



come upon the platform. "Take a cheerful view to-night!" (Applause.) Took down into Virginia, and see 100,000 men marshalled against another 100,000 men, who have been looking into each other's eyes for three years, disputing for the Gibraltar of this struggle. I carry my glance further down, and see a Massachusetts by railing the mouths of the Mississippi, and announcing that no freedom under the proclamation of 1863 shall choose either his labor, his employer, or his residence. (Cries of "shame, and shame.") How can I take a cheerful view, when I see the negro, as I am bound to see him on this platform, before my eyes? I will be as cheerful as his interests allow me to be. I will make you as pleasant a speech as the negro, borne to the ground in his hotel, beyond our pickets, can make to-night; and I cannot afford to be any more cheerful. We have a proclamation of liberty, dated on the first day of January, 1863. No man shall go beyond me in the recognition, in the grateful recognition, of the daring, and noble, intelligent statesmanship, which dictated that proclamation. (Loud applause.) No man shall go beyond me in the recognition of the sincerity with which that measure was adopted. But, friends, suppose the war ended, suppose the cannon come home, the banner furled, and that that paper is to go before the courts—how much does it mean? Well, I do not know how much it means. If, during the riots of last July, the commanding general of this district had taken possession of this building on the plea of military necessity and destroyed it, the owners would have lost it forever. If he had taken possession of it and occupied it, when the riot ceased, when peace returned, when the soldiers went back to their barracks, this property would revert to its old owners. Military necessity ceased, and the conversion of property ceased. Now, therefore, a Copperhead lawyer, (they are not extinct laughers;) you can find them on the Chief Justice downward, or upward, whichever way you choose to reckon,) who has always maintained that the slave was property under the Constitution, when Louisiana was reconstructed into a commonwealth would say, "Mr. Lincoln freed this slave because he wanted him, like any other piece of property. He had a right to take it from the use of a rebel; he had a right to use it himself. But the rebellion has ceased; the military necessity has ceased; there stands the piece of property, no longer needed by the conqueror, it reverts to its old owner." Suppose he should argue so; I do not say the Supreme Court would accept the argument; I only state to you, in this, one of the half dozen questions that lie beneath that proclamation, and, in the strict view of international law, stand between Mr. Lincoln and the carrying out of his proclamation. Understand me. I do not doubt his will and purpose, while he lives, to make that proclamation a reality down to the Gulf (applause); but in order to do it, he has either to secure himself a guaranty from the bench, or carry with him, as the British did after the war of 1812, every black he has emancipated from the locality where he was previously found, or he must keep in that locality an army that shall prevent the old owner from reasserting his claim.

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

What I want to point out to the conviction of Abolitionists is the duty that lies before them, now that the sacrifice has been so great, and the dangers ahead of us still are so momentous. We do not know whether we have got Richmond—we do not know how soon the Stars and Stripes will float over that capital, or any other strip of it—three years of war have hardened the Confederacy from that fluid and glistening state of 1861 into the muscle and bone of national cohesion, and we have not now a rebellion to fight, but a nation, strong in the pride of habits and associations, and the spite of three years desperate battle and experience in defiance of the world. We have not only that, but we have, on the Southern border of our country, the nucleus of a foreign dominion, whose natural tendency it is to be a thorn in the side of the nation by cherishing its rebellious daughter. That French Emperor does nothing capriciously, nothing thoughtlessly, but with long-sighted purpose, he plants the nucleus of a French force there, to hide his time. Every hour that this contest lasts is an opportunity for misfortune. No European power, except Russia, can be claimed on our side. Of the first-rate powers of Europe—Austria, Prussia, and France—Austria cannot help us; and Prussia is the only one that has ever given us a kind word. (Applause.) Of the second-rate powers of Europe—Spain, Portugal, Belgium, England and Prussia, (hisses, followed by loud applause)—well, I beg pardon of any Englishman who takes offence at the classification of his country, but I have always held a free tongue of my own country; I have always tried to describe truly my own government; and you certainly will not find fault with me for describing truly yours. (Applause.) Grand as she is—and in the bosoms of her millions of laboring men I found my surest hope of the coming century—I yet say, that the government which, within one short ninety days, has remodelled her cabinet and dismissed her guest at the bidding of a foreign despot is no longer a first-rate power. ("Hear, hear," applause and hisses, the two parties keeping up their rivalry in the expression of approbation or disapprobation for some time, the former very largely predominating.) Well, friends, my excellent, honored and dear friend behind me (Mr. Thompson) has heard me describe my own country too often not to know that I have earned the right to describe his as I think it. I believe that if we had invited Garibaldi here, (loud applause,) with half the nation in rebellion against us, no Bonaparte would have ditched him from our hearts. (Cries of "Hear, hear," "No, no," and enthusiastic applause.) I believe, fellow-citizens, there never was in history an example so swift a vengeance following sin as in this epoch in the history of our mother country. In the day of our adversity, she let pirates skulk out of her harbors to sweep the commerce of the North from the ocean. To-day, she dares to provoke Europe by defending Denmark, whom she loves; she dares not provoke France by covering Garibaldi, whom she has invited to her shores, because she knows that Americans, making use of that very precedent, would sweep her commerce from the ocean. ("Hear, hear," and loud applause.) Palmerston himself forged the weapon which to-day affrights England from the course she would naturally follow. No ill-wisher to England ever could have wished her worse than that her sin against us should, within a twelvemonth, be visited so marvellously upon her own head. We have but to catch a stray Prussian in any of your streets, put him, with a sham commission, in command of one of our gunboats, and if England were fighting by the side of Denmark, we could make Liverpool grass grow upon her wharves—and she knows it. (Applause.)

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

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

Now, I say that Utah and other examples show us that we cannot force a government upon a reluctant people; and if it could be done, it would not be Republicanism. Until you can find some way of making States, there is no chance for the slave to come under our banner; and there is the guaranty of his liberty. Make the Confederacy a power, and the slave is beyond us. If you want to find the means of making that proclamation effective, you must find some means of making States. You cannot build on the white element; there is nothing but the black element to build upon. Mr. Brownson—and when I name him, I name a man than whom there are not a dozen men in the Northern States who have done more to enlighten, intensify, and elevate the purpose of the North—Mr. Brownson, in some criticisms which he did me the honor to make upon a speech that I made a month or two ago, says I am mad upon the rights of the negro. Well, I am not just now considering the rights of the negro, and I am willing to pass that by for the moment. I am considering your interests and mine, as well as his rights. We need him. There is nothing else to hold up the banner on the banks of the Mississippi. I would give him the ballot in one hand, and the musket in the other, because I want him as the basis of civil institutions. I would give him an acre, if it did not belong to him. If, as an Abolitionist, I did not think he could claim all three, I would force all three of them on him, in order that I might secure the reestablishment and perpetuity of the Union. (Applause.) You tell me of an amendment to the Constitution. That is good, but that is paper. Governments are made out of two elements—paper and men. There are the white men who hate you; who, however crushed, will still bide their time, and watch their opportunity. Jefferson Davis, with his crowd of nascent nobles, is not going down a steep place, suddenly into the sea, like their ancestors in Mexico, and watch them give up hope, they pass into Mexico, and watch the Highland Chief, when the Englishman drove him from his clan, did not cut his throat; he went to Holland, and watched. The Cavalier, when Cromwell sat in a chair better than a throne, did not hang himself; he went to France, and watched; and three consecutive rebellions almost broke the English monarchy asunder. There had been nations which never had a civil war, but I know of no nation in history that, having had one, ever got through with that; because the poisoned elements remain in the bosom; they are not eliminated by a single struggle. The history of the world shows that the old elements, compressed into a forced peace for a little while, burst out whenever there seems to be a probability of success; and we must expect the same future.

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

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION. The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston on Thursday and Friday, May 26th and 27th.

Among the speakers expected are George Thompson, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Parker Pillsbury, S. S. Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, E. H. Heywood, and Wm. Wells Brown.

A REMARKABLE DISCOVERY.

Warrington—the Boston correspondent of the Springfield Republican—who frequently says a smart thing, is sometimes a little too smart for the occasion.

The schism between Phillips and Garrison is one of the most curious events of the age. Garrison's editorials now days are of that class which he used to print on his first page under the head of 'Refuge of Oppression.'

He is not to be blamed. He is not to be blamed. He is not to be blamed. He is not to be blamed. He is not to be blamed.

He has courage, though not boldness. He is a timid man of courage. This is the New England form of courage.

He has superabundance of purpose, holding fast to what he has already decided, as a ratchet holds its wheel from falling back.

1. Abraham Lincoln is intensely deliberative. He takes a long time to consider and decide, trying always to eliminate the difficulties.

2. Mr. Lincoln is a conscientious man, but only to a certain extent. He has convictions on the subject of slavery, but they are not moral convictions; they may be set aside by circumstances.

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

4. He has no power to treat wholes as wholes. He sticks to details, deliberating upon each part, to the peril of the entire interest to which the parts belong.

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THE MAN FOR THE HOUR.

This was the title of a discourse delivered last Sunday before the 23rd Congregational Society of Boston, by Rev. D. A. Wasson.

7. An executive habit of mind. Having decided upon a course, to disregard difficulties; to see and act upon the predominant need, with a certain disregard or exclusion of other matter; this is the executive habit.

8. Great speed; promptness and celerity of action, which do not imply hurry or headlongness. He needs to decide upon a whole matter at once.

9. Having laid down the rule, Mr. Wasson proceeded to the application. How does our present ruler answer to these demands?

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LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. No. VIII.

To the Editor of the Liberator: The Army of the Potomac has added another battle-week to its bloody record; and that it is able to rest on its victorious arms and maintain its last position, while its spirit and its capacity continue what they were at the outset, must be traced to its having a leader who loses neither head nor heart in a crisis.

2. Largeness, both of heart and understanding; a recognition of broad and enduring interests; a mind unfettered by temporary or personal considerations.

3. Valour. Good rule is intripid rule. 4. Faith. Faith in reason and right; that is to say, faith in God.

5. Moderation. The good ruler must respect the law of gradation. The sanity of society is kept up only by a sense of continuity of connection with its past.

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ADDRESS OF THE METHODIST CONFERENCE TO THE PRESIDENT—THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

A deputation of delegates from the General Conference in session at Philadelphia visited the President, and presented to him an address, in which the Conference, representing nearly a million of members, expressed his earnest devotion to the interests of the country, and her sympathy with him in the great responsibilities of his high position in this trying hour.

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THE ARREARS DUE COLORED SOLDIERS.

Gov. Andrew has addressed the following letter to President Lincoln:— [COPIED.] Boston, May 18th, 1864.

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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 Friday, the 24th of 6th month, and continuing, probably, for three days.

2. Largeness, both of heart and understanding; a recognition of broad and enduring interests; a mind unfettered by temporary or personal considerations.

3. Valour. Good rule is intripid rule. 4. Faith. Faith in reason and right; that is to say, faith in God.

5. Moderation. The good ruler must respect the law of gradation. The sanity of society is kept up only by a sense of continuity of connection with its past.

6. Great speed; promptness and celerity of action, which do not imply hurry or headlongness. He needs to decide upon a whole matter at once.

7. Having laid down the rule, Mr. Wasson proceeded to the application. How does our present ruler answer to these demands?

8. He has courage, though not boldness. He is a timid man of courage. This is the New England form of courage.

9. He has superabundance of purpose, holding fast to what he has already decided, as a ratchet holds its wheel from falling back.

10. He has no power to treat wholes as wholes. He sticks to details, deliberating upon each part, to the peril of the entire interest to which the parts belong.

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Poetry.

For the Liberator. SECESSION. At midnight, when his lamp burned dim, Jeff Davis sat in his room within, Musing upon his deadly sin—

Selections.

EVENING SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN IN WASHINGTON AND GEORGETOWN.

The undersigned, Trustees of Free Colored Schools for Washington and Georgetown, appointed by the Congress, cordially approve the foregoing appeal, and commend the Association issuing it to the confidence of the public.

able to give credit for what little virtue we do possess, and the little good we may do.—Dancer Morning Star.

JOHN BRIGHT'S LAST SPEECH ON AMERICA.

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

"CRUSHING SLAVERY IN REBELLION."

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

MR. LINCOLN AND THE PRESIDENCY.

It is the profound conviction of many well-informed and earnest men that the existence of this Government is involved in the next Presidential election. There can be no doubt that the mass of the people of the loyal States are unalterably resolved that the Union shall be preserved, and there is an abounding confidence that the inherent power of the Government must prove adequate for the future, as it has been in the past, to maintain the integrity of the Union.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

The Anti-Slavery Meetings, as usual, drew great multitudes. The spirit of these gatherings was truly noble. We have never seen audiences more magnetic or more inspiring to a speaker. When they sang, or when they cheered, their voices were like the roll of heaven's thunder.

Washington, D. C., April 14, 1864.

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MAN'S HEART PROPHECY OF PEACE.

A sad confession from the heart of man It is, that War, dark, hateful War, must be; That ever there, 'tis since the world began, Has been on earth the dire necessity!

MAY.

Once more the blooming May, with noiseless feet, Comes to our presence in her sweetest strain; And nature wakes beneath her influence sweet To new-born life and loveliness again.

THE RELEASED PRISONERS.

While we have, in common with all who are loyal to our flag, and loyal to the interests and instincts of a common humanity, we have seen the wails of our brethren who have been released from the dungeons of Fort Mifflin, we have seen the wails of our brethren who have been released from the dungeons of Fort Mifflin, we have seen the wails of our brethren who have been released from the dungeons of Fort Mifflin.

CONDITION OF THE NORTH.

The Richmond Examiner of the 27th ult. discusses the political issues of the North from the rebel standpoint. It takes a very original view of things, and regards the Union men of the North as "a fine grim" who are discussing the question of the rebels shall be served up after the war.

A CAPITAL ILLUSTRATION.

Mr. Myers of Pa. in a late speech in Congress, applied the following anecdote to illustrate the folly of the slaveholders in inaugurating the present rebellion.

DIABOLISM.

It is cruelly to employ them (negroes) as soldiers. As is proved in other days against Van Buren, for employing bloodhounds as soldiers against the Indians, so we now protest against Lincoln's employing the negro slaves against the rebel masters of a like contumacious nature.—Scotland Advertiser