish slavery by legislative enactment three years before the Revolutionary war was ended, (though he must admit that the draft of that instrument was made by a Massachusetts man, Benjamin Franklin), Judge Kelley proceeded to speak, at great length, of the present situation of our country.

The most important element of that situation, he said, is not peace, nor the return of the soldiers. True, Kirby Smith has surrendered the last Army. Nevertheless, now the war begins. We have now to contend with a more subtle and powerful enemy, which lurks in our own households, the prejudice against the negro in which we have been trained from infancy.

Coming to the subject of reconstruction in rebel States, Judge Kelley spoke of the large proportion of black population in the South, and of the preponderance of that population in South Carolina and Mississippi, the chief cotton States.

Resolved, That we most fervently thank God and congratulate the country that what has been called the "old status" of slavery no longer exists within the rebel States, and that rebels have no political rights which loyal men are bound to respect.

Resolved, That the same united people who unanimously approved the Declaration of American Independence, in 1776, and vindicated it by the perilous and glorious struggle of the Revolution, should now, in the year 1865, adopt a national constitution without recanting one word of the former instrument, much less any political truth which it declared self-evident; therefore,

Resolved, 1. That States in exercising their constitutional right to determine within their limits the qualifications requisite for the electors of State and United States officers are virtually prohibited from disfranchising any citizens of the United States on account of race or color, and hence loyal colored men have the same constitutional right to the elective franchise as loyal white men.

Resolved, That the omission of colored troops from the national military organization at Washington was no less insulting to the brave white soldiers of the Army and to a grateful country than to the heroes of Port Hudson, Wagner, Olustee, Petersburg, and numerous other fields of patriotic sacrifice; and that the Government should be banished from the councils of the administration before we can expect that enduring peace which rests on the benedictions of Almighty God. (1)

When Congress shall reassemble, let it understand that the people require of it that reconstruction shall proceed on a black basis as well as a white one. Let the leaders of the Republican party make this their great demand; and let them, if needful, divide the party and oppose the Administration on this issue.

The chairman then introduced Ex-Governor Boutwell to the meeting. He said we must by no means fail to secure for our black friends in the Southern States the elective franchise. They must vote at all events, though it may be a question whether the white population are to vote. Not one of the rebel States should return, with his consent, until his Constitution has secured in the strongest manner possible a vote for the negro.

General Wilson was the last speaker. He emphatically declared that he would vote for the re-admission of no State which does not abolish slavery and give the ballot to the loyal blacks, a statement which drew hearty cheers from the audience.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"SERMON IN PETERBORG, May 21, 1865. The Nation still unshaken. Only repentance can save it." Gerrit Smith, who has felt bound to preach a good deal, in view of the fact that the majority of the clergy preach so badly, has published a new discourse, the object of which is to dissuade the North from punishing, not merely the South, but those who have led the South in slavery and rebellion.

In all the discourses of this remarkable man and remarkable writer, there is much to disagree with (as above) and much to agree with.

It seems to me that we owe to the world some action which shall be a serious and most impressive warning against the repetition of the enormous crime of the Southern leaders; and further, that we owe to the great mass of the Southern people, black and white, protection against the personal influence of the men who have always deceived and misled them.

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IMPORTANT OFFICIAL PAPER.

ANNISTY TO REBELS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States of America, on the 8th day of December, A. D. 1863, and on the 25th day of March, A. D. 1864, did, with the object of suppressing the existing rebellion, to induce all persons to return to loyalty, and to restore the authority of the United States, issue proclamations offering amnesty and pardon to certain persons who had directly or by implication participated in the said rebellion; and

WHEREAS, Many persons who have been justly deprived of all claim to amnesty and pardon thereunder, by reason of their participation, directly or by implication, in said rebellion, and continued in the Government of the United States, since the date of said proclamation, now desire to apply for and obtain amnesty and pardon;

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COLORS ENTERTAINMENT. A most pleasant and interesting entertainment was given at the Temple Tuesday evening, in the presence of a large audience, principally white ladies and gentlemen, who were on the occasion to applaud frequently the efforts of the colored school, Rev. Mr. Grimes, colored. There was a programme of twenty-six pieces, recitations, music, in solo, quartettes, and choruses, and it was charming. About forty girls and boys, and young men and women were on the platform, most of them handsomely attired. A solo and quartette by Miss Fannie and G. H. Washington, and Mr. W. Smith, and O. Ruffin, "Brother, tell me of the battle," was enthusiastically encored, as also several other pieces. Miss Rachel Washington, the music teacher, presided at the piano. The preliminary prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Stowe.

POLITICAL. It is stated that Vallandigham has written a letter to the Young Men's Democratic Association of Lancaster, Pa., in which he acknowledges his errors as to the rebellion, rejoices that slavery is destroyed and the Union saved, sees no reason why the Democrats should not give a cordial support to President Johnson, and declares that, with freedom, the South will become more populous, prosperous and powerful than any other section.

THE YELLOW FEVER CONTRIBUTION. Blackburn, the yellow fever contributor, it seems, set out on his annual errand of penitence by volunteering his services gratuitously to the British Admiralty during the prevalence of the fever at Bermuda. For his labors there, he was highly complimented by Vice Admiral Hope. A reward of £100 was tendered to him by the Lords of the Admiralty, and he returned home having enjoyed the reputation of a man supremely devoted to charitable and philanthropic enterprise.

EXPLOSION OF THE ORDNANCE DEPOT AND MAGAZINE. FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS BURIED IN THE RUINS. CHICAGO, Ill., May 29. The Tribune's New Orleans dispatches of the 26th state that the Ordnance Depot and Magazine at Mobile, exploded at 2 o'clock yesterday. The shock was terrific. The city shook to its foundations. Eighty squares of buildings were destroyed. Five hundred persons were buried in the ruins. Loss \$8,000,000. Origin of the explosion not yet ascertained.

Fernelius calls disease an affection of the body contrary to nature: a perturbation of its habits: a derangement of its courses. What disease is, sometimes eludes human intelligence, but some diseases are known to their origin, action, and even their antidotes. Whoever has discovered an actual remedy for one disease has done something for his race. Doctor Ayer has done more, for his medicines afford us the means to control and cure several dangerous disorders, and to prevent the occurrence of others, by leading them to physicians, who understand them better. But such effects as are seen in our midst, on affections of the lungs by Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, on scrofulous complaints by his Sarsaparilla, and on the several complaints which now cure by Ayer's Pills, should not be ignored.—[Keokuk, Iowa Journal.]

PLEDGES. Made to the American Anti-Slavery Society, Evening of May 12th, 1865, at Cooper Institute. Table with columns for names, amounts, and totals.

Additional pledges—sent by Mrs. A. K. Foster. Savilian Haley, New York (in addition to first pledge, see report of Finance Committee, p. 100). \$5.00

THE THIRTEENTH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will be held at Longwood (near Hamorton), Chester Co., Pa., commencing at 11 o'clock, A. M., on Fifth day, (Thursday), the 8th of Sixth month, (June), 1865, and continuing, probably, three days.

Among those whose presence is confidently anticipated are George Thompson of England, William Lloyd Garrison, and Anton M. Powell.

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 2d, 3d and 4th days of June next.

THEODORE PARKER'S "LIFE THOUGHTS." HIS MOST POPULAR WORK! "Lessons from the World of Matter and the World of Man."

Dr. Ayer's Cathartic Pills. ARE the most perfect purgative which we are able to produce, or which we think has ever yet been produced by anybody. Their effects have abundantly shown to the commonality how much they excel the ordinary medicines.

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Poetry.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. FULLY ANNUNCIATED APRIL 14, 1865. 'Tis a wreath on murdered Lincoln's brow...

And our hearts, with music thrilling, Bless the Father's care; Still the tears will flow, unbidden, Round the vacant chair!

Selections.

TO THE READERS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

It will be seen from the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, herewith published, that the proposition of Mr. Garrison, the President, to dissolve the Society...

clearly showed. It was a piece of stage-play that deceived no one who understood the real facts of the case. The resolution complimentary to Mr. Garrison...

REPORT ON HOURS OF LABOR.

Resolved, That this Society regard it as a duty, as it is its pleasure to acknowledge the eminent moral and political principles which it organizes...

It is unnecessary, in this connection, to give a history of the movement in England, other than to say that the condition of the laborer was so low...

PHRENOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF LINCOLN.

The physiological organization of this President is most remarkable, he being unusually tall, spare, and possessing almost an excess of nervous system...

Resolved, That a commission, to consist of five, be appointed by the Government without compensation to collect information and statistics, in regard to the hours of labor, the condition and amount of the industrial classes...

IMPROVEMENT IN Champoning and Hair Dyeing.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER. WOULD inform the public that she has prepared from 223 Washington Street, No. 31 WINTER STREET...

Resolved, That a commission, to consist of five, be appointed by the Government without compensation to collect information and statistics, in regard to the hours of labor, the condition and amount of the industrial classes...

FARM FOR SALE.

Containing thirty-five acres of land, all in excellent order, with a large barn, and all the modern improvements...

THE HOUR OF NORTHERN VICTORY.

Roll not a drum, sound not a clarion-note Of haughty triumph to the silent sky; Hushed be the shout of joy in every throat...

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WELCOME AND TEARS.

Living heroes! wreathed with laurels, Pride of valiant sires! Kindled by your benighted footsteps, All the country fires!