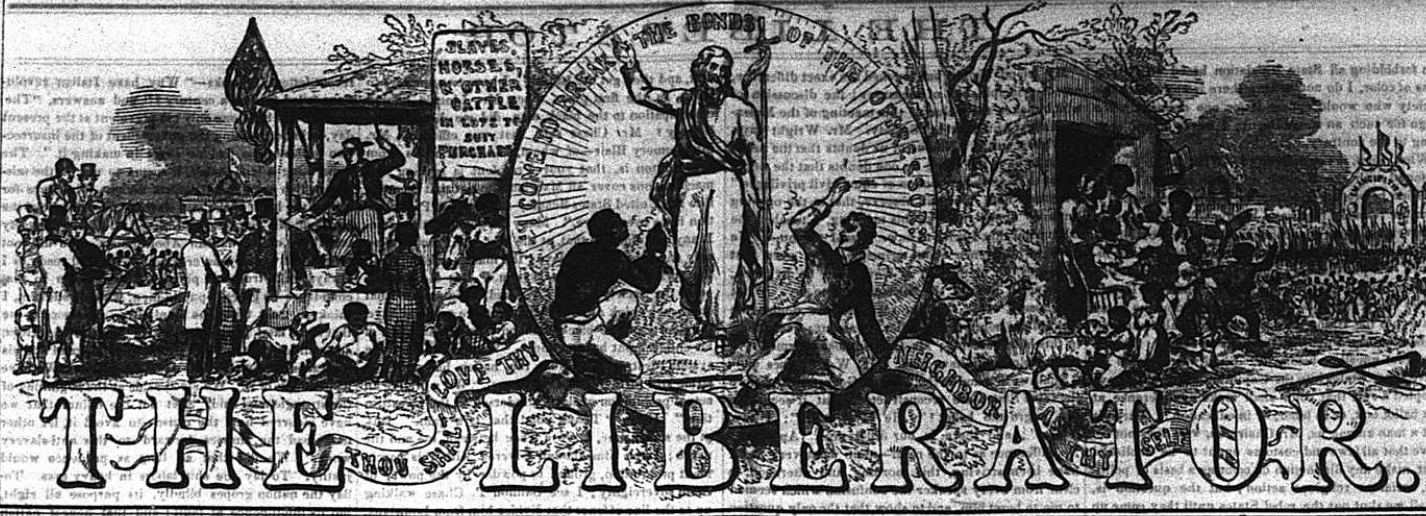


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"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all  
the inhabitants thereof."  
"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-  
litary authority takes, for the time, the place of all insti-  
tutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, 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 or  
the United States, but the CONGRESS OF THE AMER-  
ICAN PEOPLE HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-  
CIPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instant  
that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war,  
civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the power of  
Congress extend to interference with the institution of  
slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED  
WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-  
stroyed, to the option of States, burdened with slavery, to  
a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a  
power; and when your country is actually in war, whether  
it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress  
has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ac-  
cording to the LAWS OF WAR; and by the LAWS OF WAR,  
an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-  
tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL LAW TAKES THE  
PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are not in martial  
array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-  
cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory? — J. Q. APLAND.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are All Mankind.  
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The Liberator.  
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.  
ANNUAL MEETING.

THURSDAY EVENING, JAN. 26.  
SPEECH OF ANDREW T. FOSS.  
Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have known  
the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the year  
of its commencement. For the larger number of the  
years of its age, I was not connected with it, though  
I claim to have been connected with the anti-slavery  
movement from the first; but, for the first fifteen  
years and more, I was connected with it in a clerical  
way. I have, however, for the last twelve years, been  
in the habit of standing on this platform, and of look-  
ing into the faces of the men and women who com-  
pose the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; and as  
I look back upon the past, when it was with the great-  
est difficulty we could obtain a house in which to speak  
to an audience to hear us, when reproach and con-  
tempt were continually cast upon us, when we were  
walking through deep waters of discouragement, when  
the whole heavens were dark around us, and when  
sufferings of wrath were heard, like distant thunder,  
had sometimes breaking at our very feet,—I say, sir,  
when I think of the great change that has taken place,  
my heart exults, and I say with the apostle Paul, that  
whether the Gospel of Anti-Slavery has been preach-  
ed of every or good-will, in the success of this great  
cause I do rejoice, and will rejoice.  
My fellow-citizens, the time is not far back in the  
history when I refused to hold any connection with  
the American Government, other than that which I  
was obliged to hold. I gave it no willing support;  
I gave it no countenance; I gave it no vote; but I gave  
it my words of criticism and rebuke as my powers  
permitted me to do. When, four years ago, the Slave  
Power rebelled, and war commenced, I entertained  
the belief that the whole North would very soon  
be at a deadlock with the Slave Power. I saw  
that take place, and I have seen the terrible struggle  
going on from that day to this. And do you think,  
sir, that my anti-slavery heart can be other than joy-  
ful when I see the Government, the church, and the  
masses of men here in the North turned in the direc-  
tion of anti-slavery, and all of them engaged in a ter-  
rible struggle with the Slave Power? Having labored  
and toiled and hoped and prayed for thirty years to  
see the very things that my eyes now behold, shall  
I not rejoice to behold them? Sir, I now give to the  
Government of the United States my hearty support.  
(Applause.) And why do I do it? I believe, sir, a  
great deal in the power of instinct—in man, as well as  
in animals. I find that the instinct of the slave leads  
him to regard Abraham Lincoln as his friend. He  
loves the flag; he loves the army; he clings to it as  
his only hope. I think his instinct is correct. The  
slaves have been treated badly, but still they have  
clung to the American Government. They have  
been persecuted, still they adhere. Their in-  
stinct tells them that their hope lies in the success  
of this American Government in putting down the re-  
bellion; and in putting down the rebellion, their in-  
stinct tells them slavery is forever destroyed. There  
is the instinct of the slave. Then, loyal men all over  
the land are guided by their instincts in the same di-  
rection. Now, how is it with the slaveholder? His in-  
stincts guide him, and he is a hater of Abraham Lin-  
coln, a hater of the Government, and hopes and prays  
and fights that the Government may be overthrown.  
How is it with all the copperheads in the land? Every  
one of them, guided by his instincts, also, is against  
Abraham Lincoln. Now, whatever reverence I may  
have for the friends with whom I have labored, if they  
choose to place themselves on the side of those whose  
instincts guide them against the Government, and are  
opposed to the colored man whose instincts guide him  
always to the Government as his ark of safety, I tell  
them, if we must part here, then we part. I shall  
stand with this Government while it stands with its  
own spirit to strike the head of the monster, slav-  
ery; and, with any strength of mine, I can add  
weight to that arm, thus uplifted, it shall not be with-  
drawn. By no word of detraction will I weaken the  
power of the Government, or weaken the faith of the  
people in it.  
Now, Mr. President, during the first year and a half  
of the administration of Abraham Lincoln, there was  
very little that I could approve. We were bidden to  
hope; we were told that Abraham Lincoln was an  
honest man; we were told that all would come out  
right. We believed it, and we believe not in vain.  
Two years passed away, and then came the Proclama-  
tion of the first of January, 1863, and since then there  
has been after wave of anti-slavery success roll-  
ing upon us, until now we see slavery abolished in  
the District of Columbia, Hayti and Liberia acknowl-  
edged as among the nations of the earth, and having  
taken as our capital, the fugitive slave law repealed,  
some of the slave States already free, and others rapid-  
ly becoming so—and shall I not rejoice?  
Sir, I want to keep up the anti-slavery testimony. I  
am desirous exceedingly that this Society should not  
make its work until slavery is entirely dead. I think  
it will die. If we should lie down and go to sleep, if  
the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should go out  
of existence this hour, I think slavery would go down;  
but then, I don't know that fact; I think so. I don't  
mean to run any risk at all. I mean to keep on labo-  
ring until slavery is dead. I don't mean to be cheated  
by poor Joe Stillings who in regard to his fox, the  
man who had stolen his half two or three times  
before he was caught; but one morning Joe found the  
fox in the trap, and picked up a stick, and hit him on  
the head, and the fox fell down, as he thought, dead.  
He drew him one side, and turned round to fix his  
eye, and when he looked up, the fox was forty rods  
off, walking for the woods at the top of his speed.  
(Laughter.) I don't mean to be cheated in that way.  
I mean to be sure the enemy is dead before I leave off  
working. I shall act on the principle that the boy did  
who was found beating a dead dog. "What are you  
beating him for?" said a man who came up. "Don't  
you see he is dead?" "Yes," said the boy, "but he  
is a sheep-killing, and I mean to let all dogs that  
will sleep know that they must suffer punishment at

ter death." (Laughter and applause.) So I am for  
continuing to smite until we are sure that death has  
ceased. But how am I to do this? Now, there is a  
comparison instituted between former times and these.  
In former times, we criticised the Government, Mr.  
Webster, Mr. Choate, Mr. Everett—whose son has  
just gone down in glory (loud applause); he lived  
long enough to emblazon himself in the hearts of the  
American people for ever, and when we have all done  
that, we can afford to die;—in former times, I say, we  
criticized all these men, and it is asked that the same  
criticism shall be given to Abraham Lincoln that was  
given to Mr. Everett, or Mr. Webster, or any of those  
men who have passed away. Now, sir, things have  
changed. The direction of the Government was then  
all towards slavery. There was nothing hopeful;  
there was no bright spot in the political horizon; it  
was one dense, dark cloud. But how is it now? Now,  
the Government is on the high road to anti-slavery;  
now, all its powers are against slavery, and in favor  
of freedom; and shall we not cheer the Government  
on? I shall stand howling on the track of the Govern-  
ment, letting its imperfections, whatever they may be,  
fill the whole range of my vision, and not be able to  
see a single good act? Heaven forbid! I want to  
cheer on the Government; I want to cheer on every  
general, every naval officer, every soldier, every sail-  
or, every marine, and everybody who is contending  
with slavery. I think that, in this change of condi-  
tion, there should be a change in our line of policy.  
We thought to free the slave by opposing the Govern-  
ment, by dissolving the Union, by overthrowing the  
Government—if not by the Constitution, then over-  
throw it or through it—any way to get the slave his  
freedom. In our changed circumstances, we can do it  
by sustaining the Union, the Constitution, and the  
Government. In Heaven's name, sir, are you not as  
willing to do it by co-operating with your country, as  
you were to do it by overthrowing your Government in  
the former time? Moreover, it is to be remarked, that  
while the first two years of Mr. Lincoln's administra-  
tion were not very severely criticised by us, when he  
has been doing his best, anti-slavery wise, meet with  
the severest criticism! I do not understand that.  
Now, I want to inquire, very briefly, what is our  
duty in this crisis? I do not understand that there is  
any division among us on the main point. Mr. Phillips  
says—"The ballot for the negro." Mr. Garrison said  
it thirty years ago, and never has said anything else—  
says it to-night. All the privileges that belong to the  
citizen are to be given to the emancipated slave. That  
we demand. We ask nothing short of that. What is  
the difference, then? Why, Mr. Garrison says: "We  
can have emancipation. That is the greater act; the  
greater includes the less. Let us secure that, and we  
get a foothold to step up higher." If, in the past four  
years, we have been able to convert a pro-slavery govern-  
ment (I mean, de facto, for that is certain) into an  
anti-slavery government; if we have been able to  
change the entire policy of the Government; if we  
have arrayed all its influence and all its power on the  
side of freedom; if we can get the slave emancipated,  
and begin the next administration with nothing to do  
but to get for the negro his political franchise, can we  
not do that in the next four years, if we have done so  
much in the past four? I have no doubt of it.  
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say a  
word in regard to Gen. Banks and his policy. I do  
not know that I understand it, but I think I do. In  
the first place, Gen. Banks is down there in Louisiana  
with an exceedingly difficult state of affairs to man-  
age. We do not know, we cannot know, all the diffi-  
culties that surround him. It is a mighty and terrible  
responsibility. That he should have erred in some  
things was natural; that in his main intent and pur-  
pose he was right, I have no more doubt than I have  
that the sun is shining in the heavens this day. (Ap-  
plause.) Now, here was a large colored population,  
Friend Douglass says,—"Let them alone." I do not  
say so. Here were the white men; they had the ad-  
vantage of the blacks. Who owns the land? The  
white men. The blacks are to be the laborers, the  
employees of the white men. In the courts of Louisi-  
ana, these men are not known at all. They cannot  
sue or be sued; they cannot give testimony in the  
courts. What then? Gen. Banks consults their wish-  
es, and asks them, by a committee of colored men,  
what they want. They tell him they want employ-  
ment and wages; they want clothing and food for  
themselves and their families, and schools for their  
children—and he provides it all. The wages are fixed  
at \$8 a month, including provisions and clothing,  
medical treatment, maintenance for their families,  
and schools for their children. That is as good as \$20  
a month, at least. Now, where was the necessity of  
meddling at all?  
Mr. DOUGLASS. Allow me to state, that prior to  
letting them alone, I went justice meted out to them;  
and if justice were done to those blacks in Louisiana,  
they would not need the interference of Gen. Banks to  
find places for them to work. (Applause.)  
Mr. FOSS. Yes; but, Mr. President, the question  
recurs, and it is a very important one, how was that  
justice to be obtained for them?  
Mr. DOUGLASS. Let them vote.  
Mr. FOSS. I want to know if Gen. Banks is an  
autocrat whose will is law? I want to know if he  
has no responsibility anywhere? I say, he has a  
very difficult problem to solve. His object in fixing  
the wages of the black man was to be sure that he had  
wages; for if he had been "let alone," he could not  
have recovered a dollar, under the laws of Louisiana;  
he would have been left in a perfectly helpless condi-  
tion. He threw around the slave the protection of the  
military power, and took care that the rascally mas-  
ters should be in the hands of the military power, and  
made to fulfill all their engagements. That is the view  
I take of it. (Applause.) It was not that he wanted  
to oppress the negro; it was not in derogation of the  
negro's rights; it was to see to it that the white man  
fulfilled his obligation—that those rascally slavehold-  
ers were made to walk square up to the black; and it  
could not be done in any other way.  
—Again, it is supposed that this is a permanent mat-  
ter. It is simply a military order; there is nothing  
permanent about it. When the war ceases, a new  
order of things must come; and then the question  
will be, what rights shall the black man have? I am  
in favor of Mr. Phillips's resolution. I shall demand

of the Government that the slave have all his rights;  
but if we cannot get them, for God's sake, don't let  
us refuse emancipation, if we can get it, for then we  
can quickly step to a higher and still higher elevation.  
I want the act of emancipation, in order to secure to  
the negro his vote. It is an essential step towards  
that; and if we get every slave free, I have no doubt  
—I was going to say, I would pledge my life, and I  
will, for I have not more than ten years to live, any-  
way—that he will get his vote, and that speedily.  
The tide is now running all one way.  
Now, in regard to the change of sentiment in the  
North. Take an illustration. I went into a Conven-  
tion of New Hampshire Republicans, a little while  
ago, assembled to nominate their candidate for Gov-  
ernor. There were nearly seven hundred men pres-  
ent—men who influence and guide and mould public  
sentiment in New Hampshire. I sat up in the gallery,  
and looked down upon them. As I sat there, I saw  
one old man, who, four years ago, was pro-slavery,  
rise in his seat, and read a resolution, instructing our  
delegation in Congress to use their influence to have  
the bill amending the Constitution, and forever abol-  
ishing slavery, passed, and offered to the people for  
their ratification this winter; and, if the present Con-  
gress would not do it, asking the President to assem-  
ble the new Congress immediately after the 4th of  
March, and have the work done. That resolution  
passed without a dissenting voice, and with great ac-  
clamation. Four years ago, you could not have got  
fifty votes, probably, in the State of New Hampshire,  
for such a proposition. All is changed now. The old  
heavens and the old earth have passed away; and be-  
hold a new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwell  
righteousness, are our inheritance! When I came  
down out of that gallery, I met men who, I have no  
doubt, have thrown rotten eggs at me—or, if they did  
not do it themselves, they did not object to having it  
done, at any rate—and they came up to me, and shook  
me by the hand, and said, "Did you ever expect to  
live to see this day?" All joy, all gladness!  
I spoke forty times during the last canvass for the  
election of President. I spoke to audiences of from  
400 up to 10,000 at a time, and everywhere I uttered  
just as clear and strong anti-slavery sentiments as I  
ever did on this platform; and the stronger my anti-  
slavery utterances were, the louder the applause—  
everywhere. I say, there is a mighty change! I  
gladly recognize it.  
A word or two personal to myself. It was said  
this afternoon, by Mrs. Foster, that some of our lec-  
turers had left the anti-slavery field, and were lec-  
turing. Now, let me tell you how that matter is;  
for I suppose the allusion was to me. I was at home  
minding my business, when a gentleman, one of the  
National Republican Committee living in our city,  
came to me, and asked me if I would speak during  
the campaign. "Yes," I said, "if you will let me speak  
as I have a mind to." "We couldn't help that if we  
tried," said he, "and don't want to." "I am a Gar-  
risonian," I said, "and if I go, I must go as a Gar-  
risonian." "That is just what we want you to do,"  
said he. So we struck a bargain. There wasn't  
much of a bargain either. There was not a word  
said about pay. He said, "We want you to go;"  
and I said, "I will go." Well, I went; and as I have  
said, I uttered the strongest anti-slavery sentiments.  
I did not understand that to be electing me; any-  
more than this platform, for the last thirty years.  
Now, I don't want to hold Mrs. Foster responsible  
for the sins of her husband, at all, for I think that  
as Mrs. Foster has criticised me somewhat for going  
out in this manner. Two years ago, before the Re-  
publicans had ever said to me, "Will you go?"—be-  
fore I had ever labored under their direction or in  
their employ—they made application to my friend  
Stephen Foster to come up to New Hampshire, and  
aid them in the work of electing their Governor,  
Gilmore. Well, he went up, (I think he did right),  
and lectured, they said, extremely well. I went over  
the same ground, in the employ of the Anti-Slavery  
Society, the winter after, and leading Republicans  
told me they never had better service done by any  
speaker than Stephen Foster did for them. Did he  
do right? I say he did. But he was employed by  
the Republicans; and so important an agent did they  
consider him, that they hired a man to go into the  
towns, a John Baptist, and tell the people that  
Stephen Foster was coming. (Laughter.) Now, I  
want to know why I am open to this criticism any-  
more than my friend Foster, who was my predecessor  
by two years? (Applause.) In the day of coming  
glory, when the Administration of Abraham Lincoln,  
and the history of the Republican party, shall fill the  
vault of heaven with the sound of praise, Stephen  
Foster's name will be repeated as having been two  
years ahead of me in the Republican party. (Lau-  
der and applause.)  
Mr. President, I am an Abolitionist, a Garrisonian  
Abolitionist; if you please, (applause) exactly as I  
was thirteen years ago, when I first appeared on this  
platform. I have watched every body's movements  
but my own, (laughter), and I have tried sometimes to  
watch them. I have never seen any departure from  
the principles that I first heard announced on this  
platform, on the part of any of our leading friends.  
We all adhere to the old faith; we all work with  
the old weapons; but God has given us some new  
ones, and we employ them too. That is all the differ-  
ence. This Government in the hand of Almighty  
God, (and God's hand is always manifested through  
the weapons and muscles of human arms and  
limbs), has been hurled as a thunderbolt against the  
Slave Power, and I go with it! While I hear God's  
thunders breaking all around me, and see the kingdom  
of slavery tumbling down, I tell you, friends, I shall  
find something else to do than to find fault with the  
thunder, proclaiming it too loud, or too harsh, or not  
harsh enough! I am glad to see the kingdom tum-  
bling down; and as I said in the commencement, I say  
now, herein I rejoice, and will rejoice.  
Mr. President, I do not mean to detain you longer.  
I ask for equal justice to the negro; I ask for his  
right of citizenship in Louisiana, in Connecticut, in  
Illinois, and everywhere else; but if it comes to this,  
that we be offered emancipation for the slave without  
the ballot, I shall accept that, and get the ballot for  
him just as quick as I can. I will not say, I won't  
accept anything because I cannot have everything.  
Say, anything has its growth. Anti-slavery senti-

ment has its growth; anti-slavery work has its pro-  
gress, and must have its perfection. It takes time. I  
would not compromise at all; I would stand holding  
the banner full high; but at the same time, I would  
take advantage of the weapons the providence of God  
has placed in our way for the overthrow of slavery;  
and I am glad that, for the overthrow of slavery,  
which a few years ago I had not hoped to live to  
see. Why, friends, it seems to me that I can appropri-  
ately use the language of Dr. Watts, in one of his  
beautiful hymns.—  
"How blessed are our eyes,  
That see this heavenly light!  
Prophets and kings desired it long,  
But died without the sight."  
The "prophets" we have had in this country, if not  
the "kings," and they have "died without the sight."  
I feel that I have occasion to congratulate myself, you,  
the American people, and the world, on this mighty  
change. I think that when a few more years shall  
have passed, and slavery is no more, we shall all be  
able to sing that beautiful song, that I read in the  
old "American Preceptor," when I first began to  
read,—  
"Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,  
The queen of the world, and the child of the skies!"  
I say to you, sir, that I have always loved my country,  
and do now. We have been accused of being  
factious. I think we stand entirely redeemed from  
that imputation—those of us, at least, who are ready  
to commend the Government for the work it is doing.  
We are not factious men. When the Government gets  
in the right position, we acknowledge it, go with it, and  
use it for the overthrow of slavery. My friend Mr.  
Garrison is a non-resistor. I am not, and never was.  
I tried to be, and held out a day and a half (laughter).  
When Burns was on trial, I came here, resolved to  
be a non-resistor. I had been turning it over in my  
mind for a long time, and thought I had got sufficiently  
convicted, and came here a converted man on that  
Monday morning, held out a day and a half, and then  
I was ready for "stratagems and spoils." (Laughter  
and applause.) I cannot be a non-resistor; I don't  
know but it is the better way. The same objection,  
therefore, that lies in Mr. Garrison's way, does not lie  
in mine. He cannot vote; I can, because I am not a  
non-resistor, because I believe in this war, because I  
believe in God, who is hurling the thunderbolt of war  
upon the champions of slavery, and grinding them to  
powder.  
Now, friends, I will relieve your patience. I thought,  
with Elihu of old, I would "show you mine opinion."  
SPEECH OF A. BRONSON ALCOTT.  
I know that I have no right to occupy a moment  
of this evening, but I cannot leave this audience  
without speaking a word. Coming as I do unconnect-  
ed with any party, a recluse, a scholar, man, an ob-  
server of the times, I cannot, I say, go away without  
expressing my latest thought concerning the great  
issues which are now before us.  
Who are the people's teachers? That, essentially,  
is the question. Who, my friends, can instruct us as  
to what is to be done in this national crisis? I shall  
not undertake, it would be egotism in me to un-  
dertake to tell you who your teachers are. Providence  
is our greatest teacher; and that Teacher of teach-  
ers has taught the teachers, and has taught the coun-  
try, and has advanced us all, individually and nation-  
ally, half a century. But who has received the  
largest measure of light?—who can speak to your in-  
stincts, speak to your reason, speak to your imagi-  
nation, speak to your hearts, and carry the day over  
all private and individual differences of opinion, re-  
concile even your leaders, and show you that each  
man on this platform, and each one of you, are aim-  
ing at the same grand end—that the little differences  
concern only the end—that some of you require less,  
and some require more, to be done?  
Now, who are your teachers? Will you allow me  
to state who I conceive to be your teachers, and the  
teachers of the country—the teachers of the Presi-  
dent, and of those who made him President, and who  
will keep him there, or remove him, and put another  
man in his place, when they please? The man who,  
more than thirty years ago, in this very city, ven-  
tured to think, in his private heart, that slavery could  
be abolished in this country; took his position, and  
throughout all this intervening period has steadily held  
fast to it, and is about to see it consummated by other  
hands than his, or those of his immediate colleagues  
and associates—he is your teacher. (Applause.)  
He is the nation's teacher. He has been the Presi-  
dent of these United States for long years, had the  
people know it. He is President of the United  
States to-day, if he choose to be so, and if he hold  
up before him that grand future, that high destiny,  
to which this people is swiftly advancing. He is no  
longer the President, no longer your leader, unless he  
do. You will take sides then with him who calls  
himself the disciple of the leader; you will take  
sides, then, according to the breadth, and depth, and  
scope of your experience. If you are content with  
the President of the United States being but the in-  
strument of your teacher, and executing what your  
teacher conceived so many years ago, then follow  
him; it is but following your leader. If you feel  
that, at this crisis, the destiny of the country de-  
pends, not upon what becomes of the white man, but  
upon what shall be done for the black man, then you  
will determine what course you will take.  
Now, does it appear to any of you, my friends, to-  
day, that you can safely trust any administration that  
you can elect with this humane question, this re-  
ligious question, this care of a whole people? You  
cannot. We are none of us quite equal to the care  
of a single servant in our own houses. The culture  
of mankind has not yet reached to such humanity  
that one human being can be entrusted to another,  
without great uncertainty whether he will be able  
to fulfill his duties—to be a humane and kindly master  
and friend. And yet here is this people, to-day,  
to be entrusted with the legislation of your Congress.  
Now, I shall intimate, as distinctly and discrimi-  
nately as I can, where my sympathies lie. I shall  
 endeavor to be just to your teacher, the leader. I  
have now a word to say respecting his disciple, who  
is, let me tell you, if my instincts fail me not, to be  
under Providence, through the eloquence of his  
words, the sympathies of his heart, and the scope of  
all his faculties, the leader and deliverer of the

country. You know to whom I allude; I need not  
mention his name. (Loud applause.) It is not strange  
for gentlemen of my age, and the age of my friend,  
(Mr. Garrison) not to know our own sons, and to call  
them by new names. Does my friend know that he  
is calling "Abraham," "Abraham," "Abraham,"  
when he should be calling another name? For what  
is Abraham doing but what this disciple of his has  
taught him to do? (Applause.) This is his bright-  
est son; this is the fruit of his long labors. Let him  
own him, let him know him, let him bless him! (Loud  
applause.) Let there be no quarrel in the household.  
If the son can do more than the father, shall we  
not all say, "God speed!" (Applause.) Is it not  
likely that the work to be done, during the life of  
this hopeful son, is unlike what has been done during  
the life of the parent? If we have new duties to  
perform, shall we not find speedier ways of discharg-  
ing those duties? Is it not time that the Anglo-Saxon  
race should know how to do things in an Anglo-  
Saxon way? (Applause.) Is it not time that we  
should cease borrowing from abroad? We are not a  
nation until we have grown our poetry, our litera-  
ture, our philosophy, our politics, our religion, our  
modes of reform; and yet, see to-day how slowly we  
move! We are Old England men yet. My friend  
who sits before me (Geo. Thompson, Esq.)—though  
perhaps I am hardly entitled to call him my friend—  
will pardon me if I say he is not an Old England  
man, he is a New England man, and has found his  
own country at last. (Applause.) It is because, in  
the old country, they are still doing things, not in  
the new Anglo-Saxon way, but in the old Norman way,  
in the old Hebrew way; and so he flees Old England,  
and comes here for more freedom.  
—Will my friend (Mr. Garrison) allow me to say  
that I think he, too, is behind his times; that what  
was good thirty years ago, good for him, something  
of a Hebrew as he is, and a prophet after that order,  
—may be superseded by something better now; that  
the time has come when swifter, speedier and more  
Saxon ways of doing our work are demanded? We  
must have a politics and religion of our own. We  
must no longer borrow; we are not a people while we  
do. See, to-day, what is our religion? Borrowed!  
What are our politics? Borrowed, not ours! What  
are our letters? All borrowed,—only the faintest in-  
dications, to-day, of some slight Saxon, New England  
genius. You know I allude to my own townsman,  
Emerson. (Applause.) Let me speak my belief, that  
his is the first American mind which has any right to  
conceive itself to be detached and independent of the  
old land. (Applause.) Well, our politicians are to be  
of the same new and Anglo-Saxon type, and here is  
his leader. (The speaker pointed to Mr. Phillips, and the  
audience called forth loud applause.)  
Now, do not understand me to say that I am blaming  
any one. I am discriminating, and telling what I be-  
lieve is true, independent of any thought of mine—ab-  
solutely true. It is, my friends, it seems to me, a lit-  
tle too trivial for us, at this juncture, to be inquiring  
whether we think alike, or not; the main point is to  
inquire whether we can act alike—whether we can do.  
The question is not so much with regard to measures  
and men, as the things to be done. That conceive  
to be our duty to-day.  
You will excuse me if I have spoken frankly and  
freely; I excuse the imperfections of my discrimina-  
tion; but I tell you precisely what I think; and I am  
to-day pledged, so long as I am permitted to walk here,  
to the cause and the interests of him, who represents  
the new idea of what is proper for the people of New  
England, who are the leaders of all the world, to do  
hereafter. They say that in Philadelphia, the people  
are getting to be very jealous of New York; that New  
York is very jealous of Boston; and if it would not  
seem egotistic in me, I would add in a whisper, "and  
Boston begins to be a good deal jealous of Concord."  
(Loud laughter and applause.)  
SPEECH OF STEPHEN S. FOSTER.  
I do not rise to make a speech, but simply a personal  
explanation, which perhaps may not be of much con-  
sequence to anybody else, after all.  
You have just heard the statement of my friend  
Foss in regard to my past connection with the Republi-  
can party. Now, I am happy to be able to say that  
there never was a time when I was in closer relations  
with the Republican party, or had a higher respect and  
esteem for it, than I have to-day, for it never was so  
worthy of my confidence and respect and cooperation,  
I think, as to-day. And yet, Mr. Chairman, here is a  
report from another quarter, from a man who sym-  
pathizes exactly with my friend Mr. Foss, of my pub-  
licly expressed views of the Republican party. I want  
to put this and that together, and see if you do not  
come to the same conclusion that I have on this sub-  
ject, namely, that, if these reports are to be credited,  
I am a very strange man indeed, live in a very strange  
community, if I can be employed by a party of which  
I express such opinions as I am about to read. This  
is from the report of a meeting held at Worcester, Jan-  
uary 15, by the Secretary of that meeting.  
"Stephen S. Foster followed in condemnation of Mr.  
Foss's position, and of all those who hopelessly felt or  
manifested any sympathy with the Anti-Slavery pro-  
gress of the government, denouncing in particular, Mr.  
Garrison and the Liberator as having forsaken and be-  
trayed the cause. He affirmed that the government  
had made no change for the better, but that it stood in  
essentially the same position, it had done for many  
years past, when Abolitionists refused it support. He  
declared the proposed Constitutional Amendment a  
deceitful device, and a pro-slavery measure; and  
speaking of the proposed arming of slaves by Jef-  
fers. Davis, he stated that he thought the prospect was  
that Davis would sooner recognize the manhood and  
equality of the negro than Lincoln."  
Here you have the two testimonies. My friend  
Foss represents me as being the agent of the Republi-  
can party, and my friend Mr. Howland, represents me  
as having denounced that party as fraudulent, corrupt,  
and pro-slavery, its best measures being only devised  
to profane the institution of slavery.  
Now, what are you to believe? You cannot take  
the testimony of both of these men; in fact, you can-  
not take the testimony of either. If you strike a bal-  
ance between the two, you will get at the fact. I never  
have been in the service of the Republican party. It  
is not my fault, but theirs. More than ten years ago,  
I offered my services to the Democratic party, to go  
out and lecture on the subject of slavery. They would  
not accept them. I offered my services to the Republi-

can party to go out and lecture on the subject of slav-  
ery. They would not accept them. Hence, from no  
fault of mine, I have never been an agent of either,  
never lectured under the auspices of either. I am  
sorry, not for their sake, but for my own. It is true  
that, two years ago, certain Republicans in New Hamp-  
shire, after hearing a speech that I made in my native  
town, came to me, and asked me if I would not go  
through the State, and reiterate the sentiments uttered  
there. I said, "If there is anybody in the State in-  
terested enough to get up a series of meetings and  
transport me from town to town, bearing my travel-  
ing expenses, I will spend from this time up to elec-  
tion in the work." The arrangements were made,  
not by the State Committee, but by some anti-slavery  
Republican friends. They put a man into the field  
who went from town to town, and got up my meetings,  
and made it, to me, a very pleasant and profitable cam-  
paign. I have this day had an invitation to go back  
into New Hampshire, and travel over that same ground,  
which I may possibly accept. I wish the Republican  
party of New Hampshire would invite me to go there;  
but I don't think they are likely to, especially if they  
read the report of Mr. Howland, and credit it. I do  
not believe they would credit it. I think it would be  
very difficult to make anybody believe I said what I  
am here reported to have said. I do not think my  
friend Foss intended to make you think that I had  
advised anybody to vote for the Republican party,  
though that, I think, would be the effect of his speech.  
I have never advised any man to vote with that party.  
I have shown that the interests of the country were  
identified with the triumph of anti-slavery, and that,  
as between the two parties, there could be no question  
as to which was the party of patriotism, and thus  
thrown my influence into the scale of the Republican  
party, necessarily and inevitably. Thus far and no  
farther have I gone in support of that party.  
SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.  
Mr. President.—I rise, now, simply to refer to the  
remarks of my friend, Mr. Alcott. I was very glad  
to see him on this platform, and wish he would occupy  
it more frequently than he seems disposed to do,  
through his innate modesty. His personal reference  
to myself was not only highly complimentary—as to  
the past, certainly—but partial and excessive, I think.  
At least, allow me to say that I have never undertak-  
ed to be the teacher of this nation. Nobody has ever  
heard me put forth such a claim; nor have I aspired  
to lead anybody. A young man thirty-six years ago,  
without influence, without friends, solitary and alone,  
seeing the slave in his fetters, and recognizing his  
claim to immediate freedom, I warmly espoused his  
cause. As a humble laborer in his behalf, I have  
continued to prosecute the work to this hour, as one  
only of a multitude of noble men and women in var-  
ious parts of the country, whose combined efforts have  
all been necessary to bring about the marvellous  
change in public sentiment which we now see, and  
over which we now rejoice. Not a tear has been shed,  
not a prayer offered, not an effort put forth by the  
humblest of the humble, not a testimony borne, not a  
pecuniary contribution made, that has not been neces-  
sary and indispensable to the achievement of the tri-  
umph of our cause, as it now stands before our  
country and the world. So "teacher" and no "leader,"  
sir, but simply a true friend and a humble advocate of  
the oppressed.  
My friend has attempted to draw a distinction be-  
tween Mr. Phillips and myself, as though I had fallen  
into the rear, and he was now the "leader" in this  
cause. "Leader," sir? "Leader"—where? "Leader"  
—in what? I should have been gratified if my re-  
spected friend had thrown some light upon that issue.  
I cannot allow, because it is not true, that Mr. Phil-  
lips is more firmly anchored in anti-slavery principle  
than I am, or more inexorable in the application of  
that principle. Have I not always declared, that all  
proscriptive complexional distinctions are cruel, un-  
natural, and wicked before God? I deny here, not in  
the spirit of rivalry but as a matter of justice, that he  
precedes me, or the humblest member of this Society,  
a hair's breadth in demanding that equal justice be  
done to the black man as to the white man. I protest,  
therefore, against this alleged difference between Mr.  
Phillips and myself—as though there had been a re-  
treat, or standing still, or getting "behind the times,"  
on my part, and a bold, radical advance on his part,  
separating us from each other. There is no such an-  
tagonism, isolation, retreat or precedence. Neither  
is he in advance, nor am I behind; neither does he  
lead, nor are the abolitionists led. We all stand side  
by side, shoulder to shoulder, and march in a solid phalanx  
against the common foe—God alone being our  
"leader." Wherein we may chance to differ relates  
not to the principles we cherish, the doctrines we dis-  
seminate, or the claims we make for the colored popu-  
lation, whether bond or free; but solely as to the rela-  
tive amount of praise or blame, of satisfaction or com-  
plaint, to be expressed or awarded concerning certain  
public men and measures in their bearing upon the  
cause so dear to us all. And herein we shall differ in  
opinion, more or less, according to the standpoint we  
occupy, the information we possess, or the ability we  
have to perceive and understand the relation of events  
in this tremendous convulsion of the country.  
Sir, I do not think it is any evidence of superior  
fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause to deal in sweeping  
accusations against President Lincoln, General Banks,  
General Sherman, or any other public man. Nor do  
I think it is to halt, or retreat, or get "behind the  
times," to proclaim that our cause has advanced far  
beyond anything we had a right to expect, and to re-  
joice with joy unexpressed in view of that fact. Not  
to do so would indicate either a morbid or prejudiced  
state of mind, or total blindness of vision. Within  
the last two years, we have witnessed a revolution in  
public sentiment that would be worth a whole century  
of labor to bring about. And shall we not be jubilant  
therein?—One word, sir, in regard to the dissolution of our  
Society. I have proposed a resolution to this effect:  
that in case the proposed amendment to the Constitu-  
tion of the United States, forever abolishing slavery in  
our country, should be passed, and if it probably will  
by the requisite number of States, during the present  
year, the Board of Managers be instructed to call a  
special meeting of this Society, to commemorate the  
great and glorious event, with a view at that time to  
terminate the Society's existence. For what do we

want of an Anti-Slavery Society when there is no slavery in the country? An Anti-Slavery Society when the slave system is annihilated—when, by the law of the land, not a human being is permitted to lay his hand upon the shoulder of his brother man? The thing is an absurdity. We shall then have done the work of abolitionism, per se. True, there will be other work to be done; but we shall then mingle with the great mass of the people, who have accepted abolition, and unite with them in carrying forward the struggle for equal political privileges. But anti-slavery, as such, dies the moment slavery dies in our country—and dies legitimately and honorably. (Applause.) It is a vain assumption, now, for any abolitionist to assume the very great importance of this Society in the present altered state of things. We have everywhere the mass of the people with us, applauding everything that can be said against the continuance of slavery. The ablest public men are making radical and eloquent speeches in favor of immediate and universal emancipation, and uttering the strongest condemnation of the hated system we have opposed so long. "Old things have passed away, and, behold, all things are become new." I recognize the fact, with devout gratitude to God. I will not cast imputations upon the motives of any man, or any body of men, for this sudden change, nor assail them with being bayoneted up to it by abolitionists. I have no such imputation to make. I thank God that they are now "clothed, and sitting in their right minds"; and that I all care to know. I give them my heart and my hand—(applause)—and instead of prognosticating only evil, and filling the air with doubts and apprehensions of danger in the future, I choose rather to believe that the people have passed the Rubicon, that they have burned the bridge behind them, that they have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and never mean to make any further compromise with slavery, but do mean to annihilate it. To say that this Government is disposed to put Union first and the black man afterwards, is to assert what is not true. The Government does not say so. The Government affirms, before the civilized world, that it puts liberty with Union—the liberty of the black man alongside of the Union, or else no Union. (Applause.) What is gained by casting wrong imputations? What is the use of prophesying evil, only evil, and that continually? Is that the way to encourage the people to go forward? If their faces are simply turned Zionward, let us thank God that they are so turned, even if they have not taken a step toward Zion. Their faces are in the right direction; and God speed them onward until they reach Zion, and sing its songs of praise! (Loud applause.) Surely, God has given to us, during the past two years, such overwhelming evidences of the triumphant progress of our cause, and events have followed one another so rapidly, that we really have not begun to appreciate them. A single one of them, a few years ago, would have made us hold jubilate meetings all over the land. Our national District, where the slave trade had its headquarters; where a haughty slave oligarchy held supreme sway; where a Massachusetts Senator could not testify against the barbarism of slavery without being smitten down by the hand of the bloody-minded slaveholder; now cleansed, purified, redeemed, and freedom, free schools, free thought and free speech dominant? Why, if we had nothing but that great change to contemplate, it would be worth holding congratulatory meetings from one end of the country to the other! And then the repeal of the accursed Fugitive Slave Law—why, it alone signs the death-warrant of slavery! For we have not always said, that if the slaves could not be hunted on free soil, no Border Slave State could long exist, and hence that the whole slave system would perish speedily? Now there is not a slave held in the land who is not permitted by the United States Government to take his liberty where and when he will, and no man may dare pursue him, or lay claim to any property in him. (Applause.) Where everything is so encouraging, beyond our highest expectations, I do not understand why there should be so much distrust as regards the future. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." One would think, from what we have heard here to-day, that there has been no gain for liberty; nevertheless, there has been an immense gain, and we are advancing towards perfect justice every hour. Slavery goes down by the righteous judgment of God; and it is not in the power of men or devils to save it from extinction. With it will soon pass away those oppressive laws and usages against the free people of color to which it has given birth. Let us, then, cheer on the vast multitude whose hearts are beginning to palpitate with its own. Let us rejoice that they have entirely changed, in spirit and feeling, towards us and the cause of the oppressed; and not say or insinuate that they betray freedom for Union the earliest moment they can. Let us be just, magnanimous, hopeful, co-operative, and thus stimulate them to complete the work so well begun. That is the philosophy upon which I act. (Applause.)

GEORGE T. DOWNING. I would like to ask Mr. Garrison how he reconciles his position with the third article of the Constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, adopted in Philadelphia? The third article of the Constitution is as follows:

"The objects of this Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the people of color; to prove and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites."

The Declaration of Sentiments says—  
"We further believe and affirm, that all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion."

MR. GARRISON. Nothing is more easily answered than this inquiry. We had two classes in view, of course, when we organized the Society. First, the entire slave population, for whose liberation we banded ourselves together. Next, half a million free people of color, laboring under many and grievous disabilities; and we pledged ourselves to seek their relief, improvement and elevation. But I never supposed that, after the abolition of slavery, we should attempt to perpetuate our Anti-Slavery organizations. For one, I shall not be guilty of any such folly. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.  
If the question before this Society were, "Shall the right of suffrage be extended at once to the freedmen?" I do not believe there is a solitary individual in the Society who would raise his voice against it. I challenge any man in the Society, or out of it, to quote a solitary word uttered by the Liberator or Anti-Slavery Standard, or any member of this Society, or of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to show that he would make a distinction in the matter of suffrage, on the ground of color. No such word has ever been uttered; and I challenge any one to prove the contrary. In all our meetings, in all our papers, that were a cardinal point, whenever it came up; and were the question to be put to the Society to-night, I do not believe there would be a dissenting voice. But that is not the question before us now.  
Then, again, as to the equal right of the colored man to work for whom and for what he pleases, just like the white man—I do not believe there is a solitary member of the Society who would or ever did oppose it; and yet from the tenor of the remarks that I have heard, I should suppose that the Society itself was opposed to that idea.  
Then, again, as to the equal right of the colored man to education. I never have heard the sentiment uttered in any anti-slavery meeting, or in any anti-slavery paper, that the colored man should not have an equal right to education in all its branches.  
Then, again, as to the Amendment of the Constitu-

tion forbidding all State legislation based on distinctions of color, I do not believe there is any one in the Society who would oppose it for one moment. We all go for such an amendment; I never heard any thing to the contrary.  
What, then, is the difficulty? What is the fault to be found with the Society on those matters? The question before the meeting, as I have understood it, from the remarks that have been made this afternoon and evening, is the condition on which the rebel States shall be re-admitted into the Union—Louisiana, for instance? I put this question to all the members of this Society, and I put it to the nation, Shall the United States Government be called upon to admit no rebel State into the Union until it shall have abolished all legislation based upon distinctions of color? That is the great question before us. Shall we refuse to receive these States into the Union until they shall have adopted a rule that color shall make no difference at the ballot box, or in labor, or in education? There is not a man among us, Mr. Chairman, who does not believe that all laws and customs ought to be abolished that make any distinction of color as a basis of political, social or religious action; but the question is, Shall we shut out the rebel States until they come up to that point, when two thirds of the States now in the Union actually make color the basis of exclusion from political rights? (Voices—"Yes.") Shall Pennsylvania demand of the rebel States that they admit the colored man to the ballot-box, when she excludes him herself? I say, let Pennsylvania pull the beam out of her own eyes before she undertakes to claim that the other States shall pull the beam out of theirs. I say, let this nation heal itself. Let the Free States go to work and abolish all distinctions of color in legislation, in schools, in social customs—everywhere. It seems to me perfectly monstrous for anybody to stand up and demand that no State shall be re-admitted into the Union unless it extends the right of suffrage equally to all its citizens, saying, at the same time, not a single word about the existence of the same inequality in its own State. I would say, let every man and every woman stand on an absolute equality with regard to suffrage, as I believe they have a perfect right to do, and with regard to education and labor; and I believe the great mass of this Society, and of the Abolitionists throughout the country, would say the same. But the question is, Shall the United States Government be called upon by us to go on with the war and keep the rebel States under military rule until they can be re-constructed under a constitutional provision prohibiting legislation based upon distinctions of color? Mr. Chairman, I say, NO! I would like to see the Union re-constructed on the abolition and everlasting prohibition of slavery. And what do I mean by slavery? From the remarks that have been made here to-day, and from remarks which I have heard in other places in our anti-slavery meetings, it seems to me that some of our friends hold out the idea that the man who has not the right to vote is a slave. We have been careful for the last thirty-five years—and I speak from my personal knowledge—in all our publications, and in all our addresses, to draw a distinction between slavery and other forms of oppression. When the friends of slavery in this country and in Europe have taunted us with conniving at slavery in England, the laboring class in England being slaves, we have said, "There is no such thing as a slave in England. There are people who are denied the right of suffrage, oppressed in their labor, and in various ways; but no slave." A slave is a man turned into a chattel, and that, and that alone is what we have been fighting against all our lifetime as abolitionists. We have labored for the redemption of the slave from his condition of chattelhood, where he has been left to feel after God and immortality among beasts and creeping things, and to place him on the platform of humanity; and I maintain for one, that so far as that is concerned, the labor of this Society draws to a close. When the Constitutional Amendment shall have been adopted, forever prohibiting chattel slavery within the limits of the United States, chattel slavery is abolished so far the Government can do the work, and then we must go to work to secure to the freedman his rights in all other departments. I have no objection to having the matter discussed now. Let us have a resolution here declaring the equal rights of the colored man in regard to labor, education and suffrage, with the white man. There is not a person in this whole Society who would not vote for such a resolution—not one. Why, then, imply that there is such an one?

WE approach, in my opinion, the consummation of our work—the abolition of chattel slavery—the lifting up of human chattels, and placing them in the position of men and women, to be dealt with as men and women, and not as beasts and things. We have a right to demand that the rebel States shall not be permitted to come back into the Union while they retain the cause of all our trouble. And why? Because the act of rebellion was an act of emancipation to every slave in the rebel States. The rebels themselves enacted the emancipation of every slave in the rebel States when they went out of the Union.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.  
Mr. Chairman—Allow me one word, which I enter with the greater pleasure and frankness, because my friend, Mr. Garrison, has left the Hall, that there is nothing more unpleasant to me than any allusion to him and myself as antagonists. Whatever may have been the immediate cause of my anti-slavery life and action, he is, in so true and full a sense, the creator of the Anti-Slavery movement, that I may well say I have never uttered an anti-slavery word which I did not owe to his inspiration; I have never done an anti-slavery act of which the primary merit was not his. More than that, in my experience of nearly thirty years, I have never met the anti-slavery man or woman who had struck any effectual blow at the slave system in this country, whose action was not born out of the heart and conscience of Wm. Lloyd Garrison. (Loud applause.) I do not forget the half-dozen anti-slavery sermons which sparkle along our history—the quiet scruples of some tender consciences—the passive disapprobation of Friends, the protection of individual fugitives, or the devoted life of Lundy—still, the Anti-Slavery Movement is Garrison's work, and, as agitators, we all owe to him the breath of our nostrils; and I do not see to-day, that in regard to the great principles of the cause, there is any difference between him and myself. In our speeches to-day, we have both wandered, on the one side and the other, from the direct line off to the consideration of motives. But it was in 1833 that Mr. Garrison wrote the words which my friend Downing has read to us, as the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society—"We believe that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others." It was his own pen, that same year, which drew the third article of our Constitution, affirming, as my friend read, that we were to "aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, that they may share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges." That was from his pen on the 4th day of December, 1833. This very morning, that same hand writes these words—

"Resolved, That Congress should lose no time in submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution, making the electoral law uniform in all the States, without regard to complexional distinctions."

What can be better Alpha and Omega to the Anti-Slavery Gospel than this Declaration of Sentiments and this resolution offered to us to-day? It is the same great leader—whether he accept the title or not—who drafts both these declarations of sentiment and purpose for the Anti-Slavery cause. Whatever, therefore, may be the conclusion of this debate, I recognize the same leading mind at the head of the anti-slavery struggle. In times past, none but his own modest lips ever dreamed of denying him that title; in time to come, we shall need, and welcome, the same leader.

My friend Wright has touched the exact difference, not of principle, but of measure; the discussion of which makes the value of this meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Wright says, with great truth, "No one of us doubts that the negro ought to have the vote; so we doubt that the negro ought to have the protection of equal civil privileges." Of course not. You will observe, that in the opening sentence of my remarks this morning, I touched the same point that I refer to now. I said to you—"We have no difference about principles. Let even past measures, up to the 8th of November, be bygones; we have to look at the measures of to-day. What are those?" Mr. Wright says, no one doubts the right of the negro to the ballot. Tassent; every man in this house assents; Mr. Garrison has affirmed it in the resolution I have read. Mr. Wright goes on—"Shall we demand of the Federal Government, before the rebel States are re-constructed, that it secure to the negro the ballot? He says, 'No.' I say, 'Yes.'; and there is our difference. (Applause.) No difference as to the right—none whatever; and I have been striving, this morning and afternoon, to clear from every speaker the confusion which seemed to me to beset him, and to show that the only question before this audience was—Is now the time to claim the ballot for the negro? and, on what point shall we fix our national attention to get the best result? I answered, On the point which the nation presents to us, the reconstruction of Louisiana; and I endeavored to chain you to that practical issue, offered us by the Government. No Abolitionist can deny the cardinal principle of thirty years' warfare, that the Government is to be colored; but that we are not to know a white man from a black man. Last summer I said to Fremont, "What is the meaning of your phrase in the Cleveland platform, 'Absolute equality before the law?'" "Well," said the General, "this is the meaning: there is to be no Constitution or statute in the nation with the word 'white' in it." (Applause.) That is what I call the effectual abolition of slavery.

Now, the only question is—and it is a practical question, a question that calls for a verdict from this anti-slavery meeting to-day—Is it good now, and on this special matter of the admission of Louisiana, to insist on the ballot? I think it is. Mr. Wright says it is not. To me, it seems so important that I consider it vital to any real success; the very essence of the present anti-slavery opportunity.

MR. WRIGHT. My friend Phillips does not mean to misrepresent me at all; but I want him to add one sentence, which I always added—"as the condition of its return to the Union."

MR. PHILLIPS. Exactly; the ballot for the negro is to be demanded of any rebel State "as the condition of its return to the Union." Let me, as briefly as I can, indicate to you why I take this ground. It is this. As I indicated this morning, the 8th day of November is my new starting-point. The significance of that canvas, nationally, is this. Of the twenty-two hundred thousand who voted for Lincoln, some looked to emancipation, some to war, some to peace, as their means; (Greeley means peace); but whatever the path, the goal sought by all is the nation, one, durable, just. That is the meaning of the twenty-two hundred thousand votes. It is my goal as an Abolitionist and a citizen. In order to have it, we must have one idea from Massachusetts down to the Gulf. That is, we must have labor resting on manhood,—educated, honored, because it is labor. In order to that, we must have the blacks, the great mass of labor at the South, honored, educated, contented. How shall we get him educated? Gen. Banks says that he has set up schools for the blacks. I am very much obliged to him for his intentions. I have no doubt there are some hundreds of scholars in those schools; but I undertake to say that Gen. Banks cannot educate a mass of men by any system of benevolence. It never has been done. No nation ever yet educated the mass of its people by the simple instrument of benevolence—never. England is the foremost nation of the world, outside of our own; she educates, to a certain extent, her poor, from the motives of benevolence; and the narrow fringe which hangs round wealth and comfort there has something like education; but the masses, I suppose nobody will be offended if I say, are almost as ignorant as the steers they drive. So are the masses of almost all other nations. Fear—the consciousness that the lower classes had power, and hence the need of adding to it intelligence—has been the ruling motive for conferring education on the masses of any land. So far as the mere sham which Austria and Prussia call education deserves the name, this is its cause and motive. New England is the only country that has ever educated its masses, that has ever covered every cradle with civilization and intelligence. We spent \$700,000 on this peninsula last year for the education of the common people. Why? I do not believe it is Christian benevolence. I do not believe education for the masses has ever wrong out of the upper classes by any such motive. It has been wrong out of them by mixing that motive with fear, with selfishness. Wealth sees the ballot in the hands of poverty, and knows that its gold and its roof depend upon the use made of that ballot, and wealth hurries to put intelligence on the one side and religion on the other of the baby footsteps that will one day find their way to the ballot. That is the essence of democratic institutions. It mortgages wealth and learning and strength to lift up the poor man's cradle. I want that help for the black man. How shall I get it? I will explain. Go down to Broad street, and trespass on the rights of the ragged Irish boy that sells newspapers in the streets, and in a week I will show you the Advertiser and the Transcript, the Journal and the Herald, the Traveller and the Post covering that boy with their advocacy, and Henry Wilson leading the van. (Laughter and applause.) And why do they do it? Because that boy is one of 80,000 living on this peninsula, who yield about ten thousand votes, and covered with the penoply of that defence, journal and political aspirant hasten to gain merit by conciliating the just regard and gratitude of that boy. I want the same thing for the black man, and I shall have it. The moment I give to the 400,000 black men in Louisiana ballots, Gen. Banks may then relieve himself from the labor of establishing schools; the white men of Louisiana will see to it that those black men, who have their hands on the helm of the State—whose purpose makes life and gold safe or otherwise, are educated. I plant myself always on democratic principles. I am a democrat, ingrained, from top to toe; and I mean to welcome the negro to the same shield that has made me and the Irishmen of this peninsula equal and equally safe. I shall give myself no rest till the negro stands there.

My friend Garrison says Gen. Banks cannot give the negro the ballot. I do not blame him for that. I blame him for pretending to make freemen, where in reality he makes apprentices. But he could have given the negro the ballot, had he chosen. Here in pieces the United States Constitution and the Louisiana Constitution. Judge Durant has shown that he put them both under his feet, and made a Constitution to suit himself. Then, when Dumas (educated in Paris and a wealthy man) and his comrades asked him for the ballot, and said, "We have earned the malignant hate of every white man in this city to save you; give us the ballot to protect ourselves before you withdraw the United States cannon," he answered them—"I cannot violate Louisiana law." I heard of a man who committed theft on Saturday, was arrested on Monday, and said to the Sheriff, "I could have escaped, but I had conscientious scruples against travelling on the Sabbath." (Laughter.) So Banks, having torn in pieces the United States Constitution and the Louisiana Constitution, had conscientious scruples against giving the black man a vote, because it had once been law in Louisiana. No defence whatever!

But I am not arraigning Gen. Banks. He is not the object of my criticism. I criticize Louisiana and his system of apprenticeship; and when you ask me what sort of Louisiana I want, then I answer, I want not only emancipation, but the ballot. My friend, who sits here, (Mr. Foss,) says, "Take emancipation

first, and then get the ballot." I have two answers to that. In the first place, when Mr. Lincoln offered emancipation to the black man, did we disperse this Society? Mr. Chase said that was efficient; Mr. Montgomery Blair—of whom, the latest news from Washington is, that your President is making his machinations cover all Maryland to put that recent into the United States Senate—said, "That Proclamation frees every slave." Many lawyers said the same. If any one objected that, at the best, the Proclamation only freed the present slave; the massed cried, "Well, that practically kills the system." But did we disperse the Society? No. We said, "No matter what other men think of that parchment, we mean to have the liberty of the black man now living, and that of his children put beyond doubt. We mean to have the system destroyed." Now the nation has taken a stride still farther, and says to me, "We will give an actual prohibition of slavery indorsed on the Constitution." I say, "Thank you! that is a gain." But, at the same time, I see a fence between me and the negro; I see him, though covered with this parchment prohibition, ground to powder by the power of State sovereignty; I see Salmon P. Chase walking up to the line of offences that divides him from Louisiana, looking over, and seeing the white man grind the negro to powder, and looking on powerless to protect the victim. I recognize the interlocking of State and Federal Governments, as I explained this morning; so, like an Abolitionist with a pistol, I demand, not only the record of the judgment, but the execution in the hands of the Sheriff. (Applause.) I demand, not only an Amendment of the Constitution, but the perfect power, according to American ideas, put into the hands of the negro, to defend himself. To an American, this is indispensable, the only effectual assertion and guaranty of the negro's liberty.

Having given thirty years of my manhood to tearing off the shackles, so far as my influence goes, of four millions of slaves, I shall not stand by idly, and let the nation cheat me out of a substantial success by the offer of a parchment picture, if I have the power to get something more; and when my friend (Mr. Wright) turns to Illinois, and says, "She don't allow her black men to vote," I reply, More shame to Illinois; but I have nothing to do with her; she is a loyal State; she has all her State rights; she has got her fence up, and we cannot pass it. But, thank God! the fence between me and Carolina is down, and it shall never be put up until I do my utmost to secure to every man on her soil the ballot. (Loud applause.) My pathway to loyal States is over loyal States. My pathway to Carolina is over the best blood of the North; and in order to open it, we have mortgaged the industry of this generation, and taken so much comfort from the table of every laboring man for fifty years to come; and having now this power at such a cost, I intend, before the war is closed, to have out of Carolina, not the parchment form of justice, but its very substance and self. (Loud applause.)

Then, again, my friend says, "We have got, in four years, the amendment, and thus, in four more, we will get the ballot." That is not the law, either of national or individual life. You know it is a law of our nature, that after every great spasm comes a lull; the system rests in order to gather reserved strength, and saves itself for another effort. So nations, after a struggle for a great life, settle down to the dull routine of common material life. After the Revolution, our fathers devoted themselves to making their bread, building roads, cities, houses, ships. England has shown us the same fact once or twice, France half a dozen times within the last century. So, mark me, friend! whatever peace you make, whatever be the nature and elements of that peace, that, and nothing more, must content you for twenty years, unless civil war breaks out anew; for as for mere agitation, America will set the hand of absolute prohibition on the lips of every man who agitates for change for twenty years, if peace is attained. That is the law of national life. What you get by the bargain, you get now, and you will not get any more for some length of time, unless Davis, as I indicated to-day, goes over the Rio del Norte with the remainder of his veterans, and watches this nation for the rift of discontent into which he may insert his sword. The Abolitionist is to ask now, or he will find his labor a hundred-fold greater in all hours to come of our lives.

I claim, therefore, that it is the duty of the anti-slavery body to stand behind the Republican party. That party is weak in its very numbers, weak in the very auxiliaries it has received. The old guard saw this subject clearly; the new men do not. What I said to you this morning of the state of mind of Congress, the best men there have said to you again and again, half a dozen Northern and Eastern Senators have told me that the Republican majority may be trusted on all party measures, and while the technical liberty of the negro is in the scale; but beyond that, when his manhood, civil rights and just claims under our laws and institutions are urged or in peril, you could not trust these men or rely on their aid. Take Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, as a specimen. The son of one of the first abolitionists in that Commonwealth, the ablest debater in the Senate, the leader of that body when he goes back there, recognized by many as such. Henry Wilson said to him, when we were discussing the duty of the nation to pay the 54th and 68th colored regiments, (I give the substance, not the words of the debate.) "It is a question of contract, Mr. Fessenden. Gov. Andrew published his proclamation to the black men as far west as the Mississippi, in the columns of a hundred journals, offering them, if they would be mustered in, the same pay &c., as the whites. The War Department knew that these hundred journals carried that proclamation every morning over the Northern States, and in some six or twelve weeks, in answer to these calls, Major Stearns mustered his two regiments, and brought them to Readville. Now that is a Government contract. Every man, certainly every lawyer see that the Federal Government, well-knowing beforehand the offers of their Agent, our Governor, was bound by them when they accepted his work—the completed regiments. To keep their promise thus made is one path, to repudiate it, and at the same time refuse the regiments, is the only other. By accepting the men, they accepted the contract." Turning to the Senator, Mr. Wilson said, "Will you fulfil it?" And what do you think was the answer of the pettifogger who represents the State of Maine? "I would like to see Gov. Andrew's written authority." (Voices—"Shame on him!") In other words, such a remark not only justifies the Government in keeping goods, while it refuses to pay the price which it knew its Agent had for long weeks publicly promised in its name; but such remarks presuppose that the negro in Buffalo or St. Louis, ignorant and a fugitive, poor and friendless, is bound, before answering to the call of Major Stearns, to make his way, at his own expense, to Boston State House, into the Governor's chamber, and to ask him—"Gov. Andrew, I hear you are authorized to enlist blacks—show me your authority!" Now, I venture to say there is not one chance in ten hundred thousand million billion (laughter) that even Stearns, Fessenden would ever have offered that shameful evasion in the case of a white Porto Rican regiment asking for its just due. Yet that is the man who has just been returned to the Senate by the State of Maine, to be the leader of that body. Surely, prejudice against color is not wholly dead yet, while men reputable enough to hold public office show themselves, without blushing, thus incapable of applying the same ethics to the white man and to the black. Power entrusted to such hands is sure to bring national disgrace.

Now, it is to a party, the average morality of which is represented by such a man, that we are to trust reconstruction. I will cheerfully trust reconstruction to the man who deals with the negro's rights as he does with the white man's, wherever I find him, and I will never trust it to any man except he be of that class; and I do not find that class either at the White House or in the majority of the Senate. Allow me to remind you of one prophetic warning of Mazzini. In one of his

recent letters, he asks—"Why have Italian revolutions failed for half a century?" and answers, "The mistake has been one only too prevalent at the present day,—that of trusting the government of the insurrection to those who had no share in making it." The same thing is true to-day, it seems to me, in the mistake which some Abolitionists make. They are for letting the helm of the anti-slavery cause go out of the hands of Mr. Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Society into those of Republican Abolitionists, who did not create, but were by its created. Glad and ready as I always am to trust our pioneer, I do not join in that confidence he gives to public men, which leads him, I think, to trust them too implicitly. It seems to me that some fatal generosity which Mazzini describes, and will lead to the same defeat that Mazzini and his comrades have met. It is a suicidal policy. We have had enough of it. We stood aside at the beginning of the struggle, and said, "Let not the odium that we have incurred bear the cause—to avoid it, let other men lead the masses forward to this anti-slavery work." We did that as long as prudence would justify. To-day the ship labors in heavy seas. To-day the nation gropes blindly, its purpose all right, but its intelligence at fault; and that honest nation needs the constant, incessant, discriminating criticism which my friend Garrison thinks animadversion, but which I think necessary, indispensable criticism, the work of the original anti-slavery host. This is not self-conceit, as has been intimated. What are we worth, if, after giving thirty years to the study of one question, we do not understand it better than men who were converted yesterday, and their vision distorted by prejudice till then? Certainly, it is not self-conceit to claim that we do in some degree understand this question. We have watched the problem through all its trials, in all ages and all climates, under every form of government and faith. We have traced the colored race in all its history; we have studied reform as our daily task; we have stood outside the political machine and watched it, reading the game better than the players. We are wise by thirty years of experience; our vision cleared by the isolation of our lives. Like Tocqueville, on the outside, we have been impartial observers how in America the game of politics was played; and now, at the acme of the question, in the very crisis and agony of the struggle, some are for sitting down, folding their hands, and trusting everything to the newly converted intellect of the country. It is not necessary that I should arraign the conscience. I only refuse to trust this helm in this night of tempest to a fresh hand.

The Constitutional Amendment, grand and sublime as that National Act will be, will secure only two things. First,—that there never again shall be an action-back for men, under our flag. It abolishes chattelism. Secondly,—it gives the negro, what he never had, the liberty, if he is oppressed in Kentucky, of moving to Missouri; a substantial protection, unless the laws of the neighboring States forbid, as they now lawfully may, the full enjoyment of any right except technical freedom, within their territories. But beyond these two privileges lie a score of questions affecting the rights, manhood, civil status, career, education and national privileges of the negro. For the just settlement of these, we must rely on men who are more than Anti-Slavery, in a narrow and technical sense; on men who use the same ethics for all races. I do not deny that Mr. Lincoln means to be an anti-slavery man; but I maintain, as I have done since 1861,—and any one who will do me the honor to look over my speeches will see that warp running through them ever since 1861,—that Mr. Lincoln, a Kentuckian, born in the Border States, is not capable of seeing a negro exactly as a white man. It is not in his nature. God will not hold him responsible for this constitutional and almost inevitable defect, or lack. He gives us the blessing of being born under the clear skies of Massachusetts, with no slave system to cloud our ethics. You perceive the difference in our public men. Compare Butler with Lincoln! Butler is a Democrat—bred in the very lowest tier and stratum of the worst New England Democracy; but he goes down to New Orleans; the soil is ripe, and the moment contact with slavery melts the prejudice against blacks, which is a monstrous growth under our New England sky—abnormal, alien to all the general ways and rules of thought and policy here—that moment the channel of his logic clears; relentless as Aristotle or Euclid, every fact and argument falls into place, and stern New England logic hews to the line on this, and other subjects, whatever chips fly into his face! I know his early short-comings in the days when he "saw men as trees walking"; but every man admits that, after a very short while, he righted; and from that day to this, whatever faults any one may charge him with, no man will assert that Butler ever knew the difference between a black man and a white man. (Loud applause.) The good seed of this war's experience fell into Massachusetts soil, and the tree grew straight, shapely and well-proportioned. The same good seed fell into Kentucky soil, and the tree grew slowly, gnarled, crooked, awry, and cannot grow any better. No matter whether it is Mr. Lincoln's fault, or how much, if any. The only important question is, "What is our duty?" As for Abraham Lincoln, his future is in God's hands,—a more merciful Judge than any one of us. We have not to settle his merit or demerit. But he stands either a helper or a hindrance to the great question of righting a race, and no man is entitled to call my criticism of him unjust, morbid, too severe, or ill-timed, while I have a right to claim that justice to the negro and the nation demands it. I am only, as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice." (Applause.) I have sought only that, from amid these turbid shoals and uncertain channels, the black man shall come out unharmed, with all his rights. I seek in reconstruction only this principle—such shape given to the new institutions that the head, black or white, which God made to rise, shall rise; and that the head, black or white, that God made to go down, shall go down. (Applause.) Justice, absolute equality before the law, was the high-water level of American politics reached by the theory of the Cleveland Convention; and if word or act of mine can make it real, it shall be real before the cannon are called home, and peace is made. (Applause.)

Nationality, to me, means the idea. It goes exactly as far as the idea goes, and not an inch further. You may send Grant's cannon down to the Gulf; you do not send the nation there, necessarily. The school-house, honor to labor, the ballot-box, naturally follow the cannon. If, when the cannon comes home and peace is sealed, the school-house, the ballot-box, and honor to labor stay, the nation stays, and if they come home, the nation comes home. We do not make Georgia a part of the nation by sending Sherman there, to walk across the State; it is only when Massachusetts ideas take possession of Georgia that we make her a part of the nation. (Applause.) And in order that Massachusetts ideas may take possession of Georgia, labor must be contented, treated justly, and furnished with the means of protecting itself.

I will not turn aside to say, as a citizen, no nation can be safe or at real peace till the laboring class is contented—it will never be so till it feels that it has all its just rights—education and the ballot among them. But I say such recognition is just; and for an Abolitionist, this is the end and sum of the matter. As Mr. Douglass said, it is right, and that is enough for an anti-slavery platform. But as a citizen, I should have another consideration to suggest. Reconstruct the South as you are reconstructing Louisiana, make labor dishonorable, make it discontented, cripple and confine it, and what will be the result? I know of a colored man in New Orleans, of French extraction, his father and grandfather free, who, before the rebellion broke out, was making a hundred dollars a month. Banks' Proviso Marshal summoned him to his office. "Who is your employer?" "Haver's got any." "But the law supposes every negro laborer to have a master." "Can't help that; my father never had one, and I never have; I have always worked for myself, and so did my father before me." "We will settle that!"—and the black man was sent to a

plantation, twenty miles down the river, to work for eight dollars a month! Does that make a contented laboring class? When the war closes, the South is to be made like a garden; its fields replanted; its roads to be rebuilt; its cities to be re-established. Welcome labor there from the North, the East and the West, and you keep wages high throughout the nation. You equalize the Northern States, you open the channel of European emigration full into the quarter. Give labor high wages and full work, there to compete with him. No white man will go to the North; you leave the South aristocratic, labor of pressed and discredited, and an aristocratic class thrown upward into being above it inevitably. The demand, tax prices, and industry mortgaged to pay the debt will write Reconstruction on its banner. Another thing. Bring back such men as Judge Field into the United States Congress, and you bring back the allies of the Democratic party; you bring back a set of men to co-operate with the representatives of the Holding such allies in one hand and in the other that gives the Government, the present monetary system incompetent—a fearful trial for Republicans instituting, posing the Anti-Slavery amendment secured!—full citizenship for the black. The Northern substantial freedom—you shall have it. But we must have a quid pro quo. We will sell, gentlemen, we will sell cheaply. The Northern conscience wants real emancipation—we will give it; only don't do it along with your own." Leave the South one shred of caste, and she will go into Congress to trade with it; and the Northern conscience, anxious to get rid of it, will trade away. The offer will be, "We will give you black citizenship in full, immediately or in five years or four; but put our bottomless debt on your shoulders." Seal that bargain, and checked labor writes Reconstruction on its banner.

O, no, citizens! This is a "big job." It holds political economy, national honor, justice to the negro, safety to the white man, all in its simple grasp. It is full of the direst issues. They wait at the door, they thunder at your gates, threatening the nation's life. God has given you one seal of Solomon to dispense them all like shadows. It is justice—absolute, immediate, unmitigated justice to the negro. No other spell will control the demons that crowd around, but back and down the nation in her upward and onward flight. There is no other path but that one fair line—Justice. As an Abolitionist and a citizen, I use the hours, the precious, golden, momentous hours of these six months to educate the nation, if possible, on both sides, to fill the air with its protest, to wake the public to aid us, and bring the nation to its feet in alert vigilance. That is our duty, peculiarly our duty as Abolitionists. The Past is gone with its errors and sins. The Future is in God's keeping. The Present he trusts to us to be well shaped and rightly used. Thirty years of earnest toil claim of us this crowning vigilance. The negro, the nation, the world, have the right to claim it of us.

LAUS DEO!  
BY JOHN G. WRIGHT.  
On hearing the bells ring for the Constitutional Amendment abolishing Slavery in the United States  
It is done!  
Clang of bell and roar of gun  
Send the tidings up and down.  
How the bellies rock and reel,  
How the great guns, peal on peal,  
Fling the joy from town to town!  
Ring, O bells!  
Every stroke exulting tells  
Of the burial-hour of crime.  
Loud and long that all may hear,  
Ring for every listening ear  
Of Eternity and Time!  
Let us kneel!  
God's own voice is in that peal,  
And this spot is holy ground.  
Lord forgive us! What are we,  
That our eyes this glory see,  
That our ears have heard the sound!  
For the Lord  
On the whirlwind is abroad;  
In the earthquake He has spoken:  
He has smitten with His thunder  
The iron walls of brass,  
And the gates of brass are broken!  
Loud and long  
Lift the old exulting song,  
Sing with Miriam by the sea:  
He hath cast the mighty down:  
Horse and rider sink and drown  
He hath triumphed gloriously!  
Did we dare,  
In our agony of prayer,  
Ask for more than He has done?  
When was ever His right hand  
Over any time or land  
Stretched as now beneath the sun?  
How they pale,  
Ancient myth, and song, and tale,  
In this wonder of our days,  
When the cruel red of war  
Blooms white with righteous law,  
And the wrath of man is prised!  
Blotted out!  
All within and all about  
Shall a freer life begin;  
Freer breathe the universe  
As it rolls its heavy cars  
On the dead and buried sin!  
It is done!  
In the circuit of the sun  
Shall the sound thereof go forth.  
It shall bid the dumb rejoice,  
It shall give the dumb a voice,  
It shall belt with joy the earth!  
Ring and swing  
Bells of joy in morning's wing  
Send the song of praise abroad;  
With a sound of broken chains,  
Tell the nations that He reigns  
Who alone is Lord and God!

THE FALLEN OF PROGRESS is the title of a magazine, established by C. M. Plumb & Co. New York city, of which four numbers have thus far been issued. It is started as the organ of the "progressive" Abolitionists on religious and social topics, and has already enlisted a good deal of talent among its contributors. Rev. O. B. Frothingham furnishes, and issues one of his remarkably brilliant, thoughtful and well-reasoned essays. Of the other more notable writers are T. W. Higginson, George S. Burleigh, Rev. Edward C. Towne, and Alice and Phoebe Cary. Mr. Towne writes a series of articles addressed to Henry Ward Beecher, on the subject of his theological views, which are pointed and searching. The numbers steadily increase in merit. Its subscription price is \$2 per annum.  
DONATION. Rev. L. A. Grimes has received a communication from Mrs. P. W. Freeman, the lady who drew the cabinet organ placed at table in the recent fair at Mercantile Hall, enclosing \$40 for the benefit of the families of our colored soldiers. A very praiseworthy act.



Poetry.

For the Liberator. MY KING. BY AUGUSTA COOPER KERRALL. If my soul has a king, it knows well where to find him...

Soaring up, from shackles rives, To the great free Northern heaven! And, from large imperial bosom...

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. M. F. CONWAY, Delivered at the Banquet in Honor of Senator Lane, at Leavenworth, Kansas.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen. I rejoice to be here on this festive occasion to unite with you in this celebration...

I inclined, however, to a different idea. It is in favor of liberating the nation from the domination of slaveholders...

THE BLACK LAWS.

Illinois has repealed her black laws, and indeed she could hardly help wiping the stain from her face when her neighbor Missouri was lifting her body out of the slough...

TRIBUTE TO EDWARD EVERETT.

Retired from a discriminating and an appropriate discourse, entitled "A MEMORIAL OF EDWARD EVERETT," presented in Dorchester, (Mass.) by NATHANIEL HALL...

COLORED PERSONS IN THE CITY PARKS.

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press: Sir: There seems now to be but one opinion as to the practice of ejecting indiscriminately all persons of color from our city parks...

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

The lecture of Frederick Douglass, at Mechanics Hall, on Wednesday evening, was, as we have before remarked, a wonderful exhibition of the genius which has been kept in bondage in this country...

THE CASE OF MISS HARRIS.

The case of Miss Harris, who killed Mr. Burroughs in Washington on Monday last, for an alleged breach of promise of marriage, involves certain principles of considerable importance to society and civilization...

THE DEATH OF A BAD MAN.

"Say nothing except good of the dead," is a maxim which in ordinary times and concerning ordinary men may be well enough, but it does not apply to Sterling Price.

SLAVERY'S DEATH-KNELL.

Die, die, thou monster! Dost not hear, On every breeze's swell, How, tolled by glad hands joyfully, Rings forth thy passing knell!

MISSOURI AND NEW YORK.

"Free Missouri greets you!"—[F. C. FLEXNER, Gov. Douglas in 1855.]—"Free Missouri greets you!"—[R. E. FEZZERON.] Listen! ye, whom Fortune bleaeth...

BOARDING.

MR. GLAUBER wishes to inform her friends and the public that she has taken house at No. 41 Washington Street, where she can accommodate a few boarders...

GAS FIXTURES.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and the public that (owing to ill health) he has been obliged to leave his situation at Messrs. H. B. Stewart & Co's, where he has been employed for the last fourteen years...

BOARDING.

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