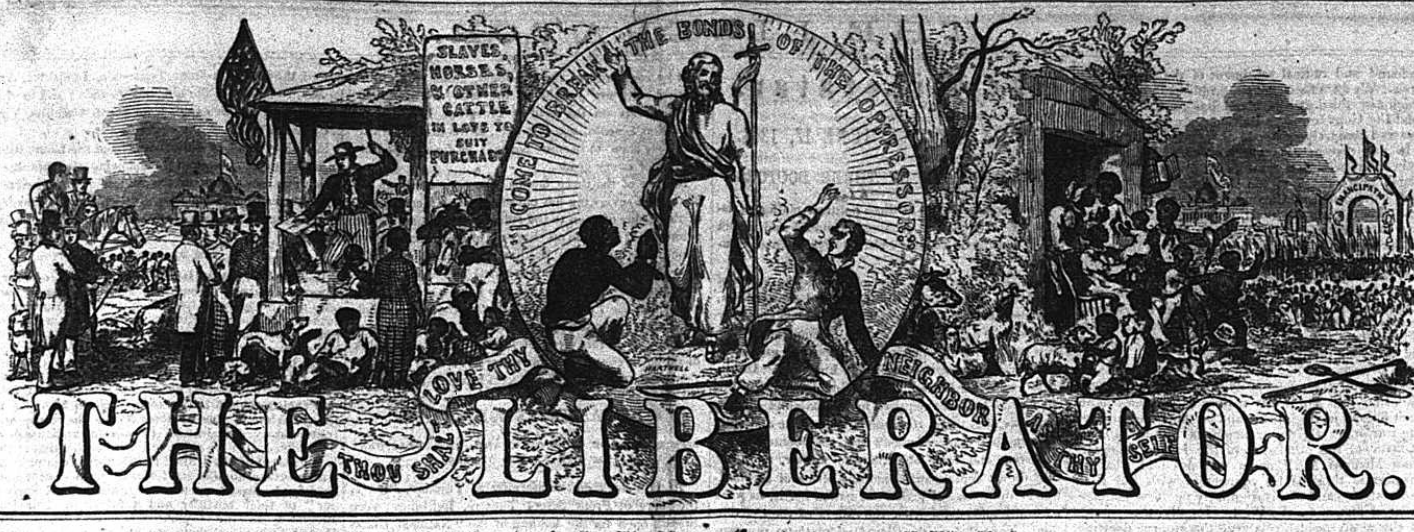


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Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Man-kind.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." "I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority taken, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

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Selections.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at the Assembly Rooms, Bishopsgate Street, London, on Friday, the 20th of May. Samuel Gurney, Esq., M. P., was in the Chair. Amongst those who took part in the proceedings was the Rev. Samuel Crowther, a negro clergyman, who has just been appointed by the Queen as a Bishop in West Africa.

that country—(hear, hear)—and they were allowed to work extra hours in order to raise a little capital of their own, which they could put to any use they wished, and the master was quite willing to give them their liberty for a small sum. By doing so they brought to the slave a desire to work. The chevalier quoted an instance where a man of color had obtained a very high position in the Brazilian navy, and this showed that Brazil was not actuated by a desire to keep up the abominable slave trade.

The Rev. S. Crowther, Bishop designate of the Niger, proposed the second resolution, which was as follows:—"That, in view of the continued prosecution of the African slave trade by Spain, and of the failure of the attempts of her Majesty's Government singly to induce that Power to carry out her treaty obligations for the suppression of the wicked commerce in human beings, this meeting encourages the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to pursue its endeavors to influence her Majesty's advisers, by Parliamentary action and other constitutional means, to take the initiative to secure the co-operation of the Governments of France, Portugal, Holland, the United States, and any other country, in a joint remonstrance against the continuance of the Spanish authorities in a traffic which the civilized world brands as piracy, and in a demand upon it for the adoption of measures that shall ensure its immediate cessation."

GERRIT SMITH ON THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION.

PETERBORO', June 6th, 1864. MY DEAR COUSIN:—I have your letter. It would be too great a labor to answer all you seek to know my choice amongst the Presidential candidates. But I must answer you.

I have no choice. The first of September will be time enough for me and for every other person to have one. Intermediate events and changes will be the preference of candidatures. To commit ourselves in time of war to a candidate, one month before it is necessary, is worse than would be a whole year of such prematureness in time of peace. Then there is the absorbing, not to say phrensy, interest, which attends our important elections. That it is phrensy is manifest, from the scornful reproach and wild invective which the Press is already heaping upon Lincoln and Fremont—both of them honest and able men, and both of them intent on saving the country. How unwise, say, how insane, to needlessly absorb and phrensy interest come to do up and down rivally with one interest in the end of crushing the rebellion!

My concern whether it shall be Lincoln, or Fremont, or Chase, or Butler, or Grant, who shall reach the Presidential chair, is comparatively very slight. But my concern to keep it to a man who would make any other terms with the rebels than their absolute submission is overwhelming. For any other terms would not only destroy our nation, but lessen the sacredness of nationality everywhere, and sadly damage the most precious interests of all mankind. Since the rebellion broke out, I have been nothing but an anti-rebellion man. So unconditionally have I gone for putting it down unconditionally, as to make no stipulation in behalf of my most cherished objects and deepest interests. And so shall I continue to go. I love the anti-slavery cause. Nevertheless, I would have the rebellion put down at whatever necessary expense to that end. I love the Constitution; and deprecate the making of any, even the slightest change in it. Nevertheless, I make infinitely less account of saving it, than of destroying the rebellion. I love my country. But sooner than see her compromise with the rebels, I would see her exhaust herself and perish in her endeavors to defeat their crime—than to compromise with the rebels. I should not forget that many of my old fellow-Abolitionists accuse me of having been unfaithful to the anti-slavery cause during the rebellion. My first answer to them is—that to help suppress the rebellion is the duty which stands nearest to me; and my second answer—that in no way so well as in suppressing it can the anti-slavery cause or any other good cause be promoted. There is not a good cause on the earth that has not an enemy in the unmixing and mighty wickedness of this rebellion.

The resolution was put and carried. The Rev. Dr. Massie proposed the third resolution, which was as follows:—"This meeting would record its satisfaction at the progress the cause of negro emancipation has made during the past year, as manifested in the restoration to freedom of all the slaves in the Dutch West-India colonies, in the self-emancipation of a million of slaves in the United States, and in the legislative measures which have been adopted and are projected by the Government of that country, to effect the total abolition of slavery throughout the American Union; and, sympathizing in the efforts made to minister to the relief of the freedmen of the slave States, would commend their cause to the friends of freedom in all lands; and further, in view of the attempts of certain parties in this country to promote a recognition of the Confederate slave States, this meeting would most strongly protest against any recognition of a confederacy avowing slavery to be the corner-stone of its institutions, and it emphatically affirms that such a step would not only be the highest degree inconsistent and culpable on the part of the British nation, which has sacrificed upwards of seventy millions sterling in efforts to abolish slavery and the slave trade throughout the world, but would give strength to an institution revolting to humanity, outraging to civilization, and scandalizing to professing Christendom." Dr. Massie, in the course of an able speech, contended that the object of the Southern States in the present war was to maintain slavery, and to promote and extend it—(hear, hear)—but every battle that had been fought in the Northern States had been, in fact, a blow to slavery; and had added strength to the anti-slavery movement. (Hear, hear.) He rejected the progress America had made in respect to this question, and he hoped England would support her in the good work.

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

SPEECH OF DR. BRECKINRIDGE AT THE UNION STATE CONVENTION, MAY 21.

At the conclusion of regular business during the Convention at Louisville, Rev. Dr. Breckinridge, the progressive leader of Kentucky, was unanimously called upon for a speech. The meeting had declared "That, having confidence in the honesty, wisdom, and patriotism of Abraham Lincoln, we are in favor of his reelection to the position he now occupies." Dr. Breckinridge had first been elected a delegate to the Baltimore Convention, and he rose and said:—"As you have appointed me one of your delegates to the Baltimore Convention, I should be glad to know what is the opinion of the meeting in regard to the Presidency. I do not want instructions, so I will give you my opinion, and if you do not like it, you may substitute another man in my place. It is my honest conviction that Abraham Lincoln is not only the man we ought to nominate, but he is the only man in the United States that there is any certainty Kentucky can unite upon. (Great applause.) I will go further, and say that if I shall be a representative in that Convention, it is not clear in my own mind that I would be willing to vote in that body for divers of those who have been nominated in the papers. I would be glad to feel authorized to vote for him all the time, and for nobody else. I believe we can give the State of Kentucky for Mr. Lincoln, (applause,) but have grave doubts whether we can give it to anybody else. I even doubt whether we ought to give it to anybody else."

NEVER TECHNICALLY AN ABOLITIONIST.

I never was technically an Abolitionist. And let me tell what I mean by that word. In 1831, they put Garrison in jail in Baltimore, and he had just got out when I moved there. He was the original cause of my going to the abolition theory, and he embraced three propositions: First, the instantaneous and universal abolition of slavery, irrespective of their consequences; but I was always in favor of a system of gradual emancipation. The second proposition was, that the hostility against color was a prejudice, and ought to be abolished, and the negro ought to be admitted to equality with the white race, according to his merits; that is, if he was a man of more sense or better culture than a white man, he ought to have the preference in any given case, as for office or social position. I have always considered this an utterly impossible state of society, and have opposed the idea, and do now oppose it. You ask me now to let negroes vote in Kentucky. I answer you, it is impracticable. The prejudice as to color is natural. In the West Indies, where the blacks predominate, they will not allow a white man to vote unless he has a certain amount of black blood in him. The third principle of the Abolition party was utter and unmitigated hatred of colonization. They thought the removal of the freed negroes to the perpetuation of slavery in the country, and the constant support of the establishment of a free State in Africa by the colonization of negroes from the United States. There never was a civilized State in the tropics, and I believe the change that would make the greatest impression upon the world would be the establishment of a civilized free black State within the tropics.

THE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Now, as for any change on my part: In the course of this Administration, many things have been done that I would not have done. I believe the power which is vested in the Government of the United States is far greater, more thorough, and more capable of being used for good or for ill, than seems generally to be admitted by even our own party. Wherever power has been vested in the Government, it has been used for good. I would like to minister the Government shall have power to do whatever is necessary to be done for the general defence and welfare of the nation. What more power can there be conceived of? The only question that has arisen in my mind has been as to the mode of doing the things necessary for the nation's welfare. The Constitution of the United States, in giving the popular branch of the Government exclusive power to make war, renders it impossible that war should be made except by the concurrence of the majority of the American people. And my own opinion is that whenever a people want to have war they ought to be allowed to have it; and whenever they don't want to fight, nobody ought to make them fight. And you cannot make peace without the President and two-thirds of the Senate, which is, in fact, two-thirds of the States, are in favor of making it. If the people choose to make war, they have to carry it on until two-thirds want to make peace. Now, when you say they shall have power to make war and to declare peace, you do what is done in your State Constitution, when you say: "Trial by jury shall be held sacred." That is all you say, but the words involve the form of trial, and everything essential to the trial. So here, when you give to the popular branch of Congress the power to make war, it involves the right to kill people and do all other things necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

THE PAY OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

Congress, in equalizing the pay and bounty of white and colored troops, has maintained the honor of the national uniform. There is no longer an inferior grade in the army. Actual inferiority of race has nothing to do with military organization for all men fit to wear the uniform of this country, to fight under its flag, to die in its defense, must be held equal in the formal estimation of the Government. A colored soldier and a white soldier enlist for the same object, are put to the same service, assume the same risk, and should have the same reward. Ethnological theories have nothing to do with military status, and if all that the adversaries of the bill in the House have said of the natural inferiority of the black race were doubly true, it would have no effect upon the practical question decided so justly on Saturday. If the inferiority of the black man prevents him from being a good soldier, he should not be permitted to enlist; if he is able to fight at all, he is entitled to the ordinary pay. The mere matter of dollars is secondary; but the principle Congress has affirmed is of the first importance. The black troops in our service will be encouraged and strengthened by the consciousness that full pay has not been rendered them; and as the Government has declared the equality of all its soldiers, it can with more emphasis demand from the rebels that recognition of equality they have insolently refused. We are to see now if the enemy will respect this demand. Already, retaliation is a duty; but

MANICIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

But there is a reason why you should not pass such a resolution. While I love America better than I love any other country in the world, I love Kentucky better, as the best part of America. Now what can Kentucky do to get out of this difficulty, as a matter of policy? Thirty years ago I undertook to prove, and I think did prove, that under the present Constitution of Kentucky, the power of the State is absolute over those persons born after the passage of a law in regard to them; that is, that slavery attaches on birth and not before, and that the unborn child is not a slave in that sense that it is beyond the power of the Constitution. The words slaves, in the Constitution, mean persons on whom slavery exists at the time, and those that the law will allow to come into existence with the condition of servitude attaching to them in an absolute manner. If the legislators choose to allow them to come into existence absolutely as slaves, or if they choose to prevent their coming in as slaves absolutely, slavery attaches in such manner only as the legislative power may determine under the Constitution. What you might gain by this view of the case, is that if you can send to the Legislature men who will give that interpretation to the Constitution, you can abolish slavery in this State, at the end of the present living generation. But supposing my interpretation wrong, you have another left you, for you can take the slaves and pay for them, irrespective of the will of the owner, by giving a just compensation. Mr. Breckinridge then spoke of a scheme that might be consummated, by which the General Government would grant the State fifty millions of acres of public lands with which to pay for the emancipation of slaves in Kentucky. We are in great peril in Kentucky. The States divided into three parts, a loyal, a moderate, and a secessionist, and each party will be relied upon to the last extremity; and the other third are more dangerous than rebels, for if they can make a combination with the Secessionists, and are allowed to vote, they will beat us. If those who are disfranchised by law are prevented from voting, we shall beat them. I am in favor of allowing every man to vote who is entitled to, but no others. They have another Government and another Congress. They had a son of mine sitting in their Congress, the most secure, I think, he ever did. Let them go there; they have no business voting for our Governor or members of Congress. In conclusion, I do not intend to live, and if I can help myself, will not die in any other Government than that of the United States; and, as long as a party one-half as large as yours appears to be exists in Kentucky, I believe she will remain there also.

EAST TENNESSEE.

EMANCIPATION—THE PEOPLE ALL RIGHT.

The Knoxville Whig of the 18th ult., edited by a Southerner and a slaveholder, contains some highly interesting and encouraging information in regard to the progress of Emancipation sentiment in East Tennessee. The loyal portion of our State is for destroying slavery, while the rebel portion of it is for holding on to the negro. The Whig says: "Some brave persons, subscribers of ours, who were by no means in the vanguard of our party, but who have declined on the ground that we are for emancipating the negroes. They correctly represent us, and if they wish to read a paper whose editor is determined to hold on to the negro, in preference to the Union, they had better look elsewhere for a newspaper, and have as little to do with us and ours as possible. No man can or shall misunderstand our position, who can read our large type, and understand plain English language. This infernal war was brought about by the unprincipled Disunionists of the South, on the pretext of the sugar, and there will never be any peace in the country while the cause of the rebellion, which is slavery, exists." Those who think the real people and the patriotic masses of East Tennessee can be deluded into the work of organizing a third party, or a conservative party of copperheads, to enable a few interested men to hold on to their negroes, mistake the signs of the times altogether, and the material out of which our people are made. The mad-dog cry of abolition and nigger got them into our war, and has overwhelmed them with their present difficulties. They will not likely go into a second rebellion to fight for the slaves of a few aristocrats, when they have no themselves, and really don't want any.





