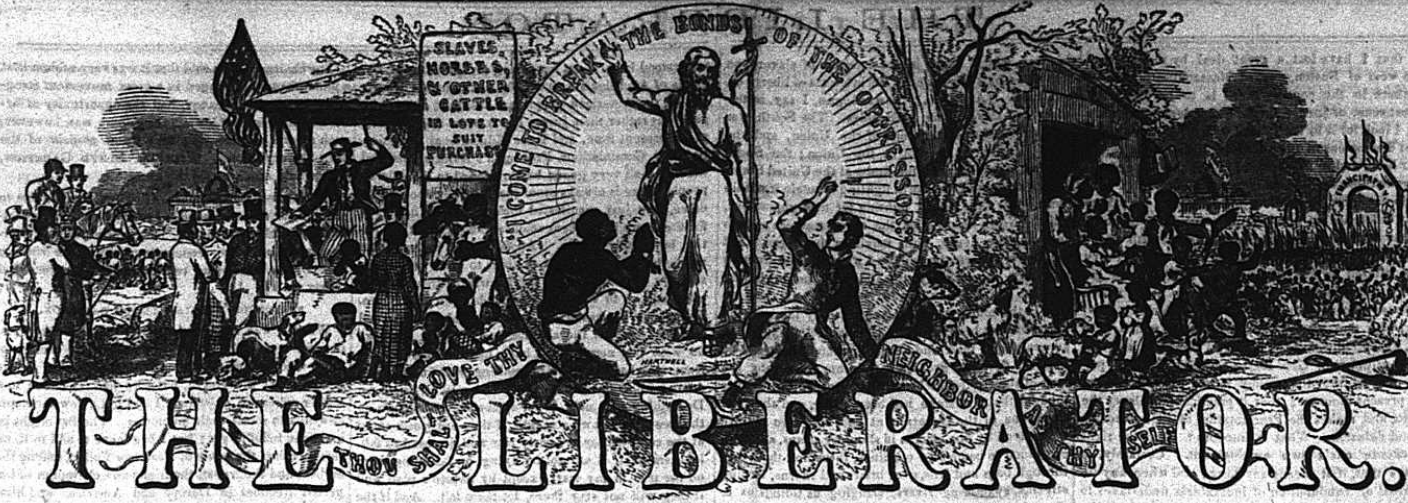


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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

"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 takes, for the time, the place of all judicial 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."

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

The Liberator.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Geographically reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINGTON.

THURSDAY, JAN. 26.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

I have a series of resolutions, containing the substance of what I want to say this morning, and though the Business Committee has not yet had a meeting to act upon them, I will read them, and they can be afterwards acted upon. The previous reading of them will, I think, enable the hearer to understand more distinctly the ground and object of all I have to say at these meetings of the Society. My own opinion is, that the 8th day of November closed the period of that day. We need have no criticism on matters which took place before. In our judgments of men we differ, but our business is with facts of national action. As abolitionists, we shall probably not more agree in our judgment of individuals than we do agree in their deeds, no matter how long we have known them. We may argue such questions. But it is not our business to quarrel with the facts. It is the expression of an anti-slavery opinion in regard to the facts now taking place in American history, and my judgment is, that the great duty of abolitionists at this time is to record their opinion as to such facts; otherwise, there seems to be no meaning, no purpose in any meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. It is with that view that I have prepared three or four resolutions:—

[These resolutions were published last week.]

These resolutions seem to me to cover all we need to say of the present position of public affairs. The first, just opening upon us has one question for abolitionists, and that is, the terms of reconstruction. The great danger in that future consists in three things:—The first is, that the prejudice against the negro is not more than half eradicated from the North. Secondly, that the Republican party, which has the Government in its control, is weakened in its principle by the very numbers which have rallied to its flag. Thirdly, that the Executive pleads earnestly an immediate reconstruction of States, within the next twelve months.

The first element to which I adverted—the continuing prejudice against the negro—and the second—that the Republican party is not itself able to command a decisive vote on questions of absolute justice to the negro—make the third—the wish of the Executive to reconstruct under such circumstances—vitally important in an anti-slavery point of view. I have no doubt any more than the most sanguine among us, that if the same pressure could be continued upon the Administration which we have enjoyed hitherto, and which has made 1864 out of 1863, we should compel liberty out of the present aspect of affairs. But that pressure was composed of two elements. On the Southern side it was war; on the Northern side it was discontent with the Executive. The Government has travelled from 1861 to 1864 not of its own will. I do not regard it as having accomplished one single step self-moved. In every case, it has been hurried upon to it by the pressure of outside public opinion—a distinct intimation from almost every quarter, and especially from abolitionists, that its present attitude was not satisfactory. On the Southern side, there was another element—war. As long as that continued, it ripened the South and the North. It educated both parties. Our defeats educated the Northern mind—our victories educated the Southern mind; and while this process went forward, there was no great fear that the Government would be able to balk the purposes which underlie the great civil convulsion. But the press and the general public have measurably discontinued, within the last six months, this critical pressure; and rebuke of the attitude of the Administration. The public mind has largely settled down into the conviction that the question is safe, somewhere—either in the purposes of the Executive or in the march of events, and consequently the press and the general public have largely discontinued their criticisms. On the other hand, when we look at the South, there is a battle going on inside the Confederacy far more momentous in its influence on our future, than any battle Grant will fight, or than Sherman has fought; that is the contest between the statesmen of Georgia and Richmond, and which shall lead the Confederacy. Vice President Stephens, Gov. Brown, and the class of men whom they represent, are undoubtedly wearied with the efforts already made to establish independence, and satisfied that they have done enough. I do not look upon them as having exhausted their means, or as intimating that they have exhausted their means. On the contrary, even Sherman, certainly a competent judge, writing from Georgia itself on the 25th day of October, two months after the victory at Atlanta, commences his letter with an observation of this kind:—"This war is only begun." Doubtless he meant, "I see around me so many evidences of the means of continuing the war, that in a military point of view, it is only begun." If any party at the South discontinue it, they discontinue it not of necessity, but of purpose. Now, the Georgia plot, so to call it, to murder Davis and throw him from the saddle, is a monstrous one as regards the anti-slavery issue. If they succeed, the idea of peace dominates in the Confederacy. When that idea gets the helm of the Confederacy, peace will be made; no doubt of it, because the whole tone of the Republican party is peace, on some condition or other, shortly, from political and military necessities, as they judge. We were told in Washington, by a dozen members of the House, that if the South Carolina should knock at the door to-day, having chosen Senators and Representatives, and should say, "I wish to enter as I stand; I will discuss slavery, when I have entered, but I submit to the flag—no more." We were assured, I say, by half a dozen members, "We could not take a vote; she would be admitted by acclamation." Such is the temper of Congress itself. But Congress, even in that mood of

speediest reconstruction prevails in the White House with tenfold the intensity that it does in its own body. If, therefore, from any respectable portion of the South, especially from a portion that had got control of the Confederacy, an offer of peace should come, there would undoubtedly be negotiations resulting in it; and every man who is acquainted with the state of public feeling even here knows, that if Georgia should ask to-morrow to be admitted to this Union on the basis of freeing her slaves within ten years, or twenty years, every other man in the community would say, Amen! that two-thirds of the Republican party would honestly say, Amen! For you must remember that the Republican party is not to-day composed, certainly not ruled by, its original elements, educated by thirty, or twenty years of political struggle. It consists, on the left hand, of a converted Democratic, on the right hand, of a converted Bell-Everett section—men who "see men as trees walking," have no definite conception of the necessities of the question, no real experimental knowledge of the subject; and their very honesty of purpose entitling them to influence, doubles their danger to us. They would deservedly influence politics, and control it, through the press and the Executive. They honestly believe to-day in the madness of immediate emancipation, and any scheme which repudiated it would have their earnest sanction. Added to this is another element. The President has distinctly avowed to the House Committee on Reconstruction—"I will sign almost any bill on that subject which admits Louisiana; I will sign no bill which does not admit her." In other words, he practically endorses the statement of General Banks at the Tremont Temple, that the reconstruction of Louisiana is the model which the Executive sets to the other States for the reconstruction of civil government; because, in the first place, this very avowal says to Congress, "It is safe thus to reconstruct Louisiana—reconstruct it"; and, secondly, every man knows, that any one State which passes the doors of Congress will necessarily be the model for every other; because, Louisiana once admitted as she stands, if Georgia or South Carolina comes up to-morrow, they will justly claim, "Give us the same privileges and terms that you have accorded to Louisiana"; and every man acquainted with politics in general, or the state of parties in particular to-day, knows that you could not rally a vote against such a claim. Admit one State, and you fix the precedent; every other State will deem itself injured if it is precluded from any privilege enjoyed by the first admitted State. When, therefore, Congress submits—as even Mr. Sumner is understood to say they must submit, however reluctantly, in this single objectionable instance, to the wishes of the President—when Congress submits to this reconstruction of Louisiana, it establishes the principle underlying Louisiana as the guide for future reconstruction. What is that principle? I hardly need to examine it. Fortunately for us, Judge Field has exhibited in one act its nature. A brutal, domineering, infamous overseer spirit, such as we knew it before '60, its symbol the bowie-knife, comes back to the House as the chosen representative, at the first blush, of the white men of Louisiana—one of them represented to me, by competent authority, a month ago, as really a rebel at the bottom of his heart as any one that treads the continent. That is the first harvest reaped in the hot enthusiasm of the hour, with every eye in the nation planted on the reconstruction. What element of the white race will follow? What class of men will hereafter come up to share authority with us, if this be their best sample?

But this is not, perhaps, the exact question for an Abolitionist; it is the question for a citizen. We are sharing sovereignty with that white race; but to-day I come here merely to criticise the attitude of that white race toward the negro. You will remember that to-day we have the power to protect the negro in New Orleans as perfectly as we have in the streets of Boston. The slightest fringe of his rights trampled upon, and the band of Government can reach the offender as effectually in New Orleans as in State Street. That is the attitude to-day. How necessary is it that government should enjoy that right? Look at Maryland and see. Maryland accepted emancipation of her own will; she voted it of her own will. It was not forced upon her by conquest; by the act of the Federal Government; it was accepted by her own citizens. If there ever was a State, therefore, where the interest of the black race could be treated to the fairness and good purpose of the white race, it was Maryland. What was the fact? Twenty-four hours after that Proclamation of Gov. Bradford, making the Constitution the law of the land, the whites of that State took up a forgotten law, and proceeded with speedy and vengeful activity to put it into execution. Left alone a week, as I was assured in Baltimore, they would have had all the young colored persons so thoroughly apprized that liberty to them would have been a sham for the next fifteen or twenty years. The courts were powerless to oppose it. Gen. Wallace, of the United States army, on the spot, issued his order superseding every court in Maryland, as far as the negro was concerned. That order, withdrawn within a week at the request of the loyal men, because it had done its work, defeated the plot; but had he not been there, there would have been no power competent to arrest that conspiracy, which our friend here [Geo. Thompson] knows was nothing but a literal repetition of what was done in the West Indies. Jamaica parallels our experience in every particular. I remember when I was in England in 1841, the delegates from Jamaica told me exactly the same story that the loyal men of Baltimore did last month.

That is the white race, in the best circumstances, at the commencement. As I say, while we are in actual possession of a State, holding it by the army, we can protect the negro; reconstruct a State, and where are we? Why, we have put up a fence between the Federal Government and the State Government. The bill before the House proposes, for instance, that South Carolina, with 300,000 white men, and not a loyalist among them, and 400,000 black men, and not a disloyalist among them, shall be reconstructed; the fence erected between us and them, the government of the State given to these 300,000 rebels, and the black men put under their feet helplessly. If we were in England, I should have no doubt and no fear, because the English realm has but one law, practically, and the statute of London runs to the end of the realm. By the Queen's Bench or the Privy Council, a magistrate at the end of the earth can be unseated according to the will of Parliament. That is England, but that is not America. Put up the fence between you and Louisiana or South Carolina, and the Federal law runs to it, not over it, except in two or three specified cases. Suppose (what is by no means certain) that we get an amendment of the Constitution prohibiting slavery. Many Abolitionists have said, that with the prohibition of chattel slavery, and an Abolitionist for Chief Justice, the negro is safe. How unwise! On the other side the State fence is Robert Small and Gov. Aiken. On this side is Salmon P. Chase and the Federal Constitution. Why, if Gov. Aiken has got any brains, he can grip Robert Small to powder in nine hundred and ninety-nine different ways without trespassing on the anti-slavery amendment; and until he does, Salmon P. Chase cannot interfere. When I come to speak to you, in a moment, of Louisiana, you will see that Banks has actually set them the example and given them the very method by which to grind the negro without restoring chattelism. Do not let us forget the history of the anti-slavery struggle, and what it has taught us of the limited authority and influence of the Federal Government. Every man of you, fifty years old, can remember the experience of the Federal Government in 1831, when the strongest power in the nation grappled with the State of Georgia, and was defeated. When Georgia seized a converted Cherokee, in 1831, and said, "I will hang him," Chief Justice Marshall said, "You cannot; it is unconstitutional." Orthodox rallied from Massachusetts Bay to the Mississippi and said, "You shall not; it is infamous." Where there is a stronger power than the Orthodox sects of the North for a army and the Supreme Court for a general? Congress denied the legality of the proceeding. The press of the country, ignorant and exultant, said, "It can't be done." "See if it can't," said Georgia, and hung him up. Then she took Samuel Worcester and put him in jail. Behind him stood the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign and Domestic Missions, in front of him the Chief Justice, but Georgia turned the key on him, and there he lay, until, in her sovereign will, she chose to open it. South Carolina took our black seamen out of ships and put them in jail. Winthrop even was lifted to manhood enough to prove it was illegal; the Secretary of State proved it was unconstitutional; Massachusetts protested; Congress protested; we sent Samuel Hoar down to say, "Wayward sister, why do you do so?" "Go home or I will put you in" was the answer. "We had the Federal authority, the North, and the Constitution on our side, but they availed nothing. Texas took six of our black men and sold them, ten years ago, and we do not know to-day where they are. Unconstitutional, all of it; public opinion on our side largely at the North; but Congress said, "We know no means by which to check a State." Chief Justice Marshall exhausted all his ingenuity in the Cherokee case. The interlocking of State and Federal authority is so complex, that when a State, short of war, chooses thus to throw herself athwart the Government, it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to interfere with her.

We are to remember the history of the cause. I allow, of course, what every man knows, that all this time we had a pro-slavery public; we are to have an anti-slavery one, I hope, in the future; but I want to bring to your minds, first, the almost impossibility, even with the Constitution on our side, of attacking a State, and then to remind you that the white men of the reconstructed States can keep inside the Constitution, be free from any legal criticism, and yet put the negro where no abolitionist would be willing to see him.

Now, to my mind, an American abolitionist, when he asks freedom for the negro, means effectual freedom, real freedom, something that can maintain and vindicate itself. I do not believe in an English freedom, that trusts the welfare of the dependent class to the good will and moral sense of the upper class. This is aristocracy. The ballot in England is in the hands of some eight hundred thousand or a million of men, and the welfare of the rest trusted to their sense of justice. That is their philosophy of government; it is not ours. Our philosophy of government, since the 4th day of July, 1776, is that no class is safe, no freedom is real, no emancipation is effectual, which does not place in the hands of the man himself the power to protect his own rights. That is the genius of American institutions. Now, when I see the nature and relative position of the State and Federal Governments, and know that the white man of the North, if he wished to, could not protect the negro of Louisiana, once put that State fence between them,—could not if he would, and I still believe would not if he could, in the absolute sense of justice and freedom,—then, as an abolitionist, under such a government, I fall back on the democratic principle, and claim of the anti-slavery party that it shall be content with no emancipation which does not put into the hands of the freedman himself the power to protect his newly-acquired liberty. (Applause.) No emancipation is effectual, no freedom is real, which does not take that shape. I argue it simply as a question of security, not of justice or of magnanimity. For a nation to ask a man to fight for them and then leave him without full citizenship, is an infamy which would make a man forewear all part in such a nation. (Loud applause.) I have seen a letter from one of our ablest Captains, who writes—"I do not believe in the equality of the races. I do not accept the policy of allowing the negroes to fight. I do not believe in universal suffrage nor in universal freedom. I believe that this is a white man's battle, and that white men should fight it. But," he says, "if the white man chooses to give himself to trade, and let the negro fight the battle, the hand that defends the country has a right to govern it." (Applause.) That is honest logic. That is the honest logic of an opponent of anti-slavery. That is the logic of a man whose growing popularity, with such a heart, constitutes one of the great dangers of our future. If we are to believe in the sincere purpose of the Administration to arm the negro and give him his muckety at the basis of his right to every privilege of citizenship, how shall we explain that when Sherman asked for Col. Bowman, months ago, to organize the negroes who sought out camp, from that day to this, though often repeatedly urged, no one has been sent him? From that day to this, the Government has never responded to his call. From that

day to this, the Executive at Washington has not answered, though urged even by Maryland to do it. They left him to sully the noblest achievement of the war by the most infamous act that ever disgraced a nation. When he swept across the continent, doing what no soldier had done before, had he gathered the only help he got, the black man, into his ranks, his star would have taken its place in the highest galaxy of patriots and captains. But instead of that, with deliberate infamy, he paused at the end of a causeway a mile long, let the white men pass, and held back the negroes who had brought him horses, food, information, and then tore up the bridge, and stood by while rebel cavalry shot that mass of friends down as they would a herd of buffaloes. (Cries of "Shame.") The proudest act of the war is covered over with a blot sufficient to make any American unwilling to name it as done by his countrymen. Show me an instance, under any plea of military strategy or necessity, where a white man seeking our lives, in the whole four years, has been hurled back on the bayonets of the enemy, and our men stood by and saw him shot down, and I will grant some excuse, some plausible apology for this infamous butchery by the first military genius of the white race. I know, of course, in whose immediate presence and by whose immediate order the act was done, but as you do not seek out the name of the soldier who actually tore up the bridge, but visit your rebuke on this Davis who ordered the act, so I go farther and hold the head of the whole expedition, Sherman, responsible. Any marked act in that march which he has not censured, he must be held to have endorsed and approved. This infamy is too monstrous for our indignation to be satisfied, grovelling down among petty underlings, like this Jefferson C. Davis. I hold Sherman responsible since he has endorsed it by silence. If the Administration remains silent, then I hold President Lincoln and Mr. Secretary Stanton the real murderers. They can hasten fast enough to relieve a General who spares the lives of his soldiers; we wait to see what they will say to one who murders them.

Some of these resolutions refer to Louisiana, to which I was coming in my argument. The President offers it to us as an initial reconstruction. We may see what sort of freedom, therefore, we are to hope for if the Major can be left to the tender mercies either of a Major General or of the white men of the rebel States. But in examining this matter, I shall rely almost exclusively on the speech of Gen. Banks at Tremont Temple. I take that not because I think Gen. Banks's statement to be any evidence whatever of the truth of what he says, but because I find enough admitted and claimed for merit by him in that speech to make me repudiate Louisiana. Thoroughly untrustworthy in regard to the whole question of Louisiana, only a brain thrice sordid would accept Banks's evidence on any point relating to the negro. A Major General, born in Massachusetts, graduated by three years of such a war as this, who could say to the black regiment of Louisiana, which had left half its number under the months of the enemy's cannon, when it asked to put "Port Hudson" on its flag, "No," while he permitted a white regiment, doing picket duty two miles off, so to inscribe their banner, is no fit witness where the negro is concerned. (Applause.) I refuse him all right to testify; and I visit the same criticism even on the War Department, when I recollect that it is but a month since they recited that infamous injustice. Week after week, month after month went by, and the men whose comrades had died under the very mouths of the enemy's cannon had a flag unmarked, while so many a white man flaunted his lie in their faces, and the Government at Washington, indifferent and heedless, permitted this injustice. But, as I say, I accept the acknowledgments of Gen. Banks in this speech as sufficient for my purpose. What you call the freedom of Louisiana is "Banks's freedom," and it is no freedom for me. The English, in 1834, called their apprenticeship system, "Stanley freedom"; they replaced it soon by something better. The Abolitionists, asking for bread—Emancipation—are presented with a stone—"Banks's freedom." I, for one, do not accept it.

SPEECH OF GEO. THOMPSON, ESQ.

Mr. President and Friends:—Were it not that my name has been announced as one of those who are to address you at this morning's meeting, I should resist any importunity to present myself to your attention. As it is, I shall crave at your hands permission to defer to some future session the remarks I may desire to offer on the present aspect of your national affairs, in relation to the question of slavery.

It affords me unexpressed satisfaction to be able to express my all but unqualified approbation of the resolutions which have been submitted by my friend Mr. Phillips, and also of the observations he has made upon them. (Applause.) If my approbation is slightly qualified, it is simply with respect to those parts of my friend's address in which he criticises the administration of a certain high functionary, charged with the conduct of affairs in a remote State, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. I do not, I repeat, those criticisms are too harsh, or are undeserved, but that I do not feel myself competent, at present, to pronounce judgment in the matter. When, however, my friend calls upon you, as he does in his first resolution, to acknowledge with devout thankfulness the marvellous triumphs of the anti-slavery principle throughout the United States, I ask the privilege of blending my tribute of gratitude with yours, to the great Disposer of events for His interference in your behalf, and for His having so ordered those events as to cause them to work in the direction of your national redemption from the crime, the guilt, and curse of slavery. With equal cordiality can I echo everything which he has said intended to incite you to vigilance, union, firmness and uncompromising fidelity in this the last stage and crisis of the great conflict in which you have been engaged with the hosts of oppression for more than thirty years. Think nothing done while any thing remains to be accomplished; but carry on this holy war until it is brought to a final and everlasting end. (Applause.)

With Mr. Phillips, I would urge you to take warning by the conduct of England in the matter of negro apprenticeship. Consent to no measure that shall leave the negro half a slave and half a freeman. (Applause.) Let your battle-cry to the last be "Immediate, unconditional, absolute Emancipation." Express and denounce the delusion that the negro, or any other human being, here or anywhere, requires to be, or can be, prepared for personal freedom. The use of freedom can only be learnt by its possession, and is the right and heritage of every man. (Applause.) I unite with my friend when he says that, if to recapitulate the triumphs which have been achieved thus far in the cause of freedom were the sole end of our speeches, we should but waste words. Nevertheless, during the last twelve months, I have been constantly addressing public audiences in this country, and in all my speeches have deemed it my duty to count upon and exhibit the solid gains which have accrued to the cause of liberty during the present war, and the contemporaneous revolution in the sentiments of the people; but at the same time, I have insisted upon the duty growing out of past successes to be pressed forward until not only shall slavery be abolished, but the vile distinctions founded upon complexion shall be utterly obliterated. (Applause.)

I therefore agree with Mr. Phillips that your Constitution needs two amendments: one prohibiting slavery everywhere throughout the Union, and another forbidding the States to enact laws which shall make any distinction among their citizens on account of race or color. Let your Constitution be so amended that it shall, for all time to come, be the rule, the principle, the fundamental law of the Republic, the

there shall be no distinction in regard to civil or political rights or privileges founded upon complexion. (Applause.) I would that the same power which is about to decree the abolition and prohibition of slavery should also decree the utter and eternal annihilation of all differences at present existing in consequence of dissimilarity of complexion. (Applause.) I, equally with Mr. Phillips, desire to see the negro enfranchised. I desire to see him protected by the ballot. In a word, placed upon a footing of absolute civil and political equality with the white man. (Applause.) With Mr. Phillips, I believe that if this country is to be saved, it must be saved through the negro, and for the negro; that without his assistance it cannot be re-established in its integrity, nor preserved when it is re-established. (Loud applause.) There is, then, you perceive, Mr. President, little if any difference between myself and the honored friend by whom I have been preceded; none, if the counts upon which he has arranged the administration of Gen. Banks can be sustained, and into that question it is not my intention to enter. I leave Gen. Banks to Mr. Phillips, to the Government he serves, and to the people of Massachusetts. Let me, however, express my gratification that so much that is really good, and about which there is and can be no diversity of opinion, has been done in Louisiana; that slavery has been abolished and freedom proclaimed; that schools have been established; and that a new order of things has been inaugurated; and that we have seen and heard on this platform, to-day, singing the songs of freedom, and waving the banner of the Union, the first fruits of that glorious harvest which shall ere long be reaped in the form of universal liberty. (Applause.) If standing as we do to-day upon the threshold of entire emancipation, we are about to see the prohibition of slavery in this country made a part of the Constitution, it is certainly the duty of those who call themselves Abolitionists to see that they are not cheated out of any portion of that freedom which they design to confer upon the slave. Thirty-two years ago, at my first meeting with Mr. Garrison in England, he paid me the compliment of saying that he perfectly sympathized with me in the efforts I was then making to induce the people of Great Britain to repudiate the system of apprenticeship which was unhappily made a part of the abolition act of 1833. In consenting to that measure, the friends of the negro, as I have always thought, not only compromised their principles, but, as the result proved, fell into a fatal error. Mr. Phillips was guilty of no exaggeration in the picture which he drew of the courts of justice, so-called, in Jamaica and other West India colonies, during the existence of that bastard system, that mockery of freedom, called "apprenticeship"—a system in some respects worse than slavery itself—a system so hateful, oppressive and cruel, that the British nation had to be aroused to a second effort for the purpose of effecting its overthrow. I trust no similar blunder will be committed here. Let full justice be done, and at once; let the negro be made free; let him be clothed with the rights that will enable him to protect himself; and thus will be avoided those difficulties, complications and miseries which would not fail to follow from the adoption of any system short of entire and absolute emancipation. (Applause.) Members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, accept my heartfelt congratulations upon the mighty changes which have taken place since the period when it was my honor to be first associated with you—changes so vast in their magnitude, so endless in their issues, so beneficent in their consequences, that words fail to express their importance. This day you behold the fruit of your labors; to-day America endorses, to their full extent, the principles you have for more than thirty years promulgated. At last, the nation is awakened to a sense of the danger, the criminality and the shame of slavery. What remains, but that you gather up your strength, that you gird up the loins of your mind, and that you press forward until the nation ratifies by its acts, and establishes by its Constitution, the sacred principles for which you have been contending?

—I cannot sit down without offering to my friends present, whose complexion identifies them with that portion of the American people who have been so long the victims of prejudice, proscription and slavery, my congratulations upon the great change which has already been effected in their condition; and upon the altered status which I believe they will soon occupy amongst the citizens of this country. In your behalf, my friends, I hail the brightening prospect. Offer my congratulations to my eloquent friend, and former associate, Frederick Douglass, whom I see present amongst us this morning. (Loud applause.) I congratulate him that Maryland, the State where he was born; the State under whose laws he was held as a slave; the State from which he fled to the free soil of Massachusetts, is to-day A FREE STATE, and that the elite of the city of Baltimore now invite the fugitive slave to come amongst them, and lift up that wondrous voice which, for twenty years past, has been uttering in thunder-tones its denunciations of the foul wrong of slavery. (Applause.) I congratulate my colored friends, that to-day two millions of their once enslaved race are free; that the United States army contains two hundred thousand brave men, who, instead of lifting the hoe in the field for tyrant-masters, are wielding the sword in the cause of their own liberty, and the defence of a common nationality. Mr. President, it cannot be that the race who have furnished so many devoted warriors, who have displayed such matchless bravery in the face of your country's enemies, can ever again be reduced to that condition of degradation in which, to the shame of this country, they have hitherto been held. (Applause.)

The signs of the times are indeed encouraging; they all point to the fruition and consummation of our labors and our hopes. Let us not, however, lay down our arms, or slacken our exertions. Let us hold fast whereunto we have attained, and press onward to the goal. The people must not leave this matter to be decided wholly by the events of the war, or by the deliberations of politicians, or according to the theory of statesmen, or by the decisions of Cabinets. Should they do so, then, alas! for the negro. Not that I fear in regard to his personal liberty; for that, I believe, is assured. The fetters that we bound his limbs with, I believe, are broken; but we demand for him a higher liberty, a liberty from all those disabilities and degrading distinctions to which his race have heretofore been subjected. (Applause.) We wish his personal liberty to be the means to an end. The negro was a chattel, he is to be a man, and we require that the man should be made a citizen, and that, in possession of the full rights and franchises of an American, he should be able to defend his manhood and assert his equality. (Applause.)

Mr. President and friends, I now yield the floor. I thank you for permitting me to be heard to this extent. I leave the further discussion of these important resolutions in able hands, and shall remain amongst you a quiet but interested listener to the remarks of better men.

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
 Mr. President, I have not heard the resolutions read, but I have listened to the speeches of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Thompson, and I do not feel, at this time, like entering into the discussion of the questions which I suppose, from these speeches, to be involved in the resolutions. I came here, as I come always to the meetings in New England, as a listener, and not as a speaker; and one of the reasons why I have not been more frequently to the meetings of this Society has been because of the disposition on the part of some of my friends to call me out upon the platform, even when they knew that there was some difference of opinion and of feeling between those who rightfully belong to this platform and myself; and for fear of being misconstrued, as desiring to interrupt or disturb the proceedings of these meetings, I have usually kept away, and have thus been deprived of that educating influence, which I am always free to confess is of the highest order, descending from this platform. I have felt, since I have lived out West, that in going there, I parted from a great deal that was valuable; and I feel, every time I come to these meet-

ings, that I have lost a great deal by making my home west of Boston, west of Massachusetts; for, if anywhere in the country there is to be found the highest sense of justice, or the truest demands for the race, I look for it in the East, I look for it here. The ablest discussions of the whole question of our rights occur here, and to be deprived of the privilege of listening to those discussions is a great deprivation.

I do not know, from what has been said, that there is any difference of opinion as to the duty of abolitionists at the present moment. I went with every word uttered by Mr. Phillips, and with almost every word uttered by Mr. Thompson. How can we get up any difference at this point, or at any point, where we are so united, so agreed? I went especially, however, with that word of Mr. Phillips to which, if to any, exception was taken by Mr. Thompson, and that is, the criticism of Gen. Banks and Gen. Banks's policy. I hold that that policy is our chief danger at the present moment; that it practically enforces the negro, and makes the Proclamation of 1863 a mockery and delusion. What is freedom? It is the right to choose one's own employment. Certainly, it means that, if it means anything; and when any individual or combination of individuals undertakes to decide for any man when he shall work, where he shall work, at what he shall work, and for what he shall work, he or they practically reduce him to slavery. (Applause.) He is a slave. That I understand Gen. Banks to do—to determine for the so-called freedmen when to work, and where, and at what, and for how much he shall work, when he shall be punished, and by whom punished. It is absolute slavery. It defeats the beneficent intentions of the government, if it has beneficent intentions, in regard to the freedom of our people.

I have had but one idea for the last three years to present to the American people, and the phraseology in which I clothe it is the old abolition phraseology. I am for the "immediate, unconditional and universal" enfranchisement of the black man, in every State in the Union. (Loud applause.) Without this, his liberty is a mockery; without this, you might as well almost retain the old name of slavery for his condition; for, in fact, if he is not the slave of the individual master, he is the slave of society, and holds his liberty as a privilege, not as a right. He is at the mercy of the mob, and has no means of protecting himself.

It may be objected, however, that this pressing of the negroes right to suffrage is premature. Let us have slavery abolished, it may be said, let us have labor organized, and then, in the natural course of events, the right of suffrage will be extended to the negro. I do not agree with this. The constitution of the human mind is such, that if it once disregards the conviction forced upon it by a revelation of truth, it requires the exercise of a higher power to produce the same conviction afterwards. The American people are now in tears. The Shenandoah has run blood—the best blood of the North. All around Richmond—the blood of New England and of the North has been shed—of your sons, your brothers, and your fathers. We all feel, in the existence of this rebellion, that judgments terrible, wide-spread, far-reaching, overwhelming, are abroad in the land; and we feel, in view of these judgments, just now, a disposition to learn righteousness. This is the hour. Our streets are in mourning, tears are falling at every tread, and under the chastisement of this rebellion, we have almost come up to the point of conceding this great, this all-important right of suffrage. I fear that if we fail to do it now, if Abolitionists fail to press it now, we may not see, for centuries to come, the same disposition that exists at this moment. (Applause.) Hence, I say, now is the time to press this right.

It may be asked, "Why do you want it? Some men have got along very well without it. Women have not this right." Shall we justify one wrong by another? That is a sufficient answer. Shall we at this moment justify the deprivation of the negro of that right to vote because some one else is deprived of that privilege? I hold that women as well as men have the right to vote, (applause,) and my heart and my voice go with the movement to extend suffrage to woman. But that question rests upon another basis than that on which our right rests. We may be asked, I say, why we want it. I will tell you why we want it. We want it because it is our right, first of all. (Applause.) No class of men can, without insulting their own nature, be content with any deprivation of their rights. We want it, again, as a means for educating our race. Men are so constituted that they derive their conviction of their own possibilities largely from the estimate formed of them by others. If nothing is expected of a people, that people will find it difficult to contradict that expectation. By depriving us of suffrage, you affirm our incapacity to form an intelligent judgment respecting public men and public measures; you declare before the world that we are unfit to exercise the elective franchise, and by this means lead us to undervalue ourselves, to put a low estimate upon ourselves, and to feel that we have no possibilities like other men. Again, I want the elective franchise, for one, as a colored man, because ours is a peculiar government, based upon a peculiar idea, and that idea is universal suffrage. If I were in a monarchical government, or an autocratic or aristocratic government, where the few bore rule and the many were subject, there would be no special stigma resting upon me because I did not exercise the elective franchise. It would do me no great violence. Mingling with the mass, I should partake of the strength of the mass; I should be supported by the mass, and I should have the same incentives to endeavor with the mass of my fellow-men; it would be no particular burden, no particular deprivation. But here, where universal suffrage is the rule, where that is the fundamental idea of the government, to rule us out is to make us an exception, to brand us with the stigma of inferiority, and to invite to our heads the missiles of those about us. Therefore I want the franchise for the black man.

There are, however, other reasons, not arising from any consideration merely of our rights, but derived from the condition of the South and of the country—considerations which have already been referred to by Mr. Phillips—considerations which must arrest the attention of statesmen. I believe that when the heads of this rebellion shall have been swept down, as they will be swept down, when the Davises and Tombees and Stephens, and others who are leading in this rebellion shall have been blotted out, there will be this rank undergrowth of treason, to which reference has been made, growing up there, and interfering with and thwarting the quiet operation of the Federal Government in those States. You will see those traitors hanging down from sire to son the same malignant spirit which they have manifested and which they are now exhibiting, with malicious hearts, broad blades and bloody hands in the field, against our sons and brothers. That spirit will still remain; and whoever sees the Federal Government extended over those Southern States will see that government in a strange land, and not only in a strange land, but in an enemy's land. A postmaster of the United States in the South will find himself surrounded by a hostile spirit; a collector in a Southern port will find himself surrounded by a hostile spirit; a United States marshal or United States Judge will be surrounded there by a hostile element. That enemy will not die out in a year, will not die out in an age. The Federal Government will be looked upon in those States precisely as the governments of Austria and France are looked upon in Italy at the present moment. They will endeavor to circumvent, they will endeavor to destroy the peaceful operation of this government. Now, where will you find the strength to counterbalance this spirit, if you do not find it in the negroes of the South? They are your friends, and have always been your friends. They were your friends even when the Government did not regard them as such. They comprehended the genius of this war before you did. It is a significant fact, it is a marvellous fact, it seems almost to imply a direct interposition of Providence, that

this war, which began in the interest of slavery on both sides, bids fair to end in the interests of liberty on both sides. (Applause.) It was begun, I say, in the interest of slavery, on both sides. The South was fighting to take slavery out of the Union, and the North fighting to keep it in the Union; the South fighting to get beyond the limits of the United States Constitution, and the North fighting to retain it within those limits; the South fighting for new guarantees, and the North fighting for the old guarantees—both deploring the negro, both insulting the negro. Yet the negro, apparently endowed with wisdom from on high, saw more clearly the end from the beginning than we did. When Seward said the status of no man in the country would be changed by the war, the negro did not believe him. (Applause.) When our generals sent their underlings in shoulder-straps to hunt the flying negro back from our lines into the jaws of slavery from which he had escaped, the negro thought that a mistake had been made, and that the intentions of the Government had not been rightly understood by our officers in shoulder-straps, and that continued to come into our lines, threading their way through bogs and fens, over briars and thorns, fording streams, swimming rivers, bringing us tidings as to the safe path to march, and pointing out the dangers that threatened us. They are our only friends in the South, and we should be true to them in this their trial hour, and see to it that they have the elective franchise.

I know that we are inferior to you in some things—virtually inferior. We walk about among you like dwarfs among giants. Our heads are scarcely seen above the great sea of humanity. The Germans are superior to us; the Irish are superior to us; the Yankees are superior to us (laughter); they can do what we cannot, that is, what we have not hitherto been allowed to do. But, while I make this admission, I utterly deny that we are, originally, or naturally, or practically, or in any way, or in any important sense, inferior to anybody on this globe. (Loud applause.) This charge of inferiority is an old dodge. It has been made available for oppression on many occasions. It is only about six centuries since the blue-eyed and fair-haired Anglo-Saxons were considered inferior by the haughty Normans, who once trampled upon them. If you read the history of the Norman Conquest, you will find that this proud Anglo-Saxon was once looked upon as of coarser clay than his Norman master; and might be found in the highways and byways of old England laboring with a brass collar on his neck, and the name of his master marked upon it. You were down then! (Laughter and applause.) You are up now. I am glad you are up, and I want you to be glad to help us up also. (Applause.)

The story of our inferiority is an old dodge, as I have said; for wherever men oppress their fellows, wherever they enslave them, they will endeavor to find the needed apology for such enslavement and oppression in the character of the people oppressed and enslaved. When we wanted, a few years ago, a slice of Mexico, it was hinted that the Mexicans were an inferior race, that the old Castilian blood had become so weak that it would scarcely run down hill, and that Mexico needed the long, strong and beneficent arm of the Anglo-Saxon race extended over it. We said that it was necessary to its salvation, and a part of the "manifest destiny" of this Republic, to extend our arm over that dilapidated government. So, too, when Russia wanted to take possession of a part of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks were "an inferior race." So, too, when England was to set the heel of her power more firmly in the quivering heart of old Ireland, the Celts are "an inferior race." So, too, the negro, when he is to be robbed of any right which is justly his, is "an inferior man." It is said that we are ignorant; I admit it. But if we know enough to be hung, we know enough to vote. If the negro knows enough to pay taxes to support the Government, he knows enough to vote—taxation and representation should go together. If he knows enough to shoulder a musket and fight for the flag, fight for the Government, he knows enough to vote. If he knows as much when he is sober as an Irishman knows when drunk, he knows enough to vote, on good American principles. (Laughter and applause.)

But I was saying that you needed a counterpoise in the persons of the slaves to the enmity that would exist at the South after the rebellion is put down. I hold that the American people are bound, not only in self-defence, to extend this right to the freedmen of the South, but they are bound by their love of country and by all their regard for the future safety of those Southern States to do this—to do it as a measure essential to the preservation of peace there. But I will not dwell upon this. I put it to the American sense of honor. The honor of a nation is an important thing. It is said in the Scriptures, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" It may be said also, what doth it profit a nation if it gain the whole world, but lose its honor? I hold that the American Government has taken upon itself a solemn obligation of honor to see that this war, let it be long or let it be short, let it cost much, or let it cost little,—that this war shall not cease until every freedman at the South has the right to vote. (Applause.) It has bound itself to do it. What have you asked the black men of the South, the black men of the whole country to do? Why, you have asked them to incur the deadly enmity of their masters, in order to befriend you and to befriend this government. You have asked us to call down, not only upon ourselves, but upon our children's children, the deadly hate of the entire Southern people. You have called upon us to turn our backs upon our masters, to abandon their cause and espouse yours; to turn against the South and in favor of the North; to shoot down the Confederacy and uphold the flag—the American flag. You have called upon us to expose ourselves to all the subtle machinations of their malignity for all time. And now, what do you propose to do when you come to make peace? To reward your enemies, and trample in the dust your friends? Do you intend to sacrifice the very men who have come to the rescue of your banner in the South, and incurred the lasting displeasure of their masters thereby? Do you intend to sacrifice them, and reward your enemies? Do you mean to give your enemies the right to vote, and take it away from your friends? Is that wise policy? Is that honorable? Could American honor withstand such a blow? I do not believe you will do it. I think you will see to it that we have the right to vote. There is something too mean in looking upon the negro when you are in trouble as a citizen, and when you are free from trouble as an alien. When this nation was in trouble, in its early struggles, it looked upon the negro as a citizen. In 1776, he was a citizen. At the time of the formation of the Constitution, the negro had the right to vote in eleven States out of the old thirteen. In your trouble you have made us citizens. In 1812, Gen. Jackson addressed us as citizens, "fellow-citizens." He wanted us to fight. We were citizens then! And now, when you come to frame a conscription bill, the negro is a citizen again. He has been a citizen just three times in the history of this government, and it has always been in time of trouble. In time of trouble we are citizens. Shall we be citizens in war, and aliens in peace? Would that be just?

I ask my friends who are apologizing for not insisting upon this right, where can the black man look in this country for the assertion of this right if he may not look to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society? Where under the whole heavens can he look for sympathy in asserting this right if he may not look to this platform? Have you lifted us up to a certain height to see that we are men, and then are any disposed to leave us there, without seeing that we are put in possession of all our rights? We look naturally to this platform for the assertion of all our rights, and for this one especially. I understand the anti-slavery societies of this country to be based on two principles—first, the freedom of the blacks of this country; and second, the elevation of them. Let us not be mis-

understood here. I am not asking for sympathy at the hands of Abolitionists, sympathy at the hands of anybody. I think the American people are disposed often to be generous rather than just. I look over this country at the present time, and I see Educational Societies, Sanitary Commissions, Freedmen's Associations, and the like,—all very good; but in regard to the colored people, there is always more that is benevolent, I perceive, than just, manifested towards us. What I ask for the negro is not benevolence, not pity, not sympathy, but simply justice. (Applause.) The American people have always been anxious to know what they shall do with us. Gen. Banks was distressed with solicitude as to what he should do with the negro. Everybody has asked the question, and they learned to ask it early of the abolitionists. "What shall we do with the negro?" I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us! Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us. Do nothing with us! If the apples will not remain on the tree of their own strength, if they are worm-eaten at the core, if they are early ripe and disposed to fall, let them fall! I am not for tying or fastening them on the tree in any way, except by nature's plan, and if they will not stay there, let them fall. And if the negro cannot stand on his own legs, let him fall also! All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone! If you see him on his way to school, let him alone,—don't disturb him! If you see him going to the dinner-table at a hotel, let him go! If you see him going to the ballot-box, let him alone,—don't disturb him! (Applause.) If you see him going into a workshop, just let him alone,—your interference is doing him positive injury. Gen. Banks's "preparation" is of a piece with this attempt to prop up the negro. Let him fall if he cannot stand alone! If the negro cannot live by the line of eternal justice, so beautifully pictured to you in the illustration used by Mr. Phillips, the fault will not be yours. It will be his who made the negro, and established that line for his government. (Applause.) Let him live or die by that. If you will only untie his hands, and give him a chance, I think he will live. He will work as readily for himself as the white man. A great many delusions have been swept away by this war. One was, that the negro would not work; he has proved his ability to work. Another was, that the negro would not fight; that he possessed only the most sheepish attributes of humanity; was a perfect lamb, or an "Uncle Tom"; disposed to take off his coat whenever required, fold his hands, and be whipped by any body who wanted to whip him!—but the war has proved that there is a great deal of human nature in the negro, and that he will fight, as Mr. Quincy, our President, said, in earlier days than these, "when there is a reasonable probability of his whipping anybody." (Laughter and applause.)

But here I am talking away, and taking up the time which belongs to others.

FREEDOM TRIUMPHANT!
GRAND JUBILEE MEETING
 IN THE MUSIC HALL,
 To Rejoice over the Amendment prohibiting Human Slavery in the United States forever.

SPEECHES OF HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, REV. DR. KIRK, AND MAJ. GEN. BUTLER.

A large and brilliant audience were assembled in the Music Hall on Saturday evening last, to rejoice over the passage by Congress, and the ratification by the Legislatures of many of the States, of the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting Human Slavery in the United States hereafter and forever. The meeting was one of the most enthusiastic gatherings of the friends of freedom ever held in this city, and was in every respect eminently worthy of the great event in national history which had called it forth. The arrangements, in charge of a Committee of which Col. Albert J. Wright was Chairman, and Mr. S. B. Stebbins Secretary, were excellently planned and admirably carried out. The Hall was decorated for the occasion, in their usual style of elegance and good taste, by Messrs. Lamprell, Short and Marble, city decorators. Mrs. L. S. Frohock presided at the organ; the choral performances were under direction of Messrs. S. B. Ball, J. Q. Wetherbee and J. B. Elliot.

Previous to the calling of the meeting to order, Mrs. Frohock executed a well-selected programme of popular and national music, about half an hour in length, concluding with the "Hallelujah Chorus," after which Col. Wright came forward, and spoke as follows:

REMARKS OF COL. ALBERT J. WRIGHT.
 We have invited you here to give thanks and rejoice over one of the greatest events of this eventful age—the near completion of the work which was begun when our fathers, in 1776, declared to the world that "all men are created equal." The adoption of the proposed alteration of the Constitution of the United States, by Congress, has been announced to us sooner than many of us had faith to expect, but we accept the announcement with humility, with joy, and with thanksgiving to God. In this, as in many other glorious events of these days in which we live, let the people recognize that Hand from which cometh every good and perfect gift. Let us be faithful to the high trust committed to this generation, and God will speed the right. The programme of exercises for the evening is in your hands. I had hoped that I should be able to introduce to you, as the President of the evening, His Excellency the Governor. His warm and generous spirit is in sympathy with the object for which we have assembled, but I am sorry to be obliged to tell you that we cannot be favored with his bodily presence. A sudden indisposition compels him to deny us the anticipated pleasure of listening to his volcanic eloquence. The next best person that I see here to perform the duties of the chair is the Hon. Josiah Quincy, whom I introduce to you as President of the meeting.

Hon. Josiah Quincy rose, and called upon Rev. Robert C. Waterston to offer prayer. Mr. Waterston addressed the Throne of Grace in most eloquent and impressive words of thanksgiving for the accomplishment of the great event which they were assembled to celebrate. The audience then joined in singing the hymns, "The morning light is breaking," after which Mr. Quincy briefly addressed the meeting.

REMARKS OF HON. JOSIAH QUINCY.
 I need not inform you that my appearance at this moment is entirely unexpected. I have been called upon at this late moment to preside. Yet I am most happy to stand before you on this occasion. This is a day possessed to me of the most sacred associations. I stand here not on my own merits. I am here but as the representative of a great, and, as I may say, of a good man. To-day is the anniversary of the birth of Josiah Quincy, who is now, with many others, I doubt not, congratulating each other in a higher sphere on this great event. How great a cloud of witnesses, pioneers in the great cause of Anti-Slavery, now stand around, beholding the accomplishment of this glorious event of human redemption—Benjamin Lundy, the Quaker pioneer, to whom Mr. Garrison owed his first promptings in the Anti-Slavery cause; Elijah P. Lovejoy, the Anti-Slavery martyr of Alton, John Quincy Adams, "the old man eloquent," Josiah B. Giddings, Wm. Slade, Owen Lovejoy, Horace Mann, Theodore Parker, Isaac T. Hopper, Ellis Gray Loring, Francis Jackson, Charles F. Hoey,—are, we may believe, exchanging congratulations on this most happy day. Our Constitution has been called a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell," but no longer shall it merit such words of shame and ignominy, nor that glorious old flag be apostrophized with words of scorn.

Mr. James R. Elliot then sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," the audience rising, and joining in the chorus.

The chairman then said that it was very seldom that a philanthropist, engaged in a great movement struggling for the ascendancy, had the opportunity of beholding the result of his labors. There was, however, such an one present—the first great pioneer of the Anti-Slavery cause, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who would now address the assembly.

On coming forward, Mr. Garrison was unable to proceed for some time—the immense audience greeting him with enthusiastic, long-protracted and overwhelming applause, concluding with three rousing cheers. As soon as he could be heard, he proceeded to say—

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.
 When I was requested, by our honored chairman, to write upon a slip of paper some of the names of those who had made themselves conspicuous in the Anti-Slavery movement, but who had ascended to a higher sphere of existence, I had but a few moments in which to recall their memories. The list might be extended indefinitely; but I beg leave to add to it, on this occasion, the name of Professor Eollen, among the earliest and the truest, the friend and champion of impartial freedom in Europe and America; and him, whose "soul is marching on," John Brown. (Enthusiastic cheers.)—At this point, Major General Butler came upon the platform, and was received with a storm of applause from the audience, who rose to their feet, and clapped their hands, and waved hats and handkerchiefs for several minutes. Quietude being restored, Mr. Garrison continued as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—In the long course of history, there are events of such transcendent sublimity and importance as to make all human speech utterly inadequate to portray the emotions they excite. The event we are here to celebrate is one of these—grand, inspiring, glorious, beyond all power of utterance, and far-reaching beyond all finite computation. (Applause.)

At last, after eighty years of wandering and darkness,—of cruelty and oppression, on a colossal scale, towards a helpless and an unoffending race—of reciprocity to all the Heaven-attested principles enunciated by our revolutionary sires in justification of their course; through righteous judgment and fiery retribution; through national dismemberment and civil war; through suffering, bereavement and lamentation, extending to every city, town, village and hamlet, almost every household in the land; through a whole generation of Anti-Slavery warning, expostulation and rebuke, resulting in wide-spread contrition and repentance; the nation, rising in the majesty of its moral power and political sovereignty, has decreed that LIBERTY shall be "PROCLAIMED THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF," and that henceforth no such anomalous being as slaveholder or slave shall exist beneath the "stars and stripes," within the domains of the Republic. (Cheers.)

Sir, no such transition of feeling and sentiment, as has taken place within the last four years, stands recorded on the historic page; a change that seems as absolute as it is stupendous. Allow me to confess that, in view of it, and of the mighty consequences that must result from it to unborn generations, I feel to-night in a thoroughly methodical state of mind—disposed at the top of my voice, and to the utmost stretch of my lungs, to shout "Glory!" "Alleluia!" "Amen and amen!" "Rapturous applause—"Glory!" "Alleluia!" "Amen and amen!" being repeated with great unction by various persons in the audience.) Gladly and gratefully would I exclaim with one of old, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." (Applause.) With the rejoicing Psalmist, I would say to the old and the young, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth forever. To him alone that doeth great wonders; for his mercy endureth forever. To him that overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red sea; for his mercy endureth forever. And brought out Israel from among them, with a strong hand, and with a stretched out arm; for his mercy endureth forever." (Loud applause.) "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord!"

Mr. Chairman, friends and strangers stop me in the streets, daily, to congratulate me on having been permitted to live to witness the almost miraculous change which has taken place in the feelings and sentiments of the people on the subject of slavery, and in favor of the long rejected but ever just and humane doctrine of immediate and universal emancipation. Ah, sir, no man living better understands or more joyfully recognizes the vastness of that change than I do. But most truly can I say that it causes within me no feeling of personal pride or exultation—God forbid! But I am unhesitatingly happy to believe, not only that this vast assembly, but that the great mass of my countrymen are now heartily disposed to admit that, in indifferently seeking, by all righteous instrumentalities, for more than thirty years, the utter abolition of slavery, I have not acted the part of a madman, fanatic, incendiary, or traitor, (immense applause,) but have at all times been of sound mind, (laughter and cheers,) a true friend of liberty and humanity, animated by the highest patriotism, and devoted to the welfare, peace, unity, and ever increasing prosperity and glory of my native land! (Cheers.) And the same verdict you will render in vindication of the clear-sighted, untiring, intrepid, unselfish, uncompromising Anti-Slavery phalanx, who, through years of conflict and persecution—misrepresented, misunderstood, ridiculed and anatomized from one end of the country to the other—have labored "in season and out of season" to bring about this glorious result. (Renewed applause.) You will, I venture to think and say, agree with me, that only RADICAL ABOLITIONISM is it in this trial-hour, LOYALTY, JUSTICE, IMPARTIAL FREEDOM, NATIONAL SALVATION—the Golden Rule blended with the Declaration of Independence! (Great applause.)

Mr. Chairman, in the early days of the Anti-Slavery struggle, when those who ventured to espouse it were "few and far between," we endeavored to recruit our ranks by singing at our gatherings—

"Come, join the abolitionists,
 The fair, the old, the young,
 And, with a warm and cheerful zeal,
 Come, help the cause along!
 O, that will be joyful, joyful,
 When all shall proudly say,
 'This is the banner of our day!
 'Tis then we'll sing, and offerings bring,
 When Freedom wins the day!"

Thanks unto God, that day is here and now! Freedom is triumphant! THE PEOPLE have decreed the death of slavery! All the controlling elements of the country—national, state, religious, political, literary, social, economical, wealthy, industrial—are combined for its immediate extinction. There is no longer occasion, therefore, for the repetition of that persuasive song. As Jefferson said, in his inaugural message to Congress, "We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans"—so, in view of the dominant Anti-Slavery sentiment of the land, it may now be comprehensively declared, "We are all abolitionists, we are all loyalists, to the back-bone." (Loud applause.)

Fellow-citizens, we are here, moved as by an electric impulse, to commemorate a radical change in the Constitution of the United States—so radical that, whereas, for more than seventy years, it served as a mighty bulwark for the slave system, giving it national sanction and security, now it forbids human slavery in every part of the republic! Pardon me for reminding you of the old pro-slavery guarantee contained in that Constitution, all of which the present amendment obliterates at a blow. As the first component witness, let "the old man eloquent," JONAS QUINCY ADAMS, be summoned as a witness. The following is his testimony:—

"In the articles of confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal council—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of government came to be delegated to the United States, the South—South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be authorized

with the infliction of slavery, which no fugitive could purify, no quarantine could extirpate. The slavery was inflicted into the Constitution of freedom."

Again:—

"It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the Constitution, three special provisions in their quest to perpetuate their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of slaves. The African slave trade for twenty years of slaves. The second was the surrender of fugitive slaves. The third was the prohibition by the laws of God, and the prohibition by the laws of man, of the exaction of the price of man from the purchase of man, and the prohibition of articles of merchandise under the names of persons."

"The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia distinctly avowed that, without this guarantee of property in their slaves, they would be obliged to yield their assent to the Constitution; and the men of the North, reduced to the alternative of assenting from the vital principle of their liberty, or forsaking the Union itself, averted their faces, and forbidding bling hand subscribed the bond."

Again:—

"The bargain between Freedom and Slavery contained in the Constitution of the United States is morally and politically VICIOUS, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, and oppressive by riveting the chains of slavery, by the tyranny of freedom to maintain and preserve it, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to its owners, and persons not to be regarded as private but as nearly a double share of representation has been given, that the slave's portion above his brethren has been added as a wall. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening he has divided the spoil."

The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is your own venerated father, who, in a speech delivered at the Wig State Convention in Boston, ten years ago, said—

"The slaveholders of the South have used the powers vested in them by the Constitution for their own interests, as every other self-interesting class of men would have done under the same circumstances, with the same powers, and under the same temptations."

And, referring to the threats continually made by the slave oligarchy of the South, that they would dissolve the Union if the Anti-Slavery agitation was not suppressed at the North, he added—

"Are the slaveholders fools or madmen? They do not know the value of the Union for the purpose of maintaining the Union. Why, the arm of the Union holder's main strength? It is the slave. HIS FORTH STRENGTH."

The present paralyzed and dying condition of chattel slavery, as the result of secession, is demonstrative evidence that "the arm of the Union was the very sinew of the slaves' subjection, and the slaveholder's main strength."

Only one other witness shall be summoned on this occasion. Listen to the confession of the lamented WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING—

"There is some excuse for communities who make a great gain by the sale of slaves, and who are oppressed in other States, and who are bound to bind on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORE FROM THE RIGHT. We, their children, at the time of our independence, saw the path of duty more clearly than they, and our work is done. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully and dispassionately, and with many and Christian resolutions."

"We cannot fly from the shame or guilt of the institution. We give it any support. Most unphilosophically, they are protesting against the Constitution, and give it support. Let us resolve to free ourselves from these. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if we can avoid it. I demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in it. We are bound to this conviction the free States are tending."

Again:—

"The Constitution requires the free States to send back to bondage the fugitive slave. Does this show that we have no concern with the domestic institutions of the South? that the guilt of them, it is not there, but is wholly theirs, and in no degree ours? This clause makes us direct partakers of the guilt; and, of consequence, we have a vital interest in the free soil of slavery. It will be said that the South will insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. . . . If the necessity be real, then it follows that the free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailors and constables of the institution. But it is not the South's possession, and therefore we are bound to insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. . . . If the necessity be real, then it follows that the free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. 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We are the jailors and constables of the institution. But it is not the South's possession, and therefore we are bound to insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. . .

Poetry.

TO MY DEAD MOTHER.

Mother! O, mother! when sad thoughts have pruned Their weight of passionate anguish on the breast...

Selections.

SPEECH OF GENERAL BUTLER.

We take the following extract from the recent speech of Gen. Butler, delivered in Lowell, Mass., and reported in the Boston Journal...

am not at liberty to state my opinion as to the correctness and propriety of this course of action of the Lieutenant General in relation to exchanges...

INHUMAN TREATMENT OF FEDERAL SOLDIERS IN REBEL PRISONS.

TESTIMONY OF A. D. RICHARDSON. We have received, at too late an hour for publication entire, a printed slip of a telegraphic dispatch from Washington, giving the testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, of Albert D. Richardson, one of the Tribune correspondents, captured May 6, 1863...

murdering our soldiers at Salisbury, by cold and hunger, while they might easily supply them with ample food and fuel. They are dying thus systematically, and I believe are killed intentionally for the purpose of either forcing our government to an exchange, or forcing our prisoners into the rebel army.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

There is a class of men who rise in the Church or State by the force of their own character, and become representative. They gain their position by means of industry, force of character and moral qualities. In this country we have very many examples, and they quicken the activity of every young man who is filled with an honorable ambition.

may, with the consent of the recruit, go to assist his family and settlement in procuring agricultural implements, seed, tools, boats, clothing and other articles necessary for their livelihood.

THE NEGRO TROOPS.

Upon the Negro question, the Governor of Wisconsin, in his recent message, says:— I have not the data at hand to show the actual number of Negroes taken from the rebels, and placed in our lines by this process...

side by side. I have never seen a white man should go into one regiment and a black man into another. It is time now to ask that a man may enter in any regiment he pleases, without regard to color...

THE LAST BULL—OR BLUNDER.

That very respectable old pretense, His Holiness Pope Pius IXth, has been pleased to take the peculiar condition of this wicked world into his dearest consideration, and has written an Encyclical Letter thereon, for the relief of his own feelings, and the benefit of the souls of the rest of mankind...

O, SING OF LIBERTY!

O, sing of Liberty! For all, in both low and high; When men in chains no more shall be...

GEN. SHERMAN ON THE NEGROES.

Brigadier-General Wm. Birney has addressed a letter to Dr. John H. Raper, A. A. Surg., U. S. A., from which we take the following extracts.

COLORED TROOPS AND COLORED GENERAL.

Brigadier-General Wm. Birney has addressed a letter to Dr. John H. Raper, A. A. Surg., U. S. A., from which we take the following extracts.